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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

Temporary President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU
(Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the Chairman
of the delegation of Romania**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I declare open the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

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

*Address by Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, Temporary President,
Chairman of the Romanian Delegation*

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Gentlemen, the opening of a new session of the

General Assembly has always been an occasion which invites reflections on the current status of international relations and on the problems confronting our Organization.

4. At its twenty-second session, which completed its work yesterday, the General Assembly decided—for the first time—to entrust the Presidency of this lofty forum to a country belonging to the socialist community, Romania. The delegations of Member States were all agreed in recognizing that the significance of this choice went beyond mere respect for the principle of the rotation of the Presidency. It was, in fact, an expression of the need for all countries, regardless of the geographical region to which they belong or their social or political system, to participate on an equal footing in the functioning of the United Nations and in the direction of its activities by bringing to it the particular contribution of their personality. At the same time it was a recognition of the role played by the socialist countries at the world level and in the work of the Organization.

5. The socialist States have taken the initiative on many occasions in the United Nations and have put forward more than one idea which now forms the basis of important achievements by the United Nations. The participation of the socialist countries in actions aimed at eliminating the colonial system, at bringing about a successful conclusion to the negotiations on disarmament and at promoting the principles of international economic co-operation, to mention only a few examples, has substantially expanded and strengthened the work of the Organization, while increasing its links with the processes of the contemporary world. Romania steadfastly adheres to the idea of building a society capable of ensuring the full utilization of the talents and energies of the people and the many-sided development of the human personality, an idea in which it firmly believes and to the triumph of which it unceasingly devotes its energies, and it is in this same spirit that Romania works within the United Nations.

6. It has been all the easier for me scrupulously to observe the rules of this Organization because the principles of socialist Romania's foreign policy, which have constantly guided me, are in perfect accord with the Charter of the United Nations.

7. If a large number of resolutions dealing with problems of peace and security, the development of economic, industrial, technical and scientific relations, the elimination of colonialism and social and humanitarian questions could be adopted by consensus during the twenty-second session, this was due to the consistent use of the working methods indicated by the Charter and to joint actions undertaken in a spirit of understanding and complete equality of rights.

8. What is essential in the joint search for solutions to the problems which concern us is that there should be mutual respect, that arguments should be weighed with complete objectivity and in good faith, and that positive results should be steadfastly pursued.

9. I believe that it is precisely owing to the joint efforts of States and to the fact that certain proposals to improve its terms were taken into consideration that it was possible to draw up the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a first step on the road to disarmament and a starting-point towards eliminating the danger of war and, first and foremost, the danger of nuclear war.

10. Decisive progress in strengthening the security of all countries cannot be envisaged unless an end is put to the growing arms race, and particularly to the nuclear arms race. It requires the systematic continuation of efforts to achieve effective disarmament measures and the prohibition and elimination of atomic weapons. Having become a condition for the survival of mankind, disarmament is a goal towards which the efforts of all States should be directed.

11. We are witnessing an historic process the evolution of which is marked by the vigorous affirmation of the desire of the peoples to forge for themselves a life of freedom and dignity, capable of promoting their economic and social progress in accordance with their own aspirations. After the Second World War, the configuration of the world was radically changed as a result of the accession to political independence of an impressive number of nations. These transformations have a significance which goes beyond mere changes in the political map of the world. As a result of the objective process of the liberation of the peoples from colonial domination and the affirmation of States which have acquired their independence, the international community benefits from the participation of new voices in the debate on the major problems which now concern mankind, and the effectiveness and authority of the solutions adopted are thereby at the same time increased.

12. Of course, the long colonial domination has left behind it many after-effects which weigh heavily upon the present international situation.

13. Among these, the phenomenon of underdevelopment, which affects many countries and areas in various continents, occupies a special place. Underdevelopment—that is, the condition in which large groups of human beings are deprived of the benefits and advantages of world science and technology—appears all the more poignant because the gap between the developing countries and the economically advanced countries has a tendency to increase, quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

14. What has so far been accomplished in this extremely important field is still not enough. The United Nations must show much greater concern—and this is a particularly urgent task required of it—for supporting the efforts undertaken in the economic and social sphere by the developing States themselves.

15. The solution of this crucial problem, which is closely linked to the material existence of the peoples and their

fundamental aspirations to enjoy decent living conditions, would be considerably facilitated by the elimination of the sources of tension which persist in various regions of the globe.

16. Apart from the moral stigma which attaches to them and the suffering which they entail, crises and conflicts insatiably consume valuable resources which would be devoted to progress and well-being.

17. Peace is indivisible; the duty of safeguarding and consolidating it is universal.

18. The existence of conflicts such as those in Viet-Nam and the Middle East has shown how dangerous is the persistence of hotbeds of tension which, in their turn, breed new dangers for mankind.

19. In order to promote the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and understanding which will free mankind from the perils and disastrous consequences of war, it is more than ever necessary that the actions of all States and all Governments should be united in a common effort.

20. For our part, we are convinced that, however complex and difficult these problems may be, the international community has a duty to work unremittingly in the search for lasting and equitable solutions that would ensure a peaceful course in relations between States. What seems to us essential is continuity of effort. The international easing of tension, which is indispensable for the organization of a lasting peace in the world, involves an untiring search for areas of general interest and ways that would make it possible to develop peaceful co-operation between nations by the concerted action of all States, large and small, in conditions of equality, on the basis of respect for the personality and dignity of each nation and by taking into consideration the interests of each people.

21. A year ago, at the opening of the twenty-second session [1560th meeting], I ventured to point out that our Organization and the work which is being carried out in it represent a stage in the endless struggle through which mankind is trying to eliminate force and destruction from international life and to replace them by standards of rational conduct and peaceful coexistence.

22. At the end of that session, the work which we have accomplished together shows once again what laborious and constant efforts are required to build and to reinforce the edifice of international legality.

23. It is an objective necessity that makes indispensable in relations between States respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter, namely, independence and national sovereignty, equality of rights and non-interference in domestic affairs. These principles are basic essentials which embody the desire of the peoples that law and mutual trust should prevail in international life. They are also the frame on which it is possible, in our age, to build lasting relations, marked by mutual esteem, between all States.

24. The twenty-three years of work of the United Nations bear witness to the fact that, when these principles have been respected and sustained efforts have been made to

promote co-operation among nations through the active contribution of each and of all, the Organization has achieved significant results. The strengthening of the United Nations and the increase in its effectiveness are in direct proportion to the action taken by all Member States to achieve the purpose for which the Organization was established, namely, that of harmonizing the efforts of all countries to eliminate war from international life and to wipe out anachronisms which are incompatible with the major imperatives of this century.

25. In order to reach the goals proclaimed in the Charter, faith in progress and in the irreversible advance of mankind towards civilization must be kept alive, and firmness and perseverance must be displayed in removing the obstacles which hinder the normal course of international relations. It is our duty, the duty of every Member State, large or small, to act together to impart to the United Nations the vigour which it needs in order effectively to fill its proper role in bringing about an easing of international tension and the development of co-operation among nations.

26. If the United Nations is to be able to promote lasting solutions, it is particularly important to perceive and appraise with clear-sightedness the Organization's shortcomings which prevent it from fully accomplishing its task, and to take resolute action to eliminate them. Our Organization must provide a framework in which all the States of the world, irrespective of social system or philosophical ideas, make a direct contribution to the normalization of international life. The fact that the lawful rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, whose place and role in international life are unquestionable, have so far not been restored, and the further fact that a number of other States are kept out of the Organization, affect the work of the United Nations by depriving it of the active support of the peoples of those countries. We are convinced that it is in the interest of the United Nations, and of increasing its effectiveness and its prestige in the world, to ensure in the first place its universality based on the realities of the modern world.

27. In conclusion, I would ask you to allow me to express, on this occasion, my warmest thanks to the group of Eastern European States which nominated Romania to the Presidency of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

28. At the same time I should like to thank most cordially the States of the other geographical groups for the spirit of co-operation they have displayed, thus facilitating the performance of the duties entrusted to me.

29. I wish to express my deep gratitude to all the representatives for the efforts they have made to give constructive consideration to the problems of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly and to find appropriate solutions. The summarized expression of these efforts lies in the resolutions adopted during the session, the value of which, as in other instances, truly reflects the extent of the work devoted to their elaboration.

30. In appraising these activities, one cannot overlook the skilful assistance of those who, working together in an unobtrusive way, have performed a variety of tasks here at

the United Nations, and who can see their efforts reflected in each of the results which have been obtained.

31. I should like to express once again my feelings of highest consideration for the Secretary-General U Thant, whose ability, spirit of understanding and straightforwardness we have had occasion to admire throughout our work at the United Nations.

32. The session which we have opened today is called upon to continue the actions so far taken by the United Nations to strengthen the ideas of peace and justice in the world and to mark a further milestone on the road towards the creation of an international climate in which the resources of all States can be mobilized for the purposes of creative activity in the service of man and of the advancement of human society.

33. Romania, which participates with confidence and interest in the work of the United Nations, will continue, so far as its means allow and on the basis of the principles on which it has founded its foreign policy, to support the United Nations, in the belief that the Organization has an increased role to play in accomplishing the noble task of developing co-operation among nations and building a world of peace and confidence among States.

AGENDA ITEM 3

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

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

34. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): In accordance with rule 28 of the rules of procedure, at the beginning of each session the General Assembly must appoint, on the proposal of the President, a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. I propose that for the twenty-third regular session the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Member States: Austria, Brazil, Costa Rica, Liberia, Mongolia, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania, and the United States of America.

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

It was so decided.

Statement by the Temporary President

36. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I wish to draw the attention of Members of the Assembly to documents A/7237 and A/7238.

37. Document A/7238 contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that one Member State is "in arrears in the payment of its contribution to the United Nations regular budget within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter".

38. Document A/7237 contains a letter from the Permanent Representative of the Member State concerned, in

which he requests that his State be permitted to participate in the voting and he refers to certain circumstances which indicate that the failure of his State to pay its contribution is due to reasons beyond the control of that Member State.

39. In this connexion, I draw the attention of Members of the Assembly to the second sentence of Article 19 of the Charter, which states:

“The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.”

40. On the basis of the letter contained in document A/7237 from which it appears that the failure to pay was due to conditions beyond the control of the Member State concerned, the Assembly may wish to permit that Member to vote under the second sentence of Article 19 of the Charter, pending the advice of the Committee on Contributions with reference to rule 161 of the rules of procedure. If no one has any comments, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that suggestion.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

41. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now invite Members of the General Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Schuurmans (Belgium) and Mr. Boiko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	123
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	122
Abstentions:	1
Number of Members voting:	121
Required majority:	61

Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Emilio Arenales (Guatemala)	119
Mr. Benites (Ecuador)	1
Mr. Piñera (Chile)	1

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Emilio Arenales (Guatemala) was elected President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

42. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I extend my most sincere congratulations to His Excellency, Mr. Emilio Arenales, and it is with great pleasure that I pass the responsibilities of this high office into his capable hands.

43. I invite Mr. Emilio Arenales to come to the rostrum and assume the Presidency of the General Assembly.

Mr. Emilio Arenales took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Emilio Arenales, President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session

44. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I offer you my profound thanks for this election, which represents for Guatemala and myself not only a very high honour, but also a privileged opportunity to be of service, in so far as the historical circumstances, your wishes and my modest abilities permit.

45. With the permission of the representatives, I should like to improvise at this point of my speech a few words of special thanks to the group of Latin-American nations which supported my candidature for the Presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Words fail me to express how grateful I am to everyone and how deeply and sincerely I appreciate the support that was given to my candidature, proposed by Costa Rica, until it was announced by the group on 8 November of last year.

46. This lofty office with which you have invested me carries with it obligations, opportunities and responsibilities which are of the greatest importance for international problems, but which can also at times be modest in scope, such as the task of presiding over debates, the administration of this august parliament and the diplomacy which can be carried on behind the scenes by a President of the Assembly with the help of the Secretariat and the goodwill of delegations. These traditional functions will continue to preoccupy and keep busy the President of the Assembly. But, in addition to them, at the same time or at other times, the President of the Assembly will always be available to collaborate with the Secretary-General in the highly delicate matters of world diplomacy which may require his attention or participation.

47. Before putting forward certain considerations regarding the United Nations, I should like to fulfil the pleasant duty of paying the warmest tribute to Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania who, until a moment ago, held the office of President of the General Assembly. This tribute is not a matter of protocol or tradition but a sincere expression of feeling based on reliable reports which I have received—to the accuracy of which my hearers can testify better than anyone else—that President Mănescu has discharged admirably the functions of his high office, doing honour to the illustrious tradition of the Presidents of the General Assembly and devoting to the Organization, particularly the Assembly, the most meticulous and careful attention, while at the same time displaying the utmost courtesy towards his collaborators, towards the Secretariat, and towards the representatives to this world parliament. It gives me special pleasure to think that the first President elected from the socialist group of nations, happily accepted in accordance with resolution 1990 (XVIII) of the General Assembly, has so worthily communicated the message of culture and civilization of those European nations. The applause with which all of us here expressed our appreciation of President Mănescu a few moments ago is irrefutable proof, in the thunder of its very

sincerity, that these sentiments of gratitude, admiration and congratulation are shared by all the delegations making up the General Assembly and, indeed, by all those present or represented here.

48. This leads me, with equal sincerity and spontaneity, to pay our tribute to the Secretary-General for his indefatigable, idealistic and disinterested endeavours in his capacity as head of the permanent organ of the United Nations. We likewise applaud all his collaborators, from the highest administrative levels to those which are seemingly the most humble, since all of them are carrying out a co-operative and necessary function. Our thanks go likewise to the information media (the press, radio, films and television), for, as we said in our statement at the close of the Third Extraordinary Inter-American Conference held at Buenos Aires from 15 to 27 February 1967, without the information media the work of the statesman would be sterile and would not reach the people.

49. The twenty-third session of the General Assembly which we are opening today begins in highly dramatic world circumstances. It does not seem either necessary or appropriate for the President of the Assembly to refer to the items with which this session will deal, firstly because the agenda itself has not yet been approved by the General Committee and the plenary Assembly and secondly because a reference by the President to the substance of the questions with which we shall have to deal would mean prejudging their content and prejudicing the actions of this Assembly or its President. This does not mean that the President of the Assembly or the Assembly itself can or should be indifferent to the extremely grave problems, particularly those involving violence, which appear on the international scene. Moreover, one of the main tasks of the statesman or politician is to keep the people or the peoples from losing hope. It is deplorable that violence has emerged and is manifesting itself in the most varied ways in the most diverse countries and communities. I do not believe that this is necessarily caused by the absence of change, or by real or imagined problems of economic, social or political injustice. Rather it seems to me that violence emerges on the national or the international scene when peoples, communities, nations or Governments lose hope.

50. The United Nations was founded on 26 June 1945. It responded to a longing for peace, justice and progress which the Second World War had engendered in the nations and the Governments of the earth. The Organization was founded with great hopes, and its very establishment was an act of faith. Nevertheless, in the course of twenty-three years the hope of the peoples has been fading slowly but surely, while today young people are calling for the deeds, the rectifications and the justice for which the world has so long yearned.

51. It is my hope that this Assembly may be remembered as the Assembly of reconsideration and rectification. New faith and hope, but also greater dynamism, must be infused into the United Nations. This is the task which confronts Member States and their delegations represented here.

52. This leads me to put forward a few basic reflections on the United Nations, its potentialities and limitations, which were the subject of statements made by me in this world

forum in the past but which it may be appropriate to repeat, not only because their message remains valid, not only because the disturbing situations to which I have referred still weigh on men's minds, perhaps even more heavily, but because the words of a President of the Assembly undoubtedly command much wider attention than did those of a representative from a small country in previous years.

53. The scepticism about the effectiveness of the United Nations which made its appearance many years ago has increased in the more recent past. The United Nations is regarded as an elegant annual parliament, at which representatives and delegations far removed from the realities and problems of the world believe they are solving them with resolutions drafted in a very special way which always permits two or three or more interpretations, but which do not in fact remedy the evils and situations to which those resolutions refer. This scepticism and the basis for it are undeniable and justified to a large extent. Nevertheless, there are at least two fundamental reasons which should lead us to ponder and revise our opinions, or perhaps our actions, before condemning the Organization.

54. Firstly, let us remember that after the Second World War the United Nations was founded in response to the anguish of mankind over the gigantic holocaust of the Second World War and the enormous hardships which it brought to millions of individuals, to so many homes and communities and so many nations of the world. As always, an attempt was made to find a scapegoat to blame for the Second World War. It was not enough to talk of Nazi-fascism and its leading representatives; it was necessary to go deeper and to determine what made Nazi-fascism possible, what made it possible for the international political disequilibrium to degenerate into a war, what was the reason, finally why the old League of Nations was unable to control the situation. Without having to verify the assertions that were made, it was thought that, by restoring an international juridical order of co-existence, it would be possible to eliminate the danger of war and war itself.

55. Not only was such an attempt made, but it was proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the earth, persuading the peoples of the world that the promised era of a better world in which peace, understanding, equity and justice would reign was beginning. And the peoples of the world believed this, as did also, perhaps, many of the founders who signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco, California. Unfortunately, in the last twenty-three years we have filled libraries with resolutions, studies, reference books, commentaries, legal provisions, etc., but we have not succeeded in ensuring that there is always equity and justice in international relations or that such relations are conducted in an atmosphere of respect and peace. It is unnecessary, and certainly undesirable, to quote examples; but it does seem essential to point out that the founders of the United Nations never had in mind the establishment of a super-State. The same concern which continues to exist today regarding our national sovereignty and our international sovereignty made the founders of the United Nations conceive a system of a world parliament, not a super-State, but a parliament with many limitations. Naturally, if it were a question of using force, the great

Powers would not wish to be victims of the dogma of the legal equality of States and would not wish to find themselves obliged by a majority vote of small countries to involve the world in a third holocaust. They therefore entrusted the most delicate decisions on enforcement to a Council which they called the Security Council, in which they also established a veto system, the only juridical procedure which made it acceptable and possible for the great Powers to yield part of their sovereignty to a great parliament of nations which in population and power might be large, medium-sized, small or tiny. For those who criticize the veto as anti-democratic, it should be pointed out that what is wrong is not the use but the abuse of the veto, that without it the United Nations would not exist, and that from a democratic point of view it would be equally objectionable to permit a veto by nations with less than 5 million inhabitants to bind Powers with 200, 400 or 800 million inhabitants. If the mathematical principle which identifies the will of the majority with democratic procedures is correct, it is no less certain that for a century and a half human ingenuity has been seeking, finding and devising formulas for parliamentary representation which have taken into account at times territorial systems, at times proportional representation systems and at times mixed systems.

56. To conclude my remarks on this point I should simply like to state that the weaknesses or limitations of the United Nations are not those of a body with an independent life of its own; they are not attributable to a super-State, but are the direct and unavoidable responsibility of the States which founded the United Nations, of the Governments which now belong to it, and of those who make up those Governments and their delegations.

57. This leads me to a second reflection on the United Nations as important as or more so than the first, and perhaps similar in origin: if the United Nations is not a super-State, if this world parliament is not equivalent to national parliaments, inasmuch as its resolutions, even if unanimous, are no more than mere recommendations to sovereign national States, if all this is so, then we cannot ask the United Nations to solve by itself, as a body apart, the problems of war and peace, the problems of under-development and justice in international relations, and so on. It is for the Governments of Member States to do in the national sphere what they propose in the international forum. A United Nations resolution has no validity or effect if it is not implemented at the national level. All this is connected with the modern technology of international organizations. There is a conscious or unconscious trend which is to be encountered in practice daily, and inevitably, in all international organizations now operating: the failure to define or co-ordinate an international policy linked to the potential of human and budgetary resources means that the delegations of Member States to the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations are detached from reality, and from all the Governments likewise, as far as human and financial potential is concerned. In such circumstances, it is a logical and inevitable phenomenon that the establishment of new international organizations should be called for, that the creation of new international projects should be advocated and that the international life of States should be choked with a flood of excessive pressures and demands on their

limited resources. But unfortunately that is not all: Governments, and particularly those of small States, are also unable to apply at the national level the infinitely multiplying results of the work of international organizations, conferences and committees. This, which also happens in the United Nations, can lead not only to scepticism but to the actual failure of an international organization, and, what is worse, to the failure of a concept concerning the intelligent and ethical structure of relations between States.

58. It may be that the massive bureaucracies of the more powerful Governments, of the nations with greater human and financial resources, make it possible to pay intelligent attention to all these bodies. It may be also that these vast bureaucracies with large resources can deal with all the resolutions proposed and adopted by these organizations and can carry them out at the national level. But unfortunately this is not so for the majority of States Members of the United Nations, which are precisely those that are most in need of these resolutions, of these projects, of the solution of these problems, whether they be problems of under-development, of economics, of social justice or of peaceful and constructive relations. This is what arouses scepticism but, unfortunately, can also lead to the failure of our Organization. It is precisely incumbent on the sceptics, on those who criticize the ineffectiveness of this international system, on the small countries which most vociferously propose international organizations or resolutions, to re-examine their own national consciences, the policies of their own countries in regard to international matters and the need to recognize the limitations of the human and financial resources of most of our nations—this last being a phenomenon which is unfortunately tending to become universal under the pressure of inevitable international economic circumstances.

59. Only in this way can we stop deceiving ourselves by believing that problems are solved through the arduous negotiation of resolutions when, in fact, those resolutions are rarely complied with or carried out at the national level and, what is worse, rarely mean the same thing for all the parties to a dispute.

60. It would be unpardonable for a President of the Assembly not to refer to what constitutes 85 per cent of the efforts of our Organization, with achievements that are less spectacular but more certain and lasting: the problems of economic development and social change, which are the field of action of the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies of the United Nations, have confirmed once again in the past year that it is possible to build and to advance in spite of the setbacks, vicissitudes and frustrations, and in spite of the political instability and social agitation which are simultaneously appearing in so many parts of the world. We know that in problems of world trade the structure of economic interdependence sometimes does not allow the political will to have its way, however favourable it may be; but we are convinced that that political will, in the long run, will assert itself, firstly to change the structure of interdependence and secondly to enable decisions to be taken which will rectify the regrettable tendency towards an ever-increasing rate of progress in the developed countries and a lower rate of growth in the less developed countries. Let us not forget,

however, that these decisions, to be effective, must be taken and carried out at the national level, and that not even international resolutions can solve the problems which have so often been raised and discussed.

61. As I am referring to other aspects of the international work of the United Nations, I should like to record our gratification at the fact that the International Court of Justice, without prejudice to its political independence, has for the first time made a report to the United Nations, as befits the co-ordination which should exist in the many-faceted action of this complex of international structures.

62. Perhaps the international moment has come to recall in paraphrase a memorable thought of President Kennedy and to bear in mind that we should not ask the United Nations, as an entity apart from ourselves, what it can do for its Member States, but rather we should ask the Member States and their peoples what they can do for the United Nations and for its principles. What is needed is not a new organization, what is needed is simply a return to the spirit of the Charter, a return to those principles of human coexistence, international as well as national, that are the standards of a respectable, humanist and political philosophy.

63. One last remark for all those who are sincerely impatient, for all those who feel frustrated by the impotence or relative impotence of the United Nations. Let us not forget that the use of force in highly sensitive areas of international affairs, even through the United Nations, can bring about precisely that third world war which for twenty-three years we have avoided and which the United Nations was in fact founded to prevent.

64. In conclusion, and as a vindication of the organs of the United Nations and their indefatigable work, perhaps we might paraphrase again, this time one of Kipling's verses, and bear in mind that:

"East is east and West is west
And here the twain have met."

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

65. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the General Assembly to consider item 20 of the provisional agenda, entitled: "Admission of new Members to the United Nations". This special procedure has been applied previously in order to give recently independent States which have been recommended by the Security Council for membership of our Organization the opportunity, if the General Assembly acts favourably on their requests, to participate from the outset in the work of the session. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in this manner.

It was so decided.

66. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Security Council has unanimously recommended that the

General Assembly should admit Swaziland to membership of the United Nations. The Council's recommendation has been circulated as document A/7231. In this connexion, a draft resolution (A/L.547 and Add.1) has been submitted for consideration by the Assembly. May I consider that the General Assembly decides to accept the recommendation of the Security Council and to adopt by acclamation the draft resolution admitting Swaziland to membership of the United Nations? If there is no objection, it shall be regarded as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation (resolution 2376 (XXIII)).

67. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I declare Swaziland admitted to membership of the United Nations.

The delegation of Swaziland was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

68. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I am very happy to give a warm welcome to Swaziland as a Member of the United Nations. I convey to its Government and people the sincere congratulations of the Assembly on this happy occasion, together with our best wishes for the future.

69. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, let me start by saying that I am happy to be the first to congratulate you on your election as our President. We are fortunate that our proceedings will be directed by a Foreign Minister equally distinguished in politics and in the law. You have the rare additional qualification of having already demonstrated your devotion to international understanding and international co-operation, both by your earlier service in UNESCO in Paris and by your previous service in the United Nations in New York.

70. We welcome you not only for your personal and national qualifications; we also welcome you as a representative of all the States of Latin America.

71. Permit me to say that, in recent years, there has been no more striking development at the United Nations than the rapidly increasing collective influence of those States. That growing influence has been due to three factors: the devotion of the States of Latin America to principle; their belief in the rule of law; and their unity in action. We salute you as a worthy representative of those virtues.

72. I also wish to speak in gratitude and admiration to our retiring President, Foreign Minister Mănescu. To him I can say no more than this: that none of us will forget the privilege of serving under a President so upright, so elegant and so outstanding. A number of us had the pleasure, only a few months ago, to visit his country on United Nations duty. Having done so, we can more readily understand how well he represents a people who combine in such admirable degree the qualities of courtesy, constancy and courage.

73. Today my duty is indeed a happy one. I rejoice to be able to welcome the new State of Swaziland to this world Assembly. I rejoice, too, to welcome amongst us the Prime Minister of Swaziland. It is a proud day for him. He comes to respond to the welcome of the world. He comes to raise

the flag of his country in national dignity and international equality. He has a right to be proud, for his own perseverance and his own judgement and his own wisdom have signally contributed to the result we all celebrate here today. When he returns to his country, he will carry the congratulations and sincere good wishes of us all. He can well do so with a sense of both patriotic and personal achievement.

74. When I sponsored in the Security Council Swaziland's application for membership, I reminded the Council that Swaziland was the last of seventeen African countries previously under British administration to attain independence. We come to the end of that road today. And it has been a well-trodden road, a high road which has already been trodden by many more than a hundred million Africans. We can reflect today that, in the seventeen countries of which I speak, and in less than a quarter of a century, more than a third of the population of the whole continent of Africa has advanced on this road, the road through enfranchisement to sovereignty. It is to that revolutionary transformation that Swaziland has made its honourable contribution. I have no doubt that the new Member we now welcome will faithfully fulfil the obligations of the United Nations.

75. We all join in our confident hope that Swaziland will fulfil its destiny in peace and in harmony and in increasing prosperity.

76. Mr. MOHALE (Lesotho): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of Lesotho, my delegation welcomes you and congratulates you on your accession to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. We recall with pleasure the outstanding efforts of your distinguished predecessor who laboured unswervingly in bringing about a better political climate among the peoples of the world. This was a tribute to his personal qualities as well to the country which he represented. He played a preponderant role at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, especially in diminishing tensions between the great Powers.

77. My delegation assures you, Mr. President, of its co-operation. We rely on your diligent leadership to ensure that the Assembly will successfully find solutions for the problems confronting the world today, problems which continue to threaten international peace and security.

78. Although the admission of a new Member to the United Nations is by now not a novel occurrence in the annals of this Organization, I feel that there is indeed something particularly instructive in the admission of the Kingdom of Swaziland as the 125th Member of this body. It is instructive in so far as it is a tribute to the fundamental respect paid by the people and Government of the United Kingdom to those basic principles of justice and humanity which, over the centuries, have remained the highest adornment of Western philosophical tradition.

79. While we do not ignore the base motivations of colonialism, nor quickly forget its degradation of the human personality, honesty compels us to recognize that it was primarily in terms of our appeal to the fundamental tenets of that same philosophical tradition, based on

natural law, that the colonial Power relinquished its control.

80. At a time in history when the nakedness of power so frequently surfaces in defiance of the laws of humanity and the international community, the voluntary withdrawal of the United Kingdom from its last colonial possession in Africa, save Rhodesia, is worthy of remark. This respect paid to the legitimate, natural and political rights of a small but determined people has surely enhanced and strengthened the moral fibre of the entire international community, since every such victory of political emancipation gives greater reality to the underlying principles of the United Nations Charter and moves us to the universal conception of this Organization which its founders envisaged.

81. Situated in a part of the world where the complexity of human relations challenges the mind of the most politically astute, Swaziland can be expected to contribute to the resolution of these issues, not in terms of any political or military force but purely in terms of its own legacy and national aspirations. The presence of Swaziland in the councils of the United Nations will thus further ensure the advance of the international community towards its common goals.

82. It is my very special privilege, as this month's Chairman of the Commonwealth States, to extend this formal welcome to the Kingdom of Swaziland. As the twenty-eighth member of the Commonwealth, Swaziland joins a community which has fortunately survived the unreasonable extremes of modern nationalism and stands as monument to man's capacity to overcome the limitations of race, language and culture, in pursuit of goals more in keeping with the real interests of mankind.

83. On behalf of our own Government and of the people of the Kingdom of Lesotho, we take special pride in seeing Swaziland, as the last of the former High Commission Territories, achieve independence. Swaziland is linked in spirit with the Republic of Botswana and my own country, not only in terms of our common colonial experience, previous administrative bonds and common perils to our national existence, but through a determination to seek what was legitimately our own, namely, the status of free and independent peoples. Having struggled so long and so patiently to achieve this goal against what frequently seemed to be insurmountable odds, I can predict with confidence that an independence so costly to achieve will not be sacrificed.

84. We extend to His Majesty King Sobhuza II and the Swazi people our sincere congratulations on an effort well completed. We trust that the tenacity of the Swazi nation in pursuit of national independence will now be exercised in building up and strengthening this Organization as it labours to create a true world community.

85. Mr. BALL (United States of America): As the representative of the United States, I express our admiration, our gratitude, indeed our tribute, to two illustrious statesmen, both Foreign Ministers of their countries, the Presidents of the General Assembly at its twenty-second and twenty-third sessions.

86. With regard to the eminent Foreign Minister of Romania, Mr. Mănescu, who relinquished his Presidency at the end of the twenty-second session yesterday, I can add very little to what my colleagues from the United States, my predecessors, have already, on more than one occasion, said about him. I can add only my own testimony to his remarkable diplomatic ability and to the grace, the impartiality and the integrity with which he has presided over this body during the eventful year just passed. He has brought enduring credit to his country and to himself.

87. Now, at the outset of this twenty-third session, the General Assembly has turned for leadership from the Old World to the New, from Europe to the Western Hemisphere, to choose you, Sir, as its next President. Obviously, you find this Assembly a warm and familiar environment. It is filled with your friends and your admirers. You have known the international community for many years, and they have known you, Sir, with respect and affection in your various capacities: as a valued contributor to the cultural and intellectual work of UNESCO; as the Permanent Representative of Guatemala to the United Nations; as a gifted Committee chairman at past sessions of the General Assembly; as President of the Trusteeship Council; and as a leader in the Latin American Group. For the past two years, you have served with distinction as your country's Foreign Minister. We know you also as a learned and able lawyer—a profession which, for quite personal reasons, I hold in special esteem; an enlightened man, a man of humane instincts. All these qualities have earned you that distinction which is now yours and they will, I am confident, enable you to add new lustre to the high office of President of the General Assembly.

88. I extend to you, Mr. President, the congratulations and good wishes of my Government and of the United States delegation. We shall give you our goodwill; we shall give you our best efforts as you perform the arduous task you are now undertaking, and I am confident that the skill and dedication that you bring to your office will assist all of us, the hopeful, anxious, yet determined Members of this Assembly, to forget our past antagonisms, to transcend our differences and to advance together the high aims of the Charter.

89. And now let me say a few words which, on behalf of my Government, I am most happy to say. The accession of Swaziland to independence on 5 September marked one further step in one of the most glorious achievements of history—the adventurous passage of a thousand million people, one third of the human race, from colonial dependence to equal, independent and self-respecting status in the family of nations—an event, an achievement, that was accomplished with relatively little bloodshed in view of its consequence, with relatively little social and economic dislocation, and all within the fantastically short time-span of a quarter-century. As was the case with other countries that have taken this giant forward stride, Swaziland has promptly applied for membership in the United Nations, fully aware of all the rights and all the responsibilities which that entails. The United States has supported this application, and we are pleased indeed that the Assembly has now unanimously given its approval.

90. We warmly congratulate the leaders and the people of Swaziland, as we also congratulate the United Kingdom.

This is, it seems to us, further proof of the enlightened and creative role Britain has played in the peaceful adaptation of the world community to the requirements and realities and spirit of the twentieth century. And though it may appear as a parochial comment, I cannot avoid noting that the British approach to the problems of colonialism has remarkably improved over the last 192 years.

91. As an independent nation, determined to advance the condition of its people and to make its own way in this turbulent world, Swaziland will not always find the road easy; it will not always find progress without its costs and confusions. But its national assets are sufficient to justify an extremely encouraging prognosis. It can, first of all, count on the leadership of an enlightened monarch, King Sobhuza II, the talents of a gifted people with a will to progress, a rich endowment of natural resources, and a continuing fruitful relationship with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. And we can all be sure that another important asset will prove to be the goodwill and friendship which Swaziland will find among the Members of the United Nations.

92. Thus, on behalf of the American people I extend every good wish to the newest Member of the United Nations, the Kingdom of Swaziland.

93. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): First of all I should like to welcome the newly elected President of this session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, Mr. Emilio Arenales, a representative of a sister Republic and of one of the oldest civilizations in the world, that of the Mayan people, a people which today, by its own efforts and by assuming its own responsibilities, is setting an example of what a so-called under-developed country can achieve. That is because the qualities and the strength of the people, in the world which some people refer to as being in process of development, are the only things able to help them work out their own paths. You, Sir, in taking up your post, worthily and sagaciously represent the international community and, therefore, on behalf of the people and Government of Chile, I welcome you as one welcomes a well-loved brother.

94. If I may be allowed, I should like to recall the very simple, but deeply felt, words of the President of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, who brought very definite qualities to his Presidency. He was above all a true comrade of all representatives, and we know what the feeling of comradeship means. Although this is a great deal, he was something more. In making his last statement to us, he reminded us of something that is not often heard in this house: he spoke to us about the developing world—and he is a European; he spoke about peace in justice and he spoke in simple words, which on that account were great, about what the United Nations represented; he did not speak about himself or about his Presidency. He reminded us—and I shall take the liberty of making a small comment—that all of us here desire what is called the East-West *detente*. He also reminded us of the under-developed world—so, I think, I can interpret him—when he referred to the other factor that exists in the world for the *detente*: the north-south factor, the relations

between the powerful, which are generally in the North, and the weaker, which are found in the South. This participation of North and South in the *detente* means, for my delegation, two simple concepts: the principle of respect for the less powerful on the part of the great and true international co-operation between the more powerful and the less developed, in a direction that leads to the progress of mankind. For the *detente* to be achieved, it must be between East and West, and between North and South; it must be world-wide. That is why, on behalf of my country, I thank you, President Mănescu—I know that in Europe a person who has been President continues to bear the title, and you have deserved it—I thank you for your work as President. I thank you also for what you said in taking your leave. That was not a lesson, it was more than that: it was a conversation between companions and comrades.

95. I should also like to do something which my delegation has been doing in the past few years, namely, to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant. I do so because I believe that, as Secretary-General, he has done more than carry out his duty, because I believe that the *raison d'être* of his life is service to peace, and he has given evidence of this, and because he knows that the so-called impartiality of the international official can never constitute a limitation on sincere efforts to determine his own views, within the very clear framework of the Charter, on the struggle for peace. This he has done with nobility, courage and dignity, and that is why I venture to pay this modest tribute to him on behalf of Chile.

96. Today, it is the privilege of my country to be among the first to welcome the admission of Swaziland to membership of the United Nations. The Swazi people achieved full independence on 6 September 1968, and today it is already making its very valuable contribution to the international community in joining the United Nations. I know that the Swazi people is small in number, as is indeed my own. I know that the Swazi people has great problems in its economic, social and cultural development; that is also true of my own country. But I know that the Swazi people, through those who represent the Swazi community, King Sobhuza II and his Prime Minister, Prince Makhosini, has taken the resolve to find in its own way the solution to its problems. That is why its admission today to the community of the United Nations has a touch of greatness and dignity.

97. We should not like to pass over in silence something of which we are aware, namely that the Swazi people has serious problems; some of its neighbours practise political philosophies which we do not share. Therefore, we do not hesitate today, in welcoming the noble Swazi people and its representatives, to reaffirm what we have said in other forums: we believe that the expressions of racism which still exist in the world must disappear; we know that the Swazi people will have difficulties. The international community, including Chile in its own modest way, will stand by your side.

98. I wanted to make this statement because it is the position which my country has maintained in the forums where these problems are discussed. I should not like to appear as though, by remaining silent, we were ignoring them.

99. With all respect, my country has given evidence throughout the world, in all continents, of the fact that for us self-determination, non-intervention and the avoidance of recourse to force are principles which we not only affirm, but which we defend wherever they appear to be in jeopardy.

100. I would conclude this statement by welcoming the Prime Minister of Swaziland, Prince Makhosini, and his representatives, and by telling them that they bring to this international community an element which may be small if measured by the size of their country's population, but which is great because of what it signifies in this Organization, namely, an element of human dignity and respect for principles. Therefore, on behalf of Chile, I pay this modest tribute to the people of Swaziland.

101. Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, since I am taking the floor almost immediately after your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly, I should like straight away to extend to you my congratulations and those of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We hope—indeed, we are certain—that you will make good use of all the opportunities afforded by the important post you now occupy and of all your abilities to organize the work of this Assembly and of the entire session in accordance with the best democratic and progressive traditions of the Latin American peoples so as to create the necessary working atmosphere and climate that will enable constructive decisions to be reached during this session. The statement you have just made is already an indication to that effect.

102. Since we are expressing congratulations and thanks, may I from this rostrum express my satisfaction at the important work accomplished and the able direction shown during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly by the outgoing President, one of our men, who was nominated by the socialist countries to represent them for the first time as President of the General Assembly. May I also stress the satisfaction we feel at having been able to take part in nominating him who was to represent us here and who has deserved the tribute paid to him just now by those who have spoken before me.

103. On behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as on behalf of my own delegation, I now have the honour and the pleasure to congratulate the new Member of the United Nations, the Kingdom of Swaziland. Swaziland's accession to independence and its desire to join the great family of the United Nations are events of undeniable importance in the life and development of the Swazi people in its struggle to achieve national sovereignty. We are most gratified at the birth of a new independent State in the south of the African continent, where millions of Africans are still struggling against the colonial yoke and racial oppression, for their freedom and independence and against all the forms of racial oppression which the colonial Powers have organized against them.

104. The proclamation of Swaziland's independence is undoubtedly an important step in the Swazi people's struggle for a better life; it is an event closely linked to the irreversible process of the liberation of neighbouring peoples and of the final liquidation of colonial oppression in that part of the world. I need hardly stress that the countries on whose behalf I have the honour and privilege to speak, by their consistent anti-colonial policy, by their policy of unreservedly supporting the struggle of the peoples still under colonial oppression for their rights to freedom and independent development, have always backed the efforts and decisions of the United Nations aimed at bringing about more favourable conditions to enable the Swazi people to attain independence.

105. In greeting and welcoming Swaziland among us today as a new sovereign State, we express the hope that, as a Member of our Organization, it will make its contribution to the struggle for the national liberation of other peoples still languishing under the colonial yoke, as well as to the struggle for the strengthening of international peace and security and for the development of friendship and co-operation among peoples.

106. The countries on whose behalf I speak also wish to express the hope that, with the assistance of all peace-loving and freedom-loving States, the people of Swaziland will be in a position to experience further achievements which will enable them successfully to overcome the burdensome consequences of colonial domination and to preserve and strengthen their national sovereignty and their economic and political independence.

107. Mr. ASTRÖM (Sweden): It is my pleasant duty and a great privilege, first of all, to extend on behalf of the group of Western European and other States our warm congratulations to the very distinguished gentleman who has just been elected to the high post of President of the General Assembly. You, Mr. President, represent your own country with dedication, circumspection and great skill; you represent with equal distinction the Latin American countries; and you are now called upon to represent the whole membership of the United Nations. We know that those same qualities that you have demonstrated in the various assignments you have held so far, your experience, wisdom, power of imagination and creative talent will make you an outstanding leader in the work of this world body in the coming year. We salute you and we pledge our full co-operation to you in the fulfilment of your arduous tasks.

108. I should like now, still on behalf of the group of Western European and other countries, to extend a very warm welcome to the new Member of the United Nations, the Kingdom of Swaziland. I do so with a sense of deep satisfaction. We are witnessing today how, slowly but surely, the winds of change reach and penetrate ever-widening areas of the world and have now also reached the southern part of Africa. Two years ago we welcomed two of Swaziland's sister countries, Botswana and Lesotho. Others may follow.

109. It is the obligation of all Member States to recognize and respect the freedom and sovereignty of newly independent countries, whether they choose to join the United Nations or not. It is also our obligation to see to it that

newly independent nations have free access to United Nations programmes of economic and social co-operation on the basis of complete equality. We look forward to co-operating with the delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland on this basis and in a spirit of goodwill, understanding and friendship.

110. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Mr. President, to the voices of those representatives who have preceded me in congratulating you I wish to add my own voice in addressing to you, on behalf of the Asian group, our heartfelt congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. It is equally a pleasure and an honour to express our tribute to the outgoing President, His Excellency Mr. Mănescu, the Foreign Minister of Romania, for the distinguished task that he has performed.

111. Mr. President, your election comes at a time when dark and heavy clouds hover over the comity of nations, when a sense of deep crisis faces the conscience of mankind. But those of us who are familiar with your brilliant career and long experience—either in the United Nations as a former colleague or in the service of your own country, Guatemala, as Minister for Foreign Affairs—know that you will bring to your difficult task the statesmanship, optimism and dynamism which indeed have been reflected in the first speech you have delivered to the General Assembly. In addressing our congratulations to you, we are, at the same time, congratulating your country for this well-deserved honour and all Latin American countries, whose representatives have always distinguished themselves in the deliberations on the great issues in the United Nations year after year.

112. As an Arab from South-West Asia I cannot but recall the long ties and common heritage that, throughout history, have brought together the two great cultures, the Spanish and the Arab.

113. It is indeed a great source of satisfaction, as well as an honour, to welcome into the family of the United Nations, on behalf of the group of Asian States, heirs of the oldest civilization in the world, the newest Member of the United Nations, the Kingdom of Swaziland. We certainly rejoice that one more country has been freed from the yoke of colonialism and that it will have the chance to contribute to the work of the United Nations. Our heartfelt wishes for success and prosperity and our sincerest and most genuine desire for the liquidation of all remnants of colonialism go to the people of Swaziland and to their Government and King.

114. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your election to the highest office of the General Assembly. Your outstanding qualities and your knowledge of the problems of our Organization give us reason to hope that under your Presidency it will be possible to achieve real progress, particularly in regard to consolidating the principles of the Charter and international co-operation.

115. I should now like to express, on behalf of the African group, our satisfaction of seeing today the Kingdom of Swaziland admitted among us. This newly independent African country will, we are sure, strengthen the inter-

national community in its search for the best solutions to the major international problems.

116. Now that we are admitting this African State to the United Nations, we think also of the peoples of southern Africa who are still waging a bloody struggle to free their territories. We feel certain that Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and, above all, Rhodesia, which is still a United Kingdom colony, will come to join the family of free nations. No one can doubt that the prodigious efforts and tenacious struggle of the African peoples will overcome the remaining bastions of racism and retrograde colonialism which are fighting their final rear-guard battle in the southern part of Africa.

117. On behalf of the African group, I should like to extend to our sister delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland our warm congratulations on its accession to independence and its admission to our Organization.

118. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The list of speakers on this item having now been exhausted, I have pleasure in inviting His Excellency, the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Swaziland, Prince Makhosini, to address the General Assembly.

119. Prince MAKHOSINI (Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Swaziland): Through you, Mr. President, may I convey to this Assembly the cordial greetings of His Majesty King Sobhuza II and the people of Swaziland as well as their best wishes for this session's successful deliberations.

120. Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you personally on your election to this position of great and grave responsibilities. I have no doubt that your wisdom, which has placed you where you are, will enable you to guide this session towards conclusions which will enhance the prestige, dignity and honour of the United Nations.

121. My preliminary remarks would be incomplete if I did not pay a tribute to this Organization for its well-known successes in the endeavour to maintain and to promote world peace and stability.

122. I wish, at this point, on behalf of my delegation, Government and country, most sincerely to thank all those countries which have sponsored our application for United Nations membership, and the rest of the United Nations Membership for the unanimous acceptance of our application. I wish further to assure all the representatives of our resolve to adhere unreservedly to the principles and ideals of the United Nations as set out in its Charter. For it was our belief in those principles and ideals which motivated our application for membership.

123. Twenty-three years ago, after two devastating world wars, wars that brought untold suffering to humanity as a whole, this Organization was born in the city of San Francisco. Since then, the membership of the Organization has been growing steadily and progressively through the entrance of sovereign States, large and small. Today the Kingdom of Swaziland takes its place, ready to contribute towards the promotion of the best that this Organization stands for. We are convinced that the United Nations is the

only international body which, given the necessary support, can preserve world peace and thereby guarantee the sovereign independence of all States, irrespective of size. In any event, it is common knowledge that the scourges of the last world wars are still too fresh in our minds to permit any departure from the noble cause of peace and justice.

124. Swaziland is a small country in the southern part of Africa, covering 6,705 square miles, with a population of 400,000. It is bounded on three sides by the Republic of South Africa and on the remaining side by Mozambique. Ours is therefore a landlocked country. With South Africa, Lesotho and Botswana, we belong to a common customs union and are in a common currency area. Mozambique and South Africa are vital to our economy as our country's exports and imports go through them. Of necessity, we co-operate economically with these neighbours, for, apart from our local arrangements, we reach the outside world through them. Consequently, we feel that if economic sanctions were applied by the United Nations against our two neighbouring countries, they would adversely affect our economic development. This does not, however, mean that we subscribe to those countries' political beliefs, as we are totally opposed to racial discrimination and *apartheid*. We are a non-racial, democratic State governed by a constitution which recognizes fundamental human rights and guarantees maximum freedom to the individual, irrespective of race or creed. In these, our belief is both unshakable and uncompromising.

125. Swaziland will always extend a hand of friendship to those who are willing to receive and to reciprocate. But Swaziland will not allow itself to be used as a pawn in the game of international politics; nor will it allow itself to be used as a cannon in the ideological cold war. We reserve to ourselves the right to choose our friends and to judge each international issue on merit alone; for only in this way can we contribute objectively and effectively to the solution of the problems which militate against the best interests of this Organization.

126. I now turn to the commendable efforts of this Organization to solve the many and varied political, social and economic problems of its Member States, through its numerous agencies. My country is among those grateful nations that have benefited from the activities of the specialized agencies of the United Nations in more than one field.

127. Earlier, I referred to the successes of the United Nations in its endeavour to maintain and to promote world peace and stability. Be that as it may, the Kingdom of Swaziland is deeply disturbed by the failure of some States Members of the United Nations to adhere to some of the principles which are laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and which they claim to espouse. Today we seem to be living in a world of double-talk. We have known of countries which, from the rostrum of the United Nations, have proclaimed themselves as leading democrats; but these same countries have, under various guises, acted most undemocratically on a number of occasions. These same countries have in other quarters served as instruments for negating the right of all people to self-determination; they have refused to recognize human dignity and the equality of all men before the law. Yes, in some cases the sovereign independence of some States has been violated with

impunity. When such things happen we begin to wonder what has become to that simple but human saying: "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." The voice of sanity commands that each of us should live and let live.

128. We in Swaziland believe in the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, not only because we ourselves have achieved independence peacefully, but because we believe it is right. Our attitude towards the troubled spots of the world is that no amount of force will remove the basic causes of conflict. On the contrary, we believe that the use of force is a kind of wild justice that should have no place in this modern world which from experience knows full well that no permanent settlement or peace can result from war.

129. The current arms race, which manifests itself in nuclear stockpiles, alarms us profoundly. In the circumstances, we cannot help but pose the serious question: whither mankind? The greatest paradox in all phenomena is that man, whose goal is happiness, is preparing his own destruction. In this regard we ask: since man is incapable of creating life, his most precious possession, why should man destroy life?

130. Only recently, States Members of the United Nations were invited, under resolution 2373 (XXII), to sign a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. This augurs well for the future. But the treaty provided that all nuclear countries should ratify it; unequivocal safety guarantees would be given to non-nuclear countries; and those States which believe in force as the only means for resolving differences should reconsider their attitude.

131. However, the real problem which we are faced with here, the major threat to world peace, is man himself. For nuclear weapons do not impose themselves on man, but it is man who consciously manufactures those deadly weapons for the perpetration of man's inhumanity to man, which makes countless thousands mourn.

132. Whilst on the subject of the arms race and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, it must be realized that, until all nuclear Powers are brought within the ambit of the United Nations, until all free States are given the feeling of belonging, the United Nations will remain not fully universal and the threat to world peace will continue to hover over our heads like the sword of Damocles.

133. Finally, in the name of humanity, Swaziland appeals to the conscience of man for a greater bias in favour of the elimination of ignorance, poverty, hunger and disease. For these are the issues which should concern us primarily, to the complete exclusion of all man-made problems, if we are to achieve maximum happiness and enjoy a fuller life. Speaking of hunger, I recall with sadness the as yet unresolved question of land alienation in my country, and I must thank the United Nations for the support given to my country on this burning question.

134. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I wish to draw the attention of representatives to the last item of our agenda for this afternoon, namely, the proposal to adjourn the plenary session of the Assembly and to begin sessions of the Committees so that they may elect their respective chairmen. This has been the traditional practice. Nevertheless, in view of the lateness of the hour, I should like to suggest that the remainder of this afternoon's agenda, namely the establishment of the Committees and the election of their Chairmen, should be considered at tomorrow morning's meeting, which will begin at 10.30. I would request beforehand that representatives be extremely punctual in their attendance. The plenary will meet tomorrow immediately after the election of the Committee Chairmen in order to elect the Vice-Chairmen. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in the manner suggested.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.