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Official Records



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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite the representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Address by Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, Temporary President, Chairman of the delegation of Afghanistan

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: As we convene in this, our twenty-second session, many of us may conclude that a most striking feature of the General Assembly is that it has met in three separate sessions within the narrow compass of the past twelve months. Thus the Assembly has been in a state of nearly continuous deliberation. This development, if continued, may well mark the evolution of this world body into a virtual year-round parliament of nations.

4. A parallel and striking aspect of the period spanning the three sessions is that it has been marked by

increased tensions among nations and by a lamentable deterioration in the general world political situation. This is a fact which has been noted in the highest circles of government everywhere. It is a fact which has been deplored by all peoples, particularly the peoples of the United Nations who have vested responsibility in this Organization for fundamental issues affecting their lives and their destinies.

5. What relevance do our greatly extended deliberations have to the crises confronting these peoples? For me, who bore the responsibility of presiding over all of the three preceding sessions, some response to this searching question is not only a courtesy but a duty. Therefore, it is this period that I now propose to examine, so that we may briefly consider together the lessons which these still fresh pages of history hold for us.

6. The decisions of the twenty-first regular session are well known. A number of negative developments came upon the world thereafter, but a close examination will show that they had not escaped the Assembly's concern. Nor did the Assembly, in all of its ramifications, fail to anticipate them with important decisions where these were possible, while showing alertness to the distress signals which foreshadowed those developments.

7. Here we might emphasize a positive aspect of this world body generally overlooked by commentators—its supreme value as an agency of political meteorology, giving warning to peoples and Governments of the dangers ahead. In looking back on the history of wars and the seismic surprise of their eruptions, we see that one of the significant contributions the Assembly makes is to run up the distress signals on political storms brewing beyond the horizon. Those signals are to be found especially in the preambles to resolutions, in open policy statements and in extensive committee debates. The Assembly book of records is a chronicle of dire prophecies which time has—almost invariably and always unhappily—borne out. Few, if any, calamities in our time have befallen the world without some advance notice in the collective utterance from this rostrum.

8. Thus, if fools and folly rule the world, the end of man in our time may come as a rude shock, but it will

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no longer come as a complete surprise. The warnings given are there.

9. The failure of Governments to heed them is another matter. This is often and wrongly referred to as "the shortcoming of the United Nations". It would be more accurate to state that it is the shortcoming of Governments which have failed to bring the deliberations of this supreme organ to their peoples. It is time to say—and to say it frankly—that the duty of all leaders is to assume a full comprehension by their peoples of the decisions and resolutions of the world Organization and to take concrete action for their implementation. The implementation of the principles supported by the majority of the Members should be the foremost concern of the entire membership.

10. There exists a great and dangerous difference between the sincere and honest aspirations of the peoples of the world everywhere and the policies which determine their fate. The moral obligation for achieving a better world cannot be a one-way street without coming to a fatal dead-end. The struggle for peace, so crucial in our time, will be a lost battle until it is based on the aspirations of the peoples of the world, who seek only peace.

11. I turn now to the seven weeks of the fifth special session, held from 21 April to 13 June 1967. The Assembly took an historic decision involving the ultimate rights of a free Africa, for we are aware that the full and complete freedom of Africa is long—too long—overdue.

12. That session dealt also with the constitutional crisis involving the structure of peace-keeping and its financial aspect, a problem which threatened with paralysis the very functioning of this body. That problem is still unresolved, and many difficulties must be overcome before a solution can be attained. However, the Assembly manifested the strength to throw back the threat of paralysis, to recover its balance and to remove the issue from dangerous confrontation and to submit it to a procedure of systematic negotiation in appropriate forums. We should not fail to persevere in the important quest for agreement with all the urgency that the problem deserves.

13. In the fifth emergency special session, which opened on 17 June to deal with the war in the Middle East and which we adjourned yesterday, the spectre of internal division again beset the General Assembly, this time simultaneously with division in the Security Council. In that double rift, the United Nations found itself under a dark cloud of profound and universal dejection.

14. The failure of the General Assembly to reach accord on a formula is, of course, to be deplored. On the other hand, time has dispelled the cloud of disappointment to some extent. The United Nations lost a battle, but it stopped a war. Nor is that an insignificant achievement in circumstances where the flames of conflict threatened an entire region and from the very start involved the danger of a Big Power confrontation.

15. The session reached a high level of unanimity on the question of Jerusalem and on the interests of both the old and the new refugees. And while it failed to reach an accord on the general principles for a full solution, it is now evident that it has gone a long way

towards clarifying the thorny issues and that, for all the parties directly and indirectly involved, it has set a more realistic focus of what is possible and what is unattainable. Thus the session has laid the foundations for another effort in the pursuit of just and reasonable solutions in the months ahead.

16. The emergency special session has called upon the twenty-second regular session to inscribe that unfinished business on its agenda; moreover, to give it the highest priority in our deliberations. The peace of an entire region is involved—a region which is perhaps the world's most strategic area. And the world will expect the United Nations, moving forward from the progress made, to come firmly and resolutely to grips with the crucial problems involved and work with single-minded determination for maximum results that will not only discourage the recurrence of war but lay down the basic principles of a viable procedure for a just and honourable peace.

17. In a broader and historic sense, that episode has demonstrated that the United Nations, in the face of dangerous divisionism, could reveal its inherent strength and its ability to cope with the most acute crisis of sudden war.

18. The Middle East crisis struck quickly, but it did not explode in a vacuum. If we place it in the context of a larger world picture, we shall see that it is not unrelated to the malevolent forces of violence that have gripped the world in the past year. In many areas and on many levels the psychology of force has swept the minds of men and nations, and where once the virtues of peace were extolled today the efficacy of force is openly flaunted and even exalted.

19. What has produced this climate? One cause is frustration, the frustration that comes from protracted truce and the unfinished business of finished war; and from a bellicose approach to the making of peace itself. The Middle East episode is only one demonstration of the paradox that pursuit of peace in the wrong way is itself sometimes fraught with the dangers of another war. Like justice, peace delayed is peace denied, and time is no healer where there is pathological tampering with the peace process.

20. During the past twelve months we have seen another aspect of this problem on the other side of the world in the alarming war in Viet-Nam. It is a conflict that has evaded every peace effort and its violence is escalating in both scope and intensity. Positions are irrationally hardening in a struggle that has brought military leaders to a situation of stalemate. Paradoxically, a dead-end has been reached, yet men insist that they must go on and on along the same futile path. On both sides frayed nerves are moving to neurosis, and there is danger that when frustrations reach a breaking-point the parties will seek a way out in further enlargement of the struggle, reaching dimensions they themselves cannot predict. A depressing aspect of the conflict is that veteran statesmen, fully conversant with international procedures, are unable to find an acceptable formula—acceptable, that is, to both sides.

21. We may now ask: is not the greatest danger in the Middle East and in Viet-Nam the fact that the parties are losing control of the run-away forces of war?

Here is an appalling possibility when we consider that the decisive factors in the conflict are primarily the big Powers, which are vested with the main responsibility for the safeguarding of world peace.

22. There is also a third war—the colonial war in Africa, the almost forgotten war, we might call it. This, the Middle East and Viet-Nam all have the familiar features of the colonial type struggle.

23. But now we see the rise of new species of violence—some of which, we may frankly note, were not always taken into account by the major premises of past United Nations decisions. The continued application of force and the threat of force against people and political parties in areas marked by the United Nations for decolonization are more dangerous than ever in our world of closely related politics, but they are familiar maladies and we have had some experience in dealing with them.

24. Less evident and more deceptive are the last-ditch colonial and pro-colonial forces surreptitiously entering into phantom coalitions in preparation for a new struggle against the Charter itself, a struggle which threatens in Africa to degenerate into the ugliest kind of war imaginable, a racial war.

25. Against this persistent rallying of force, we see the rise of desperate and more determined resistance movements already forming themselves into guerrilla armies in many parts of the world. These movements reflect a sharp response to external intervention—uninvited or invited—or to failure of certain Powers to comply promptly with United Nations decisions, time-tables and principles for decolonization. In both cases they are symptoms rather than causes.

26. To be sure, such guerrilla forces are still in the formative stages, but we need look no further than Viet-Nam to see how far such forces can expand and how inevitably they become the focal points of intervention by big Powers. They might well become the Viet-Nams of tomorrow, and we can only ponder how a world so badly shaken by one Viet-Nam could bear the shock of a number of such conflicts. The United Nations is expected to be able to avert the rise of this expanding type of warfare by dealing decisively with its root causes.

27. Another new species of war is the insidious use of mercenary forces to invade foreign lands. These illegitimate armies without flags and without government backing, may, if they continue to develop as a feature of the modern power struggle, add the spectacle of thirteenth century piracy and marauding to mock the Age of Reason. The great danger for us is that these faceless forces evade the peace procedures governing international relations and erode the narrow beach-heads of international law so painstakingly established. We must scotch this movement in its infancy as a new force for chaos in our time.

28. Nor can one overlook the erosion of those aspects of international law built upon respect for the practices and decencies of diplomatic exchange. This deterioration—for which all Governments must answer and from which all will suffer and none can gain—serves only to aggravate disrespect for the norms of diplomacy, for the rights of the individual and, eventually and inevitably, for the sanctity of law.

29. In other areas we see the sudden and mysterious rise of animosities and incidents between small nations. Sometimes these incidents are the result of natural claims and conflicts but recently they are suggestive of the invisible hand of outside powers.

30. Two unhappy consequences follow from such policies: United Nations programmes for the reduction of armaments are undermined by stimulation of a new kind of arms race—the race to supply countries, mostly the smaller ones, not presently engaged in war or in a state of war, with armaments not so much for purposes of national security as for rivalry with other small nations in an opposite power orbit; and in consequence, new suspicions, new fears, new tensions are generated, with new threats to the entire structure of world peace and security. The pursuit of such policies strengthens the bypassing and even defiance of the United Nations, whose accumulated decisions are found burdensome. This growing tendency by certain States should be pointed out frankly. Can Member States truly ignore the United Nations, challenge its authority, and even undermine its accumulated prestige without such policies seriously reflecting on their own prestige?

31. What are the forces behind these new and disturbing manifestations? The cold war, we are told, is dead, but apparently its death has been somewhat exaggerated. To be sure, the cold war in the form of a nuclear confrontation and aggressive alliances has greatly thawed, and this marks important progress. But now we see a resurgence of rivalry in the more indirect forms of interventionism and in all manner of anti-Charter sophistry. We may appropriately ask: Has the cold war gone underground? Has it shifted from the big bombs to the small nations?

32. If this is so, then the world faces a new type of power struggle, this one without even the moral justification of an ideological crusade. The parties themselves have time and again disavowed the pursuit of policies based on ideologies, and this is happily evident in Europe and to some extent between the two giant Powers. Therefore, what can the new struggle portend, but a striving for power—not for principle, but for power itself, raw, naked power, rooted in purely selfish, national interests, and tactically translated into actions that play havoc with the delicate structure of world peace.

33. More dangerous is the fact that this new rivalry goes on behind the façade of so-called coexistence. Of course, we can only welcome every step that furthers a climate of coexistence among the Powers, but this should not be limited to the big Powers; it should not become their monopoly and their sole blessing; it should not be to the exclusion of the smaller nations—and certainly not at their expense. In its quintessence, coexistence, like peace, should be indivisible. Some will have certain reservations regarding this analysis, but one thing is sure. New political forces are at play in the world—forces which did not exist when most of the past major decisions of this Assembly were taken on the burning issues of war and peace in our time.

34. Perhaps the time has come when we might re-examine some of our formulations in the light of these new developments. We must reaffirm not only first—

and perhaps forgotten—principles, but we must give them new concepts of implementation. We will have to refocus our vision on new horizons, to apply new remedies for new maladies and to meet new expectations with new hopes.

35. In short, we shall be called upon to accord recognition to what is now obvious: that ours is a world of seething change, revolutionary change, but that these mutations themselves are not always evident. In such a dynamic world all elements, political and economic, are in a perpetual state of transition, and only one factor remains fixed: our goal for world peace; our steadfast determination to attain that goal. And this undying hope we shall never abandon.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

36. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Pursuant to rule 28 of the rules of procedure, at the beginning of each session the General Assembly should appoint, on the proposal of the President, a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. I propose that for the twenty-second regular session the Credentials Committee consist of the following Member States: Ceylon, Ireland, Japan, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Paraguay, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

37. If there are no objections, I shall take it that those countries are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee.

It was so decided.

38. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cuba on a point of order.

39. Mr. RODRIGUES ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me an opportunity to make a short statement. I should like to read the text of a note we have just submitted to the Secretary-General.

"Your Excellency,

"I am writing to inform you that the delegation of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to this twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly, presided over by Mr. Ricardo Alarcón Quesada, the Permanent Representative of Cuba to this Organization, has been prevented from being present at this inaugural meeting because of the Immigration and Customs officials of the United States of America at Nassau in the Bahamas. Carrying out orders from the U.S. State Department, those authorities insist on checking the delegation's baggage, private and official, thus flagrantly violating the immunities and privileges of representatives of any State Member of the United Nations which the United States, as the host country is required to respect.

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba wishes to place on record its most vigorous protest at this new provocation by the American imperialists and to point out once again that acts of this nature prove that the United States does not offer conditions within its territory to justify the United Nations maintaining its Headquarters there."

40. I have just communicated by telephone with the Chairman of my delegation, and I wish to inform you of its firm decision not in any circumstances to tolerate this provocative attitude on the part of the Yankee authorities, and to announce that we are withdrawing from this inaugural meeting. Thank you. With your permission, Mr. President, I shall leave the meeting.

41. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States.

42. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I regret exceedingly that this very unfounded complaint of the Cuban delegation should interfere with the solemnity of these opening day ceremonies. The United States strictly complies with the Agreement regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations of 1947 and established diplomatic usage with respect to the entry of United Nations delegations and their families and staffs and their baggage. The United States fully complied in this instance. The facts are these.

43. Ten members of the Cuban delegation arrived in Nassau this morning with twenty-six pieces of hand baggage plus an undetermined large number of wooden crates. Their hand baggage was readily passed. The Cubans, however, did not claim that the crates represented diplomatic baggage. Nevertheless, they refused to submit them to orderly customs procedure. As far as we are concerned, that unexplained action on their part, the motives of which we can only assume, is a matter which we would gladly invite the Secretary-General to investigate and report on.

44. As far as we are concerned, we co-operated fully with that delegation, as we have done with all delegations. In fact, our Consul-General in Nassau has arranged a flight for it to New York.

45. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The members of the Assembly have heard the statements made by the representative of Cuba and the representative of the United States. There are procedures provided for dealing with incidents of this type involving the Agreements between the United Nations and the country of residence of the United Nations Headquarters, and I take the liberty of assuring Members that the Secretary-General will look into this matter. At this stage, however, I should like to appeal to Members not to pursue this matter further at this opening meeting of the new session but to allow me to proceed to the consideration of the next item of the agenda.

46. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

47. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In this hour of the solemn opening of the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly we heard with indignation the statement made from this rostrum by the representative of the Republic of Cuba.

48. None of us can be indifferent to the fate of the delegation of any sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

49. The United States of America, which has been honoured in having the Headquarters of the United Nations on its soil, is guilty of discrimination and arbitrary action with regard to diplomatic missions and

delegations. We cannot be satisfied with the explanation just given by the United States representative.

50. It is of no consequence whether there were sixteen or six pieces of diplomatic luggage brought in by the accredited delegation of a Member State. No rule of international law provides for the infringement of the interests and the principle of diplomatic immunity of any delegation, whichever it may be. Such arbitrary behaviour cannot be condoned.

51. On behalf of the USSR delegation, I wish to declare that we support the views expressed by the Cuban representative. We trust that this principal organ of an international organization will duly condemn such arbitrary and illegal action on the part of the authorities of the United States of America.

52. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States has asked to speak, and I shall be glad to call on him. However, I should like once again to repeat my appeal that we should not at this stage discuss this question in detail. Statements have been made, the situation has been brought to the attention of the General Assembly and further appropriate steps will be taken as called for by the provisions covering such incidents.

53. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): It is not my desire to enter into a prolonged debate on this subject, but I cannot allow what was just said on the matter to stand for the record of this Assembly. Unless Ambassador Fedorenko is clairvoyant, he cannot know what happened in Nassau, and his little homily just now reminds me of Alice in Wonderland: sentence first and then try the case afterwards. With respect to his remarks about international law, he again demonstrated that he is a fine oriental scholar.

54. I made it very clear that I welcomed the investigation of the Secretary-General, to whom this matter has been referred, to determine whether there has been violation of the Headquarters Agreement or of diplomatic usage with respect to the incidents that took place in Nassau. The Secretary-General will report to us. We shall be entirely satisfied to abide by the judgement of this Assembly with respect to his report.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

55. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the Members of the General Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second regular session.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Boyd (Panama) and Mr. Lopez (Philippines) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers: 120

Invalid ballots: 2

Number of valid ballots: 118

Abstentions: 5

Number of members voting: 113

Required majority 57

Number of votes obtained:

Mr. Mănescu (Romania) 112

Mr. Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania) 1

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Mănescu (Romania) was elected President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

56. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I extend my most sincere congratulations to Mr. Mănescu, and I have the pleasure of passing on the responsibilities of this high office into his capable hands. I invite Mr. Mănescu to come to the rostrum and assume the Presidency of the General Assembly.

Mr. Mănescu took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, President of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session

57. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The confidence you have shown me by electing me President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly and the honour you do me in entrusting me with this high office are of course a tribute to my country. I know of no better way to express to you my deep gratitude than by assuring you that I will endeavour to perform my functions by bringing to the workings of the General Assembly—with all the respect due to its rules—the sincere desire to help create an atmosphere conducive to solving the major international problems and vindicating the principles of peaceful coexistence which inspire the foreign policy of the socialist republic of Romania.

58. Over the centuries and through painful trials, the Romanian people to which I belong has acquired virtues which guarantee the preservation of its national genius, the maintenance of its unity and its independence, the basic premises for its free development. It has known the sufferings of war and the blessings of peace, the bitterness of servitude and dependence as well as the joy of being master in its own house. From such trials it has learnt the invaluable lesson that to command respect one must show respect, and that the surest way to ensure the application of the rules of international life is for everyone to observe those rules strictly with regard to others.

59. The principle of equality of rights which is the very foundation of the United Nations Charter involves not only rights, but duties. Romania, as a Member of the United Nations, has always looked on the Organization, established as it was to strengthen peace, promote security and foster international co-operation, as a central point where the efforts of all nations must come together for the achievement of common goals.

60. Every nation has its own special background deserving of respect, interest and a receptive attitude. Obviously, every nation has its own peculiar historical development which ultimately determines its particular physiognomy and personality within the great family of nations. Far from being a source of tension and conflict among States, this diversity, viewed in the light of the aims and methods of the Charter, constitutes a valid basis for their joining together, a factor calculated to stimulate increasing participation by each of them in consolidating international peace and security.

61. Romania is a socialist country; it is anxious to extend its co-operation with all countries, whatever their régime or ideology, while at the same time maintaining as the focal point of its policy its friendship with countries which share its ideas. The General Assembly's decision to elect the representative of a socialist country as President of the current session is a recognition of the need for equal participation in United Nations activities by the different regions and systems throughout the world. No one could review the history of this Organization objectively without acknowledging the essential role which the countries of Eastern Europe have played in its founding and development, as well as their active part in international life as a whole.

62. Fifty years after the October revolution, which was not only of fundamental importance for one of the great peoples of the world, but also ushered in an era of fundamental changes in contemporary society, socialism is an integral part of the present-day world. Its basic concepts—crystallized in the existence and activity of a system of States—have an unquestioned influence nowadays, so much so that no solution to any international problem is conceivable without recourse to them.

63. In a world in which change follows change at an unprecedented rate, the best chance we have to influence favourably the course of events is by facing the facts and acknowledging them with perception and without preconceived notions.

64. This Hall, in which we have welcomed the admission to the Organization of so many new Members, now more numerous than the founding Members, also bears witness to the changes that have taken place on our planet.

65. The appearance on the world political map of a large number of young States, asserting their right to an independent existence and to sovereignty, has added a new dimension to international problems. The struggle of these States for freedom and for the right to build a better life, free from all dependency, serves to strengthen and to give a particular timeliness to that cardinal right on which world peace itself ultimately depends: the right of peoples freely to determine their destiny without any outside interference. Respect for this right we regard as the guarantee of the completion of the process of formation and development of the nation which today constitutes a driving force for social progress.

66. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the colonial system has not been completely eradicated, and that forms of neo-colonialist dependency, along with attempts to maintain the last bastions of colonialism, call for watchful and energetic action by the international community.

67. When we consider the causes of all the international crises seriously endangering world peace, we come to the conclusion that in every case there has been a violation of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. Nothing is more dangerous, more costly, and at the same time more ineffectual, than to attempt to impose solutions from outside, by force and against the will of those concerned.

68. The interests of universal peace demand an end to the conflict in South-East Asia, which is bringing down such suffering on the heads of the worthy and courageous Viet-Nameese people. To end it would be to extinguish a fire which sustains a spirit of violence in international relations and could give rise to new threats to peace.

69. The Emergency Special Session passed on to the present session the problem of the Middle East. It is the duty and the great responsibility of this Assembly to concentrate its efforts on a searching examination of that problem with a view to finding a lasting solution, in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples of the region.

70. The very scope of the problems that will face the 6,000 million inhabitants who will people the earth in the course of the present generation—problems already facing us in an acute form—seems to us yet another reason for putting an end to armed conflicts and sources of tension, which constitute merely obstacles along the path of the progress of mankind.

71. In the times in which we live, the problem of peace and security is indissolubly linked with the fulfilment of the legitimate desire of the vast majority of mankind for well-being and progress. The closing of the gap between the development levels of the various countries is an absolute necessity for the international community.

72. The outcome of the struggle against economic backwardness, illiteracy and hunger depends, in the final analysis, on the ability of countries to mobilize their material and human resources and to undertake development programmes based on modern science and technology; and the noble task of supporting and fostering such activities must be the responsibility of the international community, and especially of the major industrialized countries. Any effort devoted to this task will bear immediate fruit and will redound to the over-all benefit of mankind, which will thus add to the world-wide exchange of goods and ideas a potential hitherto lacking.

73. If they are to devote themselves to this intensive development, all States must have security, just as they must have resources. The armaments race ignores both these needs; the moral imperative of general disarmament caters for them. The armaments race continues to be an affront to mankind, a criminal waste of resources in a world in which the wherewithal to live is often lacking, and a dangerous source of tension. Experience shows that once they have been manufactured, armaments pose a potential threat in that they can be used, either directly or indirectly, as instruments of a policy of pressure and intimidation. Disarmament—that basic aspiration of mankind—demands effective measures leading to the destruction of arms stockpiles and, first and foremost, the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons.

74. The failure of the disarmament negotiations to produce results cannot but disappoint the legitimate expectations of the masses; the present-day world situation therefore calls for a renewal of efforts in that direction. The achievement of disarmament would help to promote international law and to ensure that relations between States were based not on force

but on reason. Force, and armed force above all, cannot solve international problems. On the contrary, it only complicates and obstructs their solution.

75. Concern for the primacy of the rule of law over force has been and continues to be a steadfast aspiration of mankind only intensified by a long succession of blood-baths which have revealed the futility of war as a means by which a State can further its interests or impose its will on others.

76. From the days of the ancients, who expressed the wish that arms might yield to law—*cedant arma togae*—to our own times, generations of men have tirelessly endeavoured to perfect the instruments for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

77. The United Nations is an embodiment of mankind's desire to replace violence and arbitrary will by rational standards of behaviour in keeping with the common good. It is more than ever necessary that this Organization should reflect faithfully the image of the contemporary world and become universal so that all States, without distinction, may contribute to the common cause of peace and co-operation.

78. The Organization's arsenal of weapons comprises the peaceful procedures laid down by the Charter—beginning with the basic method of negotiations—which, when constructively applied, have more than once shown their effectiveness. Exclusive recourse to those peaceful methods and greater boldness in their implementation, in an atmosphere of calm, confidence and perseverance, is calculated to lead to the adoption of lasting solutions to the problems facing us.

79. I believe it is fitting that at the beginning of this session we should ask ourselves the now traditional question: what will be the keynote of our deliberations?

80. While I would not wish to anticipate an answer—which in fact could scarcely be given in advance of the weeks of arduous work ahead of us—I believe that what arises out of the complex of inter-State relations and the manner in which they are reflected in the activity of the United Nations is the need to intensify the efforts of all countries towards solving the prob-

lems of today's world. In this regard, everyone's contribution can be of value.

81. Lasting solutions are those which take into account the interests of the peoples and States concerned, which respect the principles that should govern international relations, and which are free from any pressure or interference from outside. The sole criteria for judging solutions are their realism, their effectiveness, and their intrinsic value. By proceeding in this spirit, we can avoid delays in the settlement of international problems and prevent them from becoming chronic.

82. All States, both large and small, are called upon to contribute to the common effort for strengthening peace and security. History clearly shows that small and medium-sized countries, whether European, African, Asian or Latin American, far from being disheartened by their disproportion in resources or in size, and without denying the role and responsibility of the great Powers, are fulfilling their task, which is to foster regard for morality and respect for the rule of law and to improve bilateral relations—in short, to work ceaselessly towards the establishment of an atmosphere free from tension, without which large-scale solutions are inconceivable. More than ever before, the present international situation calls for the intensification of those efforts.

83. An immense field of action lies open before us. I should like to express the conviction that, drawing on the rich experience of Member States, delegations will take worthwhile initiatives in the best interests of international peace and security.

84. Holding as I do in high esteem the experience and competence of my predecessors—and I take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to my distinguished colleague, Mr. Pazhwak—calling upon the store of knowledge and the generosity of our eminent Secretary-General, U Thant, and relying on your kind co-operation within the framework of the most wide-ranging consultations, I am determined to do everything in my power to ensure that the constructive efforts of the delegations may be crowned with success.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.