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**President:** Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY  
(Ghana).

**ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. BAROUM (Chad) (translated from French): I should like first, on behalf of the Chad delegation, to express our sincere condolences to the United Kingdom delegation on the painful loss suffered by the British nation in the death of one of the greatest statesmen of the first half of this century, Sir Winston Churchill.

2. Since the Chad delegation is speaking before this great Assembly at the beginning of the new year, we would like to extend, both personally to the President and assembled representatives, and to the nations and countries represented, as well as to our Organization, our best wishes for prosperity and peace.

3. On behalf of our President, Mr. François Tombalbaye, and of the Government and people of Chad, my delegation is happy to offer its sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. We consider that your election is a mark of confidence and an expression of awareness: I say mark of confidence, because we are all aware of your impartiality and personal qualities; we are sure that this impartiality is a guarantee that our debates will be properly conducted; I say expression of awareness, because we are all acquainted with your distinguished record, your experience of the United Nations as representative of Ghana and your intimate knowledge of international problems. We also consider that your election is a great tribute, not only to Ghana, your own country, but to the entire African continent.

4. We welcome the new Members joining the United Nations: Zambia, Malawi and the Republic of Malta.

5. I should also like to take advantage of this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute, on behalf of our President François Tombalbaye, my delegation and myself, to Secretary-General U Thant, for the dynamism, devotion and tact with which he has been fulfilling the increasingly arduous tasks entrusted to him by our Organization, in this difficult period of the twentieth century. We are happy to see him back among us, resuming his difficult duties with the same devotion and courage, and we wish him better health.

6. The Government and people of Chad have embraced the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and it would not be amiss, at a time when there are so many reasons for anxiety in the world, to recall some of those principles: the maintenance of a lasting peace in the world; international security; the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; pacific settlement, through negotiation, of national and international problems and disputes; promotion of respect for the human person; and, in addition, I would particularly stress, respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of all nations, large or small; non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States; co-operation, based on mutual interest, among all the peoples of the world, without distinction as to colour, race, or religion.

7. Unfortunately, at the opening of the nineteenth regular session of the General Assembly, these principles seem to be, and I would even say are, seriously threatened by a series of complex events in the world, events provoked by various crises, such as the increase and spread of nuclear weapons; imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; unequal economic development, ignorance, disease, poverty and hunger which afflict certain peoples, even while other countries enjoy great prosperity.

8. In my opinion, these are the problems which we have to face and for which we have to find appropriate solutions. My delegation believes that, for some of these problems, we must find priority solutions, bearing in mind that the harmony of the world hinges thereon.

9. The General Assembly must examine these problems without passion and without considering special interests, and arrive at just and impartial solutions. That is the significance of the statement made by my delegation with all good will. Chad is a Member of the United Nations because it believes very sincerely in peace.

10. One of the problems of the moment is the dangerous situation now existing in the territories under colonial domination, together with the reactionary and inhuman policy of apartheid which is still being practised, in defiance of elementary moral principles, by the racist Government of South Africa.

11. The Portuguese colonialists, scorning the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council, continue to exploit the brave peoples of Mozambique, Angola and so-called "Portuguese" Guinea, and to deprive them of their fundamental rights to freedom, independence and self-determination. The racist Government of South Africa does not seem to be affected by the huge wave of protest, condemnation and indignation from all corners of the world against its policy of apartheid.

12. Apartheid, in defiance of the principle of equality of all men, without distinction as to race, religion or political ideas, a principle which is enshrined in the United Nations Charter, degrades man in South Africa, flouts the United Nations Charter, and tramples underfoot the dignity of the African people. The people of Africa, and indeed all mankind, can no longer tolerate such an odious régime. Faced with this serious, critical situation which is liable to disturb international peace and security, each State Member of the United Nations has a duty to help the Organization to solve the problem of apartheid once and for all and by all the means at hand.

13. Special mention must be made here of the Labour Government of the United Kingdom for the two courageous decisions which it has just taken, opposing the unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority in Southern Rhodesia, and suspending delivery of bombers to the Pretoria Government. My delegation considers that these two important decisions are useful examples and a prelude to wider action which must be initiated by those other nations which still continue to trade with South Africa in spite of the appeal made by Heads of African States at Addis Ababa<sup>1/</sup> and in spite of the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

14. The maintenance of outdated relations and the incessant attempts to impose new forms of domination on the developing countries give rise to continual crises and conflicts to those countries' detriment.

15. You must be wondering what attitude Chad, an African country and a member of the Organization of African Unity, will take concerning the tragedy in the Congo. The attitude of the people of Chad can only be that of a peace-loving people. In his speech to the nation, at the Independence Day celebrations on 11 January last, President François Tombalbaye declared:

"What we must preserve at all costs is the dialogue. We must be able to show that, whatever the circumstances, no friction between States is so great that it justifies violent ruptures, fraught with danger for the future.

"Chad has proved its attachment to these principles by its offer of mediation made last August. It remains prepared to bring a spirit of conciliation to those States—or men—who are divided by misunderstandings or by uncontrolled passions. In these early days of 1965, it hopes that peace will return to those unfortunate countries which are at present torn by war. Africans must be allowed to settle their own affairs. Whatever their origins,

their ideals or their religion, two Africans will always reach an agreement for there is a strong tradition behind them."

16. If we wish to solve this problem we must find an African solution. The draft resolution submitted to the Security Council by the Ivory Coast and Morocco,<sup>2/</sup> with laudable courage, advocated such as African solution, namely, "national reconciliation".

17. We cannot deny that the tragedy of the Congo is only one of the many serious problems which at present are liable to endanger peace in the world. We are determined to do all in our power to eliminate these anomalies and, by mobilizing all our resources, help to put an end to colonial domination. More than once our indignation at all forms of foreign domination has led to action. Thus, in compliance with a decision taken by the Organization of African Unity, we proclaimed and celebrated 25 May as "African Liberation Day", similarly, we opted unequivocally for the policy of non-alignment advocated by the Organization of African Unity. Again, Chad, which has no diplomatic relations with Portugal or South Africa, severed by decree all trade and economic relations with these two countries and prohibited landings at its airports and flights over its territory by Portuguese and South African aircraft and by aircraft transporting passengers or goods to those two countries.

18. Another equally pressing problem, which my delegation hopes will be resolved, is that of disarmament. In order to end the danger of contamination and radiation in the atmosphere, to spare man and his descendants indescribable torment and suffering, to liberate the energy, financial resources and technical knowledge which are at present in the service of destruction and which the world greatly needs for its efforts to promote the economic and social development of the underprivileged peoples, my delegation calls on the developed nations to do all in their power to arrive at the speedy conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. While this problem remains unsolved, the world will continue to live under the perpetual threat of disaster with incalculable consequences for mankind.

19. For this reason the Republic of Chad will support whole-heartedly any suggestions which may lead to a final solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. Moreover, my delegation is convinced that, in the present circumstances, mankind must regard the idea of peaceful coexistence as the only means of strengthening world peace, such peace being based on liberty, equality and justice prevailing among the States and nations of the whole world. We consider that the principle of peaceful coexistence rests on the right of all peoples to be free and to choose their political, economic and social systems in conformity with their national personality and their ideals, and that consequently this principle excludes foreign domination in all its forms. It is in full awareness of these ideas that my country has decided to follow a policy of non-alignment.

20. Fully aware also of the fact that we are a young nation whose protection can only be ensured through

<sup>1/</sup> Summit Conference of Independent African States.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1964, document S/6223/Rev.1.

respect for the right of peoples to self-determination enshrined in the United Nations Charter, Chad participated in the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.<sup>3/</sup>

21. While we have entire faith in the United Nations, we believe that it is time to endow the Organization with a dynamic and democratic structure capable of coping with the many problems existing in our international society. For this reason, our country ratified the amendments to the Charter adopted last year at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly [see resolution 1991 (XVIII)]. My delegation hopes that in the very near future these amendments will be ratified by two thirds of the Member States.

22. We feel that we must also draw the Assembly's attention to a situation which more than any other threatens world peace, because it threatens the very existence of our Organization which is the only hope of those who believe in peace through respect for and enforcement of the law, international co-operation and peaceful coexistence. Young nations like ours are vitally concerned in the survival of the United Nations.

23. You will understand then that we are profoundly disturbed by the financial crisis which the United Nations is undergoing. We consider that all methods of persuasion must be utilized to induce those Powers which have precipitated this serious crisis to find a compromise solution and to resolve this problem without endangering the very existence of the Organization. Let all nations of goodwill take warning!

24. An equally important problem is the social and economic development of the developing countries. The world knows today that in addition to the concept of two ideological blocs, which has prevailed for a long time in international relations, there is now the concept of a group of underprivileged countries vis-à-vis the prosperous countries.

25. Now that the principle of peaceful coexistence has prevailed over the confrontation of ideologies, a new era must dawn in the development of those nations which, for various reasons, have not shared in social and economic progress. World prosperity demands economic development, which has become an obligation for the whole international community. Consequently, all countries must help to bring about the early establishment of a new and just economic order in which all nations can live without fear, hardship or despair, and prosper to the full in the family of nations.

26. The structure of world economy and the existing international trade and development institutions have not been able to lessen the disparity between the per capita income of the developing and of the developed countries, nor have they been able to launch international action to correct the market and increasing imbalance between the two groups of countries. We must widen and intensify international co-operation on a basis of equality and in keeping with the needs of rapid economic development.

27. While it considers that the results of the Geneva Conference<sup>4/</sup> were neither sufficient nor commensu-

rate with the essential needs of the under-developed countries, the Government of the Republic of Chad thinks that this Conference marks the first step towards the formulation of a new international economic development policy and constitutes a sound basis for future progress. Similarly, it supports without reservation the declaration made by seventy-seven developing countries at the end of the Conference<sup>5/</sup> and undertakes to co-operate in enhancing the solidarity of those countries.

28. It is time for me to conclude, Mr. President, but I shall not do so without expressing my delegation's feelings on the subject of Indonesia's withdrawal from our Organization. My delegation sincerely regrets the Indonesian Government's decision to withdraw from the United Nations at a time when, more than ever, the Organization needs a concerted effort by all its Members to maintain peace and security in those regions of the world which are in danger. On behalf of the Government of Chad and of its President, my delegation appeals to the good sense of the Indonesian Government to reconsider its decision.

29. Furthermore, with your permission, I shall address certain countries which by their attitude and the stand they have taken, have encouraged this withdrawal. I ask them: is this the way to maintain international peace and security? There is only one possible reply to this question, and that is a decisive "No".

30. Chad appeals to the conscience of the world so that the United Nations, that instrument of peace, may survive.

31. Mr. ERKIN (Turkey) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, on behalf of the Turkish delegation and also on my own behalf, I should like to offer you my most heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the United Nations General Assembly. The choice of Your Excellency for that high office bears witness to the esteem and confidence which you enjoy among the delegations, both because of your distinguished personal qualities and because of your thorough knowledge of the complex work of the United Nations.

32. It is significant that an eminent representative of Africa should have been called upon to preside over our debates. In the face of the important and complex problems confronting us, the contribution of the young African States to the work of the United Nations is certainly of great value. I should like to stress on this occasion how happy we are that it is a representative of Ghana who is this year presiding over the deliberations of the General Assembly. Your election is, at the same time, a tribute to your country, whose major role in the progress of the African countries towards independence and unity, and the important part it has played in international affairs and in the United Nations, is recognized by all.

33. This Assembly is meeting at a time when important developments are taking place in many parts of the world. We are glad to see that international tension

<sup>3/</sup> Second Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo on 5-10 October 1964.

<sup>4/</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held on 23 March-15 June 1964.

<sup>5/</sup> See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), Final Act, annexes, annex B.

has not increased. The major nuclear Powers, which bear the primary responsibility for preventing a world catastrophe liable to destroy the human race and its civilization, fortunately continue to show a desire to work for peace and to refrain from threats or provocations in their mutual relations. This atmosphere has developed since the 1962 crisis in the Caribbean area, during which the world barely avoided the disaster of a nuclear war. We hope that this same atmosphere will continue and that it will be possible to strengthen peace, especially through substantial progress in achieving disarmament and in finding appropriate solutions to the serious international problems before us.

34. However, despite this relatively reassuring picture of the relations between the nuclear Powers, peace continues to be threatened in various parts of the world, particularly in Asia, in the Middle East and in the Eastern Mediterranean region, where serious conflicts remain and local wars continue. In the present circumstances, a local conflict always tends to expand; consequently, it is the duty not only of the countries possessing nuclear weapons but of all countries, no matter how small, to see that peace is maintained, to refrain from the use of force and violence, to settle their disputes peacefully and to renounce war as an instrument of national policy—in short, to abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter.

35. A question which seriously concerns mankind at the present time is the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons. The treaty partially banning nuclear tests<sup>6/</sup> was received everywhere with relief, in the hope that the atmosphere would no longer be contaminated by nuclear explosions and that the road would henceforth be open to supplementary disarmament measures. But if that treaty is to be effective in preventing the multiplication of nuclear Powers, it must be universally accepted and applied and must also be supplemented by measures prohibiting the spread and acquisition of nuclear weapons. The world is already overstocked with nuclear devices and any new additions would only increase the risks of a catastrophic war and arouse the legitimate anxiety of the whole of mankind. The Assembly must use its moral influence to the maximum to put an end to this fatal race.

36. The year which has elapsed since our last session has witnessed new progress in the emancipation of the colonial peoples. It is a particularly pleasant duty for me to welcome, on behalf of the people and Government of Turkey, the representatives of Malta, Malawi and Zambia, which have just joined the United Nations family, following their recent accession to independence. These new admissions prove once again that the principles enshrined in the Charter are realistic and living concepts, which are constantly applied in international practice and constitute a source of enrichment for our Organization, enabling us to view international problems in an even wider perspective.

37. The evolution towards independence means achievement of the ideals set forth in the Preamble

of the Charter, which proclaims the faith of the peoples of the United Nations in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. This noble but difficult enterprise could never have been successful, were it not for the tireless efforts of the United Nations and the active co-operation of the great majority of Member States. From this point of view, the zeal with which the United Nations has been able to accomplish this historic and arduous task gives us the assurance that the complete elimination of this relic of a vanished epoch will soon become a reality.

38. In this connexion, I should like to pay a tribute to the wisdom shown by the United Nations in helping the colonial peoples not only to win their independence, but also to overcome the economic and social difficulties of the post-emancipation period by means of technical assistance and various programmes prepared by the specialized agencies. It is hardly necessary to state that this assistance represents an extremely valuable contribution, which facilitates the harmonious transition of these countries from colonial status to that of independent nations.

39. The right of peoples to independence is one of the basic principles which the Turkish Republic has tirelessly proclaimed and supported since it was founded. For Turkey is a country which forty years ago waged a hard struggle against imperialism in order to free itself from foreign invasion and occupation and to protect its independence, its territorial integrity and its national dignity. Turkey was one of the first countries to proclaim the principle of self-determination of peoples and to oppose all foreign intervention, whether political or economic, in its national affairs. In the days of the League of Nations, it refused to be a party to the Mandates System, whose aim was to impose the colonial system on peoples fully capable of governing themselves. Because it remembers its own still recent past and its own trials, Turkey welcomes with joy the colonial people's accession to independence and supports all the constructive efforts made by the United Nations in that regard.

40. In the same spirit, we hope that the last obstacles on the road to independence for the countries now under colonial rule will be overcome in the very near future. The independence of all colonial peoples is called for not only by the United Nations Charter, but also by the reality of our times.

41. By virtue of this same principle, we believe that sustained efforts must be made to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination, ensure fundamental human rights and safeguard human dignity.

42. In the course of its deliberations, the General Assembly will also have to take up the question of apartheid. It is regrettable that the efforts made by the United Nations for over fifteen years to obtain the complete elimination of this policy have not been more successful. Such a policy is incompatible with the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Turkey, whose Constitution provides for the complete equality of all, regardless of race, colour or religion, is opposed to doctrines of racial superiority and condemns that arbitrary

<sup>6/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.



policy. The Turkish delegation hopes that the efforts of the United Nations in this field will soon be crowned with success and that this latest form of bondage will be abolished forever.

43. We are gratified to note that the accession of the colonial peoples to independence is accompanied by a movement of co-operation at the regional level. The Organization of African Unity, established in order to strengthen the unity of the African countries and to promote co-operation among them in all matters, is a concrete example of the possibilities that this new form of association offers to the Member States. Since its establishment in 1963, the Organization has made a major contribution to the solution of the extremely complex problems which now confront these countries. The results obtained thus far give hope that the Organization of African Unity will secure to the countries of the African continent a harmonious, balanced development, overcome the difficulties that arise, and thus contribute to international peace and stability.

44. Faithful to its traditional policy of peace and anxious to contribute as much as it can to the promotion of international co-operation, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, Turkey spares no effort to improve its relations with neighbouring countries. The journey which I made last November to the Soviet Union was in line with this policy. In conversations which I had with the Soviet leaders, we agreed that we must continue to work at strengthening the peace and developing our mutual relations in a spirit of good neighbourliness. Similarly, we were very happy to welcome in Turkey, at the beginning of this month, a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians, whose visit constitutes an important stage in the strengthening of our friendly relations. Similarly, we are pleased with the measures that have been taken on both sides to improve Turkey's relations with Bulgaria and Romania. We are convinced that the establishment of friendly relations between Turkey and the other Balkan countries will help to consolidate peace and promote co-operation in our region.

45. Because of its geographical position, Turkey naturally follows with great interest events in the Near East. A constant feature of Turkish policy is the maintenance of friendly relations with the Arab countries, that is to say with the brother peoples of the Near East and also with the peoples of the great Maghreb, to whom we are linked by historic and cultural ties and with whom we have a common interest in the maintenance of peace and harmony in our area. We welcome the greater concord and solidarity which now exist among the Arab countries. There is no conflict of interest between Turkey and Arab countries and we are sincerely prepared to do everything possible to develop our mutual relations in all fields and to increase our cultural, economic and technical co-operation with them.

46. During this session, the General Assembly will once more be called upon to consider the painful problem of Palestine. This is without doubt one of the most tragic and complex questions with which the United Nations, has ever had to deal. It is not only, as some seem to believe, a simple question of refugees, but a serious political problem which endangers

the stability of the Middle East and concerns the fate of more than 1,250,000 refugees. These unfortunate people, far from their land and from their homes, lead a precarious existence in camps and barracks, dependent on international charity and the hospitality of the host countries. The lamentable situation in which these refugees find themselves is an obstacle to the economic, social and cultural development of the Middle East and strains the relations of that region with the rest of the world.

47. The Turks sympathize with the Palestine refugees and are saddened by their tragic plight. The Turkish delegation believes that the tragic situation resulting from the problem of the Palestine refugees cannot continue indefinitely. We believe that this problem constitutes a factor of instability in the Middle East and we are concerned over the dangerous consequences which might result if the situation should deteriorate. The United Nations must seriously consider this weighty problem in order to solve it in accordance with the principles of law and equity.

48. We are endeavouring to expand our relations and our collaboration not only with neighbouring countries but with all countries of the world. I have already emphasized the importance we attach to the new independent African States, and we are striving as far as possible to increase our contacts with all countries, and to seek ways of achieving mutually fruitful co-operation. Thousands of foreign students, especially from neighbouring countries, are at present studying at Turkish universities. We have recently offered a number of university scholarships for special technical courses to African countries; we expect this number to increase appreciably in the coming years.

49. Turkish good-will missions have on several occasions, and again this year, gone to countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa. They have been received most cordially in all these countries, and we consider that their studies and the contacts they made will constitute a firm basis for our efforts to broaden the area of our foreign relations.

50. Our provisional agenda includes a question which has not been discussed by the Assembly since 1958, namely, the Cyprus question. This time, unfortunately, it has taken on a tragic character, involving terrible suffering for thousands of men, women and children who have been massacred or taken as hostages or reduced to intolerable living conditions in fear, famine and privation. The resurgence of this conflict has created a serious crisis in the Mediterranean region.

51. I am sure that many of you remember the discussions which took place in our Assembly on this question between 1954 and 1958. Cyprus was then a British colony, and the Greek Government demanded that the island should be ceded to Greece, invoking the principle of self-determination without taking into account either the historical and geographical facts which constitute close links between Turkey and the island, or the existence in Cyprus of a Turkish community of 120,000 people who refused to be placed under Greek sovereignty. Turkey, on the other hand, considered that a fair application of the right of self-determination required that the wishes of the Turkish Cypriots should be taken into account, that the long

historical association between Turkey and Cyprus and the geographical proximity of the island to the southern shores of Turkey could not be ignored, that the problem could be solved only in the context of relations between Greece and Turkey, and that consequently the best solution would be to divide the island between Turkey and Greece. Faced with these two opposing views, the Assembly recommended in 1958 that a solution should be found to this conflict by means of direct negotiations between the interested parties, and the last resolution [1287 (XIII)] adopted by the General Assembly on this subject in 1958 reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the question of Cyprus,

"Recalling its resolution 1013 (XI) of 26 February 1957,

"Expresses its confidence that continued efforts will be made by the parties to reach a peaceful, democratic and just solution in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations."

52. At the time when that resolution was adopted by the Assembly, the intensification of the campaign of intimidation, carried out against the Turks by Greek terrorists belonging to EOKA,<sup>7/</sup> who favoured joining the island to Greece, had brought the hostility between the two communities to the danger point and affected the relations between Greece and Turkey. It was under these conditions that the Turkish and Greek Governments, in pursuance of the Assembly resolution and conscious of their responsibility to the two communities and for the maintenance of peace, had negotiated and concluded in 1959 the Zurich Agreements, which were later ratified in London by the United Kingdom and by representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus.

53. The aim of the Zurich and London Agreements was to ensure equilibrium and harmony between the two communities and to safeguard the interests of Turkey and Greece. They were based on the recognition of the coexistence of two different peoples in the island, both being offshoots and extensions in the island of two neighbouring States and nations, Turkey and Greece. Cyprus thus became an independent State, endowed with a special constitution, and its relations with Greece and Turkey were defined by the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty of Alliance.<sup>8/</sup>

54. The Constitution stipulated that Cyprus would be a republic with a Greek Cypriot President and a Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, elected by their respective communities. The two population groups were granted communal autonomy and the Constitution contained a number of provisions aimed at ensuring the Turkish community fair participation in the legislature and government administration. This balance between the communities did no more than give legal sanction to a situation which had existed in Cyprus since the establishment of Turkish sovereignty in the sixteenth century, that is to say, a situation which continued under British rule. In fact, the two communities have always had a separate

existence and have always enjoyed a wide measure of autonomy in their communal affairs.

55. By the terms of the Treaty of Guarantee, concluded between Turkey, Greece, the United Kingdom and the Republic of Cyprus, Cyprus undertook to uphold its Constitution, its independence and its territorial integrity. The other three signatories guaranteed the state of affairs established by the basic articles of the Constitution. They also undertook to consult together in case of violation of the Treaty, with a view to taking the necessary measures to ensure respect for its provisions.

56. Dangerous theories were voiced from this rostrum last Friday [1319th meeting], in praise of the ease with which certain States consider discarding international agreements they had entered into voluntarily. In this connexion, reference was made to "so-called" treaties, treaties which it is claimed were imposed on the Greek Cypriots. The reference was, of course, to the Zurich and London Agreements, that is to say the very treaties to which the Republic of Cyprus owes its birth and its existence.

57. All problems relating to this vexed question will shortly be discussed at great length by the different organs of the United Nations. The Greek Cypriots will press their claims. For our part, we shall have much to say on different aspects of the problem and the manner in which the State of Cyprus has applied the Treaties and the Constitution of the island; or rather, the manner in which the State of Cyprus refuses to apply the Treaties and the Constitution of Cyprus, a refusal which is at the root of all the evils from which we are suffering in the island today. We shall also explain in detail the methods resorted to by the Greek Cypriots to rid themselves of these Treaties, which they consider undesirable, and at the same time of the Turkish community, whose only fault is to stand in the way of their illegal designs.

58. I shall confine myself today to replying very briefly to the opinion expressed here the other day regarding the unilateral repudiation of treaties, and my only concern in doing this is not to leave unchallenged an attitude, which, if it were accepted and became general, would undermine those moral principles on which the United Nations was founded.

59. First of all, it is useful to recall that the treaties, whose fate is referred to daily in such a cavalier manner, were signed not only by Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom but also by the leaders of the Greek and Turkish communities of the island, Archbishop Makarios and Dr. F. Küçükk. They were signed following formal declarations by the two leaders that "they accepted these agreements as a basis for the final solution of the problem of Cyprus".

60. Archbishop Makarios was at that time entirely free to accept or reject negotiations based on these agreements. Until then, he had not hesitated to reject outright several other proposals submitted to him. But in the case of the agreements in question, after consulting at length with other Greek Cypriot leaders, he had decided to accept the agreements as the groundwork for the future status of Cyprus. If proof

<sup>7/</sup> National Organization of Cypriot Fighters.

<sup>8/</sup> Treaties signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960.

is required, I need only refer to the statement of Mr. Tenekides, professor of international law:

"On that occasion, Archbishop Makarios had called together in London some thirty eminent Greek Cypriots. All of them, with the exception of representatives of the left, had after some hesitation accepted the draft treaty as the final settlement of the conflict in Cyprus."

61. A second proof of my assertion lies in the statements of Mr. Averoff, then Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Averoff had said at the end of the London Conference:

"We signed these agreements also because that revered man, Archbishop Makarios, who heads the Greek community in Cyprus, and whom we regarded during our deliberations as representing the wishes of the Greeks in Cyprus, told us when we informed him of the matter that he accepted these agreements. I do not say that we signed solely because we had his consent. We signed because we were convinced that we had reached the best solution, relatively speaking. But I must add that we took account of his opinion for the basic reason—which we had stated during our discussion—that we would not impose these decisions on the Greeks of Cyprus, either by force or by any other means."

62. Similarly, the present Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Papandreou himself, then head of the opposition, had stated in the Greek Parliament on 27 February 1959:

"Since these agreements have been accepted by the Greek Cypriots and their leader, the Greek Government cannot possibly oppose them."

63. Thus it was with full knowledge of the facts and in all freedom that all the interested parties, including the leaders of the Greek community, accepted the London Agreements.

64. The Zurich and London Agreements constituted only a general framework defining the fundamental principles of the future status of Cyprus. The Constitution and the final text of the treaties were drawn up by two committees meeting separately in London and Nicosia, with the full participation of the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities. During these negotiations, which lasted fourteen months, representatives of the Greek community were completely free to present their views in full. At the end of these negotiations, five treaties and instruments were concluded at Nicosia, to which Archbishop Makarios affixed his signature, not, as was claimed here the other day, as the Greek representative of a British colony, but in his capacity as President of the Republic of Cyprus, having been elevated to that high office by the Greek community in accordance with the Constitution.

65. Having acquired its independence, Cyprus requested admission to the United Nations. When the admission of the new State was being discussed, the treaties signed by the interested parties were known to all the Members of our Organization. These treaties were registered with the United Nations Secretariat, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter. No objection was raised to the registration and President

Makarios himself, in putting forward his request, took care to emphasize that Cyprus was asking to be admitted to the United Nations as "an independent and sovereign State".

66. It is therefore clear that the treaties, which, only four years after their signature, the Greek Cypriots are trying to repudiate unilaterally, are instruments which are legally valid and unquestionably in force. As a Member of the United Nations, the State of Cyprus is indubitably under an obligation to respect its commitments, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the fundamental principles of international law.

67. I hope that the facts I have just set out will suffice to dispose of the claims put forward in an attempt to prove that the treaties in question are invalid.

68. The independence of Cyprus and the treaties thus represented a supreme effort on the part of Turkey, Greece, the United Kingdom and the two communities to reconcile the interests of each one of them. The formula for independence, based on respect for the rights of the two communities, constituted the only solution in accordance with the principles of self-determination, justice and the need to preserve friendship and co-operation between Turkey and Greece, as well as between the two communities. Greece and the Greek community renounced "enosis", that is, union between Cyprus and Greece; similarly, Turkey and the Turkish community renounced partition; and it was on this mutual sacrifice, on this balance, that the whole structure of the new State was erected. Given the fact that there is no Cypriot nation, that the Greeks and Turks living in the island consider themselves allied to the Greek and Turkish nations respectively, and that the two communities have preserved throughout their whole history their separate religions, languages and cultures, and have enjoyed autonomy in their communal affairs, this settlement fitted both the reality of the situation and the historical process.

69. But today we are aware that the Greeks are making a concerted effort to destroy this structure which was so painstakingly erected. In spite of a solemn undertaking to abandon the idea of "enosis", Greece is demanding the annexation of the island in the name of Pan-Hellenism, that symbol of Greek imperialism. In order to make its dream of Pan-Hellenism come true, Greece has no hesitation in withdrawing from its contractual obligations, in violating the principles of the United Nations Charter, in endangering peace and security in the Mediterranean and in attempting to occupy by force the island of Cyprus to which more than 10,000 officers and men have already been illegally dispatched.

70. The Government of Archbishop Makarios is intent on bringing about "enosis" by wiping out the Turkish community and by inflicting endless suffering on it, by condemning it to poverty, hunger, anguish and fear. The reports submitted to the Security Council by the Secretary-General bear overwhelming witness to the ordeal suffered by the Turks in Cyprus. These reports, based on inquiries carried out by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, confirm that more

than 3,000 Turkish-owned houses have been totally or partially destroyed, that the economic life of the Turks has been completely disrupted, that 209 Turks have been taken as hostages and there is no longer any hope of finding them alive, that 25,000 people have become refugees, and that 23,500 others have lost their jobs. The number of Turks dependent on aid provided by the Turkish Red Crescent is 56,000. Two years ago, on 4 September 1962, Archbishop Makarios stated:

"Until this little Turkish community of Cyprus, constituting part of the Turkish race, which has always been the fierce enemy of Hellenism, has been completely driven out, the work of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered finished."

71. It is, therefore, in the name of Hellenic imperialism, an anachronism from a past age, coupled with a doctrine of racial discrimination and hatred, that half the Turkish population of Cyprus has been reduced to such a pitiable condition, bereft of all means of subsistence and deprived of their property and goods.

72. Within our Organization, which has undertaken the noble responsibility of maintaining world peace, preventing aggression, settling international disputes peacefully and fairly, safeguarding human dignity and winning universal respect for fundamental human rights, there can be no justification for an imperialist policy, for armed aggression, for violating treaties or for recourse to violence and massacre for the purpose of achieving specific political objectives. The conscience of humanity cannot tolerate attempts to destroy an entire community and to trample underfoot the most sacred human rights. I am certain that the Assembly, when it discusses this problem, will once again act with its usual wisdom, inspired by the principles of the Charter and by a deep sense of justice.

73. As you know, the question of Cyprus has been discussed many times in the Security Council and continues to appear on its agenda. The Council decided, on 4 March 1964, to create a United Nations Peace-keeping Force for Cyprus<sup>2/</sup> and this force took up its duties on 27 March 1964. The same resolution recommended that the Secretary-General should designate a mediator for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution acceptable to all parties concerned, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, with a view to ensuring the well-being of the people of Cyprus and preserving international peace and security.

74. Turkey has, from the outset, given its full support, both moral and financial, to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force and we consider the formation of this force, in spite of its limited powers, to be a further demonstration of the capacity of the United Nations to undertake effective action for peace. I should like here to thank all those countries which participated by sending contingents to join the force or which helped to finance the operation. These countries have given proof of their devotion to the cause of peace and of their faith in the United Nations and I feel that they are entitled to all our gratitude.

75. I should like, on this occasion, to express also to the Secretary-General, whose outstanding abilities are equal to the crushing responsibilities which devolve on him, all the admiration which his wisdom and the mastery which he has shown in the most difficult circumstances inspire in us.

76. I think I have presented to the Assembly the essential facts of the problem, the dangers which it involves for peace, its political aspect and its purely human aspect.

77. Greece and the Greek Cypriots openly admit that their goal is the annexation of Cyprus by Greece. The policy which they pursue in order to achieve this goal comprises three elements: occupation of the island by Greek armed forces, oppression of the Turkish community, and concealment of these methods in the United Nations behind the transparent mask of self-determination.

78. Greece's policy of annexation is unacceptable and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and to the treaties establishing the independence of Cyprus. The methods used, the recourse to violence and force, can certainly never win the approval of the Assembly. The demand for self-determination is quite simply a misuse of a sacred principle. The inhabitants of Cyprus, the Turkish and Greek communities, have exercised their right of self-determination and it was as a result of this that Cyprus obtained its independence. This principle is now being invoked in order to justify "enosis" and the disintegration of an independent State. This would constitute a flagrant violation of the right of self-determination of the Turkish community, which expressed its choice by deciding in favour of independence for Cyprus.

79. Turkey's attitude to the problem of Cyprus is very clear and very simple. Turkey is opposed to Greece's attempt to annex Cyprus and asks Greece to respect the treaties it has signed and the principles of the United Nations Charter. Turkey is morally as well as contractually bound to protect the Turkish community and cannot allow it to be oppressed.

80. The status of Cyprus, as defined by the treaties now in force, can be changed only by peaceful means and negotiation between all the parties concerned, on the basis of the provisions still in force and bearing in mind the legitimate rights and interests of the two communities. The Turkish Government, for its part, is always ready to enter into such negotiations, provided that the attempt to impose solutions by force and violence is abandoned. On the other hand, my Government has repeatedly indicated that it has no designs against the independence or territorial integrity of Cyprus. On the contrary, we have always been in favour of this independence and we are convinced that it can be preserved and even strengthened while ensuring peace and harmony between the two communities.

81. In this whole question of Cyprus, a fundamental principle is at stake: that of respect for contractual obligations which can be changed only through negotiation and with the agreement of all the contracting parties. This principle is the very foundation of international life, the very foundation of international order,

<sup>2/</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1964*, document S/5575.



and figures prominently in the Charter of the United Nations. If this rule were to be flouted, if States could illegally and with impunity repudiate their obligations, the very basis of international relations, the very basis of international order would be destroyed and total chaos would reign throughout the world. Turkey has never said that treaties can never be changed. What we refuse to admit is that treaties can be repudiated unilaterally and that attempts can be made to replace a legal status by a de facto situation, by the use of force and violence. This point of view has, moreover, been accepted by the Security Council which appointed a mediator precisely to promote a negotiated settlement of the dispute. I am sure that the Assembly, in discussing the question of Cyprus, will take this fact fully into account.

82. Such is the attitude of Turkey as regards the question of Cyprus. We are convinced that this attitude is in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and with humanitarian principles, and that the policy pursued by Turkey is likely to contribute to peace in the area and prevent the spread of the conflict.

83. As in previous years, many matters of the greatest interest will be discussed in this Assembly. As regards the agenda of the nineteenth session, I should like to put forward briefly my delegation's views on the main problems which now confront us.

84. The Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963 by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, was welcomed by world public opinion as a first positive step toward the easing of tension, and as the beginning of a more promising era in international relations. It was in that spirit also that the Turkish Government welcomed the Moscow Treaty and hastened to become one of the first countries to accede to it. Similarly, the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1884 (XVIII), calling upon Member States to refrain from placing in orbit around the earth any objects carrying weapons of mass destruction, was another encouraging step in the same direction.

85. In reviewing the events which have occurred since the last session, we are led to conclude that the atmosphere of "détente" created by the signing of the Moscow Treaty has not produced appreciable practical results, at least not to the extent that we might have hoped. Despite the favourable international climate prevailing during this period, no perceptible progress has been made towards the solution of fundamental problems concerning peace. The negotiations which have been under way for many months at Geneva have not led to any specific measures in the matter of disarmament and general security.

86. Viewed in that perspective, the question of disarmament remains the fundamental problem, to which we must give priority. However, in the absence of an agreement on general and complete disarmament, exchanges of views on collateral measures, although limited in scope, may constitute a very fruitful field of action. We are following with close interest the work of the Disarmament Committee<sup>10/</sup> at Geneva

on collateral measures; in the course of those negotiations, constructive and courageous proposals have been advanced. We hope that the negotiations, which are due to resume soon, will make possible a meeting of minds in order to obtain agreement on at least part of the programme.

87. Alongside of the problem of disarmament, certain aspects of which I have just outlined, there are a number of other problems relating to general security which after many years are still awaiting solution.

88. It is most regrettable that, twenty years after the war, the German people should still not be in a position to attain the national unity which they desire. Similarly, the division of the city of Berlin is a source of constant concern to world public opinion. The establishment of a freely unified Germany, in accordance with the inalienable rights of the German people and with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, is the most sincere desire of the people and Government of Turkey. We hope that encouraging progress in that direction will be possible in the near future.

89. Another serious problem which has persisted for years is the question of Kashmir. We ardently hope for a just, equitable and lasting solution to this dispute, one that will take fully into account the United Nations resolutions on the subject.

90. The United Nations has not yet succeeded in establishing adequate machinery to ensure peace with justice, in conformity with the Charter. However, as regards peace-keeping operations the United Nations has certainly rendered valuable service by organizing United Nations forces or observer missions which have contributed to the maintenance of peace in several areas. We believe that this function of the United Nations continues to be of paramount importance, particularly in a period when local disputes unfortunately have a tendency to proliferate. The peace-keeping function of the United Nations must be further organized on the basis of a realistic system until such time as a permanent United Nations force is established in pursuance of Article 43 of the Charter. In this connexion, we have followed with interest the initiative taken by Canada and the Scandinavian countries at the recent Meeting of Military Experts to Consider the Technical Aspects of United Nations Peace-keeping Operations, held at Ottawa, at which administrative, technical and financial questions were studied.

91. The problem of economic development, which is becoming more and more urgent because of the world economic and demographic situation, is closely related to the problem of peace and security. Harmonious international relations and an atmosphere of trust and co-operation cannot be established as long as the gap between the developed countries and the developing countries continues to widen, as long as human aspirations for economic progress and social justice are not fulfilled, and as long as two thirds of mankind are condemned to live at subsistence level. It is becoming increasingly more obvious that the flow of capital to developing countries is far from having reached an adequate level, that the various forms of economic and financial assistance have not been adapted to the real needs of those countries and that international trade,

<sup>10/</sup> Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

in present circumstances, is not contributing to economic development. In all these fields, which call for extensive international co-operation, the United Nations must organize and promote concerted action by all Member States.

92. A stage of primordial importance was reached this year following the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva. This Conference perseveringly sought means of action to improve the living levels of all peoples and to facilitate their economic and social development in order to ensure a better life in peace and freedom for mankind. Above all, the Conference tried to define the means needed to make international trade serve the economic development of the developing countries. The results achieved will surely contribute to international efforts designed to eliminate the economic disparity between the rich and the developing countries.

93. The Conference adopted a series of recommendations concerning the principles which should govern international trade, the increase of exports of primary commodities, manufactures and semi-manufactures, receipts from invisible trade and the financing of economic development. It also requested the General Assembly to establish a special organ which would ensure the implementation of these recommendations.

94. The General Assembly, at its nineteenth session, has therefore performed an extremely important task in deciding to establish formally this new organ and to ensure its functioning [see resolution 1995 (XIX)].

95. Another important aspect of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was the experience acquired there, which is not limited to economic and trade problems alone. Indeed, the Conference, while opening new horizons for economic co-operation, proved once more that conciliation between opposing parties could be extremely fruitful and lead to specific decisions regarding the operation of international organs.

96. In this connexion, I should like to follow the example of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto, and inform the Assembly of a recent initiative inspired by the same concern, aimed at ensuring the accelerated economic development of the countries of the Middle East. Following a meeting in July of the Heads of State of Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan at Istanbul, a plan of common action known as "Regional Co-operation for Development" was adopted, which takes into consideration the opportunities offered by the closest possible economic, social and cultural co-operation. Our countries have thus agreed to unite their efforts at the regional level in order to develop their common resources. A regional planning committee has been instructed to examine our respective development plans with a view to making recommendations for the preparation of joint projects and the co-ordination of production.

97. The extremely rapid progress which has been made since the establishment of that committee in the matter of co-operation among the three countries—which is, moreover, open to all countries in the area wishing to accede to it—is the best guarantee of its future success. We are convinced that this initiative will prove of benefit to all our countries.

98. In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that, faithful to the line of action it has followed hitherto, the Turkish delegation will not spare its efforts to participate actively and constructively in the Assembly's deliberations.

99. I am deeply convinced that under your guidance, Mr. President, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly will enable us to advance towards a system of peace and security, which we all desire, and to usher in an era of true international co-operation.

100. Mr. LUPIS (Italy): <sup>11/</sup> Mr. President, in taking the floor, may I first of all offer you, on behalf of the Italian Government and myself, sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. We in Rome are very happy at your election, not only because this important gathering is to be guided by a person of authority and competence such as yourself, with wide experience in the field of international organizations, but also because your accession to the Presidency reflects the emergence of the African countries and confirms their active participation in the life of our Organization.

101. I should also like to renew the congratulations already extended by our Permanent Representative on the admission to membership of the United Nations of two new African States, Malawi and Zambia, two countries with which we have already established mutually advantageous relations and whose contribution to society has been particularly significant and useful.

102. Italy regards the African countries with great friendship and is fully determined to participate in a common effort towards progress and peace through fruitful co-operation based on full, mutual respect for national sovereignty and character.

103. In this spirit, one of the African achievements which we regard with the greatest interest is the strengthening of the ties of co-operation among States throughout the whole continent of Africa, which led, in May 1963, to the creation of the Organization of African Unity. As our Prime Minister, Mr. Aldo Moro, said when he addressed the African Ambassadors accredited to Italy, on the occasion of the first anniversary of that Organization's establishment, we consider the O.A.U. a contributing factor towards stability and progress, and believe that its activities will steadily promote peace and stability in Africa.

104. I should like, on this occasion, to address a special word of welcome to Malta. I had the good fortune to be present in person on the occasion of Malta's accession to independence, and we Italians are particularly happy to see that country admitted to the great family of the United Nations.

105. At this critical moment in the life of the United Nations, the infusion of new blood, which the admission of these three new Members represents, gives us cause for great confidence in the future of our Organization and in the triumph of its spirit and ideals. Those ideals are set out in the Charter on which the United Nations is based, and, what is more impor-

<sup>11/</sup> Mr. Lupis spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

tant, they have been dictated by the collective conscience of the peoples. That conscience, which is a sign of man's progress throughout the long and uneven course of history, warns us that, today, peoples in general do not consider the old political systems adequate. They feel that peace is essential in a world which is becoming even more closely united, and that such a peace must be guaranteed by an international organization acting as guardian of the highest principles of justice, and as a forum where anyone may state his views and ensure that these views and the demands and aspirations of others are brought into agreement in one "great harmony" of nations.

106. The essential aim that we are pursuing by our efforts is, of course, the strengthening of peace based on justice and security. In order to approach our common goal, it seems to us that there are four important requirements: (a) the achievement of further co-operation among nations at all levels and in every field of activity; (b) the strengthening of international organizations, especially the United Nations, by affirming their authority and providing them with the means necessary to ensure their efficient functioning; (c) the reduction of the risk of war and, consequently, a search for any formula, even an imperfect one, which may help towards the gradual achievement of effective and controlled disarmament, worked out on a balanced and realistic basis; (d) the just fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of the developing third world, which is an essential factor in a lasting peace.

107. Since peace is the supreme goal, we confidently welcome any effort designed to improve the international atmosphere and to make possible the necessary communication, co-operation and friendship among peoples.

108. In an address to the Italian Parliament, when he assumed office as Head of State on 29 December 1964, the President of the Italian Republic, Giuseppe Saragat, said that the preservation of peace was the first task of legislators, members of Governments and Heads of State, and that in pursuing this task they must strive, with patience and perseverance, to create conditions—such as progressive, simultaneous and controlled disarmament—that will make peace inviolable. He made it clear that the road to disarmament was the road of international "détente" and negotiations among Governments representing different political, economic and social systems—in short, the road of understanding and tolerance.

109. In that spirit we welcomed the official statements made by the leaders of the two principal great Powers, who quite recently reaffirmed their intention of continuing to pursue a policy of "détente".

110. We, for our part, shall continue to make every effort to consolidate and broaden the basis for that policy. In fact, whenever a suitable opportunity has presented itself, we have sought to offer a considered suggestion to ensure that the positive elements contained in any diplomatic initiative, from wherever it has come, should not be lost.

111. We feel, for example, that the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes should be made generally applicable and extended to all types of disputes,

not only territorial ones, and that it should cover all cases of aggression, both direct and indirect. Moreover, that principle cannot be dissociated from the task of strengthening the international norms and machinery designed to ensure respect for it, by providing for recourse to organizations for regional security and, at the highest level, to the United Nations.

112. Indeed, in viewing the current aspects of the international situation, we see how essential it is for considerations of balance and security to be applied to our difficult progress towards the desired goals of general and controlled disarmament and the diversion to peaceful and productive uses of the vast sums which are now being spent on armaments. But in the meantime the process of strengthening the authority of the United Nations and its capacity for intervention and mediation must, from now on, be synchronized and gradually intensified as we move towards disarmament.

113. It can safely be said that the best guarantee of peace lies in strengthening the United Nations. For within the United Nations, there is hope and a future for an organized international society and for the harmony among nations that we all wish to achieve. Outside the United Nations there can be only a reversion to power politics and the use of force. Within the United Nations there is the promise of co-operation in utilizing the resources and energies of all peoples for constructive ends.

114. Italy will continue ever more actively to support the authority of the United Nations, as the forum in which all problems pertaining to relations among States can find a solution based on justice and law.

115. This commitment reflects the profound aspiration of the Italian people for peace, civic progress and, hence, for mutual understanding with other nations. Indeed, this aspiration is inherent in the spirit of our nation, which has its roots in the inspiration given to the world by Christian values, and which has grown steadily stronger as a result of the grievous sufferings and tribulations we have lived through during the past fifty years.

116. The United Nations has to its credit a long list of successes in its efforts to preserve peace in circumstances that could have had unforeseeable consequences, and to meet the needs of different nations in the economic and social sphere. We should not be surprised or discouraged by the fact that it falls short of perfection, because imperfection is in the nature of all things human. Instead of blaming it, let us do our best to give it the means of fulfilling its difficult tasks, so that it can intervene, wherever it is needed, to maintain peace.

117. There are problems of economic development and international trade, of disarmament and peace keeping, which await solution. If the ideal solution cannot be found immediately, at least progress towards it can be made by further and more detailed consideration in the Assembly. But the Italian Government is obliged to note, with deep concern, that the action which the world expects from the United Nations in such areas is greatly jeopardized by the crisis which is now overshadowing the entire Organization. We have a serious financial crisis which threatens to break out

into a political crisis, the consequences of which could be still more serious.

118. There is no need for me to dwell at any length on the discussion of the validity of Article 19 of the United Nations Charter. Our concern centres neither on the legal nor on the moral aspects of the question. We have no doubts as to the validity of the existing provisions of the United Nations Charter.

119. From the manner in which the question has been broached, it seems clear that, basically, we are confronted with the following choice: either \$150 million or the end of the United Nations. It is easy to see that this choice is unacceptable and that there can be no comparison between the two possibilities when it comes to relative importance. That gives us reason to hope that the dilemma will be solved realistically, in view of the fact that it is in the interests of all of us to strengthen the United Nations. It is hard for me—and not for me alone—to see why such an anomalous situation should be prolonged unnecessarily.

120. It is my firm belief that the only way out is for us to put our cards on the table. By this I mean that the Secretary-General should be in a position to assure the Assembly that the United Nations is once more financially solvent, so that he can count on a prompt settlement of the Organization's outstanding financial commitments.

121. Furthermore, the Italian delegation sees no reason why—now that they have established positions of principle—those Members that do not share the opinion voiced by the majority cannot make a contribution that would permit a practical solution to the Organization's financial problems and enable the work of the General Assembly to proceed in a normal manner.

122. Precisely because we are determined to give our Organization every support, so that it can fulfil the noble ideals on which it is based and the hopes which are placed in it by all the peoples of the world, we feel it our duty to study its present situation quite objectively and to see what improvements, if any, need to be made in its structure and method of functioning.

123. The Charter drawn up at San Francisco twenty years ago is remarkable for its progressive spirit and the high ideals which have given it form, as well as for its solid juridical foundations. But it was drafted at a different stage in the development of the international community and therefore cannot be considered immutable, particularly since the document itself makes provision for possible amendments. Just as we favoured the enlargement of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council—and I am pleased to inform the Assembly that my Government has agreed to submit the appropriate instruments to Parliament for ratification—we feel that we should not be hesitant about considering or encouraging serious suggestions for better adapting the procedures and structure of the United Nations to the needs of the times and the opinions prevailing among its Members. The ultimate goal will remain unaltered and unalterable—peace among nations, with justice and economic and social progress. The means of pursuing it may vary.

124. While we fully see the difficulties in which our Organization now finds itself, for various but related

reasons, and which we trust will be remedied, we are also aware of what is happening in the world outside the direct sphere of action of the United Nations. We are closely watching certain situations and events, although they are occurring in regions remote from our own, and evaluating their underlying and immediate causes, as well as their possible effects, which give all peace-loving peoples cause for serious concern.

125. The internal situation in the Congo and the dramatic events which followed have been for us a cause of great anxiety both on moral and human grounds. There is still cause for anxiety as far as concerns the maintenance of peace in that area. We fervently hope that the Congolese will lay down their arms and agree to effect a national reconciliation on the political level, with the help of the Organization of African Unity.

126. The question of Cyprus is much closer to us geographically and is therefore of great concern to Italy as a Mediterranean country. While it is universally recognized that international treaties should be respected and that any amendments to them should be based on agreement among the parties concerned, we very much hope that, also through the mediation of the United Nations, a solution will be found which will be acceptable to all parties.

127. We have always had, and still have, confidence in the method of negotiation, which is the only way to achieve just and peaceful solutions. Taking this as our premise, we are convinced that far-reaching and well-intentioned negotiations can lead to a solution even of the German question. Italy fervently hopes that a further relaxation of international tension may create the right atmosphere for positive discussions on this subject and that a natural and democratic solution may be found, which, being a solution based on justice, would be an important contribution to the cause of peace.

128. I now turn to the question of disarmament, a subject which involves many matters of vital importance for all the peoples of the world.

129. In keeping with the policy which led us, in 1961, to vote in favour of the Irish resolution calling upon all States to agree neither to make nuclear weapons available to others nor to produce them for themselves [resolution 1665 (XVI)], we maintain that it is essential that, in the spirit of such a resolution, a general agreement should be reached as quickly as possible on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons.

130. We have constantly maintained, and still maintain, that a ban on all nuclear tests, including underground tests, is essential. This would have the two-fold purpose of preventing the further development of nuclear weapons, which are already frightening enough, and also the further proliferation of such weapons on a national basis.

131. The nuclear test carried out in Sinkiang on 15 October last gave proof, if that was necessary, of the urgent need for us to direct our common efforts towards two ends: to work out a system of collective security which would remove any incentive to procure independent nuclear devices, and to negotiate a treaty prohibiting the dissemination of atomic weapons.



132. We are open to any useful and constructive suggestion and trust that efforts towards these two ends will be crowned with success. If, in order to achieve agreement on the cessation of tests and to be certain that the ban will be universally observed, a minimum of controls must be imposed, why should anyone object? And why should anyone not agree to an exchange of scientific information among the Powers mainly concerned? We hope that a positive reply to these questions will pave the way for the extension of the treaty imposing a partial ban on nuclear tests, which has already had a beneficial influence on international relations.

133. We are in favour of the establishment of denuclearized zones, provided that this is agreed upon by all the countries concerned and that it does not change the existing balance of power on which the maintenance of peace depends today.

134. We also hope that effective progress will be made with regard to the gradual reduction and eventual elimination of inter-continental ballistic missiles. Such progress will be possible only if all concerned abandon their attempts to hide, behind the more superficial aspects of the proposed reduction of such weapons, a fundamental change in the balance of conventional military forces. All the parties principally concerned should stop trying to gain advantage from measures which, both for logical reasons and in accordance with the "agreed principles" of September 1961, are intended to apportion the positive and negative effects equally among all parties during the period of transition to complete disarmament.

135. We should like to conclude this part of our statement by reaffirming the hope that the Geneva Conference on Disarmament will soon resume work and that everything possible will be done to continue and develop those discussions, which, as a result of the serious spirit in which they have been conducted, have already rendered valuable service to the cause of peace and the relaxation of tension. We are convinced that the transfer of the negotiations to a larger body would not make an already difficult task any easier, and the best form for progress on disarmament remains the Geneva Conference, which has acquired a wealth of knowledge, experience and background.

136. We attach great importance to the problems posed by the countries of the Third World, or by those countries which are in process of developing politically, economically and psychologically. Those countries, in fact, while seeking to speed up their rate of domestic progress and development, wish to assert their own character and dignity as States before the outside world by playing an effective and vital part in the relations which govern the evolution of the world situation.

137. We, therefore, consider it a positive factor that the countries of the Third World should strengthen their own individuality by promoting the development of sound political and social structures in keeping with their own national character and traditions as well as with their present needs. Hence we strongly support the principle of full mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs which has been re-

affirmed many times in this hall. For this reason, also, we consider that among the many ways of providing the assistance needed by certain countries in the economic, technical or social fields, the United Nations is of particular importance. It is, above all, a moral obligation to achieve a more equitable distribution of wealth through the constructive development of the economies of the emerging countries. But it also represents a sound political guaranty of peace. Financial and technical co-operation with such countries should lead to their using the help made available to them to raise the standard of living of their people.

138. At the end of last year resolution 1995 (XIX) was adopted in this hall, formally setting up the new apparatus for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. By this resolution, the United Nations planned to adapt the means at its disposal to the achievement of a better approach to the problems of trade and development.

139. The Italian delegation is happy that this resolution was adopted for two reasons.

140. First, we are happy because the United Nations, at a time when it is almost paralysed by the crisis which is afflicting it, has succeeded by a common effort in unanimously approving a significant decision which will have considerable influence in a vitally important sector and which sets out for the United Nations a programme of work for the years to come. This is a clear sign that, in spite of everything, each one of us here in this hall, as well as those who have forsaken our company—we hope only for a short time—can, when necessary, turn our minds to essential matters and preserve unaltered our faith in the future of our Organization.

141. In my opinion, the essential feature of the resolution is that it recognizes the importance and urgency of finding a solution to the problems of trade in order to promote economic development.

142. We are also pleased because the adoption of the resolution shows that the compelling force of certain truths, which have to do with the lives of all nations and all mankind, can transcend and overcome even the most profound differences. Foremost among the problems that cannot be subject to any conditions, but actually have a conditioning effect of their own—I refer to such problems as security, peace and disarmament—are those problems which relate to the development of the economically backward countries. Economic development means raising living standards, improving education and environmental conditions, protecting the fundamental rights of the individual, achieving social balance and international understanding and co-operation.

143. Problems which have such moral implications ultimately end by influencing external conditions. We are most pleased to see that the present year of 1965, which is dedicated to international co-operation, has started out—in continuation of the good work begun in 1964 and thanks to the approval of the UNCTAD resolution—as a year for new efforts and new means of combating economic backwardness in the developing countries. Italy has made an active contri-

bution towards the achievement of this goal and will continue to do so in the future.

144. We have no ulterior motive in our dealings with the countries of the Third World. We want only to help them in their peaceful efforts to achieve political, economic and social progress. This is the sole aim of the many Italians who go to these countries. They function and serve, wherever they are needed, under the banner of the United Nations or as experts employed by public or private enterprises, to promote better living conditions. We shall continue to make this contribution, either through bilateral channels or through existing international organizations. Our delegation therefore hopes that the flow of technicians of all nationalities and of aid from all countries will increase, so that all may play a part in this immense task of accelerating the economic and social development of over two thirds of the world's population.

145. Before concluding my statement, I should like to mention the keen interest that the Italian Government is taking in international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space and the progress that has been made in that field within the framework of United Nations resolutions. We are glad to have actively helped in bringing about such important technical and social developments as the two agreements instituting a global system of telecommunications by means of artificial satellites. This is the first concrete use that has been made of outer space and, by intensifying ties among peoples, it should prove to be an important instrument for peace.

146. Italy also took part in the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Legal Sub-Committee, in developing a body of law for outer space. In so doing, it fully realized the importance of the results that would be achieved. Indeed, considerable progress has been made in two areas, namely: liability for damages caused by space launching and assistance to astronauts. Another significant development in the field of outer space, involving both the United Nations and Italy, has been the San Marco project for space research—an important project sponsored by the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. With the help of the United States and Kenya, an Italian satellite will be put into orbit around the equator to explore certain characteristics of the atmosphere and ionosphere.

147. Lastly, I should like to mention our participation in various United Nations activities during the past year. We had the pleasure of being hosts in Rome to the Seminar on Freedom of Information from 7 to 20 April 1964, and to the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme from 20 to 30 October. We also played an active part in the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four on decolonization,<sup>12/</sup> and the Committee of Twenty-One on financing,<sup>13/</sup> the Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission,<sup>14/</sup> the Technical Assistance Committee,

the Governing Council of the Special Fund and the Housing Committee,<sup>15/</sup> to all of whose work we endeavoured to make an objective and constructive contribution.

148. On the subject of decolonization, may I be allowed, as the representative of a country that has participated and is still actively participating in the most historic movement of this age, to point out how much the United Nations has accomplished in hastening this process, which has been taking place for many years all over the world. It has done this by studying the problems involved, suggesting solutions for them, and mobilizing world opinion at a time when progress towards full independence seemed to be slower than we might have hoped.

149. I hope that in frankly stating Italy's point of view, without indulging in facile optimism, I may have made some contribution to the work of our Organization and to the common task which confronts us, and which the peoples of the world expect us to accomplish.

150. The annual Assembly of the United Nations provides us all with an opportunity for responsible meditation on the importance of living up to popular expectations and of offering substantial progress towards peace, improved living conditions and the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of all peoples.

151. Italy will be second to none in its efforts to help in the attainment of these lofty goals.

152. The PRESIDENT: I have two speakers on my list who wish to exercise their right of reply. I call on the representative of Greece to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

153. M. BITSIOS (Greece) [translated from French]: In his statement just now the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey dealt at length with the Cyprus question. We listened to his arguments and to his accusations and we owe him a reply.

154. We believe that the representative of Turkey is entitled to hold any opinion he wishes about the policy of Greece, which subscribes to the demand of the Cypriots that everyone should respect their rights as a free and sovereign people and that they should be able to live free from the threats of invasion which have kept the Security Council on the alert throughout the past year. But we also believe that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey is not revealing his innermost thoughts when he says that he is in favour of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. He may say so in this hall, because the situation so demands, but he is not, when he states elsewhere that the ideal solution of the problem would be to partition the island between Turkey and Greece. Mr. Erkin is not in favour of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus if he claims that part of the island should be assigned to Turkey. Mr. Erkin does not oppose any solution which would secure him tangible advantages. What he refuses to understand is that the Cypriots, like all free men, have the right to exercise the attributes of a free and sovereign people. He refuses

<sup>12/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>13/</sup> Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations.

<sup>14/</sup> Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities.

<sup>15/</sup> Committee on Housing, Building and Planning.

because that is a democratic process which would not result in any gain for him, either in the form of a piece of territory or in the form of military bases. But what escapes his attention is that, by so doing, he is running counter to the most precious and at the same time the most explicit provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

155. Mr. Erkin said just now that contractual obligations can only be changed by negotiation, but it was negotiation that Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, suggested in November 1963, and it was negotiation that Mr. Erkin rejected.

156. Mr. Erkin speaks to us of peace; but at that time he preferred war. He speaks to us of peace, but he sent his fleet and his aircraft to Cyprus.

157. Mr. Erkin said that his Government was in favour of equal rights and racial non-discrimination. But it is his Government which is expelling thousands of Greek residents from Istanbul.

158. Mr. Erkin has spoken of the moral and financial support which his Government is giving to the United Nations Force in Cyprus. I shall not refer to the financial aspect. However, with regard to the moral aspect, I shall recall the statement that he made a few months after the arrival of the United Nations Force in Cyprus: "Nothing good can come from the presence of the international Force".

159. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey could not prevent himself from revealing his feelings towards my country when he let himself be carried away and spoke in harsh terms, even going so far as to speak of imperialism. It is hardly becoming for the representative of a country which kept so many nations—including Greece—in thrall for so many centuries to speak of imperialism! What I must deplore, especially in this hall, is that this approach to the Cyprus problem, which is negative in its content and violent in its expression, certainly does not further the efforts of the United Nations to seek a just and rapid solution of the problem.

160. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

161. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Mr. President, with your permission, I feel that I also have the right to say something about Cyprus, being the Foreign Minister of that country.

162. We have heard a long exposition of the views of the Turkish Government by the Foreign Minister of Turkey with regard to the Cyprus question. That position could be summarized in the following way: first, the Government and the Greeks of Cyprus have been trying and may continue their attempts in the future—I did not understand exactly what he meant—to massacre the Turkish Cypriots and deprive them of their lives and happiness; secondly, Cyprus has, in the view of the Foreign Minister of Turkey, unilaterally terminated valid agreement; and, thirdly, the problem with which Cyprus is confronted today, and with which, as a consequence, the United Nations is also confronted, is the result of actions by the Government, the Greek Cypriots and Greece to harm the Turks of Cyprus and destroy the independence of Cyprus.

163. I did not expect to have to touch upon the question of massacres in the course of the general debate. We had dealt sufficiently with that subject in the Security Council on various occasions. I had never expected to hear in this Assembly those same completely baseless allegations against the Government and the vast majority of the people of Cyprus.

164. The Foreign Minister of Turkey even referred to a statement allegedly made by the President of Cyprus—if I heard the date he mentioned correctly I think it was September 1962—in which he was supposed to have spoken of the necessity of expelling the Turks from Cyprus. I would remind you that at that time the President of Cyprus was scheduling a State visit to Turkey which he finally paid in November 1962, and I doubt whether he could have made such a statement, which is a complete fabrication. But one could not of course have expected the Foreign Minister of Turkey to come before this Assembly and start enumerating the various statements of the President, of the Ministers and of all the other representatives of the Government of Cyprus to the effect that we consider the Turkish Cypriots as equal citizens of the same State and as part of the population of Cyprus.

165. It is not we who wanted violence. It is not we who wanted division and partition and what is now called "federation". It is not we in whose interests violence was committed. We could not pursue our own plan for a unified, independent and completely sovereign State by means of violence, division and strife. I think it is logical enough to understand that without entering into detail. But, of course, when the time comes, I see that we shall be forced to enter into detail before this Assembly and put before you the evidence in our possession—only some of which we have already revealed—as to how all the troubles in Cyprus were conceived, planned, fomented and instigated and in what direction they were aiming and for what purpose they were instigated.

166. To illustrate what I have said, I shall quote only one paragraph from a document which we have in our possession, dated 14 September 1963, that is to say almost three months before any incidents occurred in Cyprus. This document speaks of the plan for the partitioning of Cyprus either directly or through a federal system and then goes on to say:

"Undoubtedly, this plan of the Turkish community will meet with strong counteraction and reprisals from the Greeks. These counter-measures will result in an inter-communal fight which will decide the outcome. When the fight begins, the Turkish community interspersed throughout the island will be forcibly — not by the Government but by those who conceived this plan — "concentrated into an area which it will be obliged to defend. The site of this area will depend on the strategic plan prepared by the experts."

167. One statement which, quite understandably, the Foreign Minister of Turkey has not thought fit to refer to is the one made by his own Prime Minister only the other day, on 18 January 1965, when he said:

"We have repeatedly emphasized that if necessary we shall intervene. Our decision remains as a sword of Damocles. The Turkish community in

Cyprus has already become like a ball of steel and is in a position to undertake its struggle."

What struggle? The statement goes on:

"Forty thousand Turks have left their villages and have been concentrated at a certain point in such a way that the difficult part of bringing about federation has been solved."

168. Is it in the interests of the Government and of the vast majority of the population of Cyprus to remove Turks by force into various specified areas in order to facilitate Turkey's attempt to obtain partition? Naturally, the Foreign Minister of Turkey has not upheld before you today the idea that partition is the ideal solution. But he has done that on other occasions himself — as have his President and Prime Minister. In fact, on a certain occasion, a Turkish Minister stated that the only logical solution, the only solution which would bring lasting peace, and upon which Greek-Turkish relations could be solidly based, was the partition of Cyprus. Draw a line and that would be the new frontier between Greece and Turkey.

169. The Foreign Minister of Turkey twice referred to massacres. As I said at the beginning, I did not intend to touch upon this subject. There were people killed in Cyprus, yes, people killed in the fighting which was the result of the plans of the Turkish Government for partition of the country. There were people killed, both Greeks and Turks, and, as the responsible Government of that country, we have always expressed our deep and sincere regret for the loss of life on both sides. Yet on no occasion have I ever heard any Turkish representative expressing any regret for the loss of life of so many Greeks in Cyprus in the fighting. Nor did I hear any regret expressed by any Turkish representative for the loss of life in the bombings carried out by the Turkish air force over Cyprus, the bombings of helpless, innocent civilian populations, women and children who were maimed, murdered and killed with napalm incendiary bombs bearing the mark of NATO. I have not heard any statement to this effect.

170. I am obliged in this respect—because this subject has come up and one also has to think of people who have not been thought of by others—to point out that only this year the Armenians throughout the world are observing the fiftieth anniversary of the wholesale massacre of 1.5 million innocent people in Turkey in 1915.

171. The whole theme of the speech of the Turkish Foreign Minister centred upon this term "two communities", indicating the Greeks and the Turks. Of course, as I have pointed out on various other occasions, there are other communities—smaller perhaps, but none the less communities—in Cyprus. There are the Maronites, of Arab origin, the Latins and the Armenians. Nobody suggested anything for them. The concept of two communities in Cyprus is the concept of colonialism. It is the concept of division, in the name of which Turkey was brought in the picture suddenly during the Cyprus struggle.

172. The Foreign Minister of Turkey spoke of the agreements of Zurich and London as simply legalizing,

if I understood correctly what he said, a real situation which had existed from the sixteenth century. I was under the impression that the situation which existed then was legalized under the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, which Turkey signed, and I have not heard anyone say that that Treaty is not valid. According to it Turkey abandoned all rights over the former territories of the Ottoman Empire, and later on the Turkish Cypriots were given the choice of either returning to Turkey or staying in Cyprus.

173. It was argued again that those treaties of Zurich and London were entered into by the people of Cyprus of their own free will. In this connexion I think that I can do no better than quote the man who was, if not solely, at least partly responsible for those agreements, as he was the Colonial Secretary of the United Kingdom at that time, Lennox Boyd. When he was asked why he fomented the idea of partition, he said: "Had it (partition) not been brought in, we should never have had the settlement"—that is to say, the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959. I think that that is eloquent enough. Accusations were made against the British Prime Minister at that time—and in fact admitted to a certain extent—as to how the whole situation had been complicated by the United Kingdom. In that connexion I think I can do no better than to quote James Callaghan, who is at present Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour Government, and was then the Opposition spokesman on Colonial Affairs. Mr. Callaghan said:

"I have rarely seen a more direct attempt to foment trouble by a British Prime Minister than that. The British Prime Minister went out of his way to foment the troubles, and he did it because he wanted reinforcement from the Turks in order to preserve our position in the base."

174. This is how Turkey came into the picture. This is how the concept of separate communities, of division, came about. It was in face of the danger of partition or continuation of colonialism that the Zurich and London Agreements were signed by the President of Cyprus, and the Foreign Minister of Turkey made a point of the fact that Archbishop Makarios had signed them. Of course he signed them. He had no choice. But he was not the President of Cyprus then, as he himself has stated. In 1959, he was the leader of the struggle for the freedom of Cyprus. He became President in 1960. It was as President that he signed the details of those Agreements but their basic structure was imposed upon the people of Cyprus in 1959. And when Archbishop Makarios, realizing the dangers involved, asked then for some more time to consider the Agreements, he was told: "You have fifteen minutes, and we must have your reply."

175. We can prove all those things, and we are going to do so in the course of the debate on Cyprus. The concept of division of the separate communities in Cyprus we can never and shall never, under any circumstances, accept. The concept of partition, the concept of what has now come to be described as federation on an ethnical basis and which is conceived as the last step on the way to partition, can never and will never be accepted by Cyprus. Cyprus is a sovereign independent State, Member of the United



Nations. Cyprus has its rights under the Charter of the United Nations. The Foreign Minister of Turkey spoke too long about and in favour of the Charter of the United Nations, but he had simply forgotten about it by the time he reached the point of dealing with the Cyprus question.

176. May I remind the Foreign Minister of Turkey of what his great leader had said in comparatively similar circumstances and in connexion with a treaty which he himself did not consider appropriate for Turkey? Kemal Atatürk said:

"The basic goal is that the country should survive in dignity and honour. This goal could only be achieved by the possession of complete independence—I repeat, so that I may not be misunderstood, complete independence. A country deprived of its independence, however wealthy and prosperous it may be, is not entitled to be regarded in the eyes of civilized humanity as anything better than a slave. To accept the protection and suzerainty of a foreign state is tantamount to admitting one's lack of human qualities, one's impotence and dejection."

177. The Foreign Minister of Turkey spoke very highly of the idea of an independent Cyprus. In what way does he suggest that Cyprus is fully independent—with Turkey having the right to intervene or interfere whenever it likes, dividing the people and violating the territorial integrity of the country? How does Turkey think it should be? Should it be under the suzerainty—as Kemal Atatürk said—of other countries? The remark was made that the resolution of 1958 [resolution 1287 (XIII)] referred to negotiations, and an effort was made to connect that resolution with the present situation. When that resolution was adopted Cyprus was not a Member of the United Nations, nor was it an independent State. It was not an equal Member State of the United Nations. We have another resolution, more relevant in this particular connexion—the Declaration of 14 December

1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)] which was adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly. Does Cyprus not have rights under that Declaration?

178. I do not wish to take more of the Assembly's time, despite the fact that I feel that there are many other points on which the record should be straightened, but I trust that we shall have an opportunity to do that in due course.

179. The only thing on which I want to remark by way of conclusion is that Cyprus regards itself as an equal Member of the United Nations. If any representative thinks that Cyprus is not an equal Member of the United Nations and not entitled to enjoyment of the principles of the Charter and the rights deriving from those principles, he would do us a great service by saying so, and we shall gladly discuss it in the United Nations.

180. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning this meeting, I would like to remind Members that the first in the series of lectures to mark the International Co-operation Year of 1965 will be given this evening at 7 p.m., in the General Assembly hall. The speaker will be Mr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, twice President of Colombia and former Secretary General of the Organization of American States.

181. As Members are aware, these lectures form part of the observance planned by the Committee for the International Co-operation Year established by the General Assembly. All members of the Permanent Missions to the United Nations have been invited to attend these lectures. Also invited are representatives of universities and other educational institutions in the New York area, as well as representatives of non-governmental organizations. May I personally urge representatives, their wives and the members of their staffs to attend these lectures.

*The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.*