

172. In this connexion, our Government and people are pleased to welcome President Johnson's proposal to assist in the development of South-East Asia and particularly in the implementation of the Mekong River Project. As this is a proposal likely to lay a firm and constructive basis for a long-lasting peace, it is our earnest hope that other industrialized countries will participate in this gigantic and worthwhile task of uplifting the economic and social well-being of the peoples in the South-East Asian region. We are also gratified at the enthusiastic support from various quarters for the creation of an Asian Development Bank. The Thai Government, in view of convenient facilities and the existence of many other United Nations agencies in Bangkok, would welcome its establishment in our capital.

173. In our present world of diversity, contrast and contradictions, frictions and even clashes are bound to occur. While, in general, efforts to smooth them over can be successful, nevertheless, some differences inflamed by highly charged emotions have developed into conflicts with resort to force of arms. These are the possibilities we have to reckon with. However, with the present destructive power of modern weapons, the risk is too great to allow any conflict to take place, for it may develop into world-wide conflagration. For these reasons, it is always preferable to prevent it from happening than to halt it.

174. As in the past, the seeds of present, and possibly of future, conflicts lie in opposing ideas or ideologies and, of course, national interests. If the nations of the world, both within and outside this Organization, could be persuaded to adopt a live and let live attitude of recognizing for others the same freedom they want for themselves to choose the political and economic system or the ideology which they consider to be most suitable for their own development and interests, and not to seek to impose on others the system of their choice, then some of the causes of serious frictions would have

been removed. If such could be the case, peoples would be able to enjoy the benefits of true coexistence, which will be more permanent than a temporary truce.

175. On the other hand, powerful as ideas and ideologies may be, national interests have played and undoubtedly will continue to play, a dominant role in the conduct of international affairs. On occasion, when ideologies come blatantly into direct confrontation, the realization of one's own national interests, especially the interest of preserving global or regional peace, may help put the ideological conflict into proper perspective and thus prevent its effects from upsetting the general peace. It is our hope that this reality may be borne in mind when sustained efforts are being made to resolve the difficulties in Viet-Nam.

176. On the other hand, national interests themselves may not always be concordant. However, with far-sightedness and a spirit of give and take and compromise, they could be adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of all the parties concerned and remain on the path of peace and harmony rather than that of discord and conflict. The United Nations, to us, has been and will remain for a long time to come a useful centre for harmonizing the conflicting ideologies and national interests. If we know how to use it with moderation and due considerateness, this Organization of ours can faithfully serve our individual and collective interests and, above all, the cause of international goodwill.

177. As a Buddhist whose faith is fundamentally based on peace—peace for all men as well as peace among men and among nations—I prayerfully join in responding to the ardent plea made by His Holiness Pope Paul VI, whose visit to this Assembly has brought us a profound spiritual inspiration that peace must guide the destinies of men and nations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records



1344th
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 30 September 1965,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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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. QUIROS (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): Permit me first of all, on behalf of my Government and the Salvadorian delegation as well as on my own behalf, to congratulate the President on having been elected to preside over our deliberations at this session and on the extraordinary support which the General Assembly has given him, as manifested not only by its almost unanimous vote but also by the expression of personal regard for him voiced by the speakers who have preceded me, expressions with which we sincerely associate ourselves in well-deserved recognition of his outstanding merits as an intellectual and statesman and as an illustrious spokesman for the noble people of Italy.

2. Together with my cordial congratulations I offer the President, on behalf of my delegation, our constant and resolute co-operation, knowing that he will guide the complex work of this session with the utmost skill. He may be sure that we share his concern at this difficult period of the history of mankind and that we are fully alive to the responsibility which all of us must assume if we wish to overcome the difficulties obstructing the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations.

3. El Salvador is also happy on this occasion to welcome the three countries which have become members of our great family of nations, the sovereign States of Gambia, the Maldive Islands and Singapore. I take pleasure in extending to them our warmest congratulations, expressing our sincere hope for their growing prosperity and offering them the sincere friendship of the Salvadorian people and Government.

4. El Salvador comes to this session of the General Assembly imbued with the same spirit of understanding and international co-operation which has characterized its participation in all earlier sessions.

5. We are mindful of the fact that we are commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, which obliges us all to pause and take stock of the road we have travelled, the experiences we have had, the tasks we have carried out and those which remain to be completed, and the inevitable frustrations which we have sometimes had to endure.

6. This is a propitious occasion for reaffirming our unwavering adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, whose principles are also incorporated, at the national level, in the Constitution of El Salvador, which is entirely based on unity, friendship and democracy and the most uncompromising respect for the rights, dignity and freedom of the human person.

7. As Americans we must at the same time reaffirm our allegiance to the Charter of the Organization of American States, whose objectives and ideals, moreover, fully coincide with those of the world Organization. Let me also express El Salvador's loyalty to the principles of the Charter of the Organization of Central American States, which was established for the purpose of promoting the economic, social and political integration of the peoples of Central America.

8. Respecting as it does the equality and sovereignty of all States, without which there can be no international coexistence, El Salvador wishes to reiterate here, as it has done on numerous occasions, its dedication to the principle of non-intervention and to the right of peoples to self-determination without foreign interference. Consequently, my country condemns all aggression and interference of any kind, including ideological aggression and interference which propagate doctrines contrary to our democratic tradition. We likewise reiterate our opposition to all forms of colonialism, noting with regret that there still exist colonial territories in the very heart of our continent which are an affront to the American States.

9. With regard to the Central American territory of Belize, we maintain our close support of the legitimate claims of our sister republic, Guatemala, and we were very happy to hear the Guatemalan Minister for Foreign Affairs announce that a solution of that long-standing dispute with the United Kingdom is being sought through the good offices of a friendly State.

10. I should now like to refer very briefly to certain aspects of the world situation in which the current session of the General Assembly is taking place. Among them there are, to be sure, some which could well give rise to pessimism but these very aspects should, on the contrary, inspire us to make new and more vigorous efforts and imbue us with a greater sense of responsibility if we really wish to contribute to the peace and prosperity of all the peoples of the earth.

11. There is no concealing the fact that the main causes of uncertainty and anxiety in the world still remain. The ever-present possibility of a frightful nuclear war which, if it broke out, would destroy the modern civilization which has been developed over the centuries with so much painstaking effort; the ominous spectre of hunger which hovers over enormous masses of human beings, as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has told us with such painful frankness; the exacerbation of racial conflicts and the growth of extreme nationalisms, stirred up by selfish interests which refuse to recognize that the peace of the world is indivisible; sporadic outbreaks of local warfare which could easily degenerate into world conflagrations; the political, social and economic consequences of the cold war and the armaments race, which was profoundly disturbing to all peoples and prevent them from using their natural resources and the advances of technology and science for their own benefit and in the service of the peace and well-being of mankind—these are the disquieting problems to which we must find an adequate and satisfactory solution, in accordance with the high principles and aims of the United Nations.

12. In view of the grave threats to peace and of the international conflicts which have recently arisen, it becomes more urgently necessary than ever to concentrate on the problems of world disarmament and of prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, putting an end to the testing of such weapons once and for all and achieving the maximum international co-operation to guarantee that outer space is used for exclusively peaceful ends, without losing sight of the desire of the peoples expressed in the Declaration on the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament [resolution 1837 (XVII)].

13. It was a severe shock to us that in the same month in which this twentieth session opened a bloody conflict broke out between India and Pakistan. The peoples devoted to peace and harmony were solidly behind the Secretary-General when he made his recent journey to urge a cease-fire in the Kashmir area and they have followed with the greatest interest the deliberations and efforts of the Security Council to terminate the hostilities in the affected territory as quickly as possible.

14. It was with a real sense of relief that the world received the news that both India and Pakistan had agreed to comply with Security Council resolution 211 (1965) of 20 September 1965, which calls upon both sides to cease their hostilities immediately. El Salvador, which hoped as did all mankind for an understanding between India and Pakistan, now offers its congratulations to both nations and their respective

Governments, to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, while at the same time expressing its most earnest wish for a final settlement of the differences and problems which led to the conflict.

15. The fact that the General Assembly has been able to meet this year without having to face the obstacles which prevented it from functioning last year is encouragement for all those who are cowed by the difficulties before us.

16. Even though the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has not yet been able to solve all the problems referred to it by the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, it nevertheless deserves our gratitude for having secured unanimous approval of the agreement which permits us to work normally today on the problems of peace which brook no delay.

17. It is with particular satisfaction that I wish to refer to a meaningful event which fills us with great hopes: the forthcoming visit of His Holiness Pope Paul VI to the United Nations. The Pontiffs of the Roman Catholic Church have always striven to promote peace everywhere in the world and to further tranquillity, harmony and order based on universal justice and brotherhood. Even at the most critical moments of history and in the hours of greatest anguish the voice of the Popes has been a powerful force in arousing new hopes and inspiring confident optimism in all matters affecting the destiny of mankind. My delegation has the greatest satisfaction in extending in advance its most respectful and heartfelt welcome to His Holiness Pope Paul VI, in the certainty that his wise message will be inspired by the highest interests of mankind. El Salvador, whose people are traditionally Catholic, takes this opportunity to reiterate its continuing devotion to the spiritual and religious values represented by the august person of the Sovereign Pontiff.

18. As far as the highly complex problems which the developing countries are trying to solve are concerned, the delegation of El Salvador wishes to express its gratitude for the valuable co-operation given to El Salvador by the United Nations through its Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, through the development of local and regional projects of the Special Fund, and through Central American technical assistance projects.

19. The United Nations Special Fund has given El Salvador its valuable co-operation in the form of technical personnel, equipment and services for the exploration of the ground water resources of one of our country's most important agricultural areas: the valley of the Río Grande de San Miguel. As a result of this study, a project for irrigating a very considerably larger area, thus greatly increasing the productive capacity of the valley, is in course of execution. In addition, the Government of El Salvador has just signed two agreements with the United Nations Special Fund for co-operation in investigating the country's geothermal resources and exploring the ground water resources of the San Salvador metropolitan area. Negotiations with the Special Fund regarding the execution of a study of our mineral resources are also under way. The regional projects cover industrial

research and technology, telecommunications, agricultural sciences, the development of the fishing industry and the campaign for the eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly.

20. There can be no doubt that the international co-operation made available to my country by the United Nations and its specialized agencies is highly productive, and, moreover, it has increased continually since 1951, when the first relevant agreements between the United Nations and the Government of El Salvador were signed.

21. It is worth noting, too, that the Central American Economic Integration Programme is the result of the effective co-operation organized by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, which set up a regional Committee of Ministers of Economic Affairs and Public Works.

22. My distinguished colleague Mr. Herrarte, the representative of Guatemala, has already told the General Assembly in his brilliant statement (1340th meeting) of the measures which the Central American republics have adopted to rebuild their original unity as a single community of nations.

23. Although social and political unity is the primary objective of the whole Central American integration movement, priority continues to be given in practice to the promotion of everything concerned with the immediate economic integration of the region. As far as this highly important phase of the process of integration is concerned, I am gratified to be able to announce that the Central American Common Market is already a going concern which is scoring indisputable successes in its own specific field and mustering the increasingly enthusiastic and effective co-operation of its members.

24. Still on the subject of the efforts being made by my country to speed up its development, we would like to reiterate our firm dedication to the principles of the Alliance for Progress. El Salvador has always been and will continue to be an enthusiastic and steadfast follower of these principles, not only because the Alliance constitutes a collective undertaking to promote economic change and progress, but also, and primarily, because it is designed to bring about a radical improvement in the living conditions of our people.

25. In the same connexion, El Salvador intends to help in every possible way to accelerate, intensify and extend United Nations activities aimed at furthering over-all development for the prime purpose of eliminating the poverty in which vast numbers of mankind live. As the distinguished representative of Brazil, Mr. Leitão da Cunha, pointed out [1334th meeting], the poor countries continue to become poorer every day, while the economy of the privileged sector of the world prospers.

26. There is a pressing need for the economically more favoured countries to awake to their heavy responsibilities and redouble their efforts to co-operate more actively with nations which are experiencing difficulty in promoting and intensifying their own development process.

27. Since the United Nations already recognize that the disparity between countries in the economic and social sectors is growing rather than diminishing, as is so explicitly stated in the joint declaration of the seventy-seven developing countries made at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,^{1/} El Salvador is confident that all countries will fully and whole-heartedly endorse the need to strengthen and galvanize the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and give it effective help in achieving its objectives.

28. El Salvador, as a country whose main source of income is primary exports, is interested in obtaining for its exports on world markets fair prices which represent adequate and equitable remuneration for the labour of those who produce them.

29. I cannot conclude this brief statement without expressing, as is my duty, the gratitude of the Government and people of El Salvador for the aid and demonstrations of human solidarity given to us in a spirit of brotherhood by many friendly nations on the occasion of the earthquake of 3 May this year, which caused much damage to the city of San Salvador and surrounding communities and as well as taking its toll of victims also left several thousand inhabitants homeless. El Salvador expresses its undying gratitude to all these noble countries, their distinguished Governments and their generous peoples, who are so worthily represented in this Assembly.

Mr. Fanfani (Italy) took the Chair.

30. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania expresses the hope that, in view of the total failure of those who paralysed the last session on the pretext of the so-called financial crisis, the present session of the General Assembly will function normally. The Assembly must obviously be on its guard lest similar attempts should be made during the present session, and it must not be content merely to abide by the rules of procedure. What is essential, and what all people rightly expect, is that the United Nations should take the right course, that it should cease to be an instrument for the foreign policy of a great Power, and that the General Assembly should act effectively in the interests of peace, the freedom of all people and international co-operation.

31. Despite the artificial efforts made by certain speakers at the beginning of this session to becloud the realities of the tragic events taking place in our planet, the international situation is too grave not to arouse concern among the peace-loving Member States and to make them aware of their responsibilities.

32. This year, the General Assembly is meeting at a critical time, a time when, in various parts of the world, the flames of aggressive war redden the sky and many peoples are bearing great sacrifices for the cause of freedom and national dignity against the retrogressive forces of imperialism and reaction. I wish, however, to stress that despite the present grave situation, the Government of the People's Republic

^{1/} *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. 1, Final Act and Report* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), pages 66 to 69.

of Albania believes that it is upon the will and determination of the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world that the responsibility rests for barring the way to this dangerous course of events. The peace-loving countries and peoples are more numerous and more powerful than the monopolist groups and the war-mongering circles which dream of spreading their régime of oppression and pillage throughout the world.

33. Mankind has entered an era of profound and revolutionary changes. The great concepts of freedom, democracy and social progress have, in the hands of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, become the instruments for throwing off the imperialist and colonialist yoke and blazing the trail of national and social emancipation. A new world has been born, a world free of oppression and exploitation. Colonial empires are crumbling. Independence, national sovereignty and equality among all States, whether large or small, are the great principles underlying the international relations that have been established by peoples and countries which abominate the oppression and exploitation of imperialism and colonialism. Against this new world and the States and peoples who are fighting for these principles, we see ranged the masters of the old world, the imperialists and colonialists who are vainly trying to turn aside the onward rush of history.

34. The standard-bearer of this crusade against the people has been the United States of America, in whose eyes every independent State and every people aspiring to freedom is an enemy, and every progressive and democratic movement is subversive. The United States Government, which carries on noisy propaganda for freedom and democracy, has in reality suppressed freedom in its own country by denying its negro citizens their rights, by oppressing them and by massacring them in Los Angeles and elsewhere. Nevertheless, it attempts to dictate to other countries, in the name of freedom, what kind of Governments they ought to have and to impose on them its own policy and its hegemony. It fiercely attacks the peoples who are struggling for freedom in the Congo and elsewhere. It intervenes against the Dominican people, who are fighting for freedom and democratic rights, in order to oppress them with large military forces. It occupies South Viet-Nam and bombs the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam day and night. It has established a vast network of military bases all around the world. It has given gunboat diplomacy and international brigandage the status of an institution and has made violence its guiding doctrine. The old colonialism is in its death-throes, but United States neo-colonialism, which is more subtle and more dangerous, is taking its place.

35. This arrogant war-mongering policy has led to a vigorous reaction among the peoples of the world who, today more than ever before, are aware of their rights and their strength and who see in United States imperialism the worst champion of reaction, the enemy of freedom and peace and their own most vicious enemy. The peoples of the world ardently love peace, but they do not want the peace of slaves or the peace of the dead. There cannot, moreover, be any peace without freedom. The peoples of the

world want to be freed and to be masters in their own home; they want to be free to establish their government of their choice, to advance as sovereign people in accordance with their traditions and their aspirations, and to make their contribution to the cause of co-operation and progress under conditions of equality and mutual respect; they want to be friends and not masters. That is why they are joining forces and are supporting each other against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the policy of enslavement and aggression represented by the imperialism of the United States and its partners.

36. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania believes that the most disturbing problem at the present juncture is the war in Viet-Nam. What is at stake in Viet-Nam is the future of peace and freedom, the right of people to freedom and self-determination against the force and the ruthless intervention of the United States of America. The United States imperialist aggression in Viet-Nam is a challenge to all freedom-loving countries and peoples. The Viet-Nameese people in the South as well as the North have valiantly taken up this challenge. With no thought for the sacrifices involved, they are waging a heroic struggle of world significance and inflicting defeat after defeat upon the greatest imperialist Power, proving once again that there is no force in the world which can subjugate a people fighting for the just cause of national freedom and independence.

37. The United States Government, which has ruthlessly trampled underfoot the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China,^{2/} which has intervened militarily in South Viet-Nam and has attacked North Viet-Nam and which every day carries out bombing raids and savage massacres against the Viet-Nameese people, is trying to create the impression that, for its part, it desires peace in Viet-Nam and that it is the Viet-Nameese people, who are resisting aggression and fighting for their national independence, who are waging a war. Everyone knows that the Viet-Nameese army has not landed in the United States and is not bombing New York or Pittsburgh, but that, on the contrary, all branches of the United States armed forces have invaded South Viet-Nam, 10,000 miles away, and have unleashed, without the slightest provocation, a war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. It is the armed forces of the United States which are waging a war of extermination and committing acts of genocide in Viet-Nam, even resorting to such barbaric means as napalm and poison gas; it is they who are massacring school-children, hospital patients and nursing mothers. These are crimes against mankind which outrage the conscience of the world, and they cannot be concealed by the pacific effusions of professional murderers.

38. Regardless of what they do, however, the aggressors are doomed to inevitable defeat. The Viet-Nameese people are fighting for a just cause; they are invincible and ready for any sacrifice, and they will be victorious. At the present time, the United States Government is proposing "peace talks" and is trying to use the United Nations itself and other means

^{2/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

pressure against the people of Viet-Nam in order, it claims, to re-establish peace in Viet-Nam. In fact, however, it is attempting to deceive public opinion and to achieve at the negotiating table what it cannot accomplish on the battle-field, namely, to perpetuate the occupation of South Viet-Nam and the partition of Viet-Nam.

39. The war in Viet-Nam is a matter of concern for all people. The Albanian delegation understands the sincere desire of various freedom-loving countries to see peace restored in Viet-Nam, this being, of course, of interest above all to the Viet-Nameese people themselves. There is, however, no doubt that any other people attacked and invaded by any enemy would do exactly the same as the Viet-Nameese people are doing; it would resist aggression and would refuse to engage in "peace talks" until the aggressor had withdrawn. To do otherwise would be tantamount to capitulation, to the acceptance of negotiations as though under the threat of a gun held by a gangster who had entered your home by force. Peace under those conditions would be like Hitler's peace at Munich, which became the prelude to the Second World War. If such tactics—armed aggression followed by proposals for negotiation—were to succeed in Viet-Nam, the United States would then apply them to other independent countries in Asia and other continents. That is why any attempt at negotiations under these conditions cannot serve the cause of peace or the sacred rights of the Viet-Nameese people; it can only benefit the aggressor as long as the aggression continues, as long as the aggressor continues to occupy the South, to attack the North and to send additional forces to Viet-Nam.

40. The Albanian delegation hopes that the true friends of the Viet-Nameese people, as well as of freedom and peace, will understand that in this question of vital importance to the people of Viet-Nam and to the fate of world peace, we cannot allow ourselves to be guided by narrow considerations of expediency or by the desire to salvage the prestige of the aggressor by stopping half-way. We must go all the way in supporting the just cause of the Viet-Nameese people, which is also the cause of all free and peace-loving peoples. The friends of Viet-Nam also realize that it is not this cause, but exactly the opposite, which is served by mere Platonic declarations against interference in the domestic affairs of States, and that when a Government has the duty and all the means to do so, and is sincere in its intentions, it must say "stop" to the aggressor.

41. Peace could be immediately re-established in Viet-Nam if the United States put an end to its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, withdrew all its armed forces and the mercenary forces with their weapons and equipment, and allowed the people of South Viet-Nam freely to decide their problems themselves. This would also be in the true interest of the people of the United States, whose sons are being killed in the jungles of Viet-Nam for an unjust and criminal cause. This is the only course which can lead to a solution of the Viet-Nam question in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements. This is what the freedom-loving States and peoples demand. It is precisely this course which is advocated

in the statement of 22 March 1965 by the National Liberation Front, which alone represents the people of South Viet-Nam, and in the statement of 8 April 1965 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, which is one with its brothers, the people of Viet-Nam, in their heroic and just struggle, resolutely supports these statements.

42. The Albanian delegation believes that the United Nations must not be allowed to bring further discredit upon itself by serving the policy of United States aggression. It will oppose any attempt to involve the United Nations in the sordid war of the United States imperialists in Viet-Nam and will make it its duty to unmask the conspiracies which they are plotting with their friends behind the scenes against the heroic Viet-Nameese people and against the cause of peace.

43. The significant successes of the countries in the socialist camp, of the recently liberated countries and of the revolutionary and liberation movements have considerably strengthened the peace front, creating a solid basis for new victories over colonialism and imperialism and opening encouraging prospects for the future. But it cannot be denied that the aggressive policy of the imperialists, with the United States at their head, has created a grave situation in the world. The illusion which the interested parties deliberately fostered by asserting that the settlement of the Caribbean crisis had opened a new positive phase of peace in international relations have proved to be groundless. As the events of the last few years have confirmed, those who foster these illusions have only whetted the appetite of the United States imperialists for further adventures and have made possible the conclusion of open or secret agreements between the parties concerned to the detriment of the small countries and the liberation movements. Among the events of this kind that might be mentioned are the Moscow treaty partially banning nuclear weapon tests,^{3/} United States aggression in Viet-Nam, in the Congo and in the Dominican Republic, the United Nations crisis, and the upsurge of secret diplomacy at the expense of sovereign countries and of peace.

44. The Albanian Government believes that the aggressive policy of the United States, like that of Hitler, can lead to the outbreak of a new world war. To be sure, times have changed, and so has the balance of power, and people have learnt the lessons of history. But the present situation requires that the freedom-loving States and peoples join their efforts to those of the people struggling against United States imperialism, in order to avert a new catastrophe which would cost mankind dear, irrespective of the fact that in the final analysis the defeat of United States imperialism is inevitable.

45. Twenty years have already passed since the establishment of the United Nations, but this anniversary, it must be noted, coincides with the most serious crisis in the Organization's history.

46. The People's Republic of Albania has always worked, within the limits of its possibilities, to ensure

^{3/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

that the United Nations should fulfil its basic purposes and meet the hopes of the people for the safeguarding of peace, freedom and progress. We must, unfortunately, admit that the record of these twenty years is far from satisfactory.

47. In the opinion of the Albanian delegation, the United Nations would have accomplished its mission successfully and met the hopes of the people if it had functioned in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. It has long been clear that if the United Nations is to achieve its fundamental objectives, it must not allow itself to be manipulated by a great Power in the interest of that Power's policy and contrary to the interests and sovereign rights of other countries and the interests of peace.

48. In the first place, the time has come to put an end to an absurd situation in which, under United States pressure, the United Nations allows the seat of China to be occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek puppet régime, which represents no one, while at the same time the United Nations is deprived of the participation and contribution of the People's Republic of China, that great socialist State of enormous potential and creative power which resolutely follows a policy of peace and friendship, which has achieved magnificent successes in every sphere, and which has become one of the main Powers in the world, and a certain guarantee on the peace and freedom of all people. China has established diplomatic relations with fifty States on all continents, the majority of which are Members of our Organization. It is daily developing and expanding co-operation and trade and cultural relations with more than 120 countries on the basis of the just principles of total equality, non-interference, mutual respect, sincere co-operation and the provision of mutually advantageous assistance without any political or other conditions. All States which maintain and are developing relations with the People's Republic of China have been able to observe to practice the soundness of its policy of friendship, genuine co-operation and defence of peace. That is why a growing number of States recognize China and wish to establish friendly relations with it, whereas the attempts of the United States Government to isolate China have only resulted in the isolation of the United States itself in its anti-Chinese policy.

49. China's achievement of the rank of a nuclear Power has been welcomed by the peace-loving countries and peoples as an important factor for peace and security counteracting the atomic monopoly and blackmail of United States imperialism. Many political leaders in various countries have rightly stressed that the voice of China, with its 650 million inhabitants, must be heard at every international meeting, that the great problems of the day in Asia and throughout the world cannot be settled without its participation, and that its contribution is essential to the cause of peace. Without China, the United Nations itself must inevitably be impotent and ineffective. The time has come for the Member States which are concerned for the future of the Organization, for the cause of peace and for international co-operation to put an end to this morbid obstruction by the United States and to support the request introduced at the present

session by various countries, including Albania, to expel the Chiang Kai-shek elements and to restore without delay the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

50. The prestige and authority of the United Nations have also been seriously impaired by the fact that not only has it been unable to summon sufficient strength to condemn the aggressions of imperialism in various areas of the world, but in Korea and the Congo, its flag has even been put at the service of aggression. It was in the name of the United Nations that South Korea was turned into a veritable colony of the United States and a base for aggression in the United States in the Far East—a dangerous and intolerable situation that is being rightly opposed by the Korean people, which has the fraternal support of the Albanian people and the sympathy of all the peoples of the world. The United States is now endeavouring to make use of the United Nations in its war of aggression in Viet-Nam, while in the Dominican Republic the Security Council has effected given legal sanction to the military intervention of the United States. Instead of supporting the people of Kashmir in their struggle for freedom and self-determination, and instead of supporting Pakistan in its fight to defend itself, the Security Council has in fact, taken the side of India, which has disregarded not only the resolutions of the Security Council but also the provisions of the Charter and the principles of international law, and is responsible for the serious situation which has been created between the two neighbouring countries. The cases of the Congo, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Kashmir—to take only a few recent ones—illustrate the bitter fact that every time a great imperialist Power attacks a small country the Security Council—the organ which, under the Charter, has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security—is incapable of defending the victim and in actual fact serves the ends of the aggression. What confidence, then, can the small nations, which are in the majority, have in the Security Council and in the United Nations itself for their security? The justifiable withdrawal of Indonesia was at once a heavy blow and a serious warning to the United Nations.

51. Great problems beset mankind and threaten world peace. Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam are still divided; the imperialist Powers have created numerous hotbeds of tension and conflict; millions upon millions of people still suffer under the colonial yoke; thousands of military bases on foreign territory limit the sovereignty of the States where they are established and threaten peace.

52. The efforts of the United States to use the United Nations for its own ends have rendered this Organization incapable of settling any of these problems. A typical case is the problem of disarmament, which has been discussed for twenty years without the slightest result being achieved. During those twenty years, dozens of disarmament commissions, committees and ad hoc groups have been established, hundreds of reports and resolutions have been submitted; the problem has been discussed in all its principal and secondary aspects; it has been debated directly or indirectly, in theoretical and in specific

terms. But the arsenals of war have not been reduced by a single cartridge. The work of the Committee of Seventeen, which meets at Geneva, drags on endlessly and fruitlessly. This year, the Disarmament Commission, with the participation of the entire membership of the United Nations, also met, but, in order not to disrupt the measure of agreement reached between two great Powers, it did not adopt any resolutions providing for effective measures.

53. One gets the impression that all these talks are organized with the express aim of diverting attention from the frenzied arms race and the aggressive actions of the United States in Viet-Nam, the Congo, the Dominican Republic and elsewhere. It might even be said that the plan for general and complete disarmament has been shelved. The so-called "nuclear umbrella" reveals a design to disarm other countries while the two nuclear super-Powers would retain their missiles and nuclear weapons in order to threaten and attempt to subjugate other countries. At the present time, these Powers have deliberately brought the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to the foreground. The basic idea of this plan is that nuclear weapons should remain the monopoly of the States already possessing them, while they would be denied to other countries, except West Germany, which would obtain them within the framework of the so-called "multilateral nuclear force".

54. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania appreciates the concern of certain delegations over the question of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Naturally, we oppose the granting of such weapons, in any form whatsoever, to West Germany, which pursues a policy of revenge and aggression. We consider, however, that the problem has been poorly stated, that it has in fact been put the wrong way round. What must be realized is that the danger does not stem from the countries which do not have nuclear weapons, but from those which do. That is why, in our opinion, if we really wish to save mankind from the danger of nuclear war, effective measures must be taken to compel the States that already possess nuclear weapons not to use them, not to manufacture other nuclear weapons and even to destroy their existing stockpiles completely. To concern ourselves with the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons at a time when the United States is actually threatening to use them is to dodge the issue and is tantamount to recognizing that the United States of America is entitled to have a nuclear monopoly and to indulge in nuclear blackmail. To take such a course would be to perpetuate the danger of nuclear war. So far as we are concerned, we have always been and still are, in favour of effective general disarmament and of the banning and the complete and final destruction of nuclear weapons. It is from this standpoint that we also view the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

55. The United Nations, as a result of its manipulation by a great Power, has seen its prestige decline; it has become incapable of solving problems or of serving the cause of peace, the emancipation of peoples and international security. The very fact that its Headquarters is in the United States of America has become a source of weakness for the Organization and

a source of intolerable restrictions and affronts for many delegations—to say nothing at this juncture of the Secretariat, which consists mainly of United States nationals and whose part in important political questions is known only to certain privileged States.

56. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania believes that another source of the weakness of the United Nations is to be found in its own Charter. It will be recalled that the United Nations was founded before the end of the Second World War, at a time when it was believed that the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance would be the basis for the reconstruction of the post-war world and would be long-lasting. Under the Charter, the United Nations assumed the task of saving mankind from the scourge of a new world war, of assisting the peoples of the world along the road to freedom, prosperity and peace, and of establishing and furthering among States relations based on equality and sovereignty. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has always supported these high and just purposes which were defined at the time and enshrined in the Charter. Today, however, the situation is no longer what it was in 1945. It has changed profoundly as a result of the developments of the last twenty years, and these changes have highlighted a number of defects in the Charter which, in our opinion, it is time to correct.

57. In the view of the Albanian Government, the main defect lies in the contradiction which exists between the fundamental principle of the sovereign equality of Member States, as defined in Article 2 of the Charter and recognized in international law, and the privileges conferred on the great Powers by the Charter with regard to the fundamental questions of international peace and security. At the present time, whether we like it or not, the Member States are not equal in the United Nations; they are divided into two groups, and it is the great Powers that have the upper hand. This state of affairs is unjust in principle and harmful in practice. What happens as a result is that the Chiang Kai-shek clique continues to usurp the seat of China and that, as I mentioned before, the United Nations and its Charter, in Korea, in the Congo and in other cases, have been used as a weapon against the freedom of the people and against peace.

58. The privileged wish, of course, to retain their privileges, but the majority of Member States, which adhere to the principle of equality and sovereignty, are opposed to this. The great Powers in the United Nations not only refuse to revise the Charter but are trying to find new ways of preserving their privileges. The Governments of two leading Powers have even devised a new formula for establishing their joint hegemony in the world and in the United Nations. This formula embodies a dangerous plan for setting up a United Nations force on a permanent basis. The shameful role of the United Nations forces in Korea and in the Congo cannot be denied. We are not told, however, that these forces, once established and directed by the Security Council, would serve the cause of peace and freedom. Those who make such a claim affect to forget that in the case of the Congo the United Nations Force was sent there by the Security Council, on the unanimous vote of the great Powers, with results that are well known. Pre-

vious experience of United Nations forces has been bitter, and the aims of those who advocate this plan for using a United Nations force as an international police force to suppress liberation and revolutionary movements are obvious. That is why the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has strongly opposed, and continues to oppose, the establishment of a United Nations force in the present circumstances.

59. At the present time, the socialist revolution has triumphed in one third of the world and since 1945, more than sixty countries have regained their independence. These changes are not, however, reflected in the Charter or the organs of the United Nations, and the rights of the socialist and African-Asian States are not respected. The General Assembly will certainly recall how, in December 1963, the great Powers joined together in opposing amendments to the Charter for increasing the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the membership of the Economic and Social Council in favour of the African-Asian countries. On that occasion, Albania resolutely supported the countries of Africa and Asia, which fully appreciated the part played by Albania in the adoption of the proposed amendments [see resolution 1991 (XVIII)].

60. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that it is time that the rights of the African-Asian countries and of all Member States were respected on an equal footing and reflected in the membership of all United Nations organs. The independent States of Africa and Asia are making a very active contribution to international life. The Albanian Government fully supports their efforts to strengthen their independence and national sovereignty and their solidarity against colonialism and imperialism. It wishes every success to the Organization of African Unity and to the second African-Asian conference, which is to be held in the near future. The peoples still subject to the colonial yoke are waging a heroic struggle. They have not been deluded by the attempts of the apologists of colonialism to divert them from their just struggle with such bogus threats as "any spark might lead to a nuclear war" and "imperialism is a tiger with atomic teeth". These peoples are marching steadfastly onward towards victory and freedom.

61. I should like to take this opportunity to express the congratulations of the People's Republic of Albania to the Gambia, the Maldiv Islands and Singapore on their attainment of independence and their admission to the United Nations.

62. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have always had, and always will have, our backing in their struggle for freedom and national independence, which is an indisputable right and the very basis of international relations. The national liberation movement is an important factor for peace and progress and will inevitably lead to the elimination of the colonial system. However, the Charter of the United Nations recognizes the existence of the system of non-self-governing and dependent territories, which at the present time is an inadmissible anachronism. The United Nations should not be content with an academic consideration of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)

against colonialism, which was adopted in 1960. I duty is to take effective measures to support the peoples of Oman and South Arabia, Angola and Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, North Kalimantan, Puerto Rico, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland in their struggle for national liberation.

63. Moreover, the United Nations should not only take a stand against racial discrimination and oppression, but should also condemn in the strongest terms the crimes of genocide perpetrated before our eyes in South Africa and the United States of America against the coloured population.

64. In conclusion, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that, if we want the United Nations to emerge from the unhappy state to which it has been reduced and become once again an international organization capable of serving the cause of peace, national independence and international security, it is high time that various forceful measures be taken along the following lines in particular.

65. First, free the United Nations, all its bodies, all its organs and all its machinery from control and manipulation by the United States of America, either alone or in collusion with any other Power, and make it a true centre for harmonizing the efforts of equal nations to achieve the aforementioned objectives in conformity with the fundamental principles of the Charter.

66. Secondly, restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations without delay and at the same time expel the Chiang Kai-shek puppet.

67. Thirdly, amend the Charter so as to make the sovereign equality of all Member States, without distinction or privilege, one of the foundations of the Organization's activities. It is only on this basis that the United Nations can have any meaning or justification.

68. Fourthly, delete from the Charter any provision or reference which is incompatible with the freedom and sovereignty of peoples or which in any way recognizes colonialism.

69. Fifthly, let the United Nations support by every possible means the peoples who are victims of imperialist aggression, and let it condemn such aggression vigorously and effectively; let it support anti-colonial and anti-imperialist liberation movements; let it support the recently liberated States so that they may consolidate their national independence and sovereignty in all respects; and let it actively defend peace and the cause of progress.

70. In making these observations and suggestions, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania is prompted by the desire of the Albanian Government that the United Nations should not meet the fate of the League of Nations, but should become a dynamic organization capable of meeting the basic current needs of peace-loving peoples and States and the requirements of international co-operation on the only possible and effective basis, namely, equality, sovereignty and mutual respect and advantage. The Albanian

delegation will be glad to co-operate in this way with other delegations guided by the same desires and aims. The strained international situation requires the United Nations to justify its existence and play the role incumbent upon it in accordance with its mandate and with the Charter; this, in our opinion, makes it essential for the aforementioned measures to be adopted without delay.

71. I have stated the viewpoint and position of the Government of a small country, the People's Republic of Albania, on certain important aspects of the international situation and our Organization.

72. The overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations are small or relatively small countries, but all are sovereign and equal States. Each small country makes its contribution to the great cause of freedom and progress, and we have all, great and small, the right to express our views openly, to defend the principles which are sacred to us, and our fundamental rights of freedom, independence and national sovereignty against the arrogance, greed and injustice of the great imperialist Powers.

73. At this stage of history one cannot accept the idea that a small State must submit to a big State, that a small country, in order to gain the right to live in this world, must follow blindly and willy-nilly the policy of a large country, that an economically weak country must make itself subordinate to the economy of an economically powerful country. The freedom, independence and sovereignty, the right to self-determination and self-government, the political decisions of every independent people and State must be preserved in all circumstances from every form of intervention, whether open or concealed.

74. The great imperialist Powers and certain degenerate chauvinist leaders have not renounced this policy of oppression, political and economic blackmail, gross intervention and dissimulated or blatant intrigue against sovereign peoples and countries. They insist on prolonging the life of this sordid policy and resort to all possible means in order to make it appear "democratic". They varnish it with pseudo-peace-loving and pseudo-humanitarian slogans and swaddle it in a cloak of pseudo-peaceful-coexistence. This policy is a cover for aggression, blackmail, political and economic pressure and armed intervention. It is a threat to peace and a prelude to war.

75. When the Powers and the leaders I have just mentioned are resorting to every means in their fight against freedom, against the independence of the peoples and countries that want to live in freedom and to be sovereign and independent, do we little countries not have the right and duty to fight with the greatest determination against this situation, which threatens us every day and at every moment? We certainly have such a right, and we must carry out this vital task with courage. Right is might, and we are in the right. Neither the imperialists nor their partners, of course, deny us this right in their demagogic words, but in practice they do everything in their power to stifle us.

76. We are not against the great Powers or against the great peoples as States and peoples, nor are we

against the great people. We favour friendship with all peoples, but we will fight to the end against servitude, slavery, barbarous exploitation, colonialism, blackmail and the warmongering imperialist policy followed by the leaders and Governments of these Powers.

77. The strength of the small peace-loving countries is enormous by comparison with that of world imperialism. Let us realize our considerable strength, which neither the vast armaments of the imperialists nor their economic power can resist. This great truth is confirmed by time, and it is becoming more obvious every day in practice.

78. There are some who are afraid of the imperialist bogeyman and of reprisals, who fear the suspension of credit and the plots that the imperialists may organize in their countries. But it is possible to face the threats as well as the plots and the gross intervention, even if armed. It is possible to face anything, as heroic, decent and brave men and peoples have done and are doing every day. The history of mankind and the history of each people taken separately is made up of a brilliant record of revolutionary struggle against tyrants, cruel invaders, colonialists and imperialists.

79. The Albanian people are small in number. The Albanian State is small in size, but it has never done harm to anyone, whereas several other countries have done harm to it. They have invaded the country with fire and sword and massacred the people, but they have never been able to achieve their diabolical aim of crushing our people, of subjugating them physically and spiritually and enslaving them, because the Albanian people have fought, they have resisted, and they have not been afraid, even at the most trying moments in their age-long history. The example of our small nation is only one of many in the brilliant history of peoples who have struggled for freedom, independence and sovereignty.

80. The Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom have been and still are unwilling to establish diplomatic relations with Albania because they cannot bear the thought of a small people being able to live in freedom and independence. That has not, however, affected our country, in any way; the People's Republic of Albania exists and prospers. The Government of another great Power has also broken off diplomatic relations with Albania with the aim of intimidating and crushing us. The Albanian people have nevertheless stood firm, and the People's Republic of Albania exists and prospers.

81. The enemies of our country and of our people, behaving as they do in general towards all countries which defend their liberty and sovereignty and uphold justice, are accustomed to call us satellites of one country or another because we are a small people. Tomorrow perhaps they will say that we are satellites of the moon, despite the fact that there are no satellites of the moon. The Albanian people have been able to put in their place all those who have tried to meddle with their destiny and the destiny of the People's Republic of Albania and who have tried, behind a hypocritical mask of friendship, to impose their treacherous and enslaving views on them.

82. The new Albania, which maintains and is developing friendly relations with a considerable number of countries on the basis of the principles of equality, non-intervention and mutual respect, has acquired, by its just and peaceful policy, the right to speak freely in this Assembly, to express its opinion openly and plainly, even if that does not please the representatives of the United States of America and certain others. Albania is more than certain that it enjoys the sympathy of you who honourably represent the majority of countries in the world, regardless of the type of régime you represent, and that is where little Albania's great strength lies.

83. We speak for different countries and different régimes. On various questions we may not and do not have identical opinions, but with regard to what I have just said your hearts and minds, like the staunch hearts and minds of the peoples you represent, will agree that we have no great differences. And that is the basis for the unity and sincere co-operation of the People's Republic of Albania with your countries and Governments in the struggle for the great issues which occupy mankind as a whole, against world imperialism, against the plundering wars of imperialism and for a just peace, in equality and justice.

84. The People's Republic of Albania, faithful to its principles and to its policy of peace and friendship among peoples, to its policy of support for and solidarity with the movements of liberation and revolution and of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems, joins with other peaceful countries in seeking to avert the threat of a new world war, to thwart the aggressive policy of United States imperialism, to eliminate colonialism completely and to settle important international problems in the interests of peace, freedom, national independence, democracy and social progress. This is the policy and these are the aims which will guide our delegation at this session of the General Assembly.

85. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): Mr. President, on behalf of the Jamaican delegation I wish to join in congratulating you on your unanimous election to the Presidency of this historic session of the General Assembly. I have no need to speak of the legacy of debt which Western civilization owes to Rome and to the people of Italy. Modern Italy, in the vigour of its political life and the freshness of its political thought, continues to be a subject of absorbing interest to us all. To this freshness and vigour you, Mr. President, have yourself contributed in no small measure—as you have to your country's growing influence in European and international affairs. It augurs well for the success of this session of the Assembly that a leader of your outstanding and varied abilities and your wide experience in the theory as well as in the practice of political and economic affairs should now be presiding over our deliberations.

86. My delegation was very pleased that one of the first announcements you were able to make in this hall after your election was the gratifying news of the agreement on a cease-fire between India and Pakistan. I wish to express the thanks of the Jamaican Government to the Secretary-General for his indefatigable efforts and our support to the Security Council for its firmness in this crisis. My Govern-

ment hopes that a permanent solution of the problem of Kashmir consistent with the best interests of its people will soon be found.

87. Fate has apparently decreed that the nineteenth year shall be a critical year in the life of world organizations. It was the year which saw the end of the League of Nations; so my delegation feels a real sense of relief that our United Nations has survived the threat of permanent paralysis which loomed over it in its nineteenth year. We now know that we can enter upon the twentieth regular session with a new belief in the robust constitution of the United Nations, a new faith in the viability of our Organization. To those who doubted it, the United Nations has demonstrated once more its essential resilience. It has survived the dangers of the last year because it is indispensable to all of us, and for this same reason it will grow even stronger.

88. As we conclude the second decade in the life of the Organization, the process of review and stock-taking which began in San Francisco must continue. In the view of my delegation, the United Nations community ought now to resolve to make the twentieth regular session of the Assembly a new beginning; it ought to be our determination that the third decade in the life of our Organization will be a period of unparalleled achievement. From this new beginning, the high objectives of the third decade should, we suggest, be guided by the following three principles: first, that Member States will not accept the impasse or the stalemate as the final solution of any problem; secondly, that we will not drift along in inactivity and console ourselves that it is realism to do so; and thirdly, that we will search continually for new ways and means of achieving the objectives of the Charter.

89. The maintenance of international peace and security still remains the most urgent and demanding of the United Nations objectives, and it is inevitable that our contributions in this general debate should reflect our preoccupation with this subject. We have noted the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.^{4/} My delegation was pleased to observe the consensus arrived at that normal business should be immediately resumed in the Assembly. We have noted the conclusion that the current financial problem arising from peace-keeping operations should be removed by means of voluntary contributions. The Government of Jamaica has already made its contribution for this purpose, and we hope that other voluntary contributions will shortly be forthcoming in sufficient amounts to wipe out the deficit on peace-keeping expenditures.

90. Jamaica has interpreted the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations as disclosing a further consensus: that it is impracticable at the present moment to secure any amendment to those Articles in the Charter which deal with the maintenance of international peace or which attempt to define the respective responsibilities of the Assembly and the Security Council in regard to peace and security. If it is indeed the case that no amendment is practicable at this moment, the only alternative which remains

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, documents A/5915 and Add.1, A/5916 and Add.1.

as it is. The Jamaican delegation is more than certain that Jamaica's unchanged determination to cooperate with all other Member States in ensuring that the Charter will remain an effective basis for our co-ordinated efforts in maintaining international peace.

91. The immediate crisis over Article 19 of the Charter has passed, but the conflict over differing interpretations of the roles and powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly is not resolved. It is clear that discussion must continue until disagreements are reconciled, no matter how long this may take.

92. At the same time, it is essential that a solution to this intractable problem should be found without delay. There are urgent tasks in the area of international peace and security which only the United Nations can effectively undertake, and so long as the Organization remains immobilized by internal dissension, remains deprived of financial resources and remains so uncertain about the locus of its authority as it is today, it cannot act decisively in any matter and it will not dare to try the radical new measures which new crises might require. Because of this it would be a grave mistake for the United Nations to decide to do nothing more at the present about the unresolved internal issues relating to authority over peace-keeping operations. If one path to agreement is blocked, or seems to be, other paths should be explored. If the study of one aspect of United Nations responsibility for international peace is unfruitful, this should not preclude the examination of other aspects of the question.

93. In the opinion of my delegation, there are three main aspects of the questions of maintaining international peace in which study and exploration should continue. One is that of peace-making, to which the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report has drawn attention. As he so rightly points out, this should parallel peace-keeping; and it cannot be denied that United Nations machinery for good-offices, conciliation and mediation has been neglected in recent years. The particular potentialities of the International Court of Justice, for example, have remained largely unused. For this reason my delegation welcomes the initiative of the United Kingdom in inscribing an item on the agenda dealing with the peaceful settlement of disputes, and considers that a study of the possibilities of peace-making within the United Nations system will be most timely.

94. The next area of effort, in my delegation's view, is provision of stand-by forces which would be placed at the disposal of the United Nations and held in readiness to be employed when the necessity arises. Last year, speaking from this rostrum, I referred to the matter of long-term agreements with Member States concerning armed forces, assistance and facilities, which were envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter. Seeing that no such agreements are being negotiated, there would seem to be no alternative but to place stand-by forces at the disposal of the Secretary-General without prejudice to the question of whose authority shall determine their use. It follows that the Secretary-General would need an

forces. The matter is mounted at a moment's notice except on the basis of contingency planning of some kind.

95. The third area of examination is, in our view, the means of financing peace-keeping activities. Jamaica remains of the opinion that small nations and middle nations cannot buy international security at bargain rates. We seek to preserve our independence and our territorial integrity; we seek to be no one's clients. We believe that the authority of the whole international community, exercised through the United Nations, is the only firm guarantee of international security, and we are in no doubt that the United Nations must therefore be given full financial support. The financing of legitimate peace-keeping operations should never, in our view, be allowed to become a purely voluntary exercise. For this reason my Government has communicated to the Special Committee a detailed formula for the apportionment of peace-keeping expenditure. [See A/6026, annex I.]

96. Another subject of vital importance to everyone is that of disarmament. The Jamaica delegation has been pleased to observe the resumption of disarmament negotiations in Geneva this summer in response to the call from the Disarmament Commission which met at Headquarters earlier this year. The Disarmament Committee's examination of formulas to facilitate agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and a general reduction in the arms race, must be encouraged. There seems to be real hope that agreement may be reached before too long on a comprehensive test-ban and on proliferation. We must point out, however, as others have done, that agreements designed to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons will not be effective or lasting unless real progress is made with the denuclearization of the existing nuclear Powers. The danger of proliferation will always be present so long as arsenals of nuclear weapons continue to exist.

97. Jamaica recognizes, further, that for there to be real progress on disarmament, whether in regard to nuclear or conventional weapons, all of the world's States must be involved in the negotiations. This is why we endorsed the proposal made in the Disarmament Commission for a world disarmament conference comprising representatives from all Governments, whether Members of this Organization or not.^{5/} It is possible that such a conference will provide opportunities for initiatives in many fields.

98. It is opportune that this Assembly session should be concerned with review and reappraisal of the role and functions of the Economic and Social Council, now that the amendment to the Charter is being implemented. The significance lies not just in the fact that enlargement of the Council will make it more representative politically. Even more important is the opportunity it provides of embracing in the Council's membership States in all stages of economic development. It is important that the Council truly reflect an economic cross-

^{5/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

section of the United Nations membership. Only if it is so constituted will it be able to concentrate its attention on the fundamental problems affecting the majority of Member States.

99. The enlargement will bring in new Members with first-hand knowledge of the crucial problems which developing countries face; and should put into sharper focus the urgent necessity for finding economic and social solutions for these problems. In particular, Jamaica hopes the Council will consider, and try to meet, the special needs of countries which are approaching but have not yet reached the point of self-sustaining economic growth. This is an area that has not received adequate attention in the past; we know the economic and social objectives of the Charter cannot begin to be achieved unless the majority of Member States have a growth that is self-sustaining. It is also clear that few developing countries have managed to get any closer to self-sustained growth than they were five years ago. As the gap widens between the rich countries and the poor countries, the process of growth for the poor countries becomes more difficult.

100. Within the United Nations system the main responsibility for international policy in the fields of economic and social development rests squarely on the Economic and Social Council. The Council now has a new opportunity to take a fresh look at this responsibility, to appraise its character anew, and to gear itself for the new tasks that have come with the increase in the membership of the United Nations. But the Council must streamline its organization and improve its operating methods in order to fit its role as central formulator of policy and central co-ordinator of the United Nations efforts to raise living standards and promote social betterment.

101. It may be significant that this review of the Economic and Social Council's role is taking place in the middle of the Development Decade, when we have seen the failure to achieve even the modest requirements set for the decade of development, and when it requires considerable optimism to believe that without significant new stimulus the targets can be met by 1970. This is evident in the Secretary-General's progress report on the Development Decade.^{6/}

102. It was long ago clear that the developing countries could not pay interest at market rates, repay capital and maintain an adequate rate of development, all at the same time. Now, against the experience of even more unremunerative prices for basic commodities, and without any significant expansion in the direct flow of investment resources from developed countries, the prospects are worsening.

103. It is imperative that the trend be corrected. It is imperative that developing countries should face a better prospect. It is necessary that there be more positive action on the things about which we have talked so much, including the accelerated flow of capital and technical assistance to developing countries; the establishment of a United Nations Capital Development Fund; and the accelerated indus-

^{6/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Annexes, agenda item 2, document E/4033.

trialization of the developing countries. Surely it is fully recognized by this time that the scope of the problems is much greater than the efforts now being made.

104. Inevitably, the allocation of functions between the Council and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will be raised; but this is not an insuperable difficulty. The guidelines have already been drawn in that the Assembly has demarcated and assigned to the Conference responsibilities in trade and in development as it relates to trade. The Conference has the challenge of reorganizing global trade on the basis of the body of principles worked out at Geneva last year.

105. Jamaica recognizes and welcomes the initiative that certain developed countries have taken in moving towards the objectives of the Conference. However, we are still very far from the necessary concerted action by developed countries.

106. I interpret any questioning, at this stage, of the extent to which recommendations in the Final Act of the Conference on Trade and Development^{7/} are binding on Member States as simply a tactic for delay. Conciliation procedures were worked out and incorporated into the working system of the Trade and Development Board precisely because it was recognized that certain decisions will affect particular interests of some Member States. Persistence in such questioning merely invites doubts as to the real intentions of the questioners.

107. It is difficult to perceive what real progress has been made in implementing the principle which has been negotiated, agreed and incorporated into the Final Act which states that: "Developed countries shall progressively reduce and eliminate barriers and other restrictions that hinder trade and consumption of products from developing countries".^{8/} The Conference must move quickly on to its next stage. It must introduce measures to ensure more remunerative prices for basic commodities, measures to expand market opportunities for the export products of developing countries, and measures for the encouragement of higher levels of production in these developing countries. This is the area in which action must now be taken. About the need for action and the required area of action, there is no dispute, but when we come down to the method of action, new obstacles seem suddenly to appear.

108. Without meaningful concessions from developed countries there can be no significant improvement in our economies because the bulk of development has to be financed from export earnings. Shortfalls of export receipts undermine development plans and arrest economic growth. The time is long past when the farm worker whether in sugar, bananas, cocoa, coffee or any other crop will be content to toil six days a week, fifty-two weeks a year and find in the end that his earnings cannot support himself and his family to a decent standard of life.

^{7/} See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. 1, Final Act and Report, (United Nations Publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

^{8/} Ibid., para. 54.

We, the people of the developing countries, are no longer content to leave our farmers and workers at the mercy of blind and selfish market forces because they happen to be producing for export. We need to secure stable and remunerative prices for the commodities they produce—prices based, of course, on reasonably efficient production. It is not enough to talk smoothly about over-production, about the need to diversify agricultural output, and to move from one commodity to another, unless the international community advances, at the same time, concrete measures for financing the transfer from one form of production to another.

110. I turn now to one area of United Nations activity in which my country has taken a special interest—I refer to human rights, and particularly to the International Year for Human Rights. The Committee on the International Year for Human Rights, of which my country's representative had the honour to be Chairman, prepared with great care and diligent examination, and after wide consultation with Member Governments of the United Nations, a report^{9/} with a programme of activities for the International Year. This report was submitted to the Commission on Human Rights. In the time at its disposal, the Commission was unable to consider the Committee's entire programme and recommendations, but all of the most urgent proposals have been accepted by the Commission and in turn by the Economic and Social Council. Thus the Assembly now has on its agenda, and is being invited to approve during this session, a schedule of measures relating to the celebration of the International Year which are intended to be implemented during the period leading up to 1968.

111. The Jamaica Government has anticipated the Assembly's endorsement of this interim programme in so far as it concerns our internal arrangements for the International Year. My Government has already formally decided to appoint its own committee to organize our national celebrations and to establish an advisory body to review our national legislation against the standards set by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

112. It is a source of considerable satisfaction to Jamaica that the Commission and the Council have accepted and recommended for the Assembly's approval, the proposal that an International Conference on Human Rights should have a central place in the activities of the International Year [see A/5945, annex II].

113. The main purpose for which this Assembly designated 1968 as International Year for Human Rights [resolution 1961 (XVIII)] was to carry out a review of the progress made in giving effect to human rights since the Universal Declaration was promulgated. It was also the Assembly's intention that the celebrations of 1968 should make a lasting contribution to the cause of securing universal respect for human rights and universal observance of human rights. My Government has no doubt whatever that an International Conference will provide the most

^{9/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 8, chap. IV.

can be carried out and we have no doubts that an International Conference can be used to make a lasting contribution to the cause of human rights. We feel sure that those who will attend that Conference will respond to the spirit of the International Year.

114. The promotion of human rights was a major objective with which the United Nations was founded. In the Charter it has a place of equal importance with the maintenance of international peace, with the promotion of higher living standards for the people of the world, and with the programme of decolonization. Up to now, however, the promotion of human rights has not been accorded the attention or the status it deserves within the United Nations system.

115. In the opinion of my Government it is time for the bodies exclusively concerned with Human Rights to be accorded their proper status in the United Nations system and for adequate resources of finance and personnel to be assigned to the promotion of Human Rights. It would be proper that questions such as these should be examined within the framework of the International Conference.

116. The essential prerequisite for the success of this Conference is, of course, that it should be adequately prepared for. My Government hopes that the question of adequate preparation for the Conference will receive the attention it deserves when the relevant item is considered during this session.

117. I could not close this address without referring to the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories. We have just joined in welcoming three new Members into the United Nations. Their admission once again emphasizes the Organization's goal of universality and the success of its programme of decolonization. Jamaica looks forward to the early independence of the few remaining parts of Africa which are still under colonial rule. We are also especially concerned to see British Guiana and the remaining territories in the Caribbean obtain their independence without more delay.

118. There is, however, a particular problem which is becoming daily more important in the area of decolonization and to which the United Nations must now address itself. It is the future of small territories which have little hope of economic viability, if left to their own devices. I must again urge, as I did last year, that the United Nations recognize its responsibility to those countries. The international community has a duty to devise means whereby their legitimate aspirations for self-determination can be reconciled with the need for economic viability. It cannot be in the interests of either the international community or of the States themselves that they should become independent today only to fall prey tomorrow to the strategic and political machinations of more powerful States. Economic weakness invites such machinations.

119. Let me say, in concluding, that this twentieth session marks for the United Nations a life-span greater than its predecessor, and Africa has the distinction that it was a son of that continent who, with skill and patience, steered up past the hazards

of the nineteenth session. The milestone was commemorated at San Francisco and even there the process of stocktaking began. At this time, within the United Nations system, we are much concerned with the process of reviewing our methods and reappraising the assumptions with which we have worked. This is a good beginning. Let us keep those things which we have found to be sound, reject what is not, and devise and adopt new approaches and new methods where necessary. There are welcome initiatives in the maintenance of peace, but we also recognize the lack of progress in constructing the longer-term conditions for peace. The third decade in the life of the United Nations must be marked by our intensive endeavour to erect bulwarks against disputes and to build a framework for international security and the heightened well-being of mankind.

120. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of my Government, my delegation and myself, it is with the sincere pleasure that I convey to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations on your election to preside over the deliberations of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. We view this election both as a tribute paid to your great country, which is bound to mine by strong and immutable ties of friendship, and as a proof of the general confidence placed in you because of your outstanding personal qualities.

121. This Assembly is beginning at a time when our troubled world is faced with serious threats to the peace. These threats are most ominous in the continent of Asia. In these circumstances, our most urgent collective task is to offer our complete cooperation loyally and unreservedly and to pledge our best and strongest efforts to work together in common accord until we find the formulae which will avert those threats and re-establish the peace that has been shattered. On the maintenance and preservation of peace depends our ability to continue our ceaseless task of bringing within reach of the great masses of humanity and the great majority of Member States those levels of living and that social progress which so far have been enjoyed in practice only by a small number of countries.

122. The continent I mentioned is now faced with the growing dangers of a conflagration in which an unforeseeable number of other States may easily become involved. At this critical juncture, we reaffirm our faith and confidence that those two great Members of the United Nations, India and Pakistan, will be able to find through their own efforts and with the help of our Organization ways and means of resolving their differences peacefully, that is to say, not on blood-drenched battlefields but through reasonable and fruitful discussions.

123. On this same continent of Asia we are witnessing another war which is a typical war of aggression. If the universally accepted principles and the postulates which constitute the basis of relations between States were loyally and consistently observed by all countries, a war such as this would not have occurred and the Republic of Viet-Nam would have been able by its own efforts to follow the path of development without outside interference. However,

although it is painful to say so, we must recognize that these standards of international coexistence which are respected by most countries are for others merely a dead letter. In this particular case, I refer especially to the People's Republic of China which has made threats, aggression and violence the very basis of its international policy.

124. Attacked from outside by the forces of subversion, the Republic of Viet-Nam has fortunately not found itself left alone to defend itself. Other countries stand beside it, some giving material and others moral support. Here again, and in spite of the apparent lateness of the hour, we are confident that justice will prevail and that the sincere and repeated offers to bring outstanding questions to the negotiating table will find a favourable response among those Governments which so far have been so unwilling to listen to the voice of reason.

125. During this year, a sister nation in the Western hemisphere, the Dominican Republic, dear to our hearts, like all the members of the great American family, underwent a grave crisis that might have shattered the foundations of its Christian and democratic political organization. In this case, the regional organization adopted decisions of the greatest importance whose constructive results may already be appreciated and which have allowed the Dominican Republic to weather the crisis. It is now returning to normal, having kept its institutions intact and, above all, having spared the blood of its children which, at one time, seemed destined to be spilled in a fratricidal civil war of enormous proportions.

126. We must admit that such decisions were opposed by certain members of the regional organization. For our part, we readily accept the possibility of dissident or opposing views, for these are typical of free societies and in no way jeopardize the amicable mutual relationships between their members.

127. In this Assembly we may all congratulate ourselves, both those of us who hold governmental responsibilities in our respective countries and men of goodwill throughout the world, that his Holiness Pope Paul VI is coming here to address to us a message of pure love and dedication to the service of mankind. We are absolutely certain that few messages will be so carefully listened to by such a vast audience as that which will be delivered by the Supreme Pontiff within a few days and in this very hall.

128. At this session our Assembly must take up a large number of items most of which have been postponed for a whole year because, for obvious reasons, the nineteenth session could not follow its normal course. I shall not refer to these reasons, which are only too well known to all Member States, but I do wish to stress that, in spite of the difficulties, the previous Assembly adopted one of its most important decisions for many years in establishing the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as an organ of the General Assembly [resolution 1995 (XIX)].

129. In this new body, and above all in the effectiveness of its action, reside the hopes of those States which form the group of developing countries and which constitute not only the majority of our Organiza-

tion but also the majority of the world's population. We hope, with the impatience born of frustration, that the time will soon come when there will be a fairer and more rational distribution of wealth and its benefits, which will satisfy our legitimate rights as developing peoples and allow us truly to enjoy without restrictions what the Charter calls "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

130. Even at the risk of excessive repetition, we wish to reaffirm once more our conviction that within this new organization the unity of the developing countries will be the best guarantee of fruitful action and that we must combine our efforts to strengthen and consolidate that unity if our collective activities are to be successful.

131. In my delegation's view, our Organization is emerging from the nineteenth session and from the crisis which prevented its normal functioning with a clear desire to reaffirm the essential need for international solidarity in considering old and new questions objectively and reasonably. We feel that each and every Member State, convinced that the United Nations is the most effective international organization for solving the great problems which affect us all equally in this essentially interdependent world, is determined, perhaps more strongly than twenty years ago, to keep it alive and to enhance its opportunities to act.

132. We stated clearly at the previous session our position as regards the dispute which divided the United Nations, and the principles which we said we supported then are as valid today as they were a year ago. We are therefore glad that this Assembly can now resume the continuous action expected of it, without prejudice to the individual positions of States.

133. A rapid glance at the Assembly's agenda is the best reminder of the way in which certain items keep coming up every year. Among these items, and always enjoying top priority because of their importance, are those concerning the maintenance of peace and security, general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and the urgent need to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. On each and every one of these items and on others that are closely linked with them our opinions are well known. To reiterate a point rather than add something new, in spite of the meagre progress achieved so far, we can interpret each positive step as an advance towards a goal that mankind hope one day to reach, and these items are obviously so important that no frustration will exhaust our patience in the search for satisfactory solutions.

134. Inspired by feelings of continental unity, the countries of Latin America are continuing their efforts to conclude a treaty that will ensure the effective denuclearization of this region. The intensity of these efforts reassures us that we shall achieve positive results which may well serve as an example to other regions and other States.

135. Whether we admit it or not, the fact is that vestiges of colonialism still remain. Although in the recent past this colonialism cast its shadow over large areas of the world, we must recognize that,

since the advent of the United Nations, this shadow has been rapidly disappearing. Although the once-dominated peoples in growing and impressive numbers have succeeded, in their victorious struggles, in becoming masters of their own sovereign destinies, it is no less certain that colonialism still exists in many continents. In the past we have fought unflinchingly, as we shall continue to fight in the future to achieve the complete eradication of this colonialism.

136. Similarly, we are fighting and shall continue to fight with equal tenacity to eradicate neocolonialism, which manifests itself most crudely in the attempt to impose economic domination. I do not need to dwell on these and other subjects, because in these cases too my country's position has been repeatedly explained, both in the Assembly and in the Main Committees.

137. The General Assembly is, of course, the organ which gives each delegation the widest scope for the expression of its opinions and points of view on each agenda item, particularly during the exhaustive debates that take place, occasionally in the plenary meetings but usually in the Main Committees. During the general debate, held before the Assembly gets down to its business, each State should confine itself to outlining its general policy and philosophy. That does not prevent us, however, from mentioning certain problems of a specific or regional nature, in order to bring them to the attention of Member States with the aim of awakening the spirit of understanding and international solidarity. We all have an unquestionable right to do this when reason is on one side and our cause is based on legitimate rights. I shall refer to some of these specific problems later.

138. In the meantime, we note with gratification the constant increase in the Organization's membership. Soon after the opening of this session, three new sovereign States were admitted by acclamation. We extend a warm and cordial welcome to the peoples of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, and to their representatives in this Assembly; we are sure that they will make a most valuable contribution to the work of our Organization.

139. At previous sessions we expressed our conviction that coexistence on the same planet and social and economic interdependence among nations make international solidarity imperative. International solidarity is a source of reciprocal rights and duties: it makes it impossible for some countries to be comfortable and happy while others, near or far, are hard pressed and impoverished; it makes it impossible for the developed countries to remain calm and contented while elsewhere there are countries which are less developed or under-developed; above all, it makes it impossible for some countries to be happy because they have all that is needed for happiness and can be sure of obtaining the benefits of justice for themselves, as long as there are countries elsewhere in the world which enjoy few or none of the benefits of law and international justice or are begrudged them.

140. It is for this reason that our representatives have considered it their duty to inform the Assembly

briefly every year of Paraguay's progress, for the well-being of our Organization depends on the well-being of all its Members.

141. During the year between the nineteenth and twentieth session of the General Assembly, Paraguay's progress and development have been very striking in every way. In the political sphere, the democratic system that characterizes its form of government has ensured peace, employment and well-being for the whole population. Surveillance of the Government's actions by the opposition parties and wide freedom of the Press have created a stable and equitable legal system with all its benefits.

142. In the economic sphere, Paraguay has maintained the stability of its currency since 1957 and will resolutely continue to do so. Furthermore, thanks to its favourable balance of payments its monetary reserves have grown, enabling it recently to increase its contribution to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and to buy bonds from it. Paraguay has made notable progress in building roads, schools, hospitals, in other public works and in the establishment of new industries, etc.

143. In the social sphere, the benefits of social security have been extended progressively to additional groups of workers, while land reform, carried out without expropriation or fanfare, is extending the benefits of land ownership to agricultural workers. I must, however, point out to this illustrious Assembly that this unique effort by the entire Paraguayan nation, by its admirable people and by its Government, is not matched by deeds and attitudes on the rest of the continent which are based on the selfish exploitation of geographical positions and *de facto* situations. I do not intend to refer on this occasion to the injustice inherent in the contrast between the paltry price paid for agricultural products and the steadily rising prices of manufactured goods, an injustice which daily deepens and widens the gap between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries. The grievances of the agricultural and stock-raising countries must be settled in a way that is equitable for all the peoples of the world.

144. I do, however, intend to refer to the unfair discrimination to which ships flying the Paraguayan flag are subjected when sailing on international rivers in order to reach the sea, or world markets, carrying the fruit of the Paraguayan peoples' labour.

145. Paraguay is not only a relatively underdeveloped country, which other, more developed countries, motivated by a spirit of solidarity or even by enlightened self-interest should help or at least not harm; it is also a country which as a result of geographical and historical factors is situated in the middle of a continent, without a coast, far from the natural resources of the sea—in short, a landlocked country.

146. In an unprecedented effort, the Paraguayan Government has built and is continuing to build and improve approximately 2,000 kilometres of road, designed to link our country to its neighbours. Furthermore, Paraguay has contracted for and has had built a fleet of over thirty modern, specially designed

cargo ships and auxiliary vessels, which is already in operation.

147. On the Parana, an international river flowing through Paraguay and constituting its only water link with the sea, ships flying the Paraguayan flag have to comply with unreasonable requirements and are subjected to abuses of sovereign jurisdictional power and especially to discriminatory treatment which is unjust and much more onerous than the more favourable treatment accorded to powerful nations with extensive seaboard.

148. In order to reach world markets, Paraguayan goods must travel down 1,600 kilometres of international rivers in shallow-draft vessels to the sea before they can compete with similar goods from countries with seaboard, and, as if that were not enough of a disadvantage, ships flying the Paraguayan flag are still subjected to discriminatory treatment and conditions which compare unfavourably with those applied to ships flying other flags.

149. We are not asking for any favours, privileges or special concessions. We are not trying to arouse pity, and our national dignity would make us reject those who might seek to set themselves up as our benefactors or protectors. We are seeking justice; we need equality; we want our right to free navigation on the international rivers which flow through our land to be properly recognized and respected, in the same way that that right is recognized and respected in the case of ships of other countries sailing on those same rivers.

150. I deeply regret that in this era of interplanetary travel it should be necessary for me to draw the Assembly's attention to a problem concerning the right to free navigation on international rivers, a right which was referred to in the French National Convention Decree of 16 November 1792 and is clearly recognized in international law as established in the Treaty of Paris (1814), at the Congresses of Vienna (1815), Berlin (1885), Barcelona (1921), and Lima (1847-48), and various inter-American conferences, in the definitions of the Inter-American Juridical Committee and the Inter-American Council of Jurists and in many bilateral treaties.

151. No matter how incredibly anachronistic it may seem, however, it is an indisputable fact that Paraguay's right to free navigation on an international river which flows through its territory and which constitutes its only water link with the sea is being denied and curtailed.

152. My Government hopes that this situation will be rectified as soon as possible for it is firmly convinced that the happiness of peoples and harmony among nations cannot be built on injustice, inequality and discrimination.

153. In conclusion, I wish to express the sincere hope that the work of this Assembly will be crowned with success.

154. The PRESIDENT (translated from French). The representative of Cyprus wishes to speak in exercise on his right of reply; I shall ask him to please come to the rostrum.

155. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): I realize that this is not the proper time to begin a debate on the specific issue of Cyprus, and it is not my intention to do so, but I feel that it is my duty to make one or two comments upon certain of the points raised this morning by the Foreign Minister of Turkey in the course of this statement to this Assembly.

156. The Foreign Minister of Turkey said that he would not engage in accusation or recrimination because he was convinced that the debate on this serious conflict "must take place in an atmosphere as serene as possible so that an objective examination of the problem can be undertaken" [1343rd meeting, para. 92].

157. The Foreign Minister of Turkey, however, did engage in accusation and recrimination later on in his speech. It is not my intention to go into any details, and it is not my intention to reopen before the Assembly the whole chapter of the events of December 1963 in Cyprus; nor do I wish to repeat the account of the events which followed that tragic period. I shall confine myself in this connexion to one point which was raised by the Foreign Minister of Turkey—his statement that the problem of Cyprus, apart from its political aspect, had also a human aspect. And it was in dealing with this human aspect that the Foreign Minister of Turkey engaged in accusation—and quite strongly, to say the least.

158. There is a human aspect of the problem. Indeed I quite agree with him, up to a certain point, that a great number of Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus are still suffering. They are suffering not because of any oppression on the part of the Government of Cyprus, not because of any policy pursued by the majority of the population at their expense—as was contended this morning by the Foreign Minister of Turkey—but because of the policy of division pursued by the Turkish Government.

159. The speech of the Foreign Minister of Turkey this morning is the best possible evidence that could be adduced to convince anyone that the policy that has been pursued by Turkey is—and, unfortunately, we gather from that speech that it may continue to be—a policy of division and partition. I say this because the terms "communities" and "separate entities", in the particular case of Cyprus, have acquired special significance. These are terms that have been used to divide the people. Of course, the Foreign Minister of Turkey did not mention any numbers this morning; he did not indicate the figure for the Greek majority or the figure for the Turkish minority. The figure for the latter is 18 per cent of the population of Cyprus. And there is indeed a historical relationship between Cyprus and Turkey: it is the fact that the minority in Cyprus comprises the remnants of an era of occupation of Cyprus by Turkey—just as minorities in many countries of the world may be remnants of occupation.

160. The theory which was put forward this morning by the Foreign Minister of Turkey is, if I may say so, a very peculiar and extraordinary concept of self-determination, which, if it were to be adopted and applied, would lead to the break-up and dissolution of practically every country in the world. In practically every country of the world there are people of

people of different races. Such a policy might break up the State which is now known as Turkey—because in that country also there are minorities, people of different ethnic origins.

161. This theory of self-determination, this peculiar interpretation which was advanced this morning, probably would greatly please Mr. Smith of Southern Rhodesia, because it is also his own theory that a minority—a different group, in his particular case—should govern the country. In the particular case of Cyprus, the Turkish suggestion is that a small minority should block the will of the majority of the country. It amounts to the same thing.

162. Another point to which I should like to refer is the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey that Turkey is anxious for a peaceful solution. So are we. We want a peaceful solution; we want a solution without any bloodshed. We want a solution based on justice, based on democracy, based on the Charter of the United Nations. If it was true that Turkey, at any cost, wanted a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem—a peaceful method of pursuing a peaceful solution to that problem—why did Turkey take the stand which it did in connexion with the United Nations Mediator appointed by the Secretary-General by virtue of Security Council resolution 186 (1964)? The report of the Mediator, which was submitted to the Security Council, has been circulated, I understand, as General Assembly document [A/6017] of 27 September 1965—and I would humbly request the representatives to reread and give careful study to the contents of that report. It is the report of the United Nations Mediator—and I hope that no one would dare suggest that he went to Cyprus to take sides. It is the report of a distinguished statesman from Latin America, the ex-President of Ecuador.

163. The Foreign Minister of Turkey referred also to this famous question of treaties. I am not going to deal with that in detail. I would simply like to point out that, although the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations provides for the respect of treaties, it assumes, on the basis of the accepted principles of international law, that such treaties are the result of free negotiation; that such treaties are the result of the exercise of the free will of the people; that such treaties are not violated—and in the particular case of Cyprus, the treaties have been violated in their essential parts by Turkey. Finally, such treaties are subject to Article 103 of the Charter of the United Nations.

164. Before I conclude, I would like to refer to a remark made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey with respect, as he put it, to the resumption of preliminary conversations between Turkey and Greece on the problem of Cyprus. My country has repeatedly declared that it would welcome an improvement in the relations between Greece and Turkey; that it would welcome any lessening of the tension which might result from any talks of negotiations, or any consultations, between Greece and Turkey. But there is one basic principle, the basic position of my Government, which we cannot abandon: namely, that the problem of Cyprus cannot be solved irrespective of the will of the people of Cyprus themselves; it cannot be solved against the

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wishes of the people of Cyprus. It cannot be solved if the sovereignty of Cyprus is not accepted; it cannot be solved if there is an attempt to curtail that sovereignty; it cannot be solved if there is an attempt to limit the sovereignty of Cyprus by any means. The problem cannot be solved if there is any attempt to break up Cyprus, which, from the dawn of history, and all through the ages, has been kept intact as one single entity, despite the fact that it is only comparatively recently that there have been people of a different ethnic origin in Cyprus.

165. With regard to the sufferings of the Turkish refugees in Cyprus as a result of the fighting, my Government, as recently as 24 September 1965, made new proposals and announced a new programme. It offered in a statement by the President of Cyprus, firstly, to repay or totally reconstruct any Turkish houses which may have been damaged or destroyed in any village. I am not going to get into a dispute with the Foreign Minister of Turkey as to the actual number of houses destroyed, just as I am sure he would not quarrel with me about the actual number of houses destroyed by Turkish bombings. Secondly, my Government offered to give financial assistance for the rehabilitation of all the Turkish Cypriots who have been forced by the Turkish leadership to abandon their villages. Thirdly, it offered to provide them with the means for the exercise of their professions, or callings, and to assist them to find work, as well as to give financial assistance to those who, owing to incapacity, are unable to work. Fourthly, it offered to take all the necessary measures for their complete safety and protection.

166. These proposals refer only to the part of the Turkish Cypriot population which is in this difficult situation at the moment. As is well known, the majority of the Turkish population are living peacefully, intermingled with their Greek compatriots, working together in perfect harmony as they did previously. It is completely false to suggest that the Greeks and the Turks in Cyprus have always been kept apart. This was another idea—a wrong one—which was introduced today by the Foreign Minister of Turkey. There was no division previously.

167. As to how the division started, as to how the division was promoted, as to how the division was further pursued and as to how the division has become the object of the policy of other countries—we shall have ample time and ample opportunity to deal with that at the appropriate time in the First Committee, and probably later on in a plenary meeting.

168. I want to conclude with a quotation from the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey. He said this morning:

"The Charter" — is, the Charter of the United Nations—"embodies the profound aspiration of all humanity and the principles it enunciates are the criteria by which the action of any State, great or small, is judged by world public opinion". [1343rd meeting, para. 82.]

I quite agree with him and I would invite him to agree with me that the Charter of the United Nations should be fully and totally respected in the case of Cyprus.

169. Cyprus cannot be regarded, I submit, as a second-class Member of the United Nations, and it is that very issue which will come before you. Cyprus a second-class Member of the United Nations or is Cyprus a fully sovereign State entitled to the same rights as every State in this Hall, enjoying the same privileges and having the same principles applied to it? Only if one approaches the problem of Cyprus in the United Nations spirit and not in the way that some people may approach it—from the standpoint of whether or not it pleases them, as the Foreign Minister of Mali said this morning—can this problem find a lasting solution. We, the people and Government of Cyprus, are the first to look forward to the day when a lasting solution will be found to the problem in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

170. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the United Kingdom who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

171. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In exercise of my right of reply, I wish to make a very short statement with reference to the speeches made today [1343rd meeting] by the representatives of Mali and Lebanon in regard to Aden. There will be other opportunities of dealing with this question, and I have no wish to delay the proceedings of the Assembly by going over past events or dealing in any detail with the present situation in Southern Arabia. I should, however, like to emphasize certain facts.

172. Firstly, it has been the policy of my Government to bring together a score of protected States with the colony of Aden to form a single viable, independent State in Southern Arabia. Remarkable progress has already been made. The aim of bringing South Arabia to independence as a unified sovereign State not later than 1968 has been agreed and announced, and my Government confirms that aim. Secondly, my Government has made every effort and will continue to make every effort to achieve this purpose by consultation and co-operation with all concerned. Thirdly, efforts to achieve this purpose have been jeopardized in Aden by a terrorist campaign employing the weapons of assassination and attacks on civilians, including women and children; by the refusal of Aden Ministers to condemn this terrorism, and by their public support of the externally controlled organization of the terrorist campaign. Fourthly, in order to restore order it has consequently become necessary to suspend the Constitution of Aden State alone. The Federal Constitution remains in full effect and the British High Commissioner, is for the time being, empowered to govern Aden State directly.

173. It is my Government's earnest hope that its action in restoring effective government in Aden will create an atmosphere of renewed public confidence in which externally inspired terrorism can no longer flourish and in which orderly progress towards early independence can be pursued as soon as possible.

174. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Turkey, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

175. Mr. ISIK (Turkey) (translated from French): I regret that I am obliged to return to the rostrum

I would gladly have refrained from doing so if the remarks just made had left me any choice. I agree that this is neither the time nor the place to discuss the problem of Cyprus. I agree on that point, and I think that I will be as good as my word. I shall not say I am refraining from discussing the question of Cyprus and then enumerate the most important aspects of that question.

176. I should simply like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that the differences of views between the parties still exist. What should, however, be avoided is any attempt to change the meaning of the statement of either party. I must confess that I have had great difficulty in recognizing my own statements when listening just now to the remarks attributed to me from this rostrum.

177. I should like to repeat once again, so that there may be no misunderstanding, that the Turkish Government, I shall even say the Turkish Governments, and let me add, Turkey itself, have no other

wish than to see the problem of Cyprus settled in a manner which will be satisfactory to all the parties concerned. We do not believe that, behind the façade of principles, ideas can be defended, which all mankind condemns. An attempt to defend the sovereignty of a State cannot be coupled with an attempt to put an end to its independence. Turkey has undertaken to respect the independence of the island, and it shall respect it as long as the rights of the Turkish community on the island are not violated.

178. I think that it would be wise if all of us in this Assembly—and I am appealing to everyone here—refrained from emphasizing differences. On the contrary, we should deal here with all problems without exception, so that agreement can be reached. I can assure you that it is in this spirit that the Turkish delegation, in the First Committee and everywhere else, will approach and examine this question. That is all that I intended to say at this time.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.