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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Continuation of the sixteenth session

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly is now resuming the work of its sixteenth session and I call the 1107th plenary meeting to order.

2. I wish first of all to welcome all representatives who have come here to take part in the work of the third part of the session.

Address by His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly today has the honour and the privilege of hearing an address by His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, who has expressed the desire to address the Assembly.

4. As I have the honour of greeting His Beatitude at the entrance to this chamber, I request all representatives to be so good as to remain seated while I escort him in.

5. It is with real pleasure that I welcome to this hall His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, who has expressed the desire to address the General Assembly during the third part of its session.

6. The history of the young country of which he has been President since its recent accession to independence, its special situation in the Mediterranean and the very personality of our eminent visitor give particular importance to the address he is about to make at this time when we are resuming our work.

7. I have the honour to invite His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, to take the floor.

8. His Beatitude Archbishop MAKARIOS, President of the Republic of Cyprus: I feel greatly honoured in being given this opportunity to address the General Assembly of the United Nations for the first time.

I have been in this building many times before to advocate the cause of the freedom of my country, but this is the first time that I speak from this rostrum as President of independent Cyprus.

9. My country is one of the newest Members of the United Nations. Only two years ago it proudly took its seat in this great hall, after attaining its independence as a result of a long and hard struggle for freedom, the history and details of which are well known within the four corners of this hall and in the corridors of this building.

10. I take this opportunity to express my warm thanks to all who offered their moral support in the liberation of Cyprus, and particularly to those who actively championed our cause in the United Nations.

11. Cyprus is a small country with little material power or influence. It has, however, a history of civilization and culture which extends back over 4,000 years. To this culture, which is at the root of western civilization, Cyprus has made its own contribution in philosophy and letters. With its historic course interrupted by long periods of foreign domination, its people, through centuries of tribulations and tests, have acquired a capacity for endurance and a spirit of understanding of other peoples that may be of service in these critical times. Over the centuries, Cyprus has been the cross-roads of conflict and conquest between East and West and aspires now, in all humility, to be a bridge of understanding and unity in that area and in the world at large. Our geographic position between three continents and our long and close association with the peoples of these continents open up possibilities to us and also create responsibilities for us.

12. While not unaware of our limitations, we are fully conscious of our share of responsibility as members of the world community of free nations and of our part in the development of world affairs. We feel that the role of Cyprus in this international community is on the moral plane, where neither size nor power is a determining attribute.

13. We consider our primary allegiance to be to the United Nations itself, as representing the expression of the conscience of humanity and its progress towards freedom and peace. We therefore remain free of political alignment and follow an independent line of policy governed by considerations of what is just and for the common good, in an objective approach to world problems. We believe that in this way the modest contribution of Cyprus can be constructive and helpful.

14. From the very first moment of our independence we have declared our strong belief in the United Nations and our devotion to its principles and purposes, which we have demonstrated by our record. It is our belief that the hopes of humanity for world peace, justice and freedom lie with this Organization. We do

not agree with those who show no confidence in the United Nations or what it stands for and who by their conduct tend to undermine its authority and effectiveness. In spite of the many obstacles and difficulties which have all along confronted it, the United Nations has not only survived but has played an important role in preserving world peace by providing a moral restraint. No power, however strong, can ignore the moral weight of the United Nations.

15. We feel that during this session the United Nations, in a quiet and undramatic way, has marked positive progress. We recall that this Assembly opened at a time of acute crisis for the world and for the Organization, accentuated by the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld, the devoted servant of the United Nations, who gave his life in the cause of peace. It has been reassuring to see that on many problems constructive resolutions were adopted and agreed action was taken. On the question of the Secretary-General the agreement reached preserving the independence, authority and international character of his office, coupled with the happy selection of U Thant for that office, has overcome a crisis and has given renewed vigour to the United Nations.

16. A chaotic situation in the Congo, threatening grave international entanglements, has greatly improved, and, through the patient and resolute stand of the United Nations, the integrity and independence of that territory has been preserved and peace restored. Agreement on the principles of disarmament and on the composition of the Committee to discuss this subject at Geneva have been among the achievements of this session. Measures for the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples have been adopted and promptly put into effect.

17. In respect to the Algerian resolution [1724 (XVI)] we hail with joy the emergence of a free and independent Algeria, whose representatives Cyprus will be happy to welcome to this Assembly. We should like to convey to the people of Algeria our brotherly feelings of solidarity and our fervent wish and prayer that peace may at last be restored to that sorely tested land. We congratulate the leaders of both sides for finally reaching agreement on a just and democratic solution.

18. We hope that a spirit of justice and democracy will prevail in all similar problems. Some of them may be involved in the cold war, like the problem of Berlin and that of a divided Germany. Notwithstanding the complexities of such involvement, we believe that an enduring solution of the problem could only be one which would pay due regard to the fundamental principle of the Charter, namely, that concerning the right of the German people to have the decisive voice in their future.

19. Generally, on the question of self-determination, we stand firm for its application to all peoples under the Charter and we solidly support all peaceful measures for the liquidation of colonialism. The people of Cyprus, having emerged from a status of foreign domination, has a natural feeling of solidarity with all peoples striving for the dignity of national independence. We consider, moreover, that the application of self-determination is the essential prerequisite of universal freedom and enduring peace. For there can be no peace when man's rights to freedom are trampled on and the spirit of the people is in rebellion.

20. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, [resolution 1514 (XV)] which Cyprus wholeheartedly sponsored and which the General Assembly adopted without a dissenting vote, was a landmark in the progress to world freedom. Now we pledge our full support for all measures for its speedy implementation, as well as for all specific means to hasten the progress to independence in those territories where progress has been stultified or retarded, often resulting in violence and bloodshed. We believe that the relations between all peoples should be based on equality, freedom and democracy, and that colonialism, neo-colonialism or any other form of domination or political injustice, wherever or however imposed, should be terminated. Particularly regrettable is the legacy of division and strife that colonialism leaves in its wake. It is our most ardent wish and purpose to accelerate the processes leading to independence throughout the world. We believe that the termination of colonialism through the liberation of subject peoples will simultaneously free the dominant nations from circumstances that adversely affect their moral stature and their good influence in the international community. Resistance to the inevitable seems senseless. Nothing can stem the tide of freedom.

21. Guided by our dedication to the principle of self-determination, we shall strive towards its application everywhere. No solution which is not based on that principle and which does not bear the marks of justice and democracy can be a sound or lasting solution.

22. With the attainment of independence by a number of new countries, the increase in membership of the United Nations has produced a noticeable impact and a revitalizing effect upon this Organization. By steadily growing into universality, the United Nations becomes a great international forum that can exercise decisive influence in world affairs.

23. Newly-independent countries, relying for their independence on common security, have a particular devotion to the principles of the Charter and to the concept of international peace through the United Nations. Unfettered by the complications of power, they can with greater objectivity examine the moral issues that lie at the root of international problems. Unencumbered by traditional policies and deep-rooted notions of a past era, they can perhaps more easily gear their policies to new concepts and wider dedications and thus more readily meet the needs of these atomic times. Small countries have a useful part to play in the United Nations, a part which, if carried out in a spirit of dedication, may be a source of strength to the United Nations and a contribution towards peaceful change. Acting in concert and in an objective way, they could become a moral influence of support for the United Nations and its development.

24. Turning to the world situation of today, the overall problem that casts its foreboding shadow over the world is the threat of catastrophe from the nuclear arms race. Disarmament is consequently a subject on which the attention of the whole world is increasingly focussed. The change in form of the Disarmament Committee at Geneva, giving to it a United Nations character by the inclusion of eight non-aligned States, has been a step forward from the level of power dialogue to that of international discussion. Participation of the non-aligned nations can, and did, bring a significant contribution toward bridging differences.

In spite of their admittedly diligent efforts, however, there have been no major results. The deadlock has been over inspection and control. Verification is necessary, not only of the arms destroyed but also of those remaining, if neither side is to obtain through the process of disarmament an advantage over the other, thereby upsetting the balance of power. Furthermore, the openness involved in the acceptance of control creates a spirit of confidence, so much needed for disarmament.

25. The failure to reach agreement on the banning of nuclear testing is particularly disappointing. Tests in the atmosphere are not merely an aggravated form of war preparation; if continued they can, without war, bring slow but inexorable destruction of health and life to present and future generations. It is regrettable that even a separate treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, on which there were no essential differences, could not be concluded. However that may be, the net result is that nothing has been achieved in the way of disarmament. All efforts over the years in innumerable committees and conferences have invariably ended in failure, and disarmament remains an ever-elusive phantom. Meanwhile, the arms race grows daily more threatening. The inability to reach agreement on disarmament and nuclear tests is due to lack of mutual trust and confidence. That is why it is absolutely essential that all—and especially the United Nations—should find the ways and means to remove distrust from the minds of the negotiators. We all wish to see an end to nuclear tests, which not only are in themselves detrimental to human life and health, but are also methods of increasing tension by giving further impetus to the arms race. My country believes that as a first step an end should be put to nuclear tests. This action would ease the tension and would create a more agreeable atmosphere for further negotiations on disarmament. If that were achieved, then it would mean that a measure of mutual confidence had been restored.

26. Such confidence can be produced if the endeavours for disarmament are coupled with parallel endeavours to build international security in an organized system of world order. We do not overlook the difficulties involved, but this is the one realistic approach to the problem. A practical start would be for the United Nations to evolve executive power and authority and establish a permanent United Nations peace force. When the foundations of international security are laid, disarmament will become a concomitant, easier to achieve. To this end the psychological climate is the first essential. Increased efforts must be made to build up mutual confidence by exploring common ground and promoting common interests. A concern for life and a paramount loyalty to humanity should not merely be the prerogative of scholars; it must be cultivated until it becomes common consciousness, held primarily by those who wield power.

27. The security in which we now live is one depending on the thin thread of balance of power. As we all know, such security derived from the deterrent of mutual fear is precarious and of short duration. The breathing space allowed us during this temporary security should not be wasted, but applied to build a positive peace. The great difficulty to be overcome stems from deep-rooted concepts belonging to the past.

28. The advent of atomic weapons has suddenly opened a new age in the history of man. It is the age

of the great potential in unimaginable human progress, but also of uncontrollable human destruction.

29. Man can now detach himself from this planet and travel in outer space. He can destroy all life on the planet and possibly even affect its course. But he has shown little moral progress. The growing lag between scientific and moral progress has produced an imbalance that threatens the very continuance of life. If there is to be survival the gap will have to be closed. The time has come when the progress of science will either abolish the rule of force in life or else abolish life itself. To the precepts of morality, are now added the dictates of reason, through the voice of self-preservation. In a phenomenal reversal of process, the same primeval instinct of self-preservation, that in its exalted growth produced and developed war, will now have to abolish war. New conditions of life now demand new ways of thinking and acting. They call for a basic reappraisal of values. We are living in an age when the conduct of national and international affairs calls for a higher political wisdom that cannot and should not be divorced from basic morality.

30. We have reached a point in the evolution of man when the differences of conflicting ideologies and interests will have to be removed from the plane of physical violence to that of mental contest. War will have to be replaced by competition for the minds of men in peace and in freedom of choice. In this clearer atmosphere of a new world man can gradually rise through knowledge and understanding to his real liberation, that of liberation from self. But to achieve a new world, humanity must continue to live. A wrong concept of life that has accompanied mankind over the millenia of its existence is now fast driving it to global catastrophe. Because man has ignored the importance of universal truths and of individual moral integrity, he has brought himself to the chains of mechanical enslavement and to the abyss of nuclear extinction.

31. At this moment, my message to this Assembly is a message of dedication and faith: dedication to the United Nations and what it stands for; faith in survival and in a new and wider life. The intelligence of man that has broken through the atmosphere of a physical universe, if applied to moral development and new frontiers of spiritual living, can achieve a new approach to the problems of life. And it can well establish the kind of law and order that will bring a united world and an enduring peace.

32. We all share in responsibility. The decision for developing a new and wider life is for all of us. The decision for averting an impending catastrophe rests with those who wield the nuclear power. Our thoughts go out to them in the hope that, in the darkness of a sea of conflicting interests and prejudices raging around them and around us all, they may recognize the beacon of life and lead to it with courage and determination, commensurate with their authority and their responsibility for enlightened world leadership.

33. We look to the future with hope and faith that humanity may ultimately walk the path of God, leading to the brotherhood of man, in a new world and in a new life shaped by an essential balance in scientific and moral progress.

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I am sure that I speak for all members of this Assembly in expressing to His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios our most sincere thanks for the address which he has just

made and to which we have listened with very great interest.

His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 49

Question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi: report of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi (continued)*

35. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We will now take up agenda item 49. Pursuant to resolution 1743 (XVI), dated 23 February 1962, the Assembly today resumes its sixteenth session to consider exclusively the question of Ruanda-Urundi.

36. The report of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi has been circulated in documents A/5126 and Add.1. In accordance with the Assembly's practice and its rules of procedure, the question should be considered by the Fourth Committee, which would then submit a report to the General Assembly.

37. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly accepts this procedure.

It was so decided.

38. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The first meeting of the Fourth Committee which is to consider the report of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi is scheduled for tomorrow, Friday,

*Resumed from the 1106th meeting.

8 June, at 3 p.m. I hope that the Committee, under the distinguished chairmanship of Miss Brooks, will conduct its work with despatch and that we shall soon be able to consider its report in plenary.

39. In addition, a meeting of the General Committee is scheduled for 10.30 tomorrow morning and it has been brought to my attention that some chairmen and vice-chairmen of committees are at present absent and are therefore unable to take part in the proceedings of the Assembly's General Committee.

40. On the basis of certain precedents that have been followed in similar circumstances, it has been suggested to me that, if the Assembly does not object, the heads of the delegations to which the committee chairmen and vice-chairmen in question belong might be authorized to replace the latter in the General Committee.

41. This exceptional measure would apply to the delegations of Italy, Philippines and Denmark; the Chairman of the First Committee, Mr. Amadeo, of the Argentine delegation, may be replaced by the Vice-Chairman of that Committee who is with us at the present time.

42. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly approves the proposed procedure.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.5 p.m.