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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Al-Rashid (Kuwait), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on whose behalf I have the honour to address this Assembly today, feels a particular satisfaction in extending congratulations to our distinguished President on his election to preside over the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The election is a token of the esteem in which a leading world statesman is held by the universal opinion of the world, as represented in the Assembly. It is equally an expression of the high standing in which the friendly country of Italy is held in the family of nations. May I join with all my colleagues in wishing the President a full and speedy recovery.

2. My country's relationships with Rome are as old as recorded history. It is a proud story, in which our two peoples worked in close and equal association to enrich the movement of culture in the world.

3. The province of Syria, of which Jordan was a part, was the granary of the Roman Empire, and it gave four Emperors to Rome. Roman law and wisdom found consummate expression in our land. Save for the dreary winter months, the citizens of Amman—once known as Philadelphia—assemble to this day in the spacious and exquisite Roman amphitheatre to celebrate national and cultural occasions. The beautiful town of Jerash is the site of the largest Roman city that is to be found intact anywhere. And the unique grandeur of Petra, while built by the Nabatian Arabs, was also enriched by Roman contributions. But these terrestrial achievements, great as they are and great as is the treasure-house of history with which they abound, tell but a part of the story. For our land has been the cradle of man's unending and unyielding yearning towards the sublime, and of humankind's penchant to discover God in His wisdom, mercy and love.

4. It was not fortuitous, then, that His Holiness Pope Paul VI, who honoured us with a visit and inspired us with his lofty message a few days ago as an apostle of peace and goodwill upon this earth, should have made his first pilgrimage to Jordan—to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other parts of Palestine where the Apostle of Peace lived, preached, suffered and died as saviour of humanity.

5. Looking back in retrospect at the compendium of human events which have crowded the annals of our history, one is impelled to reflect soberly on the sacrifices and the sufferings with which the path to peace has been strewn and studded in the course of its attainment. But, alas, notwithstanding all the sacrifices, the stirrings and the yearnings for peace, we still find ourselves marching perilously, almost inexorably, to the abyss of destruction.

6. Since the cause of peace is the paramount issue of the United Nations and of our time, it is imperative that we attempt to explore the causes of its sad failure. Without such diagnosis our pious hopes, pleas and declarations become, at best, emptied of any real content.

7. When the United Nations was established twenty years ago, its avowed purpose was to ensure the preservation of peace with justice. Peace devoid of justice may well be the adjunct of indescribable tyranny, of human spoliation and the denial of every value which makes life worth living. And in the ultimate sense, and in itself, as President Eisenhower, a great leader of our present time once said, "there is no peace more efficacious and eternal than the peace of the grave".

8. But we are, distinguished delegates, talking about peace within the matrix of life with all the hopes and yearnings with which the human heart throbs. Here is where we find that the United Nations has suffered some of its starkest failures and this is where in our diagnosis we must look for remedial action. We realize full well the contribution which the United Nations has made towards the life-giving process, as exemplified in the emergence of our sixty new nations into the vistas of a new life in independence, dignity and equality which is the birthright of our humanness.

9. We rejoice over this stupendous and breathtaking record in decolonization, almost unparalleled in the record of human evolution towards freedom. But while rejoicing over the liberation which our human brethren in every part of the world have attained in the course of the past twenty years, we cannot but pause to mourn the demise and destruction of our own people in the Holy Land of Palestine which has given so much to the happiness and freedom of others. In place of the

life-giving process for which the United Nations has deservedly earned the gratitude of countless millions all over the world, and of posterity, its action in the tragedy of Palestine has been an act of life-denial without parallel in civilized history and, in the most unabashed violation of its own principles, its own Charter and the collective conscience of those who comprise it.

10. Needless to say, when I talk about the United Nations I do not refer to the beautiful but inanimate structure which houses us within its precincts. Nor do I talk about the United Nations as presently constituted, representing as it does the great bulk of liberated humanity. I refer to the United Nations in its incipient stages when it was not much more than the private enclave of the privileged few, albeit almighty. Imperialism and colonialism were still rampant. Consciences had not yet been stirred to the yearnings of the underprivileged and the deprived. Favouritism and influence peddling, a curse which we all recognize must be stamped out within every national society when and wherever they occur, were still an accepted practice in international diplomacy. The record of this sordid episode, which is now available for all to read, is proof and testimony, if any were needed, of the departure from the letter and the spirit of the Charter which is the cornerstone and the guideline of our behaviour in the pursuit of peace with justice.

11. The peace-loving people of Palestine, who had lived in their homeland from time immemorial and who had seen conquerors come and go in endless succession, were now to face a cataclysm which surpassed them all in the venom, the ferocity and the wilful finality which was and is its avowed aim. They were uprooted from their homeland, their fields, their meadows, their groves, their seas and rivers, their simple serene villages and hamlets, their towns and cities, their mosques and churches and the graveyards wherein their forefathers have been laid to rest. The cemetery of Ma'marullah wherein families of Jerusalem, including my own, have buried their martyrs and deceased for over a thousand years has now been desecrated and turned into a park, with strangers from every land treading over its hallowed soil.

12. Palestine, with its unique geographic location athwart three continents on land and sea and in the air, and with the indefatigable industry of its people, could have been one of the happiest and more prosperous countries of the world, partaking in the overall development and prosperity of the region as a whole. The fate of the people of Palestine was ordained otherwise and what we have now and have had for over seventeen years is the misery, the confinement and the bitterness of an uprooted people living in the shadow of death as refugees or frontier villagers outside the mainstream of humanity and at the periphery of a dead-end. They live by the sufferance of United Nations assistance to keep body and soul together, and even this is being begrudged them as principal contributors show more and more signs of impatience with its continuance and may in fact be contemplating a reduction of even that meagre assistance of a subsistence level, which it in fact is.

13. Now apart from the over-all political problem, and glossing over for a moment the question of atonement and the responsibility for the tragedy which has befallen an innocent people in every meaningful sense of the term, would we be asking too much if we reiterated the plea made on many previous occasions that, in order to relieve the crushing burden on the shoulders of the contributing Powers which amounts to the staggering sum of one dollar per human soul per month, the present twentieth session of the Assembly approve on humanitarian grounds the appointment of a United Nations custodian of Arab properties in Palestine so that, at least, we give these hapless people the chance to survive on the proceeds of their properties and the toil and sweat of a lifetime and the generations which preceded them?

14. We have been prone in the United Nations to talk about colonialism, the disparity between rich and poor, and apartheid as the worst evils in inter-human relations. The tragedy of the people of Palestine has dwarfed them all and has given a new dimension to the suffering and injustice to which a people could be exposed. It goes beyond equality, it goes beyond independence, it goes beyond riches and poverty: it is a question of "to be or not to be". And while the national and civic rights of the people of Palestine were being destroyed a new and alien entity named Israel was forming over the prostrate body of the indigenous inhabitants.

15. Such being the circumstances, am I going off course if I say that Israel was born in sin, nurtured in enmity and hate and sustained by all the sinister forces which seem to place their own selfish interests and ends over and above the norms and dictates of peace, morality and justice?

16. I wish to reiterate at this juncture that the Arab peoples bear no enmity to the Jews as adherents of a religious faith. What we are unalterably opposed to is the divisive fragmentation and despoliation of the Jewish tradition from the mainstream of human integration as a result of international Zionism, in an age which is striving and surging forward towards a universal system in which loyalties and outlook are based upon the brotherhood of man rather than upon the narrow, bigoted, selfish, racial, religious and self-contained cluster which Israel and Zionism, without doubt, represent. Our position and attitude would have been equally vehement and unequivocal if the crime committed against the people of Palestine had been perpetrated by any other race, religion or ideology.

17. As for the people of Palestine, who are presently dispersed under every sky, all I can say is that they are irrevocably determined to continue the struggle which they have been waging for over forty years against the unholy alliance of colonialism and Zionism until their rights are fully restored in their homeland and the dawn of a new day supersedes the dark clouds which cast their shadow ominously above their fate.

18. The problems pertaining to the tragedy of Palestine have, on numerous occasions, and within the sanctuary of the United Nations, been posed as a lamentable dispute between the Arab States on the

one hand and Israel on the other. I should like to state categorically that the case is far from being so. It is, in fact, predominantly the struggle of the people of Palestine to retrieve their own homeland against the forces of Zionism, in conjunction with imperialism, which have corroded and crushed them. The people of Palestine, with renewed energies and determination, are now reorganizing their ranks, under the aegis of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to achieve their restoration to nationhood in their usurped land in dignity, freedom and self-determination.

19. The Arab world does, of course, come into the picture not only as an understandably staunch supporter of its brethren's righteous cause but also on account of the new and sinister situation which the creation of Israel has brought forth relative to the security of the Arab States. Where precious resources could have been devoted solely to problems of development and social enhancement, the Arab States find themselves impelled to allocate increasingly greater resources to stave off the seemingly endless designs and insatiable ambitions of the newly created adversary; and the process of escalation continues unabated.

20. I feel impelled, at this stage, to notify and warn this world assembly of the incalculable peril to world peace and security, and particularly to the peace and security of Africa and Asia, as a result of Israel's unabated efforts, with massive technical and financial assistance from the outside, to acquire nuclear weapons. It would be a tragedy of unprecedented and unfathomable magnitude, if the Middle East, the cradle of civilization and the residuary legatee of the most cherished values in which humanity takes anchor and sustenance, should find itself the victim of a full-fledged nuclear armament race, the price for disengagement from which becomes the abdication of national survival with all that this implies.

21. The Jordan Government lauds the sustained efforts which are being expended to achieve nuclear disarmament under an appropriate system of international inspection and control. We would further support the extension of the Moscow test ban Treaty to include underground tests. Above all, the Government of Jordan urges that the proposed treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons be finalized as quickly and expeditiously as possible; for time is running out, and unless immediate action is taken, it takes little imagination to see what the future holds in store for the peace of the Middle East and of the continents of Africa and Asia and indeed the peace of the world at large.

22. I have dealt at some length with problems pertaining to the maintenance of peace within the framework of justice, fairness and morality, which is the only realistic framework for its attainment. I have also touched upon its twin concomitant, namely, the need for sustained efforts towards disarmament, particularly in the awesome nuclear field. I shall now come to a third and by no means less important pillar of peace, namely, the transformation of societies from the status of existence to that of living and partaking in the good things of life. I realize that this problem has been discussed by nearly all the speakers who have addressed this Assembly in the course of

the general debate. Therefore I beg your indulgence if I add a few remarks to what has already been said.

23. To achieve peace, it is imperative that the United Nations should embody the needs and yearnings of the masses of humanity in all corners of the world, not merely in the political sense but, equally important, in the totality of man's life: the social, the economic and the cultural.

24. There is a serious and imminent danger that unless the United Nations, acting individually and collectively, adopts bolder, more imaginative and more far-reaching steps to level out the glaring disparities between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots, the less fortunate, the less endowed and the underprivileged would gradually but incessantly lose faith in the common aims which bind the United Nations together. Hence the movement which inclines to interpret the world as basically a conflict between the old, established and developed nations on the one hand and the newly emerging forces of developing countries on the other. It would be a great tragedy indeed if this trend were allowed to crystallize and harden on account of the inadequacy of the measures which can and should be taken to narrow the gap between those two factions of humanity.

25. We are not unmindful of the fact that development is a long-term and arduous process. It is not something that can be done miraculously or by an act of wishing, overnight. We are equally cognizant of the fact that the developing countries have to catch up with a lag of centuries as a result of their past centuries of atrophy. We do likewise recognize that the main burden of uplifting must be shouldered by the developing countries themselves, through toil and sweat.

26. However, having said that, we are firmly of the belief that the developed countries have not given a square deal to those who are less fortunate. I refer particularly to what seems to be a secular adverse trend in the terms of trade between the developed and the developing countries, which in effect wipes out practically all the assistance which is being extended to the developing countries.

27. It is with that chronic and unjust relationship in mind that the Government of Jordan subscribes fully and unreservedly to the conclusions adopted by the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,^{1/} which represents a milestone in dealing with the most urgent need of our time. It is a cause for rejoicing that the General Assembly last December was able to agree on the establishment of the Conference, as an organ of the General Assembly with its own machinery and an independent secretariat [resolution 1995 (XIX)]. It is our fervent hope and prayer that the new organization will be afforded all the co-operation and assistance which will enable it to fulfil its long-delayed but paramount mission.

28. I feel in duty bound, while criticizing the inadequacy of the measures taken so far in this pivotal field, to pay special tribute to the work and accom-

^{1/} 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).

plishments of the United Nations technical assistance programmes, the Special Fund and the various specialized agencies, notwithstanding their relatively meagre resources for dealing with this problem. I am sure I speak for all of us when I acknowledge the dedication, the vision and the sheer hard work which has animated their leadership and staff in carrying out their mission.

29. The fourth urgent task confronting the United Nations is to work out effective ways and means of adjudicating and resolving outstanding issues and disputes amongst nations. Since we are all agreed that wars are abhorrent, it is incumbent upon the United Nations to shoulder its responsibilities as the instrument of change, in consonance with what is just, equitable and fair. It is well nigh impossible to impose a moratorium on a status quo which in many instances has no moral foundation other than being a reflection of the outcome of a preceding sanguinary conflict. We do have quite a sizable stockpile of specific unresolved issues which presently constitute the "hot spots" in the world. And there is no alternative to pre-emptive action if we are to prevent those hot spots from spilling over into areas of explosion.

30. One such specific dispute, namely, the long-standing problem between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, recently erupted into what looked to a shocked world like a full-fledged resort to arms. Now, lest there be any misunderstanding, I should like to stress that Jordan, as part of the Arab world, has always been linked by the closest bonds of brotherly friendship to these two great countries. We have always benefited from the civilization and wisdom of the Indian sub-continent and we hope and believe that it has also benefited from us. I refer to mathematics, religious experiences, cultures, trade and commerce as traditional and continuing links which have bound our two worlds together. It is sad, therefore, to find ourselves in a position where perforce we have to make a value-judgement and adopt a stand which, in the charged atmosphere of armed conflict, appears to be partisan.

31. We have rejoiced over the conclusion of a cease-fire arrangement which at least resulted in halting the bloodshed. I join with those representatives who preceded me in addressing the Assembly in extending our heartfelt congratulations and gratitude to Secretary-General U Thant for his efforts to bring this about. But what then? Are the two great and friendly countries to continue to live in the tenuous and perilous atmosphere of the cease-fire, with all the hatreds that are engendered and accumulated and all the dislocations which a State verging on war inevitably creates? The Government of Jordan is of the firm belief that the cease-fire must be followed promptly by effective steps to ensure a permanent settlement of this long-standing and endemic issue. We further believe that the criteria for the proposed settlement should be based upon the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the various organs of the United Nations for the settlement of the issue of Kashmir. We believe in the principle of self-determination for all peoples everywhere. This belief is strengthened by the great teachings of India's founding fathers, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, who, I am sure,

would not and did not exclude the people of Kashmir from this elemental faith of humanity.

32. In making our point of view clear-cut and forthright we are not in any way prejudging or prejudicing the outcome of any plebiscite to ascertain the freely expressed wishes of the people of the territory. They may, if they wish, opt for India, or opt for Pakistan. Thus Kashmir may become a centre for co-operation between the two great countries rather than an arena of armed conflict. We appeal to both India and Pakistan to marshal into being their great reservoir of statesmanship and wisdom to save the continent of Asia, of which they form two stout pillars, from the catastrophe of a long, drawn-out conflict.

33. Another hot spot in the world today is caused by the tragic conflict which has been continuing unabated and for decades in the unhappy land of Viet-Nam. I do not wish to delve into the merits of the case, but I do wish to emphasize that the United Nations cannot continue to watch in callous indifference the untold sufferings of the people of Viet-Nam, whether in the north or the south, the east or the west; nor should they continue to be the victims of the power struggle which they have so long endured. The Government of Jordan believes that the reconvening of the Geneva Conference as early as possible and the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, in letter and in spirit, is the most effective method to bring the ordeal of the people of Viet-Nam to an end.

34. A third sanguinary conflict is raging in a part of our greater Arab homeland. I refer, of course, to the sad situation which presently prevails in Aden and Southern Arabia. We know that, for one reason or another, the British have consistently shown a particular love for the Arabs and an even greater reluctance to leave them alone except with a bang, the kind of bang which leaves behind a chronic and splitting headache which long outlives their departure. Far greater prizes in colonial possessions have been forsaken by the British since the process of decolonization came into full swing. Numerous countries which had once been highly prized possessions of the British Crown have since gained independence and become proud Members of the United Nations. And yet, in contradistinction, any process of decolonization pertaining to the Arab world has, in most instances, taken the form of a caesarean and painful operation which baffles the ingenuity of friend and foe alike.

35. Love can sometimes be blind and it is the more dangerous for being so.

36. We deplore the repressive measures recently taken by the British Government in an attempt to blunt and thwart the struggle of the people of Aden and the Protectorates for emancipation and self-determination. It is the more deplorable since those measures coincided with the opening of the twentieth session of the General Assembly which, it had been hoped, would act upon the last report of the Committee of Twenty-Four within the over-all policy of orderly decolonization which the General Assembly has successfully set into motion. And what is even more ominous is the fact that the clock was set back at a

time when hopes for real progress had been aroused by the visit to the Middle East of a distinguished British Minister of State for direct contacts specifically aimed at a final solution to the problem. I would certainly have been aroused and dismayed if my Government, while sending me on a mission to a foreign land, had undermined my mission in such a manner by that ill-advised and drastic action.

37. We call upon the General Assembly, through the appropriate organs of the United Nations, to take firm and forthright action with a view to rectifying a situation which not only runs counter to its avowed principles and aims, but also jeopardizes the peace and security of the area. We also call upon the United Kingdom to reappraise its policies in that region and to bring about a speedy solution to the problem.

38. The struggle of the people of Oman for self-determination still remains unanswered. It is our earnest hope that the General Assembly will, at this session, act upon and implement the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Oman with a view to enabling its people to determine their fate in accordance with their own freely expressed wishes.

39. I should like to take this opportunity to extend warmest greetings and congratulations to the new Members of the United Nations, the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, fully confident that they will make a worthy contribution to the success of this world Organization.

40. The Jordan delegation is particularly happy that the United Nations, which had suffered grievous paralysis during the nineteenth session, is now fully restored to a position enabling it to carry out its duties and functions. We are proud of the modest contribution which we have made in this connexion, and our most earnest hope is that a more lasting arrangement can be worked out to ensure against a recurrence of the immobility of the nineteenth session.

41. Mr. Vice-President, I would beg your forgiveness for expressing one final thought. The speeches which have been delivered in the course of this general debate have been extremely stimulating, instructive and learned; they have registered the pulse of mankind in its understandable unity, in diversity, which is a healthy sign for a world undergoing one of the greatest periods of transformation in recorded history, and in all the manifold aspects of national and international life. But there is one thing which alarms me as the general debate draws to a close. It is a fear, which I hope is exaggerated, that we may develop a kind of immunity to what is being said and lose the potency which the weighty opinion of representatives of the world should necessarily carry. We hope that our deliberations here will not degenerate into a yearly ritual which, while stimulating and challenging in the extreme, go unheeded, for they all deal with live problems, affecting live people in all corners of the world. It would be a tragedy indeed if our words did not result in concrete courses of action by this highest international forum in the world.

42. Mr. SYLLA (Madagascar) (translated from French): My delegation would like first of all to offer Mr. Fanfani our congratulations on his election as President of the twentieth session of the General

Assembly and our best wishes for his early recovery. His brilliant record and the ability which he has shown in public office, notably as head of the Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country, justified the almost unanimous vote of this Assembly.

43. Mr. Fanfani succeeds another great President, our brother Alex Quaison-Sackey who, throughout a session paralysed by the great Powers' divergent interpretations of Article 19 of the United Nations Charter, displayed his remarkable statesmanship. By exemplary patience and finesse he succeeded in preventing a confrontation which would have spelt the doom of the United Nations.

44. My delegation also wishes to commend the diligence and efficiency of our eminent Secretary-General who, throughout 1964 and to this very day, has spared no effort to maintain the peace or to restore it wherever it has been threatened.

45. Lastly, it is with deep satisfaction that my delegation, like others, welcomes to this great family three new Members: Singapore, the Gambia and the Maldives Islands. I am sure these States will strive to strengthen our Organization so that its voice may resound with greater firmness and authority.

46. I referred earlier to Article 19 of the Charter. My country felt at the very outset that the cost of the Congo operations could not, without the prior consent of the Security Council, be considered as regular expenditure devolving automatically on all Member States. Moreover, my country, which is intensely peace-loving, did not endorse the military measures adopted by the United Nations in the Congo.

47. Our position has been stated on many occasions by Malagasy representatives speaking from this rostrum. Nevertheless, my country has not turned a deaf ear to the appeals that have been addressed to all Member States to help the United Nations overcome its grave financial difficulties. Without departing from its juridical position, my Government decided to pay its assessments voluntarily and it hopes that all Member States, rich and poor, large and small, will help to ease the Organization's financial position.

48. The past twelve months have witnessed, in Madagascar, a series of elections which enabled the entire population to vote in complete freedom and independence. The municipal elections were followed first by the election of a President of the Republic for a seven-year term. By an overwhelming majority, Mr. Philibert Tsiranana was re-elected to the Presidency. Next, there were elections for the complete renewal of the National Assembly and the six General Councils. These elections gave the Government and the party in power a larger majority which will enable them during the next five years to work in a serene atmosphere towards the solution of the important economic problems which, in Madagascar, as in all developing countries, are becoming more acute each year owing to rapid population growth.

49. On the international scene, at any rate, we are not faced with political difficulties. We have no territorial claims against our neighbours and none to fear from them. Perfect political stability, the normal functioning of our institutions, constant and friendly

collaboration between the public and the Government —these are the main features of life in Madagascar. My country intends to show the world that freedom does not mean anarchy and that in Africa democracy and law and order can exist perfectly well side by side.

50. While my country has no special problems of an international character, it is well aware of its responsibilities towards the world in which we live and intends to play its role in the solution of great international questions and in the efforts being made on all sides to restore peace wherever it is disturbed.

51. Throughout the world there are many breeding grounds of disorder and we all have a duty to eliminate them patiently and firmly. Whenever, as is often unfortunately the case, conflicts break out between peoples of the same blood, the first efforts at pacification should be made within their ethnic group. In my delegation's view, this is an easier way of persuading the antagonists that better mutual understanding is essential for the restoration of peace. Have we not beheld the sad spectacle of conflicts between brothers, Asians fighting against Asians, Africans against Africans? And have we not had to stand by powerless while the cold war among Europeans continues undiminished in scope and violence over the years? Peaceful solutions to those conflicts might be sought through negotiations within the ethnic groups concerned.

52. International tension has, of course, other aspects attributable to different causes. I shall mention just a few. First of all, there is the lack of understanding shown by certain Powers which refuse to remove the yoke of their domination from other peoples, whatever their race and colour may be, as is the case in Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia. Then there are the arbitrarily divided countries such as Germany and Korea.

53. Here we must affirm the primary function of the United Nations which is to give to all peoples desiring independence their right to freedom and self-determination.

54. My delegation's position remains unchanged on the admission of mainland China, an item which has been on our agenda for several years. We are not in favour of its admission which, to judge from its recent obstreperous statements and its activities against peace, such as its attempts at subversion throughout the world and particularly in Africa, is not what that country itself seeks. For my Government only the delegation of the Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations and one which has always been a loyal and active Member, represents the great Chinese people.

55. Several speakers have spoken at this rostrum about the widening gap between living levels in the industrialized countries and those in the developing countries. It is time that specific measures were studied by the specialized agencies with a view to narrowing the gap between the two groups. Madagascar, which has played an active part in the various conferences of the last twelve months, considers that greater efforts should be made by the countries of the first group in order to assist the developing coun-

tries to industrialize and to guarantee them reasonable and sufficiently remunerative prices for their raw materials.

56. My country attaches very great importance to the latter issue and believes that consideration should be given to the establishment of a fixed relationship between the prices of manufactured goods and those of raw materials so that any variation in one of the terms of the equation would automatically affect the other. In my delegation's view, this is the way to go to the very root of the problem. At the present time, in calculating the selling price of manufactured goods, the price of raw materials from the developing countries continues to be the variable and fluctuating element whereas it should be calculated so as to ensure at all times a substantial return for the producers. In other words, as one of the chief elements of the selling price, it should be kept stable and constant. In this way the producing countries would not have to live in perpetual fear of price fluctuations in distant markets over which they have no control. A fall of a few points in the price of coffee or sugar, to cite only these two commodities, immediately cancels out months and even years of hard-won recovery. The producing countries would be able, if such a reform were carried out, to establish long-term development plans and to promote the well-being of their people at home through that "grass roots" policy on which our President, Philibert Tsiranana, has based the economic policies of our country.

57. The industrialized countries have a great role to play here. We can turn to them and say: "Help us to build up our resources in independence and dignity so as to put an end to our poverty. Help us to increase our production so that we can cope with our growing population, build schools, maternity clinics, hospitals, dispensaries and libraries. Help us to build up an infra-structure of harbours, roads and railways and local industries without which we will be doomed to impotence and mediocrity."

58. The nineteenth session of the General Assembly was completely paralysed as a result of circumstances which have been referred to and commented upon in the statements of those speakers who preceded me. The impotence felt by Member States in this crisis was a bitter pill to swallow. It now seems that after a year of anxiety we can look forward to better days ahead. The majority required by the Charter has been obtained for ratification of the institutional changes which were approved in 1963 to expand the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. Africa will thus be better able to make its voice heard in those important organs.

59. The celebration at San Francisco of the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations took place in an atmosphere of anxiety and pessimism. Nevertheless, it enabled the major States to reaffirm their determination not to allow the United Nations to perish.

60. On 4 October 1965 [1347th meeting], a great and moving ceremony was held in this hall. His Holiness Pope Paul VI, in a very impressive speech, appealed to all peoples to unite to banish war for ever and to tackle disarmament in a resolute manner through the

abandonment of offensive weapons. His appeal to the conscience of the world for an "internal renewal" will, I am sure, have a profound and lasting effect. In this year of international co-operation, the Pope's appeal for an increase in the assistance given by the great Powers to the developing countries will not, I am sure, go unheeded.

61. The Malagasy Republic has requested the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "Observance by Member States of the principles relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities" (agenda item 94) [see A/5937]. I shall not speak at length on the draft resolution^{2/} the aim of which is to codify principles already recognized by all but which, alas, are sometimes forgotten when selfish interests are at stake. Our draft is not directed against any State and is free of political motive. We appeal rather to law, reason and wisdom.

62. Whereas 1964 was a relatively calm year, we now find that fighting has broken out again, territorial claims are being raised and the integrity and even the existence of other States are seriously threatened. The United Nations must not shrink from a lucid and bold investigation of all conflicts whether latent or open. It would be a mistake to imagine that it can always settle disputes by giving satisfaction to all the parties involved. In our opinion, the United Nations will grow in stature through such peaceful confrontations within the framework of the Charter.

63. While dark clouds may yet cover the horizon, there is a ray of hope that our efforts here to promote peace, social justice, the liberation of peoples who are still enslaved and better living standards for the developing countries will not go unrewarded.

64. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): It is not my intention, nor do I consider it to be proper for me, to attempt to sum up the general debate which is about to be concluded, but I must admit that what I have to say in the course of my statement is not unrelated to a careful study of the various statements which have been made by the representatives of Governments in this Assembly.

65. The main objective of the United Nations is universal and lasting peace. No one in this Assembly has disagreed with that objective. On the contrary, the necessity for securing peace has been emphasized over and over again and one might say that it has been, and rightly so, the main theme in this general debate. We all agree that permanent peace must be secured. The prospects, however, of accomplishing this objective do not seem to be, at the moment, very bright.

66. It has also been generally stressed that if we are to secure peace, certain necessary prerequisites must be fulfilled. These prerequisites are universal respect for and implementation of certain principles which constitute the only sound foundation upon which peace can be safely and permanently based. Likewise, there has been no difference of opinion, at least as

far as the vast majority of the Member States are concerned, with regard to the necessity of attaining and fulfilling these prerequisites. The vast majority of the Members agree that freedom for all, non-discrimination, self-determination, respect for the sovereignty of States, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States, respect for human rights, and social and economic justice must be fully and universally accepted, not only in theory, but also applied in practice, if the goal of peace is to be promoted and attained.

67. The question, therefore, which confronts us all is why the world is still faced with so many serious and grave problems, why peace is so much in danger. Why is it that humanity is perhaps more than ever before so near the edge of catastrophe? There is no disagreement as to the objectives of securing permanent peace, and there is complete agreement among the vast majority of the Members of this Organization as to how that noble objective can be attained: namely, by fulfilling certain basic prerequisites which comprise the purposes of the United Nations.

68. To put it in another way, the question which is before us and requires an answer, the question to which we must attempt to give a clear answer—for the responsibility of all of us, individually and collectively, is grave towards the future happiness of humanity—is: what is wrong? What lies at the root of the problems with which we are confronted? In my submission, there is one basic reason why we have not been able as yet to attain our objectives. It is the fact that certain countries, in spite of their commitments, have been refusing to honour their obligations under the Charter, and that it has not, as a result, been possible to bridge the serious gap which exists between declarations of principles on the one hand and their implementation and respect for them on the other.

69. This basic flaw must be effectively dealt with if we are to proceed with some hope of achieving our objective, the objective of the United Nations—lasting peace. If we are to face the realities which confront us with some hope of success, we must not hesitate to put our faith and our confidence in the United Nations. We must strengthen the United Nations so that it may be able to perform its task effectively and decisively.

70. I am quite aware of the fact that I am not bringing out something new; but it is also true that if we are to provide the desired answer and remedy which the whole of humanity is longing for, we must not so much search for it in the field of theory, but must rather face the realities of the situation in their true perspective and decide to make a determined effort to meet them effectively. Our objective cannot be promoted if we do not apply in practice what we collectively profess and stand for. Our objective cannot be achieved unless each one of us individually and all of us collectively resolve to see to it that the basic principles upon which the fulfilment of our objective depends are fully respected and implemented on a universal basis.

71. The answer to the question which is before us is, in theory, simple. The problem is how to give this

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 2, document A/5757 and Add.1.

answer practical effect. We do not underestimate the difficulties and we should not. But we must overcome them. There is no alternative. This is our imperative duty; it is our responsibility; it is our obligation towards humanity. We have the machinery and we must utilize it. We have the means and we must use them. We have the appropriate instrument; we must strengthen it, we must accept its authority irrespective of any consequences to our own individual selfish interests. We have the United Nations, reflecting in its Charter the noble aims, aspirations and expectations of humanity and providing the only sound foundation upon which world order can be based.

72. The international situation is grave. The problems which face the world and the United Nations are most serious. We must face the situation fully conscious of our responsibilities. We must try to be effective. We must resolve to make the United Nations effective, as our collective instrument for the preservation of peace based upon justice and freedom.

73. Amidst the gravity of the situation we welcome one good omen. Last year one could not help voicing a sense of frustration over the fact that the United Nations found itself unable to function properly and to deal with many important and pressing issues which appeared on the agenda of the nineteenth session. Most of us expressed at the time our deep disappointment that, because of a dispute—over a most important issue, indeed, if examined in isolation, but a very trivial one, if I may say so, if examined against the background of the necessities of mankind and the expectations of the world—the United Nations General Assembly was unable to function properly. The obstacle has somehow been surmounted and the General Assembly is now functioning normally, which in itself is a source of optimism and encouragement. I should like to express the earnest hope that this deep-felt feeling of relief coming after a feeling of frustration may result in a fresh and more dynamic approach that will make the present session a truly historic landmark. The visit of His Holiness the Pope and the significance of the message of peace he delivered to us, will, I trust, greatly contribute to this end.

74. We have the responsibility of going ahead more urgently, not simply to regain the time that has been lost, but because we cannot afford to lose any more time. The many varied crises and problems that unhappily becloud the international horizon make it all the more urgent that this session of the General Assembly fully play its role in a new effort to promote the cause of universal peace and the objectives of freedom and justice.

75. I sincerely hope that under the wise guidance of the President—who most regrettably is not with us today, because of an unfortunate accident from the effects of which I earnestly hope he will soon recover—we shall be able to go much farther in our difficult task of achieving our objectives. In this connexion I wish to join with all the others who have spoken before me in whole-heartedly congratulating Mr. Fanfani on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. It is a well-deserved honour for a statesman of his standing, who has served his country well for so long, and whose contribution as well in the field of international co-operation and understanding has been very significant.

76. I would also wish to join others in expressing deep appreciation to my dear friend and colleague, Alex Quaison-Sackey, who, with such exemplary ability and such a sense of statesmanship, presided over the nineteenth session of the General Assembly under circumstances most difficult and complex.

77. I also feel that it is my duty to pay tribute to the Secretary-General. His devotion to the cause of peace and his ceaseless and persistent efforts in pursuit of the ideals upon which the Charter is based have won for him the universal acclaim and respect which he so truly deserves.

78. At a time when the United Nations is showing renewed vigour and vitality, it might be appropriate to remind ourselves that, regardless of any fluctuations in its fortunes, the United Nations has been and remains the fountainhead of hope for all mankind. Its drawbacks and shortcomings notwithstanding, the United Nations has time and again proven its indispensability as the best available bulwark of peace and safeguard against injustice. We must all by now have realized that the world could not afford to let the United Nations collapse. We must, therefore, spare no effort to increase its effectiveness and boost its moral power and authority. We must not look at the United Nations merely as a forum where we can air our grievances, state our policies and make our declarations. We must accept its authority and we must sincerely put our faith and confidence in it. We must strive to make it the world organ with universal representation, which is also so necessary if its authority is to be accepted by all.

79. We welcome the further step that has been taken this year towards the desirable goal of universality. We welcome the admission of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore to the ranks of the United Nations. We are confident that these new and dynamic countries will actively contribute to the success of our work.

80. The United Nations was created twenty years ago to meet the necessities and fulfil the expectations of mankind as a whole, the necessities which have been established from the lessons derived from the past and from expectations for a better future.

81. On this twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, we have reaffirmed our faith in the principles of the Charter. We have rededicated ourselves to the purposes of the Charter. We have declared once again that colonialism must be eradicated, that racism must be eliminated, that freedom must become universal, that self-determination must be fully applied, that the sovereignty of all States must be respected, that intervention in the internal affairs of States must be excluded, that conditions of peace must be created. But that is not enough. We must make sure that our declarations are fulfilled. To this end, I repeat, we must make the United Nations effective. We must take concrete steps.

82. An important item on our agenda very closely related to the dispute which resulted, last year, in the suspension of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, is the question of the peace-keeping operations—the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. Because of the special circumstances regarding

Cyprus, my Government has developed a particularly vivid interest in this subject. The maintenance or restoration of peace and the prevention of armed conflict in any part of the globe is a task of the highest priority and importance to the United Nations. We are greatly encouraged by the detailed attention which the matter has received from the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, the members of which deserve the gratitude of this Assembly, and we share the expectation that the present session will mark much more progress towards reaching decisions of a wide-ranging and comprehensive character in this respect. The initiative of the Government of Ireland [see A/5966/Rev.2] merits careful consideration. It must become our task to explore all the possible solutions to this issue which would guarantee a sound and long-term arrangement in the crucial field of peace-keeping. But, of course, peace-keeping alone does not solve the problems.

83. The problems themselves must be decisively tackled. The causes of the problems must be sought out, found and removed. We must not simply refer to them and analyse them for the purposes of record, but we must face them in a determined manner and take the necessary steps to solve and eliminate them. In other words, we must make certain that our principles, our declarations, the criteria which we have laid down as the standards for the solution of the problems, are fully complied with and implemented. We must proceed in a new spirit. We must become conscious, fully conscious, of the fact that peace is indivisible and that justice, freedom and democracy are indivisible, and we must become fully conscious of the fact that, unless we decide to respect what we all collectively, by virtue of our Charter, stand for, we cannot achieve our aims. We must not tolerate the situation in which the selfish interests of some supersede our common objective. We must not accept a situation in which certain principles are propagated and promoted in one case, and yet the very same principles are being completely ignored and set aside in a similar case. We cannot tolerate intervention in one case and oppose intervention in another case. We cannot speak of the full sovereignty of one State unless we are prepared unreservedly to respect the sovereignty of all. We cannot support the application of the principle of self-determination in one case and yet deny it in another. The United Nations cannot promote the application of double standards varying according to the interests of some.

84. The United Nations must make it clear that it cannot accept injustice and that it intends to take effective steps to eradicate it. We have made it clear by the resolution adopted by this Assembly on 12 October [resolution 2012 (XX)], and we must make it clear again, that we refuse to tolerate the situation existing today in Southern Rhodesia. We must make it clear once again that the principle of self-determination on the democratic basis of one man, one vote, must be without any reservation or delay applied to that territory. The United Nations cannot, under any circumstances, accept the concept of two classes of citizens. The attempt of the illegal Government of Southern Rhodesia to perpetuate racial oligarchy and deny to the majority their democratic right to de-

termine the future of their country and its form of government, cannot be countenanced.

85. The situation in Southern Rhodesia today, as in South Africa yesterday and today, does not only constitute a denial of basic rights; it also constitutes an insult to the United Nations, and it is as such that we must treat it. We cannot accept the argument that the British Government has no authority or not enough authority to remedy this situation. We believe that the British Government has a great responsibility, both legal and moral, and we are convinced that it is in a position to remedy, and must remedy, this situation and undo the harm that has been done. The United Kingdom has the full backing of the United Nations in this respect. Paragraph 4 of resolution 2012 (XX) reads as follows:

"Calls upon the United Kingdom to use all possible measures to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence and, in the event of such a declaration, to take all steps necessary to put an immediate end to the rebellion, with a view to transferring power to a representative government in keeping with the aspirations of the majority of the people."

86. This call must be heeded and complied with. Southern Rhodesia must be granted self-determination on the basis of majority decision. Justice demands it. The Charter demands it. So does peace and human dignity.

87. The United Nations must be more effective in eliminating all forms of discrimination on whatever basis, in every part of the world. Likewise, there can be no excuse for the delay in fully implementing the Declaration on the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The United Nations must take positive steps and effective measures to see that territories like Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, and all other territories under foreign rule of one form or another, be granted complete independence as a matter of urgency; for otherwise we would be condoning the existence and the perpetuation of sources of friction, sources of danger, sources of injustice. Similarly, situations like those in Aden and Oman should be rectified in compliance with the Charter and declarations of the United Nations. The last traces of colonialism must be eliminated. The vestiges of foreign domination must be wiped out, and we should not relent until a perfect score is attained.

88. Another of the serious problems which once again appears on our agenda is the question of the Palestine refugees. This problem is not simply a problem of a humanitarian nature, but it is also a problem of respect of principles: the principles of the Charter, the declarations and the resolutions of the United Nations. My Government has subscribed to the Cairo Declaration of the Non-Aligned Countries, ^{3/} in this as well as other respects, and has consistently taken a position in accordance with this Declaration.

89. Intervention in the internal affairs of a State or forcible intervention, on any pretext, at the expense

^{3/} "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" (Declaration adopted by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964). See document A/5763.

of any State, in violation of its sovereignty and independence, must be condemned without any hesitation and without any qualification whatsoever, whether such intervention is perpetrated by a big Power or a small one. The sovereignty of States cannot be interfered with or curtailed or violated by anyone, for if we had taken a different attitude, even in one single case, we would be ourselves undermining the United Nations and its Charter. The principle of non-intervention is one of the most basic principles upon which relations among States and peaceful coexistence can be based and must be based. It is encouraging and highly gratifying that additional emphasis is being given this year to this most important subject by the inclusion in the agenda of the present session, at the request of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, of the item entitled "The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty" [see A/5977]. The principle of non-intervention and the principle of the respect of the sovereignty of States are of a universal character. Intervention and violation of sovereignty cannot be condemned in one case and propagated or tolerated in another.

90. I have touched upon certain of the problems which today exist. All of these problems are the direct result of the non-respect and the non-implementation of the principles of the Charter and the declarations of the United Nations. On the international horizon there are some other potentially explosive situations, some of them currently going through a stage of acute crisis. It is revealing that many of them are the legacy of colonialist policies and can be traced directly to the partitioning of territories, to the division of peoples under the pressure of interests alien to those of the people themselves. Some of those situations have been the cause of perpetual friction and intermittent bloodshed. Time has been unable to heal the after effects of the application of the policy of divide and rule, as the recent events with regard to Kashmir have so sadly reminded us.

91. In all humility I submitted at the opening of my statement, that what lies at the root of the various problems, basically, is the gap which exists between the declaration of principles on the one hand and the respect and implementation of such principles on the other. This is obvious in the case of most, if not of all, of the problems with which we are confronted. It is definitely true of the Cyprus problem.

92. It has been a source of encouragement to us to have witnessed in the course of this general debate a reaffirmation of and a rededication to the principles of the Charter by the vast majority of Member States. It is these very principles that we wish to see respected and implemented in the case of Cyprus. There was complete unanimity during the debate for the scrupulous respect of the sovereignty of every State. I assume that this unanimous opinion refers also to Cyprus. There was complete unanimity with regard to the respect of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of one State by another. I feel justified in assuming that this would also relate to Cyprus. There has been unanimity as to the necessity for the respect and acceptance of complete independence and equality for

every State Member of the United Nations. I trust that this policy also holds good in the case of Cyprus. I trust that the general acceptance of the principle that all peoples must be left free to look after their own affairs in the way they think fit and determine their future in accordance with their own wishes, is a principle which is also applicable to the people of Cyprus. I hope and trust that the principles contained in the declarations of the United Nations and in particular the letter and spirit of the Declaration on decolonization, which we all have agreed should apply to all territories under foreign rule without exception, would also and a fortiori apply in the case of an independent State, Cyprus, a Member of the United Nations.

93. These few remarks set out in a summary form the Cyprus question. The Cyprus problem is a simple problem of respect for the principles of the Charter. It is one of those cases in which double standards have been used. It is one of those cases that illustrate in the most convincing manner what I attempted to state earlier concerning the existence of a great gap between declaration of principles on the one hand and respect and implementation of those principles on the other.

94. I believe that, if anyone wishes to be objective and fair in his judgement with regard to the merits of the Cyprus question, he must be prepared to accept certain facts; he must be prepared to accept the truth, irrespective of whether the truth may please or displease him. I am confident that, for the vast majority in this Assembly, that is easy. For a few, however, it may require courage. But I am certain that, if that courage is shown, it will not only be to the benefit of Cyprus and its people, it will not only be in the interests of the United Nations, it will not merely constitute a service to the cause of indivisible justice, indivisible freedom and indivisible democracy, but it will also be a great service to peace.

95. Cyprus, in its long history, has gone through many vicissitudes. It has suffered not through the fault of its own people but through having been for centuries the subject of exploitation by others. It has been occupied by many. It has suffered oppression by many. We are today still suffering from the consequences of foreign domination and colonial rule.

96. We in Cyprus are entitled to believe that there should be an end to the sufferings and the injustice. We believe that we have done nothing which should deprive us of the rights to which we are entitled -- not only under the Charter of the United Nations, not only in conformity with the principles of democracy and freedom, but also in keeping with human dignity and morality. We cannot help but feel more aggravated, more disappointed, when we recollect the services that our small country and our people rendered to the cause of freedom. But, of course, it is not on this account that we are placing our demands before you. Our demands stem primarily from the Charter of the United Nations, the principles and the declarations of our Organization, as well as from our inherent right to dignity and equality.

97. The problem of Cyprus has been made to appear a complex problem, but its complexities have arti-

ficially been created, not for the purpose of serving the interests of the people of Cyprus but for the purpose of serving alien interests. A number of spurious contentions and allegations have been and are being advanced against the just cause of Cyprus by those who, in order to promote their own interest, have not hesitated to abuse the truth. I shall deal very, very briefly at this stage with these contentions.

98. First, it is argued that we have accepted certain treaties which, the argument goes, cannot be set aside. There is a vast—very vast—difference between free acceptance and forced imposition. We shall have ample opportunity, I trust, to explain our position fully on this point at the proper time and explain how the so-called agreements were conceived and imposed. At the present stage, however, I would wish simply to point out an elementary principle, namely, that there can be no valid agreement, either in municipal or international law, the subject matter of which transgresses the fundamental rules of law and morality.

99. In the case of Cyprus, the subject matter of these agreements was the virtual denial of the basic rights to which the people of Cyprus are entitled, the virtual denial of the right to self-determination, the virtual denial of the right to full sovereignty, the virtual denial of the right to true independence and the virtual denial of the principle of majority rule. In other words, the subject matter of the "contract" was illegal and immoral, in that it was intended to deprive Cyprus of its fundamental rights under the Charter. It is relevant in this respect to quote Article 103 of the Charter:

"In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail."

100. Furthermore, the use that has been made of those so-called agreements by Turkey is clear enough to illustrate the illegality and immorality of those instruments: the fact that Turkey violated the territorial integrity of Cyprus, its independence and its sovereignty, basing itself on the so-called Treaty of Guarantee; the fact that the imposed Treaty of Alliance became the means of aggression which still continues through the illegal presence of Turkish troops in Cyprus; the fact that the so-called Treaty of Guarantee was invoked for the purpose of brutally bombing Cyprus. All these have served to confirm the illegality and immorality of those agreements which were imposed when Cyprus was still under colonial rule.

101. The second contention which has been and is being advanced for the purpose of preparing the ground for solutions unacceptable to the people of Cyprus is that in Cyprus there are "two separate communities". The term "communities", as I said in exercising my right of reply the other day to the Turkish Foreign Minister [1358th meeting], while innocuous in itself, has come to acquire a special significance in the case of Cyprus. It may sound strange to some people to hear us resent and object to the use of the term "two communities", but I am confident that they will

understand when they hear of the historical background to the concept of the "two communities".

102. When Cyprus became a British colony after the First World War and the rule of the Ottoman Empire was formally terminated, there was in Cyprus a Turkish minority. The members of the minority were given a free choice either to be repatriated to Turkey or to remain in Cyprus, but, in the latter case, to cease to be Turkish nationals. A considerable number of them decided to remain and make their home in Cyprus. They did not choose to go back to Turkey. They remained in Cyprus, living peacefully, intermingled with the rest of the population throughout the island in complete harmony. When, however, the struggle of the people of Cyprus for self-determination reached the point at which the colonial Power needed some excuse, needed some new way to complicate the issue in its efforts to defeat the Cypriot struggle for freedom and self-determination, it decided to bring into the picture—in 1955—the former occupying Power of Cyprus, that is Turkey, as "an interested party", in complete disregard of the perfectly valid and legal Treaty of Lausanne, by virtue of which Turkey solemnly renounced all rights and interests in regard to the territories formerly under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, including, of course, Cyprus.

103. The colonial Power, at the same time, inspired and instigated a section of the Turkish minority in Cyprus to oppose the struggle of the people of Cyprus for self-determination. A number of Turkish Cypriots, well paid by the colonial Power, were enlisted in the so-called Auxiliary Police Force and collaborated with the colonial Power in trying to put down the legitimate revolt for freedom and justice. I should think that reference to the practice of "divide and rule" by the colonial Power would sound familiar to many in this Assembly.

104. One of the devices used by imperialism at the time in order to put a check on the liberation struggle was that self-determination should not be applied and that, if we insisted, it would lead to partition because of the existence in Cyprus of an ethnic Turkish minority of 18 per cent. This device aimed, on the one hand, at obstructing the struggle of self-determination, and, on the other hand, at encouraging Turkey to become even more involved—because there was some hesitation at the beginning. The expansionist instincts, therefore, of another country were awakened by the colonial Power in the latter's effort to remain in control of Cyprus. It was thus that the term of "two separate communities" was given a divisive significance.

105. This concept has since been taken up and developed by Turkey. As a result of the creation of these artificial complexities, the Zurich and London Agreements were improvised and imposed upon Cyprus, when Britain decided to relinquish its authority. These so-called Agreements became later the means of promoting further the idea of separation, division and partition, a policy which has been persistently followed by Turkey, in furtherance of which an armed Turkish rebellion against the State broke out late in December 1963 with the tragic consequences that culminated in the bombings of Cyprus in August 1964.

106. The third spurious allegation that is being used by Turkey is that the Turkish minority in Cyprus is in danger of being exterminated by the Greek majority. This is a preposterous charge. The minorities in Cyprus have nothing to fear. Proof of this is to be found in the escapes of Turkish Cypriots who are detained in conditions of intimidation in a few small Turkish enclaves in furtherance of the policy of division pursued by Turkey. Those who have escaped have sought the protection of the Cyprus Government and the protection of members of the Greek majority. The majority of the Turkish Cypriot population are, at the moment, living in the areas controlled by the Government together with their Greek compatriots, and no problem exists.

107. While the question of minorities is an internal matter for every State, the issue of human rights for all citizens may understandably be considered as a matter of international concern—and we are prepared to accept this. I wish to emphasize once again that the human rights of every citizen in Cyprus, irrespective of his race, origin or religion, are fully protected and safeguarded. Moreover, my Government, in its sincere desire to allay any fears that may exist in regard to this matter and in a gesture of goodwill towards the Turkish minority of Cyprus, and in its wish to assist constructively as much as possible toward a final solution of the Cyprus problem, has decided to make a declaration of intention in regard to the safeguarding of human rights to all citizens of Cyprus. In addition, my Government has decided to declare its intention of granting to the minorities certain important additional rights which may be considered as privileges. These rights are to be guaranteed internationally. This was officially made known to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in a communication dated 4 October 1965, addressed to him by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios [A/6039]. May I respectfully request the representatives to study this document carefully. I wish merely, at this stage, to quote that part from the Memorandum attached to the Declaration dealing with the safeguards and guarantees of human rights and minority rights:

"In addition to effective safeguards under municipal law—in particular by entrenchment provisions and recourse to a competent court—the Government of the Republic of Cyprus is prepared to accept, for a reasonably transitional period, United Nations guarantees.

"The Government of the Republic of Cyprus, following the recommendations of the Mediator of the United Nations, is prepared to accept the presence in Cyprus of a United Nations Commissioner with an adequate staff of observers and advisers who will observe, on such terms as the Secretary-General may direct, the adherence to all rights referred to above and for the purposes of assuring observance of human rights to adopt such appropriate machinery as the Secretary-General, on the advice, if necessary, of the United Nations Commission of Human Rights, may recommend." [*Ibid.*, memorandum, section III.]

108. May I ask, in all solemnity, how many Governments would have been prepared to grant such specific

minority rights in addition to human rights as my Government proposes to do? How many Governments would have been prepared to accept far-reaching international guarantees of the nature which my Government has declared its readiness to accept? At a time when the Greek population in Constantinople is persecuted and the historic seat of the Greek Orthodox Church is being threatened, the Cyprus Government has decided to grant all these privileges and guarantees to the Turkish minority.

109. Since December 1963 various attempts have been made to keep the question of Cyprus outside the framework of the United Nations. But we have finally succeeded in bringing this matter to the United Nations, in spite of the pressures that have been exercised against such a course. Various attempts have been made to solve the problem in an unhealthy manner, in an artificial way. Various attempts have been made to satisfy the interests of other countries at the expense, again, of the people of Cyprus. We shall deal with those attempts when the specific question of Cyprus comes up for discussion.

110. We want, as I have often stated in the United Nations, a peaceful solution. That is why we have agreed to assist as much as we could the United Nations Mediator appointed by virtue of Security Council resolution 189 (1964) of 4 March 1964. We have co-operated with him in good faith and in a sincere desire to solve the problem in a peaceful way. One thing, however, we have insisted upon—and we shall go on insisting and we shall not compromise whatever the cost to us—is that the Cyprus problem must be solved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Cyprus. It must be solved upon the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We have insisted, and we shall not deviate from our position, that Cyprus is a fully sovereign and independent State—an equal Member of the United Nations—and that no one has the right to violate or curtail or limit or restrict its sovereignty and independence. We have insisted that partition or any other divisive solution which would have disastrous consequences, must be ruled out. We have insisted that the United Nations principles must be applied, and these were in fact the terms of reference given to the United Nations Mediator, by the Security Council in its resolution 189 (1964). The United Nations Mediator having carried out extensive consultations and having studied the problem in depth, presented his report to the Secretary-General on 26 March 1965. The report is now before the Assembly [See A/6017]. This is the report of the representative of the United Nations—the report of the man appointed, with the consent of all, by the Secretary-General in pursuance of a Security Council resolution. It is a report that cannot be ignored for it gives the views of the United Nations representative. We have urged that the Mediator should be allowed to continue with his task.

111. The Turkish Government not only rejected the report but it also refused to co-operate further with the Mediator himself, because obviously his findings did not suit the plans of Turkey. The Mediator stressed in his report, in conformity with his terms of reference, that the criteria upon which the solution to the problem should be based must be the United Nations

criteria, the United Nations principles. Turkey, therefore, far from doing its utmost to find a peaceful solution as the Foreign Minister of Turkey professed the other day, attempted to undermine the United Nations effort for a solution to the Cyprus problem in accordance with the Charter and Security Council resolution 189 (1964). We continue, on our part, as indeed the Secretary-General of the United Nations does, to accept the representative of the United Nations, Mr. Galo Plaza, as the Mediator and we are ready to continue our sincere co-operation with him in pursuance of resolution 189 (1964). The mediation efforts and the Mediator's report, which is a basic document before this Assembly, must be considered in detail at the proper time.

112. In this connexion, I wish to pay tribute to the United Nations Mediator, Mr. Galo Plaza, and express our deep appreciation for his persistent efforts. His ability and integrity have won for him the respect of all of us and, I feel confident in saying, of the vast majority of the countries represented in this Assembly.

113. I have dealt at some length with the Cyprus question but I have by no means exhausted the subject. There are many issues relating to it which we shall undertake to analyse in detail when this specific question comes up for discussion. Some of the relevant issues upon which I have briefly touched in the course of this statement also require more detailed analysis, to which we shall proceed at the proper time. In concluding on this subject, I should like to point out that the whole question, the whole problem of Cyprus, turns upon whether Cyprus is or is not entitled to enjoy the same rights as every other sovereign State and whether the same principles which apply to every other sovereign State, and which we say should apply to every territory under foreign rule, are also applicable to Cyprus.

114. Before I conclude my statement I should like to refer very briefly to the questions of disarmament and economic development. Disarmament, both as a general item and in certain of its particular aspects, again features prominently on our agenda. It is discouraging, but not totally unexpected, to learn that no substantial progress was achieved during the past year. While general and complete disarmament, subject to effective international control, continues to remain the goal we should strive for, it must, at the same time, be admitted that certain prerequisites must be satisfied before any practical hope for an agreement can be validly entertained. No State can be reasonably expected to disarm unless it can feel confident of the existence of a collective security system which assures it of its defence. It is this role which a strengthened United Nations could play most constructively, if only its own Members would permit and enable it to function in this way. Likewise, no State can be reasonably expected to submit to international inspection and control as long as it has reasons to suspect that other States may use the inspection processes for purposes other than those intended. Again an appropriate United Nations machinery, inspiring to all full confidence concerning its impartiality, might prove the invaluable instrument to overcome this difficulty.

115. My delegation has always laid stress on the need to halt arms production and to freeze the existing levels of armaments, particularly among the nuclear Powers, as collateral measures preliminary to an over-all disarmament agreement. In addition to these over-all considerations, however, there are certain aspects of the disarmament question which deserve particular mention. It is of the utmost importance and urgency that the further spreading—whether it be termed dissemination or proliferation—of nuclear weapons be prevented. Likewise, it is necessary that all States accede to the Moscow Treaty on the banning of nuclear tests and that this Treaty be extended to cover underground tests as well.

116. My delegation has supported consistently the initiative for the holding of a world disarmament conference in which all the countries in the world would participate, as an important step for a renewed effort to tackle the issue. My delegation also welcomes the progress made by the States of Latin America towards an agreement to keep their territories free from nuclear weapons, and shares the hope expressed by the Secretary-General that this development might have a catalytic effect on other initiatives for denuclearization, for preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons and for other measures of disarmament.

117. We also welcome the initiative taken by thirty-four African countries which requested the inscription of the item on the denuclearization of Africa, and we attach particular importance to the resolution adopted in July 1964 by the First Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity stating their readiness to undertake, through an international agreement to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, not to manufacture or control atomic weapons, and appealing to all nuclear Powers to conform to this resolution.

118. For our part, we hold strong views against the storing of nuclear weapons by any of the nuclear Powers on the territories of other countries. Likewise, we hold that the disarmament process cannot be complete without the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in all countries or without the elimination of all foreign bases maintained against the wishes of the country concerned. Cyprus is one of those countries upon the soil of which foreign bases are maintained and foreign troops are stationed. We may have to deal with these issues specifically in the course of the debate on the Cyprus question.

119. Disarmament, if and when achieved, would not only have the desired effect of freeing the world from the nightmare of nuclear holocaust. It would also release for peaceful uses the enormous funds and resources now spent on armaments. It might well be appropriate to emphasize again that, while the efforts to achieve disarmament measures are under way, a certain fraction of the huge amounts involved in defence spending on the part of the developed countries could be directed to increasing the aid to developing countries, preferably through the channels available in the United Nations family of agencies. While we are gratified at the progress made in setting up new machinery through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for promoting

parallel objectives, and while expressing satisfaction at the successful operation during the past year of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and of the Special Fund, we nevertheless feel that, in view of what is needed, much more can be done, with appropriate goodwill, to expand and increase the volume and scope of economic assistance through the United Nations, thereby further contributing to the strengthening of this Organization, as well as benefiting the recipient countries.

120. I have attempted, in my modest contribution to this debate, to deal with certain general as well as certain specific issues. I sincerely believe that if we are to promote our noble objectives we must do our utmost to strengthen the United Nations. Whatever the problem we attempt to deal with, we see clearly the necessity for the United Nations to perform an important and perhaps decisive task.

121. Whether it is peace-keeping, whether it is disarmament, whether it is decolonization, whether it is the application of the principles to which we are all committed, whether it is the elimination of discrimination, whether it is respect for the principle

of non-intervention, whether it is respect for human rights, whether it is respect for and the application of the principle of self-determination, whether it is the prevention of conflicts, or whether it is the peaceful settlement of disputes, the necessity for the United Nations to be effective is as urgent as ever. Let us all, therefore, try sincerely and collectively to turn the Charter of the United Nations into a living reality on a universal basis. Let us go forward and try to ensure effectively and decisively the implementation of and respect for the principles of the Charter and of our Declarations. Let us satisfy with vigour and with resolution the necessary prerequisites in order to promote our primary and basic objective, namely, peace based on equality, complete freedom and true justice. Let us sincerely and in absolute good faith and with determination, try to make the twentieth session of the General Assembly a truly historic landmark, the beginning of a new era in international relations, the prelude to great achievements that may gradually but steadily lead us to our final goal: universal peace.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.