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*President:* Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 58

Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (concluded)\*

1. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to make a statement concerning item 58 of the agenda. This morning [1406th meeting] the General Assembly approved the draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. When the item was discussed, my delegation described the document as one of the utmost importance, since it was designed to put into practice the noble principles laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Nevertheless, the Mexican delegation did not see its way to voting in favour of the Convention. At the last moment amendments were submitted which would rob the Mexican legislature of its complete freedom to consider the

\*Resumed from the 1406th meeting.

important innovations embodied in the Convention. However, my delegation could not ignore the overwhelming majority of votes approving the Convention. We therefore decided to ask our Foreign Office to reconsider the matter. After consulting leading members of the Mexican legislature, the Foreign Office has informed my delegation that it is prepared to accept the obligations implicit in an affirmative vote for the Convention.

2. If the Assembly agrees, therefore, the Mexican delegation would like to change the vote of abstention it cast this morning to an affirmative vote, so that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination will be adopted unanimously.

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has just heard the Mexican representative's statement, which will appear in the verbatim record of this meeting, and the change of vote will be indicated in the final record of this morning's meeting [1406th meeting] in a foot-note to the vote on the draft Convention.

### AGENDA ITEM 76

Budget estimates for the financial years 1965 and 1966  
(continued)\*

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6222,  
A/6223)

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now vote on the draft resolutions of the Fifth Committee concerning agenda item 76. The Committee has submitted a draft resolution on the budget estimates for the financial year 1965 [A/6222, para. 29] consisting of three parts.

5. I put part A to the vote.

*Part A was adopted by 92 votes to 9, with 7 abstentions.*

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put part B to the vote.

*Part B was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 1 abstention.*

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I put part C to the vote.

*Part C was adopted by 98 votes to none, with 13 abstentions.*

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee has submitted four draft resolutions, numbered I-IV, concerning the budget estimates for 1966 [A/6223, para. 80].

9. Mr. MAKEEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, the discussion of the budget estimates for 1966 has taken place at the present session of the General Assembly under circumstances substantially different from those of previous sessions. After approving, on 1 September 1965, the consensus reached in the Committee of Thirty-Three in the course of its work, the Members of our Organization have shown a firm resolve to return to the normal functioning of the General

Assembly and have rejected attempts to undermine the Organization through arbitrary interpretation and breach of its Charter and have emphasized the urgent necessity of putting an end to an arbitrary attitude towards the Organization's financial resources.

10. The Soviet delegation, in the discussion on the budget estimate for 1966 [A/6223], advocated all-round reduction of the budget, because expenditure is excessive and as a result the Organization's current expenses are increasing unjustifiably.

11. We are convinced that there could be a substantial over-all reduction of the entire budget estimate if the policy of strict economy of the Organization's resources, advocated by many delegates in the Fifth Committee, were consistently followed. The Secretariat, however, as before, is taking the course of expanding the budget and expenditure of the United Nations year after year and, at the same time, in my opinion, taking little trouble to improve its organization and make it more efficient. Yet by better organization of the Secretariat, by simplifying its ponderous structure and eliminating unnecessary duplication, expenses could be considerably reduced without detriment to the normal functioning of the Organization. The appropriations under section 3 and a number of other sections are, as before, unjustifiably high. That is why the Soviet delegation, when this matter was discussed in the Fifth Committee, was obliged to vote against approving the expenditure under section 3 and to abstain from voting on a number of other sections.

12. The Soviet delegation notes with regret that the budget for 1966, as in the past, includes illegal appropriations for financial measures which are in violation of the Charter of the United Nations or were not really necessary, including expenditure for the amortization of the United Nations bonds, for the Korean Commission and so forth.

13. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed that all these items be excluded from the United Nations budget, but because of the selfish policy of a number of capitalist States which are trying to saddle all Members of the United Nations with the burden of expenditures arising out of their own policies, these items are included, year after year, in the regular budget of the Organization. The Soviet Union cannot, of course, agree to this. For these reasons the Soviet delegation was obliged to vote against the approval of expenditure under sections 12, 16 and 17.

14. This means that again in 1966 the Soviet Union will not make a contribution towards the expenditures to which I have referred, namely: the expenses of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, of the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Korea, of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, of the United Nations Field Service and of the Interest Service on the Amortization of United Nations Bonds.

15. The Soviet delegation also cannot agree to the inclusion in the regular budget of expenditure for the purpose of financing the regular programme of technical assistance. It is our deep conviction that all United Nations activities in the field of technical assistance should be financed solely from extra-

\*Resumed from the 1393rd meeting.

budgetary sources, coming from voluntary contributions, and that a better solution would be to combine the regular programme with the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, as we have already proposed.

16. We believe that the financing of technical assistance from the regular budget imposes an undue burden on the budget itself, leads to unnecessary dissipation of resources, duplication and excessive administrative expenditure and does not ensure that the experts and resources of the socialist countries are correctly employed. For these reasons the Soviet delegation voted against the approval of sections 13, 14 and 15 of the budget estimate.

17. In this connexion we should like to state that in 1966, as in the current year, the Soviet Union will make its contribution to the regular programme of technical assistance not in foreign, but in Soviet currency, so that the developing countries may have a real possibility of receiving Soviet experts and ordering the necessary Soviet equipment and material.

18. The Soviet delegation notes with satisfaction that at this session of the General Assembly many delegates have spoken more insistently and convincingly in an appeal for strict order and maximum economy in spending the resources of Member States and for an end to the duplication of programmes and measures that entail undue administrative and other expenditure leading to excessive and unjustified growth of the Organization's budget. Our delegation has followed with interest the efforts of a whole series of delegations to find ways of excluding from the United Nations budget such items of expenditure as give rise to legitimate objection on the part of Member States. One session, of course, is obviously not sufficient to solve all these problems; but in our opinion the discussion we have had has prepared the ground well for their solution in the future. In the course of discussing the budget for 1966, delegations have, as we know, unanimously approved the highly valuable proposals of France for the creation of a Committee of governmental experts to consider the financial situation of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that the work of this Committee will facilitate solution of the various financial problems facing the Organization and will create possibilities for the unanimous approval of a balanced and well-ordered budget containing no sections authorizing expenditure which is illegal or unacceptable to delegations. For its part, the Soviet Union will do everything it can to bring about a situation in which we can vote for the draft budget both in its individual sections and as a whole. In regard to the budget for 1966, the Soviet delegation will abstain in the vote on the budget as a whole.

19. Such are our delegation's comments on the regular budget of the Organization for 1966.

20. I have a number of additional comments to make on the draft resolutions contained in document A/6223. We shall vote against the draft resolution on the unforeseen and extraordinary expenses of the Organization in 1966, according to which the Secretariat of the United Nations is given the right to spend up to \$10

million on measures for the maintenance of international peace and security.

21. In the opinion of our delegation, neither the Secretary-General, nor the Advisory Committee, has the right to decide questions of financing measures for the maintenance of international peace and security. That right, under the Charter of the United Nations, belongs only to the Security Council.

22. The Soviet delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution to keep the Working Capital Fund, which was unjustifiably increased to \$15 million as long ago as 1963, at the \$40 million level in 1966. We consider that an increase in the Working Capital Fund from \$25 million to \$40 million is not justified and is not dictated by the real requirements of the Organization.

23. Such are the reasons why the Soviet delegation will, I repeat, abstain in the vote on the resolution approving the United Nations budget for 1966 and on the Working Capital Fund and will vote against the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenditures.

24. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I am obliged to make one very short observation on the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6223], on which action is now to be taken. It has to do with the question of standards of travel accommodation on which budgetary provision for 1966, under the relevant sections of the estimates, has been based. I have taken note of the conclusions of the Fifth Committee as to the policy by which staff travel standards should be determined. I shall, of course, continue in the future, as in the past, to administer the appropriations in question in strict accordance with the financial limitations which the General Assembly sees fit to impose.

25. Subject to this assurance, however, I deem it essential that the Secretary-General, as Chief Administrative Officer of the Organization, retains the discretionary authority which has been accorded to him in terms of Staff Regulation 7.1, as laid down by the General Assembly, to make such arrangements as are in his judgement in the best interests of the United Nations.

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before the vote is taken, the General Assembly is requested to take note of the following paragraphs of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6223], subject to the comments just made by the Secretary-General: paragraph 27, concerning the policy by which the Secretary-General is to submit budget estimates for 1966 under section 3; paragraph 35, concerning the conclusions of the Fifth Committee on the policy for determining standards of travel for the Secretariat; paragraph 39, concerning the different measures that the Secretary-General would be authorized to take in regard to the extension of conference facilities and construction at the Palais des Nations, Geneva. On this point I should like, on behalf of the Assembly, to thank the Swiss Federal Government for its offer to grant an interest-free loan for carrying out the necessary work. Finally, the General Assembly is requested to take note of paragraph 45, which recommends that the Secretary-General be authorized "to sign a contract in 1966, committing the Organization

to undertake in 1967 and 1968 the automation of the elevators in the Secretariat building".

27. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly takes note of these paragraphs, subject to the comments made by the Secretary-General.

*It was so decided.*

28. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolutions I-IV.

29. I put to the vote sections A, B and C of draft resolution I.

*Section A was adopted by 97 votes to one, with 16 abstentions.*

*Section B was adopted unanimously.*

*Section C was adopted by 100 votes to one, with 12 abstentions.*

30. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I put draft resolution II to the vote.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 97 votes to 11, with 5 abstentions.*

31. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I put draft resolution III to the vote.

*Draft resolution III was adopted by 97 votes to none, with 16 abstentions.*

32. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the Government of Chile for the generous contribution of \$1.2 million it has offered for the completion of the United Nations building at Santiago, Chile.

33. I now put draft resolution IV to the vote.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted by 100 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.*

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): That concludes our examination of agenda item 76. I should like to congratulate the officers and members of the Fifth Committee for their work, and to offer them my best wishes.

### AGENDA ITEM 83

Administrative and budgetary procedures of the United Nations: report of the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations

35. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Item 83 was included *pro forma* in the agenda of the twentieth session. The Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations was asked to submit a report to the nineteenth session of the Assembly. Subsequently, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was set up, with extended terms of reference to consider similar questions in a wider context. In these circumstances, the General Assembly may perhaps consider that no measures are called for on this matter at the present time. If there is no objection, I shall take it that that is the view of the Assembly.

*It was so decided.*

### AGENDA ITEM 10

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization

36. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Agenda item 10 does not call for any specific action by the General Assembly. It concerns the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/6001], and the introduction to the report [A/6001, Add. 1]. If there is no objection, I suggest that the Assembly take note of the report.

*The General Assembly took note of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.*

### AGENDA ITEM 33

Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6207)

### AGENDA ITEM 31

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6212)

### AGENDA ITEM 107

The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6220)

### AGENDA ITEM 32

The Korean question: reports of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6221)

37. Mr. FAHMY (United Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the First Committee: Permit me, first of all, to recall that item 33 was inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly as early as its eighteenth session. Unfortunately, owing to the shortage of time available to the First Committee, on that occasion it could do no more than recommend that the item be deferred until the nineteenth session. For reasons well known to all of us, the work of the nineteenth session of the Assembly was seriously affected and therefore the consideration of this item had to be postponed once again. I am very happy to report that, at the present session, the First Committee not only had time to consider this item but also is in the very happy position of recommending a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly. This draft resolution is contained in paragraph 7 of the report [A/6207].

38. I should now like to introduce to the Assembly the report of the First Committee on item 31 [A/6212]. International co-operation in outer space has been discussed at successive sessions of the General Assembly and, as on previous occasions, the First Committee had a very useful discussion based mainly

on the reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

39. During the discussion in the First Committee almost all representatives referred to the spectacular achievements of the Soviet Union and the United States in the exploration of outer space. Many representatives also reaffirmed their delegations' strong desire to see the utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes.

40. I turn now to the third item on the agenda for this meeting—the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty [A/6220]. This is without doubt one of the most important items—perhaps the most important—on the agenda of this session. The subject matter of this item is, needless to say, of the utmost significance to all Members of this Organization, and in particular to the small States that make up the United Nations.

41. The principle of non-intervention is implied in the provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is one of the basic principles of the charters of the League of Arab States and the Organization of American States. The various conferences of the non-aligned countries and of the Organization of African Unity have affirmed and reaffirmed that principle, the violation of which affects the very core of the sacred sovereignty and independence of States.

42. The First Committee discussed this item extensively and in depth. As many as sixty-four speakers participated in the discussion, which took up fifteen meetings. The Committee had to deal with three main proposals—namely, a draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union, a draft resolution submitted by nineteen Latin American States, and yet another draft declaration submitted by the United Arab Republic and later sponsored by twenty-six delegations of non-aligned countries. There were also numerous amendments before the Committee.

43. From the beginning there was a widespread feeling among the members of the Committee that, in view of the great importance of the subject under discussion, it was essential to make every effort to reach as nearly unanimous agreement as possible. With that objective in mind, an informal working group was formed. It conducted very extensive consultations, particularly with the sponsors of the various draft resolutions and amendments. After very protracted and strenuous negotiations, which lasted several days, the informal working group was able to produce a single draft which attempted to take into account all the various ideas. As the Assembly will realize, that was not an easy task, and we all owe a debt of gratitude to those representatives who worked tirelessly and with a dedication fitting to the subject to produce a draft which was sponsored by as many as fifty-seven delegations and which received 100 affirmative votes and no negative votes. The First Committee therefore recommends for adoption by the General Assembly the draft declaration contained in paragraph 16 of its report.

44. I now have the honour to submit the First Committee's report [A/6221] on the last of the Committee's items before the Assembly—namely, the Korean

question. The recommendation of the First Committee on this item is contained in paragraph 16 of the Committee's report.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.*

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I would remind representatives that in virtue of the decision just taken by the General Assembly, statements must be confined to explanations of vote.

46. The Assembly will now vote on the various draft resolutions submitted by the First Committee.

47. The First Committee has submitted a draft resolution on agenda item 33 [A/6207, para. 7] which was adopted by acclamation. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution in the same manner.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

48. Mr. HASEGANU (Romania) (translated from French): Allow me once again to extend my sincere thanks to all delegations for the interest and attention they gave to the item entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems". I should particularly like to thank the delegations which as co-sponsors of the draft resolution that has just been unanimously adopted, or by their statements in the First Committee, actively supported the initiative taken by my Government.<sup>1/</sup>

49. The discussions that have taken place on this item have corroborated the notion contained in the resolution, namely that there is a growing desire in Europe to promote the development of mutual good neighbourly relations and co-operation among European States having different social and political systems, and that this trend towards rapprochement and easing of tension should be encouraged by the United Nations.

50. The interest shown in improving the political climate in Europe by intensifying contacts and exchanges in the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields, seems to us entirely as it should be. Any realistic assessment of the main historical facts concerning the European continent would seem to lead to one conclusion only, namely that the various European States have everything to gain from the development of reciprocal relations, brought about by patient efforts to make the most of anything that is of common interest to all the countries and peoples of Europe.

51. The diversity characteristic of the personality of the various peoples of Europe—the normal result of a long historical process of reciprocal influence—can and should be a source of understanding, respect and mutual interest, and a factor in the steady development of co-operation among States throughout the European continent.

52. The resolution draws attention to the necessity and importance of intensifying efforts to bring about a

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 84, document A/5557.

relaxation of tension in Europe, to advance gradually, step by step, towards greater security, towards peaceful neighbourly relations among States on the basis of equal rights and mutual respect. Thus, as several speakers have indicated in the course of their statements, the elimination of mistrust between the States of Europe and the clearing of the political atmosphere in that part of the world could help to create a climate in which outstanding problems could be solved—a matter of vital importance for international peace and security.

53. In his message on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, Secretary-General U Thant made the following very appropriate remark:

"It seems clear, as the United Nations begins the third decade of its life, that great as are the dangers in the world which it serves, they are no greater than the opportunities open to us. These opportunities must be urgently seized by governments, organizations and individuals alike, for in the making and building of peace every kind of positive effort is required."

54. This comment seems to us extremely relevant and entirely in keeping with the spirit and the intent of the resolution just adopted. By unanimously endorsing the ideas in this resolution, the General Assembly welcomes and encourages the efforts towards the development of co-operation and good neighbourliness between European States having different social and political systems; and that is in the interests of international peace and security.

55. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement on this matter.

56. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I welcome the initiative, taken first by Romania, and followed up by a representative group of European States, East and West—and, indeed, North and South as well—which led to the adoption by acclamation in the First Committee of the draft resolution contained in document A/6207, which has just been adopted here by acclamation. In my view, this resolution embraces a number of the principles and realities of international co-operation at the regional level which are fully consonant with the purposes of the United Nations Charter and are capable, when applied to practical problems, of contributing directly and positively to the relaxation of tensions and the improvement of relations among nations everywhere.

57. What is good in the higher sense for any given regions is surely good for the world as a whole, and history suggests to us that this truth may apply with particular significance to Europe. I trust that it is not going too far to read into this resolution another welcome indication of the progressive ending of what became known as the cold war and a promise that, considering the bonds of common culture, traditions and scientific, technical and industrial development that link them, the countries of Europe need not find in their differing social and political systems obstacles to peaceful co-operation. It should not be expecting too much, either, to look forward to the implementation of this resolution as setting an example which other regions of the world may usefully follow.

58. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The adoption of this proposal by acclamation in the General Assembly underlines the importance of the matters we have voted upon and reflects the high hopes with which the accredited representatives of so many States have supported the initiative taken by Romania and other countries.

59. The First Committee has submitted the draft resolution [A/6212, para. 12] on agenda item 31. I now put this to the vote.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

60. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now turn to agenda item 107, concerning which the First Committee has submitted a resolution [A/6220, para. 16].

61. Mr. Ahmed ALI (Pakistan): The representative of Peru, Mr. Belaúnde, when he presented the draft declaration on behalf of the co-sponsors in the First Committee on 18 December [1420th meeting], described it as an historical document. We are in entire agreement with him. It is an epoch-making declaration, a landmark in the efforts of the General Assembly to establish recognition of the sovereign equality of States, especially the newly independent ones. But it is not and was not meant to be either all-inclusive or perfect. Perhaps it would be possible to elaborate further on the subject and strengthen the draft both in its preambular and its operative parts. However, the delegation of Pakistan finds itself in agreement with the view that this declaration will be only a beginning and that subsequent steps will be taken, especially by the Legal Committee, to codify and elaborate the norms of conduct laid down in it.

62. The draft declaration before us [A/6220, para. 16] rightly recognizes the gravity of the international situation and the increasing threats to international peace and security due to frequent outside interventions in the domestic affairs of States and occasional attempts from outside to undermine the sovereign personality and political independence of States.

63. Secondly, no less important is the reassertion of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination which, in order to be meaningful, should be freely exercised without any foreign pressure. It is an unfortunate fact that the sacrosanct right of self-determination is being denied in the world of today to many peoples, and acts of oppression and subjugation are being perpetrated by certain Powers, not all of whom are colonial in the conventional sense of the word. These acts are not confined to one race, one colour or one region. Moreover, the Governments of many such States continue to undermine the concern of the world community with peace and security by declaring that such inhuman policies and such matters are within their domestic jurisdiction. Therefore we warmly welcome the inclusion of the expression "self-determination of peoples" in both the preambular and the operative parts of the draft declaration.

64. Thirdly, the usefulness of the draft declaration has been further enhanced by the invitation to all States to contribute to the elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Such policies of racial subjugation and

colonialism, in varied forms, continue to be practised, and the Governments which practise such inhuman policies plead the doctrine of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States to avoid the scrutiny and possible censure of the world community; in fact, to evade the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and the canons of civilized behaviour. Therefore there is an urgent and ever-present need to defeat these attempts, which cannot but undermine the fabric of peace and international co-operation. We are happy that the draft declaration does not condone this kind of cynicism.

65. We, however, see the possibility that certain interested parties may attempt once again perversely to interpret this declaration, as they have tried to do with other international declarations, agreements and rules of international law. Such perverse interpretation could perhaps be applied to the expressions "personality of the State" and "national identity". However, we are convinced that these expressions bear no ambiguity whatsoever. It is universally accepted that any territorial acquisitions obtained by force and maintained in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and in contravention of international agreements are not, and cannot be, an element in a "nation's identity" or in the "personality of the State".

66. A nation or State cannot be formed by annexing neighbouring areas by force, by denying its people the right of self-determination and by keeping them subjugated through systematic persecution and oppression. In our view, the text of operative paragraph 3 is very clear. It states in clear and unequivocal terms the fact that the employment of force to deprive peoples of their national identity constitutes a violation of their inalienable rights, including the right of self-determination. Any attempt by any State, therefore, to obliterate the cultural identity and stifle the aspirations of any peoples by denying them their right of self-determination makes a mockery of the principle of non-intervention. Our understanding is strengthened further by the contents of operative paragraph 6, where all States have been asked, *inter alia*, to respect the right of self-determination and independence of peoples and nations, to be freely exercised without any foreign pressure. This foreign pressure can be either colonial in its classical form or neo-colonial in its varied forms. Thus it is the understanding of the delegation of Pakistan that this declaration cannot be used to condone or justify any attempt by any Power, whether colonial or foreign, to attempt to integrate a territory by force and then plead before the world community that such people forms an integral part of its political personality.

67. We are somewhat apprehensive that the declaration before us does not clearly provide against the use of force to dislocate and evict peoples from their homelands in order to facilitate the sinister task of consolidating their illegal occupation of such areas by colonial or neighbouring Powers. Such acts of international delinquency are inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention which we intend to sanctify in the present draft declaration. It is an unfortunate fact of our time that the denial of the right of self-determination to peoples and the consequent coercive measures, including mass murder of

innocent people by organized bands, have caused and are causing large-scale dislocation and expulsion of peoples from their hearths and homes. Many countries of the world, including my own, have to provide a haven of refuge for such unfortunate peoples. This problem has both a political and human aspect. Politically, such policies can result in a deadly situation, where oppression and murder would lead to either the total extinction of a people or their becoming an insignificant minority in their own land, with all the unfortunate consequences. The human aspect needs no great elaboration. The plight of dislocated families, the perils of the struggle to reach the safe areas in the face of innumerable dangers to one's life and honour, the loss of one's meagre belongings, the separation from and the loss of one's kith and kin, and the difficulties of rehabilitation albeit in a friendly country as a refugee—these are only some of the problems which face such persons and families who have been pushed from their lands, and their magnitude can very well be imagined. No amount of relief can compensate for the mental anguish and sufferings of these refugees. The real remedy lies in creating a situation where such occurrences do not take place in the first instance. Therefore we regret the absence, in the draft declaration, of the condemnation of the barbarous acts of expulsion and eviction of peoples from their homelands. This, we feel, is a weakness.

68. However, as I said at the beginning, the present draft declaration is only a first step. We visualize and expect further steps both in the Political and Legal Committees to strengthen the provisions of the present declaration; and therefore I would suggest that the observations I have made should be carefully considered. Further, it might be worth while exploring the possibility of establishing either *ad hoc* committees or a standing committee to investigate and report on such expulsions and evictions to the General Assembly.

69. To conclude, I wish to say that, for the reasons I have enumerated in my statement, the delegation of Pakistan will vote in favour of the draft declaration.

70. Mr. DE BEUS (Netherlands): My delegation was among those which in the First Committee yesterday abstained on the draft resolution which is now before us, notwithstanding the sympathy it felt for the main purpose of this draft resolution. My delegation abstained because it shared certain reservations voiced by many delegations about the present draft [A/6220, para. 16]. Those reservations concentrated mainly on four points.

71. First, it was pointed out, with full appreciation for the valuable work done by its authors, that the draft resolution had had of necessity to be put together in a very short time and without thorough consideration.

72. Second, it was pointed out that, consequently, the text was on several points sweeping, not entirely clear and, therefore, open to different interpretations. In the third place, it was pointed out by many delegations that the subject of non-intervention and this draft resolution should have been referred originally to the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation

among States, which was dealing precisely with the very subject of non-intervention.

73. Finally, this draft resolution also deals with some of the most basic principles and issues of the United Nations and of the Charter, such as fundamental rights, self-determination, elimination of racial discrimination, decolonization, and so on, without clearly defining what the relationship of such principles is to non-intervention.

74. My delegation fully shares and maintains these reservations, Nevertheless, being in profound sympathy with the main purpose of the draft declaration and motivated by a spirit of co-operation, my delegation is prepared to vote for this draft resolution and to join the overwhelming majority of nations which have done so, on the clear understanding that it does not add to or detract from the obligations under the Charter.

75. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My delegation welcomes this draft declaration [A/6220, para. 16] as a historic document of no less importance than the other historic declaration against colonialism.

76. During the discussion of this item in the First Committee, my delegaton suggested [1404th meeting] that a paragraph should perhaps be included in the draft resolution providing that treaties which purported to authorize, in violation of the Charter, intervention by States in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of other States, should be declared invalid and condemned as a sort of international friction and a threat to peace. This was my suggestion in the First Committee; but later on, during the discussions and the further elaboration of the final draft of the declaration which was adopted in the Committee, we were fully satisfied and therefore did not propose an amendment, feeling that the draft contained the very essence of this provision in both its preambular and its operative paragraphs. And I quote here the sixth preambular paragraph which reads as follows:

"Recognizing that full observance of the principle of the non-intervention of States in the internal and external affairs of other States is essential to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations,"

showing that intervention goes to the very root of the principles of the United Nations. The preamble continues:

"Considering that armed intervention is synonymous with aggression, and, as such, is contrary to the basic principles on which peaceful international co-operation between States should be built",

Then operative paragraph 1 of the draft reads:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State...".

That covers the provision that intervention with the excuse of treaties is condemned and unacceptable. The very phrase, "for any reason whatever", includes any suggestion of treaties giving the right to intervene. That paragraph continues:

"Consequently armed intervention as well as all other forms of interference or attempted threats

against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned".

77. Paragraph 4 states that "the practice of any form of intervention... violates the spirit and letter of the Charter". Therefore, this is the reason why we did not insist on including the paragraph which I have mentioned; we consider that this draft resolution includes it essentially in every part of the preamble and in the operative part also.

78. I should like to add that this session may go down in history as the session of the General Assembly noted for non-intervention because three of the important items on its agenda concern non-intervention. The first was the juridical aspect of non-intervention, discussed widely in the First Committee and referred for further discussion to the Special Political Committee. Then came this draft resolution in the First Committee, and also another important item on non-intervention, namely, the question of Cyprus, which centered upon the right of Cyprus as an independent State to be respected as such and as a Member of the United Nations, without any interference or intervention by any other State against Cyprus. This resolution [2077 (XX)] also was adopted by a large majority—more than two-thirds—and was a very important resolution. Thus, we can say that this session has been the session of non-intervention.

79. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): First of all I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to come to the rostrum when, as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/6220, para. 16], I was not perhaps really entitled to speak in support of it.

80. But I do feel obliged to express my gratitude from this rostrum to all those who have worked to produce a juridical instrument which has received wide support—and I trust the support will prove unanimous—particularly because at a difficult moment in the history of the United Nations, its Members have rallied enthusiastically to the cause of proclaiming once more the noblest and loftiest principles of law.

81. Everyone here will recall that 1948 was likewise a year of profound international tension; and to counterbalance the anguish of that troubled time, mankind grasped hopefully, perhaps in the face of the over-realistic attitude of certain statesmen and diplomatists, at that noble and excellent document the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

82. I do not believe that our situation today is as serious for the world as it was in 1948; but there have been moments of anxiety and gloom, if not of actual despair. It is therefore a beautiful and significant thought that the United Nations, despite events that threaten international peace, has once more recovered its enthusiasm and proclaimed its faith in the undying principles of justice.

83. That was what inspired the Latin American and Afro-Asian countries to join together in a co-operative effort which stands as a shining example in the life of the United Nations.

84. Such collective efforts can only come about through mutual understanding and the desire to put oneself in the place of others. This is the way, too, to ensure that the light of an eternal principle will dispel the shadows of ephemeral interests and contradictory opinion.

85. This is why I asked to be allowed to speak, and to say in all sincerity, on behalf of the representatives of the Latin American and Afro-Asian countries, that our sole idea was to bring in the light of juridical order and give expression to the hope that we can achieve that order, whatever the difficulties of the moment.

86. In the course of the discussion we have had I suddenly had a presentiment—that the mere reading of the document, despite its flaws—human endeavours are never perfect—despite the possibility of reservations, which I respect, on the part of various delegations, there might be a unanimous vote in the Assembly. In saying this I gratefully and warmly welcome the attitude of the Netherlands, which after sincerely putting forward reservations (which will no doubt be valuable for any study undertaken in connexion with the codification of the principle involved) gave its support to the draft so as to show the world that the General Assembly of the United Nations is unanimous in favour of the principle of the equality of all nations in this splendid family of nations, this great city as it was called by Francisco Suárez, the father of international law.

87. I trust that these lights that flash in front of us will not record a single negative vote—with due respect, of course, to reservations as to the interpretation or future application of the concepts embodied in the text. I think we can do greatest honour to the Assembly, and pay the greatest tribute to the spirit of mutual co-operation exemplified for us by the African and Asian countries, by unanimously proclaiming the principle of the unassailability of the personality of States within the juridical order, in a family of nations under the aegis of the Charter, to which we must be ever constant.

88. Mr. PARDO (Malta): The draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States [A/6220, para. 16] is being openly violated by several of the States that voted in favour of it in the First Committee; and it is not likely that these States will modify their policies in accordance with this draft declaration. In these circumstances, my delegation does not believe that the adoption of such a declaration at the present time will increase the prestige of the United Nations.

89. Accordingly, my delegation will not participate in the vote.

90. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution [A/6220, para. 16]. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

*The vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Yemen, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 109 votes to none, with 1 abstention.*

91. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian) The General Assembly has completed its consideration of a problem of the highest importance, the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty. As is well known, this question was introduced on the initiative of the Soviet Government [A/5977]. The Soviet delegation notes with great satisfaction that the discussion of this question has been concluded by the adoption of a Declaration containing important tenets and principles which, without any doubt, will serve the cause of peace-loving forces in their struggle against intervention in the internal affairs of States.

92. After the solemn proclamation by the General Assembly five years ago of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Declaration which has just been adopted, on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty, is one of the most significant acts of the United Nations, one which meets the requirements of the international circumstances of our times.

93. The necessity for a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of States was dictated by the whole development of events in the world today and the sharp accentuation of international tension. The facts show that certain imperialist Powers are committing aggression and armed brigandage, are unceremoniously intervening in the internal affairs of States and are trying to undermine the independence and sovereignty of the

young countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. What, more than any words, could be more eloquent and convincing proof of this than the American aggression in Viet-Nam, the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, the disasters inflicted on the long-suffering people of the Congo and the tragic events in many other explosive areas all over the world?

94. We consider it our duty to emphasize again that the inadmissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of States, the obligation of all States to respect the independence and sovereignty of other States, is a corner-stone principle of the Charter of the United Nations and of contemporary international law. There cannot be and there must not be any justification whatsoever, ideological, economic, political or what you will, for intervention in the internal affairs of States.

95. In proposing that the question of the inadmissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of States be discussed as a matter of urgency, the Soviet Union was guided by the sincere desire that the General Assembly of the United Nations should most resolutely condemn every foreign intervention in the internal affairs of States and peoples.

96. The Soviet Union, in putting forward its proposal, was concerned not with its own immediate interests, for we are well able to look after ourselves. The object of our initiative was to give all possible support to those States, especially small ones, which have only recently set out on the path of independent development and need reliable international guarantees against interference from outside.

97. The Soviet delegation is glad to note that its initiative has met with wide understanding and has proved fruitful. The representatives of the overwhelming majority of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America have, in all their speeches in the First Committee, very convincingly expressed their attachment to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and have emphasized the obligation of all countries to respect the independence and sovereignty of other States and peoples. We have heard angry voices expressing indignation at the fact that the United States of America and certain other Powers are intervening in the internal affairs of States and are encroaching on the independence and sovereignty of young countries.

98. The fact that a very large number of delegates took part in the broad, sometimes sharp discussion is in itself an indication of the importance attached to this question and also of the fact that the overwhelming majority of States regards the adoption of measures to prevent intervention in the internal affairs of States as one of the principal tasks of all peace-loving forces and of the United Nations.

99. It is self-evident that the main reason for the situation building up in the world today, a situation which is extremely dangerous to the cause of peace, is the practice of blatant, criminal, armed intervention. Here is the main source of aggravation of international tension, here is the main threat to the independence and sovereignty of States and peoples, mainly the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The United States, violating all the norms and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of international agreements and recognized principles of international law, is engaging in armed intervention in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nameese people. In Viet-Nam a bloody war is in progress, a war between interventionists coming from distant shores across the ocean, on the one hand, and the people of that country, on the other, a people courageously and heroically defending its freedom and independence in a struggle against foreign aggressors. The Pentagon keeps on increasing its military escalation, putting peace and security under a threat not only in South-East Asia. The ruling circles of Washington go on expanding their criminal, aggressive activities against a sovereign State, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, they go on stepping up the scale of their barbaric bombardments. The forces of American aggression do not hesitate to use the cruellest means of annihilation, burning up the fields of Viet-Nam with napalm, using poisonous substances and gases, destroying peaceful settlements, temples and hospitals, brutally repressing the peaceful population.

100. On the admission of one of the organs of the American Press, not a single military adventure of the United States of America in an entire generation has caused so many sane American citizens to lose heart, as has the bloody adventure in Viet-Nam.

101. Legions of American interventionists go on pouring into the land of the small Dominican nation; they have trampled on its sovereignty, its national independence and its freedom, but they have not broken its spirit, nor its will to throw off the interventionists' yoke.

102. In taking stock of the consideration given to the question of the inadmissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of States, the Soviet delegation notes the great positive significance of the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly, a declaration which reflects the basic provisions and principles contained in the draft declaration introduced by the Soviet Government for consideration at this session of the General Assembly.

103. As in the draft of the Soviet Union, the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly expresses deep concern about the seriousness of the international situation and the growing threat to world peace caused by armed intervention and other forms of intervention in the internal affairs of States. In the Declaration which the Assembly had adopted it is rightly pointed out that armed intervention is a synonym of aggression. In the Declaration the Assembly thus stresses above all the special danger to the cause of peace from armed interference, that is, from military intervention and aggressive attacks on the part of imperialist predators.

104. There is no need for words to show who is carrying on armed intervention in South-East Asia these days, who is defiling Dominican soil, who is violating independence in other parts of the world.

105. The Declaration adopted by the General Assembly recalls, as did the draft declaration introduced by the Soviet Union, the obligation on all Members of the United Nations, in conformity with its Charter, to

abstain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States.

106. The Declaration adopted by the General Assembly proclaims anew its conviction that all peoples have the inalienable right to full freedom and the exercise of their sovereignty, to free determination of their own political status and of their economic, social and cultural development. The Declaration emphasizes the obligation of all States to contribute to the complete elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism in all its forms and in all its manifestations. It is hardly necessary to speak at length to show that these provisions reflect the fundamental attitude of the Soviet Union.

107. The Declaration which the General Assembly has adopted fits in with other decisions taken by this session of the Assembly, confirming the lawful nature of the fight waged by peoples under colonial domination for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence and proposing that all States give material and moral assistance to national liberation movements.

108. In the Declaration adopted by the Assembly not only is armed intervention condemned, but also all other forms of intervention in the internal affairs of States, including various forms of indirect intervention on the part of imperialist Powers in the internal affairs of States—subversive and terrorist activities and so forth. This too is perfectly correct, because such activities create a threat to the independence and sovereignty of States, particularly small countries. The landing on Cuban soil, in the Bay of Pigs, of terrorist bands fostered on the territory of a great North American Power has become the shameful symbol of the perfidious, subversive activities of imperialist Powers against sovereign States not only in the Caribbean region, but also in many countries of Africa and Asia.

109. To the socialist countries these shameful and criminal methods of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples by the imperialist Powers are profoundly alien. Socialism has no need for the revolutionary struggle in any part of the world to be supported from without, from the sidelines. We have invariably opposed and we continue to oppose the "export of revolution", as we oppose the export of counter-revolution, and in this we are guided by the behests of the great Lenin, who pointed out that people who think that revolution can be born to order in another country "are either fools or provocateurs".

110. It is only the people themselves that have the right to choose the social system which they consider suitable for them, without any intervention from outside. The Soviet delegation expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the delegations of the African, Asian and other States which have supported our initiative and which actively participated and co-operated in the preparation of the General Assembly's decision.

111. At the same time, the Soviet delegation cannot but note that the Declaration adopted contains some insufficiently clear provisions and formulations, which bear the obvious marks of compromise. In this connexion, we should again like to point out that the

provision relating to non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, as contained in the Declaration adopted, cannot and must not be interpreted as a justification for the imperialist Powers in their aggressive foreign policy.

112. In conclusion, we cannot fail to express our satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations have voted in favour of the Declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States. It is significant however, that certain countries have refused to support the Declaration. What does such a position mean? It is a very alarming signal. Even certain allies of these countries managed to raise a hand, evidently not without effort, in support of the Declaration. But their genuine attitude to the principles and provisions of the Declaration adopted by the Assembly will, of course, be determined not by words and not by eloquent protestations. Here the criterion will be practical deeds: to be precise, the criterion will be found in the way States fulfil the obligations assumed under the Declaration. The practice of international brigandage, of armed intervention and other forms of intervention in the internal affairs of States must be quickly ended and the peoples will judge who is strictly following the principles proclaimed in the Declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and who violates these principles, for which they have cast their vote.

113. Mr. SETTE CAMARA (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation was one of the co-sponsors of the draft declaration which was adopted by an impressive majority in the First Committee. The views of my delegation had already been conveyed to the First Committee in a clear and uncontroversial form when I had the opportunity of intervening in the general debate [1400th meeting] on the item relating to the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their sovereignty. On that occasion, and speaking on behalf of the Brazilian delegation, I reaffirmed the pledge of my country and my Government to a principle which is the cornerstone of the inter-American system.

114. Our cultural formation, together with the juridical tradition of our hemisphere, fully justify the leading role played by the eighteen Latin American delegations in presenting, with many other delegations from Africa and Asia, the draft declaration on the principle of non-intervention to the General Assembly.

115. We are convinced that the document which we have now adopted is an instrument that accurately reflects our legitimate aspirations as well as providing for an adequate moral guarantee against any forms of intervention.

116. When my delegation explained its views on this item, we singled out the importance of new forms of intervention that, by their subtle and insidious manifestations, seriously affect the political, economic and social evolution of independent States. We share the belief voiced by so many delegations from Africa, Asia and Latin America, that it is essential for the General Assembly to adopt a declaration focusing upon all forms of intervention, thus bringing about a revision of many concepts and principles to reflect the realities of our times.

117. The draft declaration which my delegation had the honour to co-sponsor reaffirms in its preamble the outstanding international instruments related to the question, instruments which form the juridical platform of the provisions set forth in its operative part. Three principles serve as a basis for this declaration: the sovereign equality of States, respect for their territorial integrity and respect for their political independence. The existence of political systems whereby a racial minority subjugates by force the will of the peoples—pointed out by us on many occasions—is one of the most unfortunate forms of violating the principles of modern civilization. My delegation fully endorses the provisions embodied in the declaration referring to the total elimination of colonialism as well as racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations.

118. I wish to refer to the relevant provisions in the operative part of the declaration.

119. The Brazilian delegation is in full agreement with the condemnation of all forms of intervention, whether it be by means of unilateral and overt aggression, as provided for in operative paragraph 1, or through subversion, sabotage, incitement to rebellion and terrorism to the point of interference in the civil strife of an independent and sovereign State, as spelled out in operative paragraph 2 of the declaration.

120. Operative paragraphs 3, 5 and 6 are, in our opinion, the natural corollary of the principle of self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) concerning the inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of sovereignty and the preservation of territorial integrity consonant with the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter.

121. The Brazilian delegation is aware of all the implications stemming from the adoption of the Declaration to which we have given our co-sponsorship. It would be unnecessary to stress that it is the fruit of a compromise.

122. I would like to comment now on the provisions contained in operative paragraph 8 of the Declaration which affirms that

"Nothing in this Declaration shall be construed as affecting in any manner the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular those contained in Chapters VI, VII and VIII [of the Charter]."

123. While recognizing and respecting the views expressed by other representatives, my delegation feels obliged to point out that, according to our interpretation of this context, a distinction must be made between intervention and collective action undertaken by the competent organs or regional arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. We are fully convinced that regional arrangements such as the Organization of American States are legally entitled to act against all forms of aggression, whether in cases of direct intervention or of other forms of interference such as subversion, terrorism, or other similar activities

aiming at the overthrow of political régimes or forms of government in any independent State. In this context, operative paragraph 8 is nothing more, and nothing less, than a line of distinction between intervention and collective action, as contemplated in Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the United Nations Charter.

124. The declaration, in our view, in no way impairs or attempts to impair whatever collective action is undertaken by regional arrangements in carrying out the duties and exercising the rights and competences of the communities they represent, consonant with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, and particularly in the light of the provisions contained in Chapter VIII of the Charter of our Organization.

125. Mr. VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): My delegation co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in the report of the First Committee [A/6220, para. 20] and voted in favour of it, not only because it opposes direct intervention, but also because it censures subversive activities, one of the most dangerous forms of intervention, which through the manoeuvres of international communism are rife today in a number of Latin American countries.

126. We are aware that the resolution we have adopted is far from being a completely satisfactory answer to all our ideals in this important issue; but we accept it as the best that could be achieved after protracted negotiations.

127. However, at this point we would like to state that we would have preferred the adoption of the draft resolution submitted by eighteen Latin American countries [A/C.1/L.349/Rev.2], because we feel that its provisions are clear and more decided than those of the draft actually adopted.

128. For example, the Latin American draft asserted that it was essential to respect the self-determination of peoples in choosing and applying their political, social, economic and cultural systems without any outside intervention. My delegation believes that this right, which must be exercised within the framework of resolution 1514 (XV), applies to the State, as indicated in operative paragraph 5, though the term "State" must be understood not in accordance with the juridical definition emanating from its own positive law, in other words the governing class, but rather in the strict sense of the word, as the nation, according to the statement in paragraph 7.

129. My delegation co-sponsored the draft resolution also because it would not seem to encroach upon the international commitments of my Government vis-à-vis regional organizations and under the defence treaties of which Guatemala is a signatory, since operative paragraph 8 states that

"Nothing in this Declaration shall be construed as affecting in any manner the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular those contained in Chapters VI, VII and VIII."

130. Mr. VINCI (Italy): On behalf of the Italian delegation, I wish to express our appreciation for the unanimous approval by the General Assembly of the

Declaration contained in document A/6220, which was submitted by the First Committee. As I have already had the opportunity of stating, during the general debate in the Committee [1402nd meeting], we welcomed the initiative taken by the delegation of the Soviet Union in proposing to the General Assembly the item entitled "The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty" [A/5977]. We welcomed it because it enabled us to compare notes and views on concepts upon which stand the very foundations of the independence and sovereignty of States, of their freedom and their security. This problem, in fact, has so many aspects, causes and effects that we are certain we have all gained from the very frank discussions which took place in the First Committee on this subject. Suffice it to recall that, while some delegations saw fit to take a very firm stand against any form of overt military intervention, other delegations deemed it necessary to take an equally firm stand against any form of disguised intervention such as subversion, infiltration, terrorism, and so forth.

131. Certainly the document before us is the result of a compromise, and it therefore contains, inevitably, some ambiguities. Such is the fate of a compromise and, as has often been remarked, this is also the evidence of its validity. Nevertheless, we here represent our countries and their points of view, and therefore the Italian delegation thought it was its duty to make a few reservations in the Committee. The time is late and I shall not repeat them. I should merely like to reaffirm some of those remarks I made for the record.

132. On our part, we wish to take this opportunity also to draw the Assembly's attention to still other aspects of the problem of non-intervention which, in our opinion, are very important. I have in mind especially ways of preventing intervention. One way is to bring colonialism and racial segregation to an end as soon as possible, as they are causes of intervention in overt or disguised form. Another is to strive to favour peaceful changes, which are the best guarantee of political, economic and social development of all countries, especially the newly independent countries, through international co-operation.

133. If we could concentrate our efforts on strengthening all United Nations activities, from peace-keeping operations in all their various forms to the economic, social and educational programmes, which are all strictly inter-related and equally necessary, we could certainly better meet the challenges of our times. By adjusting our instruments to a rapidly changing world, we would be in a better position to ensure the peaceful advance of mankind in all fields, without running into dangerous conflicts.

134. Allow me finally to commend most highly the sponsors of the resolution we have just adopted. They worked very hard, with goodwill and with earnestness of intent, to produce a final Declaration which, in condensing such a wide range of views, seems to reflect the main expectations of our peoples. We are confident, therefore, that in subscribing to the Declaration, all Member States reaffirm their sincere will faithfully to serve the cause of the United Nations.

135. Mr. OWONO NKOU DOU (Cameroon) (translated from French): The delegation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon warmly welcomes the Declaration contained in the resolution we have just adopted solemnly proclaiming the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of States.

136. On many occasions in the past, both in the United Nations and in other international gatherings, my country has consistently stigmatized and denounced foreign intervention as being a flagrant, dangerous and intolerable violation of the inalienable rights of States to their sovereignty and their freedom to manage their own affairs for the legitimate well-being of their peoples.

137. This Declaration, imperfect though it is, represents a minimum modest achievement which the Assembly has just approved. The list it gives of the flagrant examples of intervention, though not exhaustive, does fill one of the gaps in agenda item 107, which mentioned only "interference in the domestic affairs of States"; for intervention must be condemned in external as well as internal affairs.

138. My delegation had the privilege of co-sponsoring this draft in the Committee and supported it warmly. We believe that the international situation would be very much better than it is at present, and that mankind would evolve and expand more harmoniously if each nation and each people was in a position to enjoy in peace the unassailable right to choose and pursue its destiny without fear of intervention from outside.

139. If this Declaration is applied both in the letter and in the spirit, it will certainly spell the arrival of a new age. With peaceful coexistence, tolerance and mutual respect as its setting, and friendly co-operation as its means, it makes for international peace and security — the fundamental purposes of the United Nations.

140. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): I do not intend to repeat here the statement I made in ample detail in the First Committee on 6 December [1397th meeting] concerning the attitude of the Mexican Government towards the meaning and scope of the principle of non-intervention.

141. Nor in regard to the interpretation of the Declaration we have just adopted do I propose to reiterate in detail what I said at the same meeting, namely, that we are totally in agreement with the system advocated by the International Court of Justice when it endorsed what the Permanent Court of International Justice stated just before the Second World War in the following terms:

"It is a fundamental principle of interpretation that words should be interpreted according to the meaning they would normally bear in their context, unless such an interpretation would lead to nonsensical or absurd results."

142. But while I refrain from repeating all that, I do want to reiterate that throughout its history Mexico has at all times, wholeheartedly and unreservedly, championed the principle of non-intervention.

143. Because of that my delegation treasures, as one of the outstanding privileges we have enjoyed in these twenty years of active participation in the debates of the United Nations, the opportunity we were given as one of the three Latin American members of the First Committee's informal negotiating committee, to make our modest contribution to the formulation of the text that the Assembly has just adopted in one of the most impressive votes we have ever witnessed.

144. We are convinced that the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty will take a place of honour in the annals of the United Nations, side by side with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

145. The number of affirmative votes cast when the Declaration was approved in the First Committee—exactly 100, as you will recall—seems to embody the happy augury that its duration will be likewise secular. We are confirmed in this belief by the fact that nearly all of the relatively small number of abstentions which saddened us yesterday were today transformed into affirmative votes, with the result that 109 of the 111 Member States represented here tonight gave their unanimous support to the Declaration. We hope, incidentally, that all States without exception will endeavour strictly to adopt their conduct to bring it into line with the wise rules and the noble precepts enshrined in the Declaration.

146. The Mexican delegation is firmly convinced that what the General Assembly has just adopted is an historic instrument which of itself would be sufficient to make this twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations an unforgettable landmark in its history.

147. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I believe that many delegations share my feeling of outrage that the representative of the Soviet Union should choose the final evening of this General Assembly to repeat, in violation of the most elementary good taste, another of his stale cold-war outbursts. This attack on my country I categorically reject as unfounded, unwarranted, unproductive and contrary to the spirit which should animate this Assembly as we prepare to adjourn. If the Soviet representative will read, as he should, paragraph 2 of the resolution which did not appear in his draft as originally offered, he will find an accurate account of how the conflict in Viet-Nam began and how it is being carried on by armed intervention, indeed armed invasion of South Viet-Nam by North Viet-Nam.

148. The conflict in Viet-Nam is a prime example of the use of subversion, terrorism and overt military intervention by one Government, that of North Viet-Nam, to overthrow another Government, that of South Viet-Nam. My Government stands against that type of intervention, consistent with the spirit and language of the Declaration which has been adopted here tonight.

149. There is a very simple motive which must be apparent to all why the representative of the Soviet Union made this unwarranted statement as we now

proceed to conclude our deliberations. The Soviet Union offered its original resolution as an attack upon the United States and many of its friends. This attempt as the world Press bears witness, backfired, and we have seen an attempt here tonight to cover up the failure of the Soviet Union to succeed in this attempt. Thanks to the good judgement of the Committee and the wisdom of the sponsors of this resolution, the Declaration establishes a new injunction against intervention by one State in the affairs of another, and the provisions of the Declaration, as well as its legislative history, illustrate for all to see and all to take heed of, the almost universal abhorrence of the most modern and prevalent form of intervention endangering world peace today: intervention by stealth, by terrorism and by subversion with the aim of weakening and overthrowing national Governments of sovereign, individual, national States.

150. The Declaration makes clear that such intervention, under whatever guise, including the guise of misnamed and spurious national wars of liberation, is intolerable to the world community. We trust that Hanoi, Peiping and the Soviet Union will take heed of of this injunction.

151. Mr. ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): My delegation would like to explain the vote it cast in favour of the Declaration on non-intervention approved yesterday by the First Committee [1422nd meeting] and adopted this evening in the plenary Assembly [A/6220, para. 16].

152. As we stated in the First Committee, my country voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted in that Committee because we found in it the reiteration of principles deeply rooted in our history, principles and standards of international life which Cuba has always championed.

153. We stated also on that same occasion that every single one of the examples of aggression and forms of intervention and aggression specified in the document we have approved has been suffered and is being suffered by the Cuban people, from January 1959 to the present time, as a consequence of the aggressive policy of the imperialist Government of the United States of America.

154. In explaining our vote in the First Committee, we pointed out at the same time the shortcomings of the text we have just adopted. In the view of my delegation, the international situation and the hard facts of life in the world of today, as reflected fully in the First Committee's debate through the many statements made by the majority of the representatives there, suggest that something more than the reiteration of these principles is required, that more energetic, clear-cut, unequivocal action is called for on the part of the world Organization if it is truly anxious to serve the interests of the peoples of the world.

155. The facts of life today indicate that at this very time the aggressive policy of the United States Government is being unleashed more and more viciously; yet these hard facts, this policy of intervention, aggression and blackmail against peoples in many parts of the world are not explicitly condemned in the Declaration we have just adopted. That

in our view is the chief shortcoming of the document adopted tonight.

156. We consider that if this instrument is to embody completely the aims sought by the majority of delegations, it should have condemned explicitly, unequivocally and clearly the aggressive policy of the imperialist United States, for at this very moment, as the text is being adopted, the United States Government is maintaining hundreds of thousands of its soldiers in South Viet-Nam, thousands of miles from its own soil, carrying on a war of aggression against Viet-Nam. At this very moment, as we adopt this Declaration, the United States Government is indiscriminately bombing cities, hospitals, schools, roads and factories in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. At this very moment, as we adopt this instrument, in the territory of the Dominican Republic there are foreign forces of occupation, and at this moment the people of the Dominican Republic itself are once again shedding their blood in a struggle for the sovereignty and independence of their country. Only during the last few days we have received news of dozens of Dominicans killed in the streets of their country's capital.

157. We stated in the First Committee, and we repeat here today, that we voted in favour of this document because we feel that there is no other choice where we are faced with a declaration of general principles, of principles enshrined in the Charter, principles to which my Government is committed. But we feel we must repeat that it is a duty of the States Members of the United Nations, and the duty of the Organization itself, to fulfil the purposes for which it was set up, to stop the aggressive policy of United States imperialism, to clip the wings of the aggressor and thus truly to identify itself with the interests of the world's peoples.

158. I repeat, we are convinced that subject to this statement, the principles we have adopted will finally become a reality, not because we say so in words here, but because of the heroic struggle of peoples the world over to put a stop to imperialism.

159. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): There have been three occasions in the history of the United Nations which have caused my country the greatest rejoicing. The first was the occasion of the adoption by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The second was the occasion of the adoption in this very hall of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The third is this historic moment, with the adoption by the Assembly of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty.

160. All those who have been present in this hall, as I have been, and all those in the world outside this hall may feel proud that we have reached a stage of civilization at which we have been able to act in conformity with the facts and to take this constructive measure. We are proud to be associated with the Members of the General Assembly which have supported this Declaration.

161. One matter has brought me to this rostrum. It is a reservation on behalf of my Government in connexion with our understanding of the application of the Declaration.

162. The principle of the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty is, of course, non-controversial. No one can deny that. But we do wish to ensure that this historic Declaration for the protection of the rights of States and peoples will not be misunderstood or abused in a way that will be against the legitimate rights of States and peoples.

163. There are territories and peoples that are demanding their right to self-determination. Paragraph 6 of the Declaration just adopted by the Assembly provides that:

"All States shall respect the right of self-determination and independence of peoples and nations, to be freely exercised without any foreign pressure, and with absolute respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

But it may happen that the legitimate claims of such territories or the support shown for those legitimate claims are interpreted as intervention in the internal affairs of a country that regards these territories as integral parts of its own territory. We wish to make clear our understanding that this is a Declaration for the protection of peoples, and not a Declaration against them. We wish to make it clear that the Declaration does not affect disputed territories and the demand of peoples to exercise their right of self-determination.

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union in exercise of his right of reply.

165. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The United States representative, in his statement a moment ago, expressed indignation on the ground that the Soviet representative had not been very circumspect in his choice of words and that he had chosen words in his statement which shocked the ears of an American diplomat. The United States representative has tried to stand here as a picture of outraged virtue. Words offend him, but entire peoples, bathed in blood, are at this very moment still the victims of American armed intervention and international banditry. Does this not offend him?

166. The Assembly was entitled to hear from the United States representative the attitude of the United States towards the substance of the Declaration that has been adopted. It is a matter for regret that we have heard nothing from the official representative of Washington except empty words. But the point is precisely this: does the United States intend strictly to follow and unswervingly to abide by the principles and obligations of this Declaration which we solemnly adopted a few moments ago? That is the question to which the Assembly awaited an answer. The peoples of the world are awaiting it as well.

167. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The last draft resolution submitted by the First Committee [A/6221, para. 16] concerns agenda item 32.

168. I put the draft resolution to the vote. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

*The vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Hungary, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti.

*Against:* Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia.

*Abstaining:* Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Maldives Islands, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Burma, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 61 votes to 13, with 34 abstentions.*

169. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Having concluded our examination of agenda item 32 we are now at the end of all the items allocated to the First Committee. I have great pleasure in congratulating the officers of the First Committee on the work they have accomplished despite the short time at their disposal.

#### AGENDA ITEM 36

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (concluded):\*

- (a) Reports of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa;
- (b) Reports of the Secretary-General

170. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before we conclude our work I should like to go back to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning agenda items 36, 40, 67 and 76.

171. First of all agenda item 36. In paragraph 3 of resolution 2054 A (XX) adopted at its 1396th plenary meeting, the General Assembly decided to enlarge the Special Committee on apartheid by the addition of six members, to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly on the basis of criteria specified in the resolution.

\*Resumed from the 1396th meeting.

172. I had hoped to make the names of the additional members known before the close of the session. Unfortunately, this has not been possible. I have carried out hasty consultations with delegations, but in many cases they were not in a position to give a final answer. I shall therefore apply the precedent set at earlier sessions and postpone the announcement of the names of the six additional members to a date following the end of the session.

173. I propose to inform the Assembly in January 1966, through the Secretary-General, of the names of the six additional members of the Special Committee. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly is in agreement.

*It was so decided.*

174. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2054 B (XX) the General Assembly requested the President to nominate five Member States, each of which should appoint a person to serve on the Committee of Trustees of the Trust Fund for South Africa, which will decide on the uses of the Fund. I have nominated the following Member States: Chile, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan and Sweden.

#### AGENDA ITEM 40

Activities in the field of industrial development (concluded):\*\*

- (a) Reports of the Committee for Industrial Development on its fourth and fifth sessions;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

175. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In paragraph 6 of resolution 2089 (XX) adopted at the 1404th plenary meeting, the General Assembly decided to set up an Ad Hoc Committee composed of thirty-six States Members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies and of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

176. In accordance with that decision, and at the request of the Second Committee, I propose the following Members, bearing in mind the principle of equitable geographical representation: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Mexico, Nigeria, Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, and Yugoslavia.

177. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly accepts this membership list.

*It was so decided.*

#### AGENDA ITEM 67

International Year for Human Rights (concluded):\*\*\*

178. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): At its 1404th meeting the General Assembly set up a Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Human Rights to be held in 1968. In

\*\*Resumed from the 1404th meeting.

\*\*\*Resumed from the 1404th meeting.

paragraph 15 of resolution 2081 (XX) setting up the Preparatory Committee, the General Assembly requested the President to appoint the members of the Preparatory Committee, eight of them to be States represented on the Commission on Human Rights and two to be States represented on the Commission on the Status of Women.

179. In compliance with that paragraph, and as a sequel to consultations with all the parties concerned, I have designated the following States as members of the Preparatory Committee: Canada, France, India, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, New Zealand, Nigeria, Philippines, Poland, Somalia, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

#### AGENDA ITEM 76

Budget estimates for the financial years 1965 and 1966  
(concluded)

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AD HOC COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS TO EXAMINE THE FINANCES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

180. At its 1393rd meeting the General Assembly set up an Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. In paragraph 2 of resolution 2049 (XX) setting up the Ad Hoc Committee, the General Assembly requested the President to designate the Member States which would compose the Ad Hoc Committee, choosing them on an equitable geographical basis.

181. Following a long series of consultations with the parties interested, I have designated the following States as members of the Ad Hoc Committee: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, and United States of America.

#### AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (concluded)

182. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): There is one other matter for the Assembly to deal with; it concerns agenda item 23—the vacancy in the Special Committee caused by the resignation of Cambodia [see A/5983].

183. If there is no objection, I shall designate Afghanistan as a member of the Special Committee to fill the vacancy.

*It was so decided.*

#### Completion of the work of the twentieth session

184. That completes the agenda of the twentieth session, except for the last two items.

185. I shall now call upon the representatives who have expressed a wish to address the Assembly at this point.

186. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is my privilege to address you this evening on behalf of the group of western European and other States, of which I am co-Chairman with Lord Caradon. Let me first recall the tribute paid to you by my eminent colleague at the opening of this session when, with the command of language and wit for which he is outstanding, the United Kingdom representative hailed you as the worthy son of a country which once colonized his own country, and assured you that on the banks of the Thames there were no hard feelings against your country on that account.

187. I believe I have some title to associate myself with this allusion to history, and even to go one better. After all, the country of the Celts and the Picts, the ancestors of present day Britain, terminated earlier its struggle for national liberation than Gaul thanks—it must be pointed out—to the direct and indirect intervention of the Angles and Saxons; and as the history books say, "my Gaulish forefathers" were for a still longer time subjugated—in all senses of the word, which also include "captivated" and "seduced" by your Roman ancestors. Our soil is still marked by the roads and adorned by the monuments they erected in common; and our language, our laws and the very concept we have of the State, would not be what they are if Rome, your ancestral homeland, had not been what it was. And our customs, our architecture, our painters, since the great days of the Renaissance—how much they owe to Italy, the eternal fount of beauty and inspiration, not only for the French but for that part of Europe, old and yet perennially young, together with the other countries so closely linked with it, on whose behalf I am speaking now.

188. Italy is still, in the eyes of the whole world, the land of smiles, of finesse, of skill—in a word, the land of diplomacy. And you will have guessed that in saying this I am coming to the heart of the matter I am here to speak about; for these are the very qualities you have demonstrated to the highest degree since your election by a unanimous vote to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your election was in itself a pledge of success for the work of the twentieth session; for such were the trials and tribulations of last year's Assembly that this one had to be handled with the utmost tact in the early stages. You sent it off to an easy-going start, and gradually you stepped up the pace.

189. In short, it is plain to everyone today that your inborn authority, wisdom and geniality have contributed in no small measure to steering this twentieth session safely into harbour, this session which is now closing in an atmosphere unquestionably far more reassuring than that in which it began. You will go down as one of the most distinguished Presidents of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

190. On behalf of the group of western European and other States, I should like to express to you our profound gratitude.

191. Mr. HILMY DIDI (Maldives Islands): On behalf of the Asian group of States represented in this Assembly, and as its Chairman, I regard it as a profound privilege that it should have fallen to me, one of the newest

representatives in this Assembly, to offer to you, Mr. President, our very respectful gratitude for the remarkably efficient way in which you have conducted this twentieth session of the General Assembly. Moving out of the difficulties of the nineteenth session which threatened to continue to cloud the twentieth session was in itself a great achievement. But it was even more essential that the prestige and reputation of the United Nations in world affairs should be brought back to their proper position. This was of primary importance. It depended, naturally, very much on the talents and personality of the President of the twentieth session and, therefore, great expectations were raised in the minds of all delegations to this session when you were elected by the almost unanimous choice of the Assembly. If I may say so, with respect, the promise that your name brought to us has been more than fulfilled, and a great measure of the success of this Assembly belongs to you personally.

192. We could not but feel seriously concerned when, soon after the session began, you suffered an unfortunate accident which kept you away from us for a week or two, and the effects of which you still appear to suffer. We shall all be very happy if, in the years ahead, you are able to recall that it was your hand that was at the helm in bringing the Organization to safe shores from the stormy seas of the nineteenth session and that what recalls this session to your memory may be the achievements of the Assembly in 1965, rather than the accident which you suffered. We hope that you will make a full recovery very soon so that the accident will be forever forgotten and not regarded as another of your achievements.

193. An important part of the work of this Assembly still remains to be accomplished during the months ahead, and we are hopeful and confident that before you hand over your charge to a new President who will be elected in September 1966 you will have added to your achievements so that some of the tenuous problems which continue to throw their shadows on the road ahead will have been solved.

194. On behalf of the Asian group of States, may I say once again, thank you, Mr. President.

195. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (translated from French): It is a great privilege, a great honour for my delegation, Mr. President, to address you at the close of this twentieth session of the General Assembly in the name of the African States.

196. Your mission in presiding over the Assembly after a period of stagnation of which the circumstances are only too well known has had a special significance. A general renewal of confidence in the United Nations on the part of Members was followed by an attempt to adapt the structure and facilities of the Organization to enable it to achieve the purposes set forth in the Charter. The tangible results obtained by the various Committees bear witness to the sense of rebirth which has imbued the participating delegations. To convince ourselves of this we have only to glance at the weighty resolutions adopted by the Second and Fifth Committees in particular.

197. However, we have to admit that the results achieved are still far from what we had reason to hope for.

198. Having said this, generally speaking we welcome the resolution on decolonization [2105 (XX)] in which the General Assembly recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle by the peoples under colonial rule and invites all States to provide assistance to the national liberation movements in the colonial Territories, as well as the important resolution [2030 (XX)] concerning the convening of a world disarmament conference.

199. As I said, your mission was particularly significant. Are we not, after all, in the middle of the International Co-operation Year? This year has seen the expansion of two basic organs of the United Nations—the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council—to cater for the evolution of the world situation.

200. Similarly, the normal resumption of its work by the General Assembly, and the important problems with which it has had to deal, were bound to set a special seal on this session.

201. Mr. President, the manner in which you have guided the work of this twentieth session of the Assembly, your qualities as a statesman and a skilled diplomatist, and your acute persuasiveness, have made it possible for us to conclude our work in a most felicitous atmosphere. In the name of the African delegations, I offer you our congratulations.

202. For these results, for this satisfactory achievement of our tasks, credit must likewise go to the indefatigable efforts and the dedication to the cause of international peace of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, to whom we wish to pay a tribute and likewise to offer our congratulations.

203. Congratulations also go out to all the members of the Secretariat for their exertions during this busy session and for the diligence with which they have fulfilled their task. At this juncture, too, we must not omit thanking the conference officers who have served the Assembly so well and often with such graciousness. Finally, we must mention those who have had the sometimes difficult task of translating our words and expressing the ideas we have ambitiously ventured to put forward. They have carried out their work with great competence, and we thank them.

204. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): Only a very solemn trust could justify my occupying this rostrum a second time. But such is the prospect of offering you, Mr. President, a tribute from your Latin American colleagues.

205. Let me say, Mr. President, that we elected you with confident hopes, and that today we bid you farewell with our applause and our gratitude. It is no accident that you are a son of that fair land where the Roman Empire implanted the seed of reason in the soil of power, and where St. Francis of Assisi spread his gospel of love, pouring forth love not only on men but on the whole universe.

206. You have steered us through this Assembly not only with prudence, discretion and skill, but if I may be allowed to say so, also with love.

207. And this mention of the holy word "love" reminds me of something said by another great Italian, St. Thomas Aquinas: that we must love and do all things with love. Your success, Mr. President, is indeed due not only to your intellectual capacities, your scholarship and erudition, your skill as a politician; but also to the fact that you were brought up in that admirable school, heir to an age-old tradition which combines strength and conviction with love, devotion and sacrifice.

208. It is for these reasons that you have been able to maintain an august, a positively Olympian calm as President when from this rostrum tempests have raged that seemed to threaten disaster. Yet you steered our ship through the storms and brought us safely into harbour.

209. I feel sure that the name of Fanfani will be for ever linked with the name of the United Nations; that your country will always be a key factor in the life of our Organization; and that you will give it the faith, the affection and the love which are the hallmarks of your race and which radiate from your own face and heart.

210. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): May I offer a special word of thanks to Mr. Belaúnde for his very kind remarks, made both on his own account and in the name of our friends in Latin America. I call upon the representative of Bulgaria to speak on behalf of the socialist countries.

211. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): It is a pleasure for me to thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of a number of socialist countries of eastern Europe and other parts of the world—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of Bulgaria—for the skill with which you have performed the difficult and exacting role of President of the General Assembly.

212. Although this has been a regular session of the General Assembly, it has been outstanding among the run of sessions for two main reasons: for the joint effort by the overwhelming majority of delegations, which with your able backing succeeded in bringing the work of the General Assembly back to normal; and secondly for the fact that the current session marked the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, which has meant taking stock of the Organization's work at an important point in its history. All this has made the President's task far more delicate and arduous than usual.

213. Now that the twentieth session is drawing to a close we can see clearly that under your skilful guidance the General Assembly has succeeded in returning to its normal procedure; and as a result it has been able to take important decisions in regard to a number of aspects of its work. Mention may be made, for example, of the significant resolutions calling for the convening of a world conference on disarmament [2030 (XX)] and on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [2028 (XX)]. Again, the Assembly's deliberations on the problem of the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty

has made for the strengthening of one of the basic principles of the Charter in addition to condemning recent acts of intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States. By its resolution [2015 (XX)], adopted by an overwhelming majority, on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the General Assembly has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle being carried on by the peoples under colonial rule to acquire the right to self-determination and independence. At the same time it has invited all countries to give moral and material aid to the movements of national liberation in the colonial territories. The resolute determination of the General Assembly to oppose all policies of racial discrimination is reflected in the virtually unanimous vote on the draft International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination [2106 (XX)].

214. These are only a few of the major decisions taken at this twentieth session. But they are enough to illustrate clearly that this session as a whole has done positive work, in spite of the customary manoeuvres of certain delegations trying to place new obstacles in the way of the peoples struggling for their liberation and once again to prevent the United Nations from pursuing resolutely its goal of universality.

215. For all that, the achievements of this session give grounds for the hope that before long the Organization may become really universal.

216. Thus it has been your privilege, Mr. President, to conduct the work of a session at which the Assembly has endeavoured to promote the ideals of the United Nations; and we are sincerely grateful to you for your personal contribution to the success achieved. Through your experience as a statesman, your wisdom, your patience, and not least in importance, your sense of humour, you have created an atmosphere which has made these achievements possible for the General Assembly at this twentieth session.

217. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the representative of Bulgaria for his kind words in the name of the socialist countries.

218. Mr. AL-RASHID (Kuwait): I am entrusted on behalf of the Arab group to convey the appreciation and thanks of the Arab delegations for the manner in which you have guided our work during this historic session of the General Assembly.

219. Your experience and statesmanship, your humility and dedication, your insight and understanding, your patience and impartiality, have proved to be the invaluable assets which were needed at this turning point in the history of our Organization.

220. Through your leadership, this session of the Assembly has been able to expedite the work of two sessions—an impossible task had it not been for the wisdom with which you guided our steps on all the issues that were debated here.

221. It is indeed fitting that the United Nations, in celebrating its twentieth anniversary, should have had the good fortune to be presided over by a man of your standing in the affairs of the world. The coming-of-age of our Organization has greatly benefited from the

ceaseless efforts which you have made towards our drive for the improvement of world conditions.

222. And, as an extension of our gratitude to you, the Arab delegations would like to pay tribute to your country, which has in the past contributed so much to world civilization, and continues to do so in the present through men like you, Mr. President.

223. Indeed, as you certainly know, the road linking the Arab world and Rome was not established yesterday; it dates back for centuries: while the Roman legions went beyond the eastern shores of the Mare Nostrum to carry with their banners the glorious contribution of the Roman Empire to the heritage of human civilization and culture, it was from our part of the world that St. Paul went to Rome carrying with him the message of peace, love and brotherhood. And it was also from our part of the world that the Arabs, in their turn, brought to the West their contribution to mankind's common heritage, and a tradition of tolerance.

224. On behalf of the Arab delegations, I should also like to express our profound thanks and sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General and his staff for their continued assistance and tremendous endeavours in helping to further the aims of our Organization.

225. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the representative of Kuwait for the tribute addressed to me on behalf of the Arab countries.

226. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): As the General Assembly completes the final meeting of its twentieth session, I wish, on behalf of the President of the United States and Mrs. Johnson, and on behalf of my delegation, to express to you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations for the excellence, the geniality, the impartiality and the good spirit with which you have presided over our deliberations.

227. Our thanks, Mr. President, go not only to you but also to your beloved country for permitting us to benefit from your guiding hand.

228. To you, Mr. Secretary-General, we express once again the deep sense of gratitude which we all owe you for your untiring service in the cause of this Organization and in the service of peace. We likewise express to you, Mr. Under-Secretary, our friend C. V., who have helped us so much in the course of this session of the General Assembly, our grateful appreciation for your very efficient supervision of the conduct of our meetings.

229. I should like also, on behalf of my delegation, to express our thanks for the unusual skill and efficiency of the personnel of the United Nations, the several thousand men and women of the Secretariat who have helped us so much in concluding our work. Without their dedicated service, we would have been unable to discharge our responsibilities and move ahead with the many decisions of the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

230. I came here as a stranger to this Assembly, and I have made many friends here in the task we have shared of trying to inch the world forward in the cause of world peace. This Assembly has many constructive achievements to its credit, but I hope that

I may be permitted, in the spirit of the holiday season, to say that one of the most momentous occurrences to a newcomer was the visit to the United Nations, almost two and half months ago, of His Holiness Pope Paul VI. I should like to say that the reaction to that historic visit was the reaction of hope for the world, one which hundreds of millions of men and women of all faiths in the United States and throughout the world will long remember with happiness and satisfaction.

231. More important, however, is the fact that the visit was one of those rare days in history that hopefully will have a profound effect on our times, if his fervent cry of "war never again" becomes the peace-cry of all peoples in all lands.

232. I say farewell to all the friends I have met here, with the hope that the spirit of this holiday season may reach into all our hearts and serve to guide us as we now return homeward from our work. The representatives in this Assembly are, in a very real sense, the messengers of peace in a troubled time. I trust that all of us will take from this Assembly a message of tolerance and hope, tolerance for the many different ways in which we, as nations and individuals, look upon our central and common task, the achievement of peace with justice, and hope that in the assuring of this elusive common goal we may continue together towards its achievement.

233. Finally, may I, on behalf of the people of my country which is so proud to include so many compatriots of yours, Mr. President, among us, express to you and to Mrs. Fanfani and your lovely daughter, God speed as you return home and our very best wishes for a happy New Year.

234. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the representative of the United States for his flattering remarks. I am particularly grateful to him as a fellow member of the club of former Ministers of Labour to which I have had the honour to belong for the past fifteen years.

235. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, I have been so deeply moved by your Presidency that I am taking the liberty of speaking on behalf of an old timer in this Organization, none other than myself, with due regard to the fact that my good friend, Mr. Belaúnde, is the towering patriarch of all veterans in the United Nations.

236. This session has been one of the liveliest and most dynamic since the United Nations was founded twenty years ago. Was the vitality of the General Assembly that was manifested during the present session a reaction to the apathy that dampened our spirits during the nineteenth session? In part, it may have been so. But, Mr. President, I believe that our vigour was to a large extent nurtured by your gentle guidance, which awakened in us a sense of dedication to our work. Your amity to us all was exemplified in the natural smile which lit your benign face. You never prodded us to apply ourselves to our varied tasks. You only had to scan the Assembly with your twinkling eyes and so unobtrusively conduct our meetings that we indeed found ourselves, as if by magic, declaring ourselves unanimously, with hardly any time to dissent on many an important issue.

237. Like the genuine scholar you are, your modesty caused us to act with humility in your presence. Your statesmanship, revealing itself with distinction in Italy and Europe, has flourished amidst us, and neither your homeland nor the continent from which you hail can any longer have a monopoly on your wisdom. For in being claimed by the United Nations as its own you have become universal, and thus belong to us all.

238. Your humanity has won our hearts, and it augurs well that the anti-discrimination convention was adopted under your auspicious Presidency. You have been indeed a real friend to each one of us, through the vibration of your genial personality and the simplicity of your charming manners.

239. But above all this, Sir, our hearts were deeply touched when we found that you had been labouring quietly as a messenger of world peace, that kind of peace without which there can be no love, and that love without which life would be reduced to mere existence.

240. And how befitting, Sir, that on your right calmly sits a modern sage, born to serve the cause of global peace none other than our beloved U Thant, who, like yourself, Mr. President, has elected to devote his life so that concord and harmony may prevail among all men. With both yourself and U Thant among us, Mr. President, we all trust that the fears of humanity shall be dispelled and that despair shall give way to hope, thereby ushering in a new world order in which youth shall not any more be taught to wage war and mothers—yes, mothers—shall be jubilant that their sons shall grow into full manhood to gather the fruits of peace of earth.

241. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his expression of good wishes for peace. I should also like to thank him, if he will allow me, for his generous gift of honey for the approaching feast of Christmas and New Year.

242. Mr. RAFAEL (Israel): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself with the expression of gratitude conveyed to you from all sides of this great Assembly.

243. We have been privileged to have you preside over a very memorable session, memorable in many ways. For the twentieth General Assembly of our Organization, it was a session which has effectively completed the consideration of a very heavy agenda; a session which has adopted resolutions of great import, one of which I wish to mention in particular, the convention against racial discrimination; a session which was inspired by the address of His Holiness the Pope; a session of renewed momentum after a meagre year of stagnation.

244. Mr. President, in presiding over this Parliament of Nations, you have applied to it your well-known and admirable talents as an experienced parliamentarian, as a seasoned statesman and as an outstanding representative of the great and vibrant Italian people, with whom the people of Israel have ties of long standing, deeply rooted in history and reaffirmed in modern times.

245. The delegation of Israel expresses to you, Mr. President, its profound gratitude and its fervent wishes that the coming year bring peace to all nations on earth.

246. Our sincere wishes and thanks also go out to the two pillars of strength on your right and on your left, the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary, and to all the members of the staff, who, by their sustained efforts and untiring enthusiasm, have made it possible for us to bring this Assembly to a fruitful conclusion.

247. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the representative of Israel for his statement, which concludes the preliminaries for a brief assessment of our work.

248. You will remember that on 21 September I thanked you for electing me to this high office. Three months later, to the day, I have to thank you again—Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, Chairmen of the Committees, the Secretary-General, Under-Secretary Narasimhan, my fellow officers, our friends of the Press, and all of you, dear friends—for helping me to carry out my duties in spite of a temporary indisposition, with the result that we have been able to cope with practically the whole of the extremely heavy agenda of this session.

249. It will take some time to draw up a complete balance-sheet of all the items considered, discussed and adopted. It is too early for those directly participating in these three months of heavy, concentrated work to try to make even a partial assessment. However, tradition calls for a brief recapitulation at this final meeting of the session.

250. On 1 September last year, referring to the events of 1964/1965 and translating from Cicero's golden-age Latin, President Quaison-Sackey stated that "things reached such a state of debility that they were well nigh extinct" [1331st meeting, para. 91].

251. Fortunately, the inspiration we drew from the visit and the address of His Holiness Pope Paul VI; the support for the work of the United Nations voiced by the Head of State of Pakistan, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Federal Chancellor of Austria; the presence of the Foreign Ministers of many States; the zealous efforts of all delegations; and finally, the constructive nature of the proposals submitted and observations made, warrant the assertion that after twenty years of activity the United Nations is conscious of its role, appreciates the limits and difficulties of its task, and is reaffirming the commitment undertaken at San Francisco to pursue the objectives laid down in the Charter.

252. The inauguration of the twentieth session of the Assembly coincided with the acceptance of the ceasefire by India and Pakistan, which though it did not solve that distressing problem, did prevent it from deteriorating into a fratricidal conflict. We can now only hope that at the meeting to be held at Tashkent the two adjacent sister-countries will be able to lay the foundations for an agreed settlement of their differences.

253. As the feast of Christmas approaches we cannot, alas, report the restoration of peace in South-East Asia; but surely the events there, which are bringing

mourning to many families, causing unspeakable suffering to noble peoples and grave anxiety to all, must prompt us at this traditional moment of meditation to turn to the Almighty, praying that He will disperse the warmongers and bring succour to those that by their steadfast, generous behaviour and their courageous decisions demonstrate that they do not despair of bringing peace once more to that quarter of the globe. There is no doubt about it: throughout the session we have been torn between relief at the conclusion of a truce and anxiety concerning the conflict that still persists.

254. Nevertheless, the multifarious aspects of our work are being brought to a close in an atmosphere of harmony, as can be seen if we single out from the hundred items or so dealt with such outstanding headings as the defence of human dignity; the economic and social development of peoples throughout the world; the peaceful settlement of disputes; and the prevention of conflicts through systematic disarmament.

255. As regards the defence of human dignity, the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 (XX)] represents a decision which apart from its moral value is of far-reaching political and juridical significance. It illustrates the importance that the Members of the United Nations attach to the struggle against racial discrimination, thus stressing one of the most urgent and serious problems inherent in the task of protecting fundamental rights. I feel that I am interpreting the wishes of this Assembly in expressing the hope that all Member States will ratify the Convention speedily. I trust, too, that this instrument, together with the other Assembly resolutions, will help to liberate millions of people from a servitude imposed by minorities blinded by misguided theories, and will deter Southern Rhodesia from the temptation to engage in a conflict which would jeopardize the peaceful coexistence of the peoples of Africa and other continents.

256. On the economic front, two decisions were taken which will certainly have strong repercussions and help to make United Nations action more effective in a sector vital to international co-operation.

257. The first of these [resolution 2029 (XX)] is the decision to fuse the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, in response to the need for co-ordinating technical assistance and economic activities and making better use of the limited resources at the Organization's disposal.

258. The other decision [resolution 2089 (XX)] was the laying of the foundations for an Organization for Industrial Development, which should enable the United Nations ultimately to play its proper part in this important branch of activities.

259. The debates on the capital investment fund have once again shown how far we still have to go before we can tackle, with the necessary determination and breadth of vision, the grave problem of the gap between the affluent and the developing world, the vast importance of which was pointed out by the Secretary-General in his annual report. Here again, time is of the essence, and while we may not yet have reached the point of

no return, mental laziness, self-centredness, or mere conservatism, could be fatal. In this matter, just as in the matter of disarmament, the sense of a common human destiny must urge Governments and peoples to close the gap that divides countries into two categories, the rich and the poor.

260. The effectiveness of United Nations action also depends on the machinery it possesses for taking action; and it is in the sphere of peace-keeping operations that this machinery is of particular importance. Agreement here is urgent, as the discussions during this session have shown clearly. Between now and the beginning of the next session we shall have to redouble our efforts to prevent disputes, to reconcile the parties to disputes, and to obtain the financial and military resources needed for effective and swift intervention. To do less would be to vindicate those who would like to turn the clock back and make the United Nations a mere—even if valuable—forum for the exchange of views instead of giving it the international authority it has to have in a world where nations, religions and continents have become closely interwoven.

261. With regard to inter-State relations generally, the Assembly has taken a considerable number of important decisions such as that taken this evening on non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, and the decisions on relations among European States having different political and social systems. The results of the voting on these two questions bear witness to the keen desire on the part of the nations to renounce war for ever as an instrument of policy and to replace it by the search for a more civilized means of resolving conflicts of interest and ensuring the steady material and spiritual progress of individuals and nations.

262. Nor can the discussions on decolonization be passed over without comment. If there is one problem that fully expresses the aspirations which are the very cornerstone of the United Nations Charter, it is, side by side with the problem of world peace, the liberation of the peoples still under colonial rule. A great deal has been done in this field—enormous strides have been taken—and the credit must be given to the political reawakening of colonial peoples. But the process of decolonization must be completed as expeditiously as possible, in the interests of peace and of truly constructive co-operation between peoples of all continents and of all races.

263. The problem of disarmament was examined at length and unhurriedly; and I really think it can be said that this is one of the questions that have dominated the current twentieth session. The importance attached to the various aspects of the disarmament problem illustrates quite clearly that the majority of the Members of the Assembly saw in them an occasion for reaffirming the vital need for a more continuous and direct dialogue between the great Powers, and in general for a return to a more fruitful climate of international co-operation. This trend in the debates was encouraged by the attitude shown by the main speakers, who refrained from polemics and showed themselves eager to reach a compromise. The atmosphere and the tone of the debates thus made it possible to adopt important decisions, possibly historic in their

scope, which have given new hope to the peoples of the world.

264. On the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, not a few voices of authority have been raised in this hall in warning that the year 1966 may give Governments their last chance of reaching agreement to exorcize the haunting spectre of a nuclear holocaust. Your President adds his voice to those already heard in addressing an urgent appeal to all Governments, in the name of the Assembly, not to disappoint the world's profoundest hopes. This is a call to which responsible men the world over cannot fail to respond, on pain of universal condemnation.

265. The resolution on a world disarmament conference [2030 (XX)] adopted by a truly overwhelming majority, is evidence of the realization that universality in negotiation is the essential prerequisite of any disarmament agreement, as well as having great psychological significance. It is equally important to mention, among the decisions vital to the current disarmament negotiations, the explicit and unanimous invitation to the Eighteen-Nation Committee to reconvene as early as possible [resolution 2031 (XX)].

266. Among the tasks in prospect; the problems of revitalizing the Organization received due attention, as they were bound to do. This was done under the heading of a review of administrative procedures and in connexion with the question of the application of the universality principle inherent in the structure of the United Nations.

267. Against the complex background of this session, financial problems have stood out in sharp relief. The Organization's deficit has not yet been made up; but it is to be hoped that Member States which have not yet done so will make substantial voluntary contributions.

268. Important decisions have been taken to ensure that the available resources are put to better use and that the budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies are standardized. There must be no giving up or even relaxing our financial efforts. On the contrary, through better co-ordination of expenditure, the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies must have financial backing in those sectors which are recognized as having priority, with due regard to the requirements of the developing countries.

269. With regard to the application of the principle of universality, the debates have shown that this is

an aspiration common to all; but unanimity disappears when we try to decide how and when the principle is to be applied. To reach decisions that will bring us to that goal, voting is perhaps not enough. Before the voting stage, and to ensure that the vote will solve long-standing problems and not create new ones, extremely subtle and judicious preparations are called for. In this way, everyone will have the assurance that the vote taken to bring us closer to the application of the principle of universality will not have the self-defeating effect of delaying the application of the principle and producing unforeseen and undesirable results.

270. Our three months of joint labours are drawing to a close. An imminent departure always implies some concern about the voyage ahead.

271. May your voyage, gentlemen, be pleasant and the Christmas festivities joyous and restful. May your subsequent ways be calm and constructive for each and every one till the opening of the next session; and may they enable you in all discussions, in every debate and every vote, to demonstrate to an anxious world that all the countries that have the honour to belong to the United Nations want peace, because peace is the guarantee of progress and the outcome of a search in freedom for justice among individuals, among families and among nations.

272. May the warm friendship which has grown up among us over these three months remain a comforting memory and encourage us to keep on as workers in a good cause, defenders of freedom and architects of a just peace within our own nations and as part of mankind generally.

## AGENDA ITEM 2

### Minute of silent prayer or meditation

273. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.*

### Closing of the session

274. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I declare the twentieth session of the General Assembly closed.

*The meeting rose on Wednesday,  
22 December, at 2.5 a.m.*