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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

Tribute to the memory of His Majesty King Imam Ahmed of Yemen

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we take up the items on the agenda, it is my sad duty to inform officially all Members of the United Nations of the sad demise yesterday of His Majesty Imam Ahmed, King of Yemen. The condolences of the General Assembly go to the Royal Family and the people of Yemen. May I request the representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory of His late Majesty.

The representatives stood in silence.

2. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): With a heavy heart I take the floor this morning to express the deep sorrow of the Arab delegations on the tragic death of His Majesty Iman Ahmed, the King of Yemen, and to thank the President for his sympathetic words of consolation. The late King was a great ruler who enjoyed both the loyalty and the respect of his people. The Arab lands share with the sister State of Yemen its grief, and on behalf of my Arab colleagues and myself I extend to His Royal Highness Prince Sayful Islam Al-Hassan, brother of the late King and chairman of the Yemen delegation to the present session, and to the distinguished members of his delegation, our sincere condolences. Our brotherly sentiments are respectfully extended to the proclaimed King, His Majesty Mohamed Al-Badr, to the Royal Family and to our brothers in Yemen.

3. Mr. ZOPPI (Italy): Speaking both for the Italian delegation and on behalf of all the delegations of the European group, I wish to express our deep sorrow at the sudden death of His Majesty Imam Ahmed, King of the Yemenite Kingdom. The figure of this monarch who, together with his father, the Imam Yehia, is to be considered the founder of modern Yemen, is too well known to us all for his many virtues to need to be recalled here. As far as my country is concerned, I wish to recall the links that bound Italy to Yemen

from the very start of Yemen's life on the modern scene. Italy was the first among the non-Arab countries to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the Government of the Imam Yehia, and through the years has always maintained very cordial and fruitful relations also with the late King.

4. While expressing our deep mourning at the loss of King Imam Ahmed we wish also to express our best wishes to His Majesty Mohamed Al-Badr, who is today taking on his new, heavy responsibilities.

5. Mr. ZABARAH (Yemen): On behalf of His Royal Highness, the chairman of the Yemen delegation at the seventeenth session, and on behalf of the Yemen Government I wish to express our sincere gratitude for the expressions of sympathy and condolence on the death of His Majesty the King of Yemen. My delegation will convey to my Government the kind condolences and sympathy expressed by you, Mr. President, and by the other representatives.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/5227)

6. The PRESIDENT: The first matter for consideration this morning concerns the agenda of the seventeenth session. In this connexion, the General Committee has submitted a separate report [A/5227] on the item entitled "Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian)". In view of the desirability of early action by the General Assembly, the General Committee recommends the inclusion of the item in the agenda and its allocation to plenary meeting for discussion on the afternoon of Friday, 21 September 1962. May I take it that the Assembly approves this recommendation?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

Opening of the general debate

7. Mr. MELO FRANCO (Brazil) (translated from French): Before I begin my statement, Mr. President, allow me to present to you, on behalf of the delegation of Brazil, our most sincere compliments on your election to the Presidency of this Assembly. We are sure that thanks to your background as a jurist and humanist and your experience as a diplomat and statesman, you will serve brilliantly in this capacity.

8. I shall also take this opportunity to express once more the deepest feelings of the delegation of Brazil on this first anniversary of the death of the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. This is not the time to eulogize him here, but his stay on earth was

marked by an admirable life entirely devoted to the loftiest subjects of culture and to strenuous work for the furtherance of peace in the world.

9. Having once again been entrusted, as has become customary, with the honourable task of opening the work of the General Assembly, the delegation of Brazil wishes to reaffirm its trust in the high aims of the United Nations. Article 1 of the Charter, despite its conciseness, is rich in great prospects. Its references to international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations based on equal rights and the self-determination of peoples, international co-operation with a view to the economic, social and cultural progress of mankind, and the safeguarding of human freedoms through the abolition of all discrimination because of sex, race or religion, trace for the future a programme of ideas and action so vast that its ideal realization would merge on the horizons of thought into a kind of Golden Age.

10. It is true that the realism that must characterize the activities of statesmen and diplomats, which are restricted by the modest limits of what is possible, oblige us to recognize that the facts of life overshadow the edifices of reason or feeling. It is equally true that this same realism requires from rulers an energetic, patient and continuing study of the paths traced by the Charter, because in these times the only alternatives are the progressive building of peace or the possibly sudden destruction of human civilization.

11. We should therefore regard the fundamental objectives of the United Nations as the culmination of the slow effort of human progress, a culmination which because of the realities of life can only take place in the distant future, but which is none the less real and necessary. We should also think of the Charter as consisting of two parts: one, basic and permanent, whose purpose is to define and fix the aims and the ultimate goals of the United Nations; the other, circumstantial and transitory, which establishes the processes and mechanisms needed to achieve these goals.

12. As far as definitions are concerned, the Charter remains valid and up to date, and will remain so in the foreseeable future. But the part which lays down the means of action is without any doubt out of date, since it was conceived and formulated to meet the exigencies of a historical situation which largely has disappeared. With regard to the political situation in general, we need only recall that the San Francisco Charter dates from before the atomic and space age and that it was drafted at a time when the two most powerful nations in the world were not yet divided by what we have come to call the "cold war". As for the United Nations itself, it is hardly necessary to recall that in 1945 it consisted of only fifty-one founder Members, of which Brazil was one, whereas during the sixteenth session of the General Assembly there were already 104 Members, or roughly twice as many.

13. In the various attempts to amend the Charter which have been made since 1946, specific or partial objectives were sought after, with the exception of proposals based on Article 109 that a general conference of the United Nations should be held for the purpose of reviewing the whole of the basic statutes of the United Nations.

14. In view of the fact that the United Nations has acquired a truly universal character, serious consideration should be given to the need to review the Charter. It should be adapted to the universal reality, which it represents today far better than in 1945, at least by the increase in the membership of its major councils, which has enabled dozens of new Members, particularly African-Asian Members, to be represented. The competence of its two principal bodies, the General Assembly and the Security Council, together with their procedural methods, should also be examined with the object of adopting amendments which appear necessary in the light of theory and experience and of the development of the international situation.

15. The achievement of a lasting peace remains the supreme task of the United Nations, and here the most important problem is still that of disarmament. Brazil has the honour of taking part in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which meets at Geneva and which was established by General Assembly resolution 1722 (XVI), on the proposal of the United States and the Soviet Union.

16. As is known, this Conference is working on the drafting of a treaty of general and complete disarmament and on the preparation of a special instrument prohibiting nuclear weapon tests. As far as this latter task is concerned, in addition to the plenary Conference there is the Sub-Committee on a Treaty for the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, consisting of three members: the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. The Geneva Conference functions by authority of the General Assembly and thereby represents an expression of the thinking of the whole international community, and not simply the interests of the group of great Powers which possess the secrets, the resources and the destructive potential of the nuclear age.

17. Unfortunately, despite the goodwill of all and the enlightened efforts of some, the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has achieved but poor results during its recent work. The so-called security interests of the great Powers have made real progress in practical and theoretical negotiations almost impossible.

18. The central problem is that of the establishment of trust between the two opposing blocs. This factor is inseparable from the question of the effective control of disarmament measures, which itself depends in a certain sense on trust. It has not been possible to break this vicious circle, despite all the attempts of the eight countries which are members neither of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization nor of the Warsaw Pact.

19. These efforts found expression in particular in the presentation of the Eight-Nation Joint Memorandum,^{1/} which represented an attempt to escape from the impasse of the negotiations on the prohibition of nuclear tests. The Eight-Nation document and the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles (A/4879) constitute, in our view, the two most constructive documents which have emerged during the past twelve months from the discussions and negotiations on disarmament. Yet, although they were drafted in such

^{1/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement from January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, section J.

a way as to form a basis for understanding and negotiation, the two blocs have in fact used them as a battleground on which they have erected their opposing fortifications, each maintaining that he was its sole master. The eight countries naturally cannot choose between the two opposite interpretations of their Memorandum, since that would defeat the whole purpose of the document, and they watch with concern the work of logical construction by which the two great blocs are trying to divide suggestions formulated with the declared purpose of uniting. They should bear in mind, however, that the progress of nuclear science is of such a nature as to oblige them to review their ideological positions, by virtue of the impact of the development of military technique on attitudes which are becoming daily more obsolete.

20. In the opinion of Brazil, the problem of nuclear disarmament stands apart from the general framework of disarmament, and the specific question of nuclear tests should be the first to be considered in the sphere of nuclear disarmament. We are convinced that our chances of progress in the field of general and complete disarmament will be very slender if we do not even succeed in coming to an agreement on the more immediate question of a nuclear test ban.

21. At Geneva Brazil spoke in favour of concentrating efforts on the question of atmospheric, underwater and outer space tests. The joint Anglo-American proposal to ban these three types of tests has shown that our position offered some practical possibilities which we could not neglect. In addition, the submission of this proposal has brought out the fact that the divergencies between the two camps at the present time are centred exclusively on the question of underground tests. We like to believe that, even in this sector, a perceptible widening in the area of agreement can be hoped for.

22. Brazil, deeply concerned at the nuclear threat, which is the greatest and indeed the only one that weighs upon the whole of mankind, reserves the right to consider introducing, at this session of the Assembly, a draft resolution which conveys its concern and is such as to merit the support of the vast majority of delegations—undoubtedly more interested in the immediate cessation of all nuclear tests than in competing for military power.

23. Brazil also intends to ask the General Assembly to give its support to the Eight-Nation Joint Memorandum of 16 April 1962 as a basis for further urgent negotiations between the nuclear Powers.

24. Faithful to its position at the Geneva Conference, Brazil proposes that absolute priority should be given in our deliberations to the question of prohibiting nuclear tests as the most urgent item on our agenda. We shall make proposals to that effect either in plenary meeting or in the First Committee as appears most appropriate. In addition, my delegation considers it most important that the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France should look into the possibility of holding immediate conversations in New York with a view to eliminating those differences which still divide us from our ultimate objective: the prohibition of all nuclear tests.

25. Brazil also favours, in principle, the establishment of denuclearized zones in the world, provided that proposals to that effect are not merely made for

the purposes of the cold war, from which we have always held aloof. Latin America might form such a zone. In addition Brazil maintains its proposal of 12 June 1962 for the establishment of a special technical committee within the framework of the Conference to study the scientific aspects of control. We are, in fact, daily more convinced that the political negotiations on disarmament cannot go on developing in a technical vacuum. Without intervening in the political negotiations, which would proceed simultaneously, the work of the special committee would enable any decisions that might be adopted to be based on specific and solid foundations.

26. Apart from the vital importance of disarmament to the strengthening of peace, we must not forget what it represents from the point of view of future economic and social progress for all peoples. The fearful burden of military expenditure is not only an obstacle to the achievement of a better level of living for the peoples of the great Powers, but also a drain on the technical and financial resources of the entire world which might be channelled into aid to the under-developed countries and thus enable hundreds of millions of human beings to enjoy a better life. The research that has been carried out in that connexion, including some by the United Nations, is basic and should encourage the leaders of the great States to begin to think of their historical responsibilities, not only towards their own peoples but to the whole of mankind.

27. The problem of the uses of outer space is also linked with the question of disarmament. Soviet science and American science have achieved astounding successes in this field, which deserve our unbounded admiration. Nevertheless, the United Nations must exert its influence to see that progress in outer space does not become a new source of dangers and threats but on the contrary is used in the service of humanity. In that connexion, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1721 (XVI), which lays down certain principles regarding the peaceful uses of outer space. One of them, which was proposed by Brazil, states that space exploration should benefit all countries irrespective of the stage of their economic or scientific development. In this connexion, we consider that the use of telecommunications satellites should be subject to international regulation, so that these powerful means of dissemination may be used solely in the service of peace and culture.

28. The role of the United Nations in the historical process of the liquidation of colonialism is in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter. The principle of the self-determination of peoples is one of the foundations of the whole edifice. The principle whereby the administering Powers accept as a "sacred trust" the obligation to lead the dependent peoples towards self-determination, as laid down in Chapter XI of the Charter, was vigorously endorsed by General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 1654 (XVI). No artifice or expedient can obscure its meaning. Brazil, through its ethnic and historical formation as well as its political and cultural tradition, is a nation deeply imbued with anti-colonialist feeling. Nothing can deflect us from this line of action, and we shall do all in our power to ensure that, without prejudice to the peace and freedom of any State, and without violence of any kind against any Government, the United Nations continues to use every available means to liquidate the last vestiges of colonialism.

29. Our century has been and still is a spectator of the great historical process of the liquidation of colonialism and the awakening to independence of dozens of peoples once slumbering in servitude. We hope that the last decades of the twentieth century will be marked by a world-wide drive for the economic advancement and social progress of the former colonial peoples and the other under-developed nations, who between them make up the greater part of mankind. Just one year ago, in this same Assembly, I said:

"The world is not divided merely into East and West. This ideological cleavage makes us forget the existence of yet another division, not ideological, but economic and social—that between the Northern and Southern hemispheres. But although rapprochement between the East and West is attainable by ideological compromise, the immense contrast between North and South can be reduced only by planned action for effective aid by the developed countries of the North to the under-developed countries of the South. [110th meeting, para. 13.]

30. Despite the praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations, the Governments of some developed countries and the international agencies for technical and financial assistance, we are forced to admit that the situation of the under-developed peoples is growing worse rather than better, for in most cases the rate of development lags behind the increase in population. Moreover, the logic of the economic development process itself, including the result of the action of the regional trade organizations grouping the developed countries, means that the less advanced countries, which are not parties to such agreements, have no choice but to stand by and witness a gradual decline in the value of their raw materials and commodities on the international market, so that they are forced to work ever harder only to earn less.

31. This phenomenon, which is taking place in Brazil, is common to the whole of Latin America and we may note with apprehension that the value of the external aid granted to our continent during the past ten years has been far less than the loss suffered through falling prices for its products on the international market. For all these reasons, Brazil is warmly in favour of the United Nations Decade for Economic Development proposed by U Thant, our distinguished Secretary-General. We note with satisfaction that the proposed means and methods of action are based upon concepts and objectives that have persistently been advocated by the under-developed countries and constitute as a whole a body of doctrine that is not only realistic but inseparable from the sound observance of the general principles of the Charter.

32. The implementation of such a programme must not, however, be impeded by the dichotomy which still subsists between the good intentions voiced by all and the real behaviour of some. We must also eliminate the dangerous duality of the "aid policy" formally recognized by all as essential to a better international equilibrium [resolution 1710 (XVI)] and the "trade policy" adopted by certain countries, which, through preferential tariffs, is already bringing about results opposed to the higher aims which we are trying to achieve during the proposed Development Decade. If such a discrepancy were to continue, we fear that, contrary to all our hopes, the under-developed countries might become real international

pensioners. This is a result which no country could accept passively as long as there remains—and we believe that there does still remain—a climate and a possibility for agreement over and above purely commercial considerations. In this connexion, we are in favour of holding as soon as possible an international trade conference where, far removed from the pressures of the cold war, the problems of the commodity-exporting countries could be placed in their proper perspective and definitively solved.

33. The international ideal is to secure peace and prosperity for all peoples. Peace is based on disarmament and prosperity depends on technical and financial assistance to the under-developed countries. Neither disarmament nor development can really be achieved on the basis of the cold war and competition between ideologically hostile blocs. Brazil, which is a Western Christian country with a long democratic tradition, has no intention of departing from its traditional values. At the same time, precisely in order to remain faithful to those values, Brazil does its best to help to remove the differences that exist between the world blocs because it is on that that disarmament and development must depend. Apart from the implementation of regional plans such as, for example, the Alliance for Progress, we would like to encourage non-partisan international assistance to the under-developed countries for the implementation of national development plans.

34. It is with this idea in mind that we have pressed for the establishment, within the United Nations family, of an industrial development agency. We are also in favour of bringing the patents system up to date, so as to permit a genuine transfer of technological knowledge to the under-developed countries and of establishing machinery for the international stabilization of commodity prices in order to prevent the constant drain to which the trade relations of the producing countries are subjected.

35. Sovereignty is a pre-condition for the liberty of States within the international community. The sovereignty of each State is limited, therefore, only by the general interest of the community, within which all States are juridically equal. The principle of non-intervention derives from this. But the liberty of peoples is another postulate of international co-existence. It can be secured only in so far as nations are free to choose their own destinies both internationally and internally. Hence the principle of self-determination. Brazil recognizes and practises both principles, and strongly desires that they should constitute the political objectives of all Governments. Non-intervention and self-determination are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary. In the light of these concepts, properly applied, the most serious problems of our day, such as those of Germany, Cuba and South East Asia, can all be solved. We know very well that in this field it is easier to express opinions than to act. Nevertheless, if our deeds always match our words with no holding back and as far as conditions allow, we shall surely progress towards the desired solutions.

36. In concluding, I wish only to reaffirm Brazil's trust in and loyalty towards the United Nations. I should like to thank the Secretary-General, U Thant, for his recent visit to my country and I venture to express the hope that he will continue to fill the high post of which he has shown himself worthy. I should also like to take this opportunity of welcoming the

new Members of the United Nations. The need for the universality of our Organization becomes more apparent every day. Outside the United Nations there seems to be no solution for the future of mankind.

37. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): First, I should like to add the profound sympathy of the United States Government to the condolences which have already been expressed to the family and people of the late Imam of Yemen. Our earnest hopes go out to the new Imam for a successful and fruitful reign.

38. I should like to begin by reaffirming as emphatically as I can the high significance which the Government of the United States attaches to the work of the United Nations. My Government is more than ever convinced that the success or failure of this Organization could well mean the difference between world order and world anarchy. We believe that the work that lies before the seventeenth session of the General Assembly is serious—and that it is also urgent.

39. But first let me, on behalf of my Government and of the City of New York, welcome the representatives to this historic Assembly. We congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. You assume a place of honour among the world leaders who have been chosen to preside over the forum of the world in a time of peril and promise—a place which your talents and attainments can only further exalt.

40. And I also warmly welcome the addition to our membership of Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Rwanda and Burundi: four new nations from sunny lands blessed with tropic beauty which I have had the good fortune to visit and to admire.

41. But I welcome most of all the opportunity this session gives us to consider as a body the direction in which our affairs are moving and the action needed to bring us closer to the world we seek—a world of justice, freedom and peace.

42. A year ago we met at a time of doubt and of danger. In the twelve months since, much has taken place to justify a measure of fresh hope for the future. A long, bitter war in Algeria has come to a close. A threatened conflict between two of our Members in the South-west Pacific has yielded to peaceful settlement, through statesmanship on their part and skilful conciliation by the United Nations. In Laos, civil war, abetted by foreign intervention, has been replaced by a cease-fire and an independent government under international guarantees. In the Congo, where the United Nations has played such a decisive part, war and the threat of war seem to be yielding to new hopes for the peaceful reintegration of Katanga into the Congo State and to the Secretary-General's vigorous efforts, with our support and that of the great majority of the Members, to get early implementation of the United Nations reconciliation plan. Disarmament negotiations, with the encouragement of the General Assembly, have resumed in a new forum with non-nuclear Powers playing a useful and constructive role. We have begun, under United Nations auspices, a search for co-operation in the development of outer space, in the interests not of any one nation but of humanity. We have begun, too, an intensification of the drive against poverty under the United Nations Development Decade.

43. Those are all legitimate sources of gratification, and there are others. But we would be deceiving ourselves if we looked on the bright side alone. We still—all of us—continue to live in a dark and precarious world. The crisis in Berlin has not exploded into war, but the pressures and harassments against West Berlin continue to rank as a most ominous threat to the peace of the world. The Government of Cuba, with moral and material support from outside, carries on a campaign of subversion and vituperation against its neighbours in the Western Hemisphere. Unprovoked aggression from North Vietnam continues to threaten the freedom and independence of the Republic of Viet-Nam and to menace the peace in South-East Asia. The Chinese Communists continue their policy of provocation, their acts of force and subversion. The threat of conflict still smoulders in the Middle East, damped down but not quenched by the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations. Disputes involving Members of our Organization continue unresolved on every continent. The continued repression of the peoples of Eastern Europe remains an underlying danger to peace. The concluding stage of the world-wide movement towards national independence elsewhere is complicated by issues which, though transient and manageable, could become explosive if cool heads do not prevail over hot tempers. The prevalence of poverty in great areas of the world remains a source of moral frustration and political danger. And, most ominous of all, the suicidal arms race continues unabated.

44. Those situations raise serious dangers to the peace of the world. It was to deal with such dangers to the peace that half of the States in this Assembly Hall established the United Nations seventeen years ago, and that the other half have adhered to the Charter in the years since.

45. The Charter issued a lofty challenge to mankind. It cannot be claimed that in these seventeen years the United Nations has established a reign of peace on earth. But the record of our Organization in meeting specific challenges to the peace is none the less impressive. In these years the United Nations, whether through the Security Council or the General Assembly, through conciliation or cease-fire, through peace observation or truce supervision or direct military action, has helped avert or end hostilities in Iran, in Greece, in the Middle East, in Kashmir, in Indonesia, in Korea, at Suez, in Lebanon, in the Congo, and now in West New Guinea.

46. If the United Nations has not succeeded in bringing the great Powers together, it has often succeeded in keeping them apart—in places where face-to-face confrontation might have changed difficult situations into impossible situations.

47. If the United Nations has not succeeded in settling all international disputes, it has prepared the way for the peaceful evolution of an international order. In that process, the United Nations has not made the fatal error of trying to freeze the movement of history. It has not sought peace at the expense of needed change. And we must be equally sure that in a world as volatile as our own, change is not sought at the expense of peace, which is needed above all.

48. The record of accomplishment is formidable; but the movement of history is more pre-emptory than ever, and today's challenges of peace and of

progress are therefore more urgent than ever. To meet these challenges, we need not just a strong but a still stronger United Nations. The most important general issue before the General Assembly is to get on with the business of steadily improving our Organization so that it can deal ever more energetically, more efficiently and more promptly with the dangers to peace and the obstacles to progress.

49. This is the essence, this is the heart, this is the day-to-day stuff of our duty in this Assembly as we see it: to build mightier mansions, to keep strengthening the United Nations. The worth and the loyalty of the Members will be tested by this standard: do their actions, do their proposals strengthen or weaken our Organization?

50. Strengthening the United Nations involves questions both of structure and of strategy.

51. So far as structure is concerned, a first necessity is to set the United Nations on a sound financial basis. Our Organization has today a deficit of more than \$150 million—brought about largely by the defaults or delays in payments for peace-keeping operations which have proved as expensive as they were necessary.

52. The emergency plan to meet this deficit through the sale of bonds is good as a stopgap. As a result of action by our Congress, the United States Government will be in a position to lend the United Nations half of what it will borrow under this plan. Other nations have already pledged \$73 million. We hope—and that is a mild word for it—that these States, along with the nations still unpledged, will bring the total pledged to \$100 million. My Government can then use its full authority to match that sum.

53. But this is only a palliative, it is not a solution. The current deficit is a symptom of a deeper problem, a problem created by the inaction of too many of the Governments in this Assembly Hall. One can understand past reasons for reluctance to accept collective financial responsibility for United Nations actions. Some States, for example, doubted whether the General Assembly could legally make a binding assessment for the United Nations peace-keeping expenses. But any legal uncertainties have now been cleared up by the recent opinion of the International Court of Justice.

54. This Assembly now faces the compelling obligation of affirming a policy of collective financial responsibility for the actions of the United Nations. I believe that the Assembly, at this session, should accept and act upon the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, as past Assemblies have invariably accepted and acted upon other advisory opinions. The financial integrity and independence of the United Nations are at stake. But something even more important is at stake: the rule of law. The Court has ruled on the law; it remains to the Assembly to manifest at once its respect and its compliance by converting the law into policy.

55. I believe that the Assembly must also devise a financing plan for future peace-keeping operations to take effect when the proceeds from the bond issue are exhausted. The details of such a plan are open to discussion. But whatever the character of the plan, it should require that every Member meet its obligations when an assessment is duly voted.

56. We hope that the Assembly will work out a programme which will finance operations authorized by itself or by the Security Council; otherwise, we doom our Organization to impotence. We cannot expect the United Nations to survive from day to day by passing a cup like a beggar in the street.

57. There are other problems of structure in addition to finance. No one knows better than we in this hall the need to streamline the procedures of this greatly expanded Organization so that it can deal efficiently with the complex business which crowds our long agenda.

58. We must enlarge the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to assure fair representation to every region of the earth.

59. We must review the rules and practices of our international civil service, particularly in the relation of Member States to the Secretariat, so that the staff of the United Nations remains "exclusively international", as the Charter stipulates.

60. We also must elect unconditionally a Secretary-General for a full term of office. After the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld last year, the Assembly went through a protracted but instructive constitutional crisis. We resolved this crisis by vindicating—overwhelmingly, and I trust permanently—the integrity of the office of the Secretary-General as established by the Charter. We then selected unanimously as Acting Secretary-General a diplomat of extraordinary personal qualities who has served this Organization well in a time of transition and uncertainty.

61. Our responsibility in this Assembly is to make sure that this important office is as well filled in the next five years as it has been in the past and that he who holds the office retains the full freedom and authority provided under the Charter.

62. But the solution of all of the problems of organization would still leave unsolved the problem of how we use the machinery we have devised. I take it that our essential purpose is to find practical means of fulfilling the intentions of the Charter. But I sometimes wonder whether the means adopted are always the best way to achieve the ends desired.

63. I am well aware of the frustrations, the temptations and conflicts in any parliamentary democracy, but it happens to be the best system ever invented to protect and reconcile all interests in the conduct of public affairs. Given the inherent complexities of this form of organization, given the gravity of the matters with which we deal, given the youth of the United Nations and given its extremely rapid growth, it must be said that the General Assembly, with few exceptions, has conducted itself with surprising responsibility and maturity.

64. Our plain duty now is to perform our business in such a way as to make this Assembly even more responsible, even more mature—and therefore more effective.

65. It is clear that the business of this Assembly cannot be conducted effectively in the manner of a protest demonstration in a public square. It is clear that the influence of this Assembly cannot grow if the quality of its debate is debased by propaganda or by speeches designed not to further the business before the house, but to gratify emotions back home.

66. Indignation and outrage have been powerful enemies of injustice since the beginning of history. It would be surprising if they had no place in the proceedings of the United Nations. But the test of resolutions presented to this Assembly must surely be whether they promise to bring us closer to rational solutions of real problems and thereby closer to justice.

67. For example, I think we must all beware of the resolution which invokes high principle in support of unrealistic action and does nothing to advance a practical solution. If this becomes common practice, we would risk destroying the influence of our Organization, for the value of its recommendations would depreciate like inflated currency.

68. In the United Nations, all Members, large and small, are juridically equal. This is why it is so often called the hope of the world. This is why it is the greatest guardian of the interests of smaller States. And this is also why, as the Assembly grows in numbers, we must match its size by its sense of relevance and its sense of responsibility.

69. We must also recognize, I think, that open debate under the television cameras is not always conducive to the moderation and to the restraint essential when proud and sovereign States are in dispute. Nor is the Assembly the only means through which our Organization achieves its purpose. We saw a year ago that this Assembly could not agree on how to settle the dispute over West New Guinea. We know today how much the United Nations has been able to accomplish in composing this dispute by entering it as a quiet third partner.

70. I believe that there will be many opportunities for the United Nations to serve as a "third man" in world affairs, as the objective fact-finder, the impartial "presence", the policeman on the beat, the instrument of quiet diplomacy. On some issues before us even today, for example, the United Nations might appoint a rapporteur to ascertain the facts and to analyse the problems, and thereby to facilitate sound decisions by the General Assembly.

71. Nothing is more important to all of us than a sustained and systematic attack on the conflicts which threaten the peace. Our world is now a crowded house and our planet a single powder keg. We believe that all nations must stay their hands in pursuit of national ambitions involving conflict with others until the world community has had a chance to find solutions through patient and quiet diplomatic effort.

72. The point here is not to oppose or to postpone desirable change, the point is not to stall or to evade needed action. On the contrary, the point is precisely to select the most effective technique, to search out the most relevant formula, to ensure that change can in fact take place, that action can in fact be taken to secure the peace of the world and to strengthen the United Nations.

73. There is work enough to do, and there are tools enough to do it. Let us resolve to set about it in an orderly fashion, let us use and combine our tools and techniques for a period of active and inventive diplomacy, let us, at this seventeenth session of the General Assembly, aspire to the highest forms of political art and usher in a time of peaceful solutions of conflict, of peaceful passage, if you please, through the vast transformations which contemporary history demands.

74. The path to peace lies through thickets of conflict. But the biggest obstacle in the path, the most overwhelming danger of all, is the onrushing arms race. Every day it gathers momentum as the nuclear Powers and others, large and small, enlarge their arsenals. Some of us continue to invent and test frightful new weapons. We feel obliged to do this for the sake of our separate national interests at a time in history when the national interest of all nations, those with nuclear weapons and those without, demands not the expansion but the abolition of the power to wage war.

75. Let me be as clear and as simple as I can. This prodigal arms race is dangerous and deadly folly. Here in the United States we want to save, not destroy, our fellow man. We want to devote the resources now swallowed by this insatiable monster to the unfinished tasks of our own society. And we want to devote these resources to giving every soul on earth a chance for a better life.

76. Yet the arms race goes on. It goes on because no nation confronted by hostile nations can neglect its defences. No great Power can risk unilateral disarmament. There is one way, and one way only, out of this intolerable dilemma, and that is a system of complete and general disarmament under which all nations progressively tear down, in plain view of the international community and with suitable safeguards, their own capacity to wage war.

77. A great achievement of the last session of the General Assembly was to endorse an agreement on a set of principles for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world. Although we have made some progress, we have not made enough progress toward translating these agreed principles into an agreed plan to move by mutual action in rapid stages toward total disarmament and effective international peace-keeping.

78. The United States has proposed such a plan. It has submitted its proposals to this General Assembly and to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva.

79. But, just as it takes at least two to make an arms race, it takes at least two to stop an arms race. No one in his senses would expect one side to abandon the means of self-defence unless it knew for sure that the other side was giving up its arms as well. This means that practical verification is the essence of any workable agreement on general disarmament.

80. It need not be total verification. We have demonstrated again and again during long negotiations that we are prepared to take certain risks to lessen the chance of an intensified arms race. But we are not prepared to risk our survival. If other nations permit, as we have agreed to do, the degree of international inspection technically required for mutual security, we can end the arms race. But we cannot stake our national existence on blind trust, especially on blind trust in a great and powerful nation which repeatedly declares its fundamental hostility to the basic values of our free society.

81. The issue is plain. The price of general disarmament is mutual security within the framework of the United Nations. Because such a security would be by international inspection, it could have no conceivable connexion with espionage. Is inspection by a United Nations agency too high a price to pay for

the safety, perhaps the survival, of mankind? Can any society value its secrecy more than everyone's safety, especially a society which avows itself to be the model toward which all other societies must irresistibly evolve?

82. I put this issue in all gravity. I ask the Members of this General Assembly to join the people of the world in demanding a programme of general disarmament which stands a chance of ending the arms race.

83. Once again, the answer to this issue is not to be found in exhortation or in emotionalism. It is not to be found by passing virtuous resolutions which proclaim noble ends without realistic means. It is to be found only in remorseless efforts to solve the infinitely complicated problem of disarmament. We believe that serious negotiations in Geneva will bring us closer to our goal, and I hope the discussions there will continue to have the prayerful and wholehearted support of this General Assembly.

84. Here in New York, the General Assembly can insist on the indispensable condition of world disarmament, the assurance that agreements made are agreements kept.

85. But there is a situation even more immediate, but happily more hopeful, than general disarmament. I refer to the testing of nuclear weapons. If we see in this a more acute problem, let me suggest that it is also more manageable, and therefore offers brighter hopes for early progress.

86. For nearly four years the nuclear Powers, including my country, have been locked in negotiation for a reliable and a permanent ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. From such a ban would come a barrier to the spread of such weapons, an end to this new source of radiation in the human environment, and a great step toward the comprehensive disarmament treaty we so earnestly seek.

87. As is plain from the draft treaties tabled at Geneva, the United States Government is prepared to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons, provided only that others are prepared to assume the obligation to do the same. Testing in the atmosphere, in the oceans and in space causes radiation. Testing underground does not. We are prepared to stop testing even without any international verification in the atmosphere, in the oceans and in space, because we have national means of detecting testing by others. And we are prepared to stop testing underground—where we do not have our own means of verification—provided an international system is created to assure that others are doing the same.

88. It may be interesting to Members to know that since 1945, when it began testing, the United States has exploded nuclear devices with a total yield of about 140 megatons. Since 1949, when it began testing, the Soviet Union, so far as we can tell by distant instrumentation, has exploded devices with a total yield of approximately 250 megatons. Since the USSR broke the moratorium last fall, its explosions have yielded 200 megatons. Those which the United States was then compelled to undertake have yielded 25 megatons.

89. I repeat that we in this country want to cease testing nuclear weapons. If other nuclear Powers are also willing to make an agreement to cease, the

testing will cease. But let there be no doubt about it: the United States prefers a comprehensive treaty banning all tests in all environments and for all time. On this transcendent issue, we in the United States are in dead earnest.

90. I conclude this portion of my remarks with the thanks of my Government to the eight non-aligned nations for their helpful and constructive efforts to bring about agreement at Geneva.

91. The objective of peace is inseparably intertwined with the objective of progress. As we improve our Organization's capacity to keep the peace, we also strengthen the United Nations for its other essential tasks: to help build nations in dignity and freedom; to help liberate humanity from century-old bonds of want and squalor. And, as we build healthy modern societies, we knit stronger the fabric of peace; we reduce the chance that misery and failure will explode into conflict. Thus are peace-keeping and nation-building two sides of the United Nations coin.

92. We who have attended these sessions of the General Assembly have been witnesses to a great historic transformation. In the years since 1945—and with the support of this Assembly—we have seen the age of classical colonialism move toward an end. In these years forty-six nations—nearly half of the present membership of this Organization—have gained their independence. This has represented a revolutionary change in the structure of international relations and international power.

93. It has been a change, I need hardly say, which has been enthusiastically welcomed in the United States. As the first modern State to win freedom from colonialism, we have been proud to help other States begin that most precious and most difficult of adventures—the adventure in self-government. We count no task more important than assisting those everywhere, in the older colonial areas and elsewhere, to self-determination.

94. This task will engage the Assembly in grave and determined deliberations in the months ahead. In no part of the world has the movement toward national independence attained more spectacular results in the last three years, as we know, than in Africa. In no part of the world is it more important to make further progress in solving the remaining issues of classical colonialism on the basis of genuine self-determination. For many months, the Special Committee of seventeen members^{2/} has addressed itself to these issues. We hope that the Committee will be able to conduct its work in the future in an atmosphere undistracted by the emotions of the cold war, which affected its work this year—in an atmosphere where States old and new can work together to help bring into existence in lands not yet free the conditions essential for successful nationhood.

95. For a nation is not created by a stroke of the pen. A declaration of political independence is a beginning; it is not a conclusion. Nothing more discredits the great historic transformation of our epoch than for newly independent States to fall into chaos and become an international problem or an international danger. The long labour of nationhood requires the reality as well as the rhetoric of independence—it requires an emerging national will

^{2/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

capable of the political wisdom, the administrative vigour, the economic energy and the moral discipline necessary to convert the promise of national independence into a free and productive life for its people. The interest of my Government and the interest, I dare say, of most of the Members here present, lies not in the mere multiplication of nations, but in the multiplication of nations where people are free, where people have the strength to survive, and to grow and contribute to the vitality of the international order, the world community.

96. Nation-building thus has its political dimension, but national independence has its social and economic and moral dimensions as well. That is why I hope that this Assembly will devote its attention to the next great item on the agenda of nation-building, that is, helping the new nations fashion the tools to carry out their tasks of self-development.

97. Never has a time been more propitious for the successful discharge of these tasks. If the miracles of science have given mankind new power to destroy, they have also given mankind new power to create. The challenge which confronts us is to turn the miracles of science to the service of man, and to man the labourer on this earth as well as man the explorer of the universe beyond.

98. We have a right, I think, to congratulate the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on its progress toward international scientific and technical co-operation, progress which holds high promise for both peace and the advancement of knowledge. But what does it profit if a few men orbit the earth while below them millions are starving? What is the point of our technological prowess if it can launch men into space but cannot lift them from the swamps of poverty?

99. To set out consciously to abolish poverty as the prevailing condition of humanity is as formidable a task as man ever set himself, and I would ask Members not to underestimate its difficulties.

100. But if the task is enormously complex, it can also be deeply fulfilling. I am proud that my own country pioneered in offering a helping hand to nations prepared to start along the road towards self-sustaining growth. I am gratified too that so many of the other industrially developed nations have followed suit. It is heartening that groups of nations are beginning to work out their economic destinies in common through regional organizations, and co-ordinating their assistance to the emerging nations.

101. Over the years, the United Nations itself has established an impressive range of technical institutions geared to the job of helping the less developed nations to modernize their economies. The United Nations family of agencies is the source of new and exciting projects: a World Food Programme is just getting under way; the Board of Governors of the World Bank is calling at this moment for recommendations on the expansion of capital for the International Development Association; an unprecedented conference on the application of science and technology to the problems of development will be held at Geneva early next year. Other projects and programmes attest to the growing maturity, the expanding scope, and the rising operational capacity of the United Nations family of agencies. This is all to the good.

102. The challenge before us now is to make our United Nations agencies better with each passing year; to endow them with sound procedures and adequate resources; to staff them with disinterested and expert talent; to improve their planning and programming and administration and co-ordination; to see that they meet the needs of realistic development in the new nations; to integrate them with the other forms of development assistance, national, regional and international, presently going to the emerging nations; and thereby to ensure that development aid will be applied everywhere on a co-operative rather than a competitive basis.

103. We need to produce a closer harmony from the orchestra of aid instruments already available to us.

104. The full promise of development cannot be achieved within national boundaries. To stimulate general prosperity, we must remove the barriers which block the free flow of men, money and goods across national frontiers.

105. We have seen the extraordinary burst of economic activity which has attended the evolution of the European Common Market—one of the great adventures in creative statesmanship of our age. Groups of countries in other parts of the world are also seeking ways to build regional economies which in turn can further thrive on expanded world trade. It is essential, of course, that such groupings should offer to non-members the fullest possible advantage of the larger market. We know now that one nation cannot buy its prosperity by limiting the prosperity of others.

106. An expanding world trade, built on the scaffolding of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, rests in turn on that further social progress, that larger freedom, that broader structure of international peace which it is the purpose of the United Nations to secure. That is why the United States was pleased to join with its fellow members of the Economic and Social Council in the unanimous call for a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We will do everything we can to help this conference to succeed.

107. We need to move, under the challenge of the Development Decade, towards a clearer strategy of development, towards a better sense of priorities, towards a sharper division of labour among the various aid institutions, and towards a keener appreciation that the economic and social development of a country is not the result only of outside capital and assistance, but of political leadership, institutional growth, economic and social reform, and national will.

108. Here, then, are our twin tasks: to replace strident politics with quiet but determined diplomacy, and to replace the arms race, as the President said last year, with a peace race, with a creative race in the production and exchange of goods and the elevation of living standards.

109. These tasks are not new, nor will they be finished before we adjourn. But before we adjourn I trust that the General Assembly at its seventeenth session will energetically get on with the job of peaceful settlement, of non-violent change, and of war against human want.

110. As the custodians of the history of our times, we can do no less. To the discharge of these responsibilities, my own Government pledges its firm and unswerving support. Animated by the ideals of the Charter and by our obligations to our fellow men we, the Members of the Assembly, cannot adjourn our deliberations without providing the world with tangible evidence of our devotion to peace and justice. This tangible evidence can lie only in our decisions and deeds in the months ahead.

111. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cuba has asked to exercise his right of reply.

112. Mr. GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The chairman of the United States delegation has accused our Government of carrying out a campaign of defamation, vituperation and subversion against its neighbours. These words were spoken in this Assembly by one who, from this rostrum, concealed his Government's aggression against our people and denied an act which was admitted a few days later by the President of the United States himself. Now, resorting to his old tricks at a time when his Government, amid general war hysteria, threatens a small but courageous people, violates that people's air space and territorial waters, introduces sabotage groups and sends its mercenaries to attack our shores, that representative accuses our country and its Government of oral attacks against our neighbours, and of subversion.

113. Aggression by your Government, Sir, has destroyed our workers' homes, wrecked our industries and killed thousands of our citizens; yours were the bombs, and it was your Government's Central Intelligence Agency which promoted these attacks upon our people. You say that you defend the Charter of the United Nations; but there is no respect for the

Charter in your Government's conduct towards our people. Tell your warlike and aggressive generals that in our country we, more than 6 million Cubans, will defend the principles of the United Nations Charter with something more than honeyed words.

114. We reject your assertions as a new way of concealing the large-scale aggression which your Government is preparing against our people. In the general debate, we shall deal more explicitly with all these facts and shall bring them specifically to the attention of the General Assembly.

115. The PRESIDENT: I would invite representatives of countries who have not yet done so to inscribe their names on the list of speakers for the general debate if they desire to participate therein. There may possibly have to be a decision to start the meetings of committees earlier this year than in preceding years. Those delegations that may not find that arrangement quite convenient until they have spoken in the general debate might perhaps consider it convenient to inscribe their names early on the list.

116. I am grateful to my colleagues for having responded so generously to the appeals I have made both here and in the General Committee for greater punctuality. We are now within ten to fifteen minutes of strict punctuality. I hope that this gap will soon be bridged, and if that happens, our experience of this morning creates the hope that we may be able to hear a minimum of four speakers during the morning, in the general debate, and a minimum of five in the afternoon, with a possibility, perhaps, of five in the morning and six in the afternoon.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.