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**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



**1409th
PLENARY MEETING**

(Opening meeting)

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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
(Afghanistan).

Temporary President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI
(Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Italy

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

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

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

The representatives rose and observed the period of silence

Address by Mr. Amintore Fanfani, Temporary President, Chairman of the delegation of Italy

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): Last year the General Assembly met in circumstances that seemed highly auspicious to us all.

Just when the work of the twentieth session was beginning, the efforts of numerous States and of the Organization enabled two Member States to bring to an end bitter fighting which threatened to degenerate into a broader conflict. The armistice was subsequently carried a step further at an important meeting arranged by a permanent member of the Security Council.

4. This year we begin our work at a time when, despite the suspension of bombings after the twentieth session was adjourned, and despite subsequent démarches and efforts, another conflict rages on, sowing anxiety, misery and sorrow.

5. As the twenty-first session opens, we find ourselves fervently hoping that by the time our work has been completed we may see positive signs of peace on the horizon and catch a glimpse of that moment, so intensely desired, when constructive negotiations are begun with a view to a settlement which will be honourable for all concerned—and will enable the Viet-Nameese to live peacefully in calm and prosperity, as a free and independent people.

6. Even if the United Nations as such cannot at this time have a direct influence on the settlement of this conflict; no country or individual participating in the activities of this great family of nations must refrain from helping in the search for a peaceful solution.

7. On 4 October 1965, during a meeting outstanding among all those of the twentieth session [1347th meeting], we all applauded a most distinguished guest, who came from Rome to address to us the exhortation repeated again yesterday: "Never again war!" In keeping with the acclaim we accorded that exhortation a year ago, it is our duty to persevere unceasingly to explore the path to peace—for peace is absolutely essential to the freedom, progress and well-being of all mankind.

8. During the session opening today, you will have to examine—under difficult circumstances, considering the present international outlook—a number of problems which must be solved if the United Nations is to function effectively.

The printed official records of the plenary meetings of the General Assembly are published in fascicle form, the record of each meeting being issued separately. A prefatory fascicle is issued for each session, containing a table of contents, the agenda, a list of numbers of delegations, and other prefatory matter. The fascicles are subsequently bound in volumes by session.

9. Before we broke up on 22 December last year, we reached by common accord certain decisions which seemed favourable to the solution of those problems. Unfortunately, the intervening period has not been long enough to enable all the results hoped for to be achieved. And since the success has been only partial, there is a danger that the difficulties which appear to be partly responsible for the Secretary-General's decision not to make himself available for a second term of office may continue and grow worse.

10. Our recognition of the services which U Thant has rendered, as all agree, with dedication and integrity, to the United Nations and the cause of peace, has prompted us all to express to him—in our very different ways—our confidence and gratitude. The expressions of solidarity and appreciation—a veritable plebiscite—from small and great nations alike, irrespective of their leanings or political allegiance, bear witness to the way in which in carrying out his duties he has succeeded in rising above all controversies, thereby earning universal respect. It would thus seem fair to say that, in view of the difficulties we face today, Secretary-General U Thant would help to dispel our fears if he would agree either to carry on his work, as we all hope, or—and I suggest this alternative only because I am called upon to do so—to offer his assistance to the competent organs of the United Nations and so help them to take the most appropriate decisions.

11. Aside from this difficulty which has arisen on the eve of the present session, and which we hope to overcome in accordance with the wishes I have just expressed, we are all bound in duty to redouble our efforts to solve the problems relating to the resources, activities and authority of the United Nations.

12. First, we must solve the problem of the financial situation of the United Nations. To this end, at the last session we set up the Committee of Fourteen^{1/} which has duly carried out its task. It is now a matter of urgency for its recommendations, and any amendments which may be made to them, to be translated into decisions of the General Assembly. These decisions will no doubt help to simplify and rationalize the administrative structure and operational methods of the United Nations. In addition, by enabling those Member States which have not as yet announced voluntary contributions to do so, they will help to eliminate the final obstacles to the task of putting the finances of the Organization in order.

13. The second fundamental requirement, which involves us all, is that the Organization should have well-defined rules on which it can base its action in fulfilling its peace-keeping responsibilities. Unfortunately, the efforts of the Committee of Thirty-three^{2/} have hardly been encouraging. During its twenty-first session, the Assembly should therefore study the problem again closely, so that the Organization may become a reliable and efficient instrument in this area.

14. The third and final requirement is that the authority of the United Nations should extend to all parts

of the world, leaving no region where its influence is not felt. This will be possible, however, only if we have the wisdom and sense of responsibility expected of us and achieve—without departing from the principles of the Organization—the true universality envisaged by those who drew up the Charter of the United Nations.

15. I have indicated three problems which will be difficult to solve. However, this difficulty does not mean we may overlook them.

16. In 1945, Beardsley Ruml predicted: "It will only be when the United Nations is twenty years old that ... we will know that the [Organization] is the only alternative to the demolition of the world."^{3/} Since this prediction has come true, all that remains is to find a proper solution to the problems plaguing the United Nations. If we struggle now to ward off the apocalyptic destruction of the world, we are in fact fighting to ensure for the Organization sufficient funds, effective action and universal authority.

17. Once we have confronted and solved the three basic problems just outlined, we shall have laid the foundations for a stronger and more effective United Nations. But we shall not have created the climate best suited to the balanced economic and social development of all mankind. Yet this is indispensable if new sources of social conflict are to be avoided and war prevented.

18. We have already reached the half-way point in the United Nations Development Decade. If we pause briefly to take stock at this stage, we find that the situation is far from satisfactory, despite the many efforts made—though admittedly they have been poorly co-ordinated at times. The flow of funds intended for developing nations has increased, but not in proportion to the need. The terms on which financial aid is granted are still too heavy and the rate at which the effect is felt is discouragingly slow. Exchange rates are still unfavourable for the developing countries, and the United Nations has not yet succeeded in getting the necessary corrective measures adopted, even in respect of those essential commodities for which an agreement seemed near at hand. Under such circumstances, the debts of developing nations are increasing alarmingly, and the technical, economic and social gulf between these nations and the industrialized countries continues to widen.

19. The experience acquired up to now would suggest more co-ordination and simpler procedures. Perhaps, too, we should devote particular attention to technical co-operation which, as was indicated in a recent proposal by a European nation, is indispensable if the development of the different countries is to proceed smoothly and the gap between them is not to widen until the situation is beyond control.

20. This predicament appears less ominous when we consider that the principles of economic co-operation espoused by the United Nations are steadily gaining greater acceptance. No one today challenges the fact that the problem of under-development affects

^{1/} Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

^{2/} Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations.

^{3/} R. N. Gardner, *In Pursuit of World Order—United States Foreign Policy and International Organizations*, New York, F. A. Praeger, ed., 1964, p. 45.

all nations, whether industrialized or not. Everyone recognizes that moral, political and economic factors make the mobilization of the energies and resources of every country to combat the scourge of under-development justifiable and indeed mandatory. Let us hope that this agreement on principles may prove the first stage in a review of our course of action, and that this review may in turn lead to the rationalization and greater yield and efficiency of the work already begun.

21. The agenda of the twenty-first session of the Assembly encompasses, as usual, a wide range of questions involving international co-operation. Without stopping to analyse this agenda, I wish to stress that we must devote special attention again this year to the problems of disarmament and particularly to those where a solution will lead to the conclusion of an agreement to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is no easy task and it must be accomplished with the utmost urgency, before new developments looming up at this very moment render any solution impossible.

22. The constructive debates held at Geneva, and later in New York, appear to be leading rapidly towards the adoption of a draft agreement on outer space. This agreement will extend the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations and the ban on nuclear devices and weapons of mass destruction beyond the boundaries of the earth's atmosphere. We may thus look forward with a measure of optimism to the possibility, pursued with such tenacity, of an agreement to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

23. During the present session, the decolonization issue will prove particularly urgent and delicate. There are few problems dealt with in the United Nations that are so intimately bound up with the very nature of the Organization as those involving the evolution—and especially the political evolution—of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Impressive though the results achieved in this sensitive and critical area may be to date, we cannot consider our task completed. Certain problems, for which no solution is as yet in sight, remain a source of tension and frustration in international relations. There are particularly complex ones in various regions of sub-equatorial Africa, where a very serious situation has been created by the spread of discriminatory doctrines and practices incompatible with respect for human dignity. In examining these problems, the Assembly should make clear first and foremost its resolve to establish in every Non-Self-Governing Territory, as elsewhere, the necessary conditions for the affirmation of human dignity, in an atmosphere completely free from discrimination, apartheid and arbitrary action consistent with the degree of maturity which the human race has attained.

24. The mere mention of these formidable and delicate problems facing us gives cogency to the hope I would like to share with you: may the twenty-first session prove universally beneficial. This hope applies to all here present, and to our respective countries, Members of the Organization; and it applies as well to those peoples which do not yet enjoy independence and freedom.

25. May God hallow this wish; may the representatives gathered here fulfil it; and may all mankind reap its plentiful benefits.

AGENDA ITEM 3

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

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

26. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): Pursuant to rule 28 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly is called upon, at the beginning of each session, to appoint a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members on the proposal of the President. I therefore recommend that, for the duration of the twenty-first regular session, the Credentials Committee consist of the following Member States: Austria, El Salvador, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Japan, Nepal, Nicaragua, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

27. If there is no objection, I shall consider that those States are appointed as the Credentials Committee.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

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

At the request of the Temporary President, Mr. Hasle (Denmark) and Mr. Mužík (Czechoslovakia) served as tellers.

The vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballots cast:</i>	116
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Valid ballots:</i>	116
<i>Abstentions:</i>	3
<i>Number of Members voting:</i>	113
<i>Required majority:</i>	57

Number of votes obtained:

Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak (Afghanistan)	112
Mr. Salvador Lopez (Philippines)	1

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak (Afghanistan) was elected President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

29. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): I offer my most sincere congratulations to Mr. Pazhwak, and I am sure that I am entrusting this high office to capable hands. I now invite Mr. Pazhwak to come to the rostrum and assume the Presidency.

Mr. Pazhwak took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session

30. The PRESIDENT: You have just conferred upon me the highest honour by electing me President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

I wish to convey to you my most sincere appreciation of your highly esteemed confidence. It is difficult indeed for me to find words that can express my gratitude in a manner to match the election which has just taken place with almost complete unanimity.

31. Such a gesture of confidence can imply only one mandate—which I accept without reservation—to endeavour to conduct the office with complete impartiality, in total compliance with the principles of the Charter and with the rules governing the deliberations of the General Assembly. I consider the mandate entrusted to me an augury of the equal determination of the Members of the Assembly to provide me with the kind of co-operation which can help the office of the President make a constructive and even creative contribution to the smooth working of the world's foremost parliamentary body.

32. I have been personally associated with my colleagues here for a considerable number of years and have enjoyed at all times their co-operation and friendship. At the present session of the General Assembly it would be odd indeed if this policy were to stop at the door of the Presidency. Wherever feasible, politically and diplomatically, I shall remain at the service of all my colleagues who seek the neutral office of the President whenever it may help to promote understanding and harmony and to further and expedite agreement for the benefit of all.

33. I consider this election as a tribute to my country. I do so with pride and with due regard for the consistent manner in which Afghanistan has maintained its unaltered position in the pattern of peace. It has participated actively in the work of this Organization in a spirit of friendly co-operation and understanding with all Members. That is a policy which we have always endeavoured to base on an objective and independent judgement of all international situations.

34. Afghanistan has never sought any alliance formed for any interests other than the common interest of all nations. It has enjoyed membership only in the grand alliance, the United Nations, the one association of peoples and nations which we believe can, in the end, bring about and guarantee to the peoples of the world, all peoples of the world, final and lasting peace. From this profound conviction stem our basic policies so familiar to all of you.

35. Since, as you are fully aware, we must crowd into the brief period of the duration of the session of the General Assembly thorough deliberations on so many items touching upon such a vast number of world problems, affecting the present and the future of mankind, your full co-operation is indispensable.

36. My worthy predecessors in this office, whose gifts and virtues I cannot hope to match, have demonstrated that this is possible. I should like to pay a warm tribute to all of them, particularly my immediate predecessor, the President of the General Assembly at its twentieth session, His Excellency Amintore Fanfani, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, who served the Assembly during the last session with distinction and successfully fulfilled the responsibilities and the duties of the Presidency. I am confident that all of us listened very carefully

to the statement which he made this afternoon, in which he drew the attention of the Assembly to the tasks before it. This should be considered an outstanding additional contribution on his part.

37. In the accelerated urgency of the challenging issues that we face in the first year of the third decade of the Organization, the expediting of our vast programme—both unfinished and new—is crucial. This Assembly, I am sure, is fully aware of the pressing urgency imposed upon us by the mounting crises facing the world today. To the political problems are now added vast economic problems affecting so profoundly the very lives of peoples and nations that they have, themselves, assumed a new magnitude of political importance.

38. Much has been said of late—too much perhaps—about the United Nations, its so-called weaknesses and failures. Such criticism has a tendency to throw the Organization into a posture of self-defence and to generate an unfortunate atmosphere. There is always room, however, for healthy self-criticism, and this is essential in encouraging the Organization to utilize its experience for the betterment of the unsatisfactory conditions that prevail.

39. As an example of such healthy criticism, one may refer to parts of the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. In this connexion, however, we should keep in mind the words of the Secretary-General that,

"The weaknesses and shortcomings of the United Nations lie not in its constitutional purposes, objectives and procedures but in world conditions at the present juncture of history." [A/6301/Add.1, sec. X.]

40. Those who indulge in much of the not fully justified downgrading, one may say, are generally to be divided into two categories: those who still cling to the concept of nationalistic power and are therefore prone to justify their unilateral approach to international life with the generalization that the United Nations is allegedly "powerless"; and those who seek overnight solutions to age-old problems and who say "it isn't working".

41. But human frailties and the weaknesses of human institutions are only one side of the picture of history and the human condition. There is also another side: the concept of progress. It is progress, and not perfection, which must be the yardstick of our assessments.

42. What is important, in my view, to understand, however, is that it is this very progress in our time, this sudden convergence of changes, which is shaking the pillars of the old order, and, in these violent post-war tremors, the United Nations has done much in the past two decades to stabilize the situation and to keep the violence of change from becoming the violence of self-destruction. In this connexion, one may note that those crises in which the United Nations has been called upon to act have been kept in leash, while those out of the reach of the United Nations are prone to intensify and to spread.

43. Those problems which transcend national and regional bounds—racism, colonialism, human rights, the relationship of States and all their common problems, including the nuclear and space ages which

know no political borders—the United Nations, with its universal approach, has met head on, and continues to meet with unflinching courage.

44. The United Nations has been instrumental in giving national freedom to two-thirds of the population of the world. It has held back the recurring tide of a nuclear war. It has, with its specialized agencies, set up standards of international progress in almost every field of human endeavour, and it has reared the structure of a world machinery of co-operation through its regional organizations.

45. I cannot begin to enumerate the impressive achievements of the United Nations organs and agencies working to improve the international economy, to extend to more millions the benefits of modern science and technology, and to contribute to the creation of a world community, one that is both viable in terms of the needs of our age and, by the sheer range of its work in a common effort, constitutes one of the noblest and strongest pillars in the structure of our evolving world order.

46. But, above all, the United Nations is a moral force, pressing home hourly its message of the new world order. It is thus an educative influence. It, alone, represents the aspirations of all the peoples of the world. In partnership with the human family, from whom, in turn, it draws its moral inspiration, it is the sole and supreme hope of the world. For this reason alone, it cannot accept pessimism. In the whirlwind of urgent changes, it has to accept optimism as the ruling philosophy of life and it must make it more than a sentiment. In our time, optimism is becoming a political compulsion.

47. The United Nations, however, is a human institution and does not live in a vacuum. Each Assembly embarks on its course in a particular world climate which, in turn, determines the approach of States to their problems. What is the world climate today? There are tensions now, and a war. But they are very different from the tensions in the past. Today the roots of trouble are no longer the basic principles established by the Organization. The years have made them the common consensus of mankind, and of Governments—twenty dramatic years which have seen the rise of a world revolution in a renaissance of reason over folly.

48. What does reason dictate? Reason dictates the imperatives of our age: disarmament, racial equality, self-determination of peoples, independence of nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, peaceful coexistence, and international co-operation. Reason further dictates an economic revolution that can fortify political with economic freedom. All these are mighty issues and all are, in one form or another, on our agenda.

49. The current tensions are no longer those of basic principles, but of reaction to those principles, emerging from the surgery, if I may use the word, of implementation. They are the natural side-effects when universally accepted propositions come into sharp conflict with special interests of nations or groups.

50. Reason dictates that we press forward with the principles that we have already elevated to the great

goals of mankind, that we press forward with general, complete, and universal disarmament, especially in those areas where agreement is more promising, such as a total test ban and in a treaty on total disarmament of outer space including celestial bodies. We must, in particular, make sure that outer space is never used for military purposes. To this end we must undertake all efforts in order to conclude, in time, adequate legal and political agreements. The work done so far on this subject by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has already yielded some results. It is therefore to be hoped that political wisdom will soon succeed and that the tremendous scientific and technical progress in the field of outer space will be matched in the legal and political field, thus creating a vast realm of peace in the interest and for the benefit of all mankind, remembering, however, that what is good for the moon is surely good for our own planet.

51. Reason dictates that we should honour, what can at least be called the promissory note that all of us have written to the African peoples for the complete liberation of their newly emerged continent, in peace and security, and with human rights safeguarded.

52. The crucial items on our agenda related to this question are collectively designed to complete this historic task, the task of avoiding bloodshed in the areas of the world concerned and throughout the world, which could not endure the most bitter of all conflicts—a possible war of the races.

53. Reason dictates that, with the emergence of so many new nations into the world of trade, the practices of trade and their special relations to the development of nations must be so adjusted that the world economy will operate not in periodic eruptions of economic wars but as a vital pillar in the structure of peace.

54. Sound international economics—that is to say, economics related to peace—should expose the error inherent in the contention that the development of newly emerged nations is contrary to the economic interests of the rich nations. Sound international economics, based on reason, envisage an integrated world system of trade as a partnership between the large economic Powers and the more restricted economies, to the benefit of all.

55. Reason suggests that if these problems can be solved and resolved only through the concept of international co-operation, it follows that every effort must be exerted to make the United Nations stronger, stronger in scope, stronger in structure and stronger in function—stronger in every way: stronger in its financial structure and stronger in its peace-keeping machinery, in which the United Nations has already shown an aptitude for success, even with all the imperfections of improvisation.

56. In this context, a great tribute must be paid to the Secretary-General, U Thant, whose resourceful initiative has made the office of Secretary-General a dynamic, political factor in the structure of peace. On most occasions he has satisfied us all by extracting unity out of division, to the extent that I think I may say, with a measure of correctness, that after the five years of his administration this House is less divided on issues than it has been at many other

moments and not divided at all on the question of his person. Members have already heard the tribute paid to the Secretary-General by President Fanfani. I am sure that the sentiments he expressed are shared by each and every one of us.

57. My own friendship and friendly association with the Secretary-General go back to Bandung, eleven years ago. I have worked closely with him in his capacity as a fellow Asian representing his country and, during the past five years, as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

58. Recently he has announced his unwillingness to offer himself for a second term. In the circumstances his reluctance is wholly understandable. It is important, I believe, for us to give serious attention to the issues he has raised, issues which need an early solution if the Organization's effectiveness is to be maintained and strengthened, and if, indeed, world peace is to be preserved. I hope that this session of the General Assembly will give serious consideration to his concern on all issues. This will be a source of encouragement not only to him but to all of us.

59. I am confident that the Secretary-General's statement, as reported, that he may consider serving until the end of the present session, is a source of encouragement to us all. I personally welcome with great pleasure and gratitude this co-operation on the part of the Secretary-General, which emanates from his well-known devotion to the interests of the Organization. I consider it a gesture of collaboration with the office of the Presidency, to which his experience, wisdom and advice are indispensable.

60. The time is also ripe to invoke the force of reason over obsolete policies in recognizing the simple rule of our era that ours is a world with poor tolerance for divisionism. The divisions that were once perhaps considered vital temporary measures to avert a direct confrontation have started to become obstacles to world peace. The task of finding the right approach to such problems presents enormous difficulties, but the possibility of making a beginning with the acceptance, perhaps, of a common principle should not be ruled out. Even that approach has its difficulties, but it has the singular advantage of stemming, not from the original roots of rivalry, but from a fresh approach based on human reason and a spirit of harmony and understanding.

61. An expression of concern about all grave situations in the world affecting world peace is a moral responsibility of all, particularly when such situations involve violence, loss of human lives and destruction. These situations have been enumerated by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report to the General Assembly, and all of us are fully aware of their grave consequences in the absence of constructive and urgent endeavours in the interest of world peace and international co-operation.

62. If, as is the case with the situation in South-East Asia, the grim reality is such that the issues are not within the zone of this Organization, an ironic contradiction is created because such situations affect nations individually, and consequently any international institution primarily concerned with world peace and security.

63. The clouds of such conflicts are bound to hang heavily upon any gathering of nations concerned with the peace and security of the world. That is true of this Assembly as well.

64. We remember that some of these problems arose at a time when the cold war had begun to subside and when a relaxation of tensions had begun to open the doors to certain possible agreements in some of the most important areas of international relations and international co-operation, and particularly when the principle of coexistence had struck root sufficiently to warrant further planting. This is regrettable.

65. We know that some of these problems involve peoples which, after their emergence, should have received the benefits of international co-operation, so indispensable for the newly emerged countries. This is more regrettable.

66. We know that these situations have become a psychological obstacle to progress in many vital fields of peace-building, affecting not only one people but mankind as a whole. This is most regrettable.

67. There has been no dearth of suggestions and formulae for peace. The substantial efforts of the Secretary-General to find an acceptable way to stem the tide of some of these most deplorable conflicts and the endeavours of other statesmen are admirable sources of satisfaction in relation to the expression of concern which the issues deserve on behalf of all nations of the world and their leaders. But in some cases, unfortunately, there has been no beginning. And the problem, it seems to me, is where to begin the beginning. Reason dictates that, with the continuous efforts of all peace-loving nations of the world, wherever peace feelers and overtures can be made, serious concentration on the possibility of possibilities should not be ruled out. The peoples of the world, who abhor all war and who look to this Organization as a major hope for peace, expect this of us—and particularly of those Powers which bear a special responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of peace and security.

68. Among the world leaders, the Secretary-General has generously announced that his door is open. I most humbly suggest that all Members of the Assembly and the responsible leaders of all nations leave their doors no less open. If a beginning is sought on this starting point, and if all parties manifest a powerful desire—intended to be followed up by action—for peace, I think a clue can be found which may lead to the beginning of a solution.

69. Such a start would, undoubtedly, require great political sacrifices beginning with the cessation of rigid statements of position and the putting aside of arguments as to who is to blame. It would require concentration on the undeniable fact that war is wrong and that no one involved in this wrong could be quite right.

70. The moral responsibility of those gathered in this Assembly, not as Members of the United Nations only, but as individual nations, cannot be denied. A realization of this moral responsibility, in any form anywhere, may be an effective factor in achieving the common goal of peace and security.

71. The legacy of reason is a priceless legacy which this Assembly should proudly accept and follow so that at the end of its deliberations, it might be known as the "Assembly of Reason" and, consequently, the Assembly of a stronger United Nations.

72. With faith in divine providence, faith in the might of human reason, faith in the creative forces of history, and above all, faith in the destinies of hundreds of millions of peoples whose aspirations you represent and whose hopes are centred upon you, I wish you success as you go forward with zeal and determination to the historic task that lies before you.

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

73. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the General Assembly to examine item 20 of its provisional agenda entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations". This special procedure has been applied previously in order to give newly 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 request, of participating from the outset in the work of this session. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in this manner.

It was so decided.

74. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has unanimously recommended [A/6353] that the General Assembly should admit Guyana to membership of the United Nations. The Assembly also has before it a draft resolution [A/L.482] sponsored by twenty-two delegations. May I consider that the General Assembly decides by acclamation to accept the recommendation of the Security Council and to adopt the draft resolution, thereby admitting Guyana to membership of the United Nations?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

75. The PRESIDENT: I declare Guyana admitted to membership of the United Nations.

The delegation of Guyana was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

76. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I am extremely happy to welcome Guyana as a Member of the United Nations, and I wish to extend to its Government and people the warm congratulations of the Assembly on this happy occasion, together with our best wishes for the future.

77. I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom who has asked to make a statement.

78. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I am happy to be the first to have the privilege of congratulating you in this Assembly on your election as our President.

79. No one imagines that your task will be easy as you preside over this Assembly at its twenty-first session, a session which few of us expect to be dull. But if there are storms ahead and if we face high winds and heavy seas, then it is all the more important that the captain on the bridge should be an experienced

and intrepid navigator, that he should be confident in the support of his crew and that he should be constantly concerned for the safety of the ship.

80. May I respectfully say that, while you have ably represented your country and its proud and brave people, you have also shown the distinguishing quality of the best United Nations representatives—the quality of serving not only one country alone, but also the higher interests of the United Nations as a whole. It is with admiration for that quality that we pledge our loyal and warm-hearted support to you, as you today assume the high honour of your unique office.

81. I also wish most sincerely to express our gratitude to the retiring President. We like to think that amongst the many functions of the United Nations is that of providing a college for the training of potential Foreign Ministers. A number of our representatives has already graduated to that advanced degree. We are all the more delighted on that account when Foreign Ministers themselves come here to give us the benefit of their wise guidance and their successful experience.

82. We are specially grateful to Signor Fanfani for so ably controlling our deliberations, controlling them with Roman confidence and skill and judgement, and controlling them too with Italian good humour and elegance and charm. I said [1332nd meeting] when Signor Fanfani was elected as our President a year ago that I represented a country which had greatly benefited from being colonized by his. I assure him that 1,500 years of subsequent independence have not dimmed our healthy British respect for the Romans.

83. We have further occasion today to reflect on what happy relationships can be maintained and developed between governed and governors when the old association is put on a new basis of equality. It is in that spirit that, on behalf of my country, I welcome the State of Guyana to membership of the United Nations.

84. This is happily the kind of occasion of which my country has had long and wide experience. In 1964 I welcomed three new Member States. Last year I welcomed three more. And at this session of the Assembly we look forward to welcoming three more countries to membership of the United Nations. They follow a well-trodden path. For in the past twenty year, twenty-seven countries previously under British administration, with a population not far short of a quarter of the population of the world, have attained their independence.

85. In this perhaps the most revolutionary development of this century—the emergence of new nations and the conversion of a subject empire into a free Commonwealth—permit me to say proudly that my country has played a constructive part second to no other country in the history of the world.

86. Guyana is rich in potentialities—in her soil, in forests, in water-power, also, we hope, in minerals—and in the diversity of her gay and lively and vigorous people. She is fortunate too in the potential contribution she can make. A sister to Jamaica and Trinidad, she can with them play a part in bringing harmony between East and West and North and South, and, so I

like to think, between all those who speak English and all those who speak Spanish. She can, moreover, play an outstanding part in what I believe is the most important task which now faces our generation, the task of achieving racial harmony.

87. A week ago I had the great good fortune to visit Mexico. There I saw how happily modern harmony can replace ancient conflict. There I saw how a people with very different racial origins has been bound together into a single nation with the ties of mutual respect and proud independence and courageous economic and social reform and full equality of opportunity and emancipation from the evils of discrimination of every kind. Mexico's success has indeed been a magnificent, a noble achievement.

88. Guyana has a similar opportunity. We confidently wish her well in carrying out her solemn declaration of intent made at the British Guiana Independence Conference in London in November last year:

"... with the coming of Independence all Guyanese ... should strive together as one nation for the peace and prosperity that are the right of all free men".^{4/}

89. With that purpose in our minds, let me quote these words from the statement unanimously agreed to earlier this month at the Commonwealth Conference in London, in which the Prime Minister of Guyana played his part, and which was issued on 14 September:

"The Prime Ministers declared that any political system based on racial discrimination was intolerable. It diminished the freedom alike of those who imposed it and of those who suffered under it. They considered that the imposition of discriminatory conditions of political, social, economic and educational nature upon the majority by any minority for the benefit of a privileged few was an outrageous violation of the fundamental principles of human rights."

On those principles I trust that we in the United Nations, as we in the Commonwealth, will show ourselves to be unanimous.

90. To the people of Guyana who have embarked on the exacting adventure of independence, to the Government of Guyana which has to tackle so many exciting tasks of harnessing the natural and human resources of a new young nation, to my honourable and learned friend, the Prime Minister of Guyana, whom we welcome today as he comes to raise his country's flag in proud equality, we say our warmest welcome, and with all our hearts we wish them well.

91. Mr. RAMANI (Malaysia): Mr. President, may I, as the representative of one Asian State to another, offer to you the felicitations of my delegation and my own personal congratulations on your assuming the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

92. I am privileged by the accidental and fortunate circumstance of being this month's Chairman of the Commonwealth Group of States, to come to this rostrum to welcome into our midst the State of Guyana. I have

^{4/} Cmnd. Paper No. 2849 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office), p. 10.

been asked by the representative of Japan to associate his great country with this welcome, and I am indeed happy to do so. We are particularly pleased that the delegation of Guyana has today taken its place in this Assembly under the distinguished leadership of its Prime Minister, Mr. L. F. S. Burnham.

93. Guyana's political history of recent years has been one of toil and travail and its pathway to independence appeared to many deliberately punctuated with perilous pitfalls. Perhaps in a sense this was as it ought to be, so that independence, when it came just four months ago, provided for those that strove for it a sense of satisfaction born of the glow of a real achievement, which it otherwise might not have had. Throughout this chequered history, its present Prime Minister was actively associated in the strife and the striving to move forward in Guyana's every step from representative to responsible government, and, finally, to independence as the sovereign democratic State of Guyana.

94. The new State has a written Constitution which provides for a unicameral legislature comprising a House of Assembly, all fifty-three members of which are elected by the people of the State on the basis of adult franchise. The Constitution of Guyana, in common with most modern constitutions, provides for the conferment and safeguarding of fundamental freedoms to all its citizens without distinction of race, or religion, colour or sex. It also provides for the manning of the services through the impartial machinery of service commissions because, first and last, it is the quality of the administration rather than the nature of the Constitution that determines the welfare of the people. All that and much else in the Constitution accord with modern trends in democratic government and, significantly enough for a multiracial population, the Constitution has provided for elections to the National Assembly by a system of proportional representation.

95. This is hardly the occasion, when the State is at the very threshold of its international existence, opening on to a great vista of achievements accessible to its talented people, to dwell on the provisions of its written Constitution, the real test of which will come when it get going and begins its working life and reflects in its continuous conduct, in the manner of its deliberations as much as with the content of its decisions, the hopes and aspirations of a vigorous people. But there are two special and significant aspects of that Constitution to which I should like to refer.

96. Parliamentary democracies in practice, notwithstanding the sovereignty of the people that their legislatures are intended to reflect, confer a plenitude of proliferating power into the hands of the executive. The complexities of modern life render this debilitating devolution of power inevitable. The search for a balance between the growing power of the executive through an ever-expanding bureaucracy and the basic freedoms of the citizen guaranteed by the Constitution involves no easy pursuit and a solution is hard to come by.

97. But one of the pathways to this balance is the establishment of an independent authority within the State, whose duty it is to seek and secure a remedy against the excessive use of the executive power, by

interposing in front of it not merely the defensive shield of the citizen's right to fundamental freedoms, but also to have them fought for and upheld in and by the organs of judicial power created for the purpose within the State.

98. This authority is the system of the ombudsman, with which even the oldest of the democracies within the Commonwealth provided itself only just the other day. As a long-time devotee of the law, to which in this Assembly we endeavour to subordinate the arbitrary will of the sovereign State so as to serve the purposes of an international order, I respectfully venture to suggest that with its provision for an ombudsman in its written Constitution, not only has this new State of Guyana manifested its profound pre-occupation with translating the noble words of the Constitution into the web of the people's daily way of life, but, if I may say so with respect, the Prime Minister, as a great lawyer himself, would appear to have combined the wisdom and circumspection of a statesman who creates those rights with the uncommon zeal of the lawyer who is concerned primarily in defending them. "The history of liberty", said Woodrow Wilson, "is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it." The Constitution of Guyana, let us hope, will be the living symbol of that vital truth.

99. There is, as I said, one other significant feature of the Constitution to which I must refer. It is a clear recognition, in the words of the Constitution itself and not in any vague conventions that are the normal outgrowth of it, of the role of the Leader of the Opposition who has been given the right to be consulted by the Prime Minister in the latter's discharge of several of his more important functions. This is a feature which is a particular and peculiar trait of most of the States of the Commonwealth that follow the pattern of parliamentary democracy, and to many outside the Commonwealth it continues to remain perhaps a meritorious but certainly a baffling characteristic. To these latter may I be permitted to quote the words of the late President Kennedy:

"The men who create power make an indispensable contribution to the nation's greatness. But the men who question power make a contribution just as indispensable . . . For they determine whether we use power or power uses us."^{5/}

100. It was precisely a fortnight ago that Guyana was formally welcomed into and united with the ranks of Commonwealth States, a fact which alone has given me the pleasure and the privilege of welcoming it to this Assembly. May I add to that welcome my personal pleasure that it has been possible for us to meet, on this auspicious occasion for Guyana, its most distinguished Prime Minister.

101. Mr. LICHTVELD (Netherlands): Mr. President, it is a privilege that on this very first day of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Netherlands delegation has the opportunity to congratulate you upon your election as our President. We all know how much you deserve this universal distinction, and we gladly submit ourselves to the

wisdom of your guidance, the joy of your forbearance and the finesse of your diplomacy. Having this in mind, we are looking forward to our future deliberations with much hope for their fruitful results.

102. In the Security Council, the Netherlands delegation was one of the first to support Guyana for admission to the United Nations. We also wish to be among the first to congratulate our new fellow Member for its ultimate success and to welcome Guyana to this forum of the earth's peoples, large and small, old and young.

103. When, more than four centuries ago, the five great colonial Powers of those days approached the then so-called Wild Coast of the Guianas, they chased away the Caribs and Arawaks living in that territory, where the soil still keeps its secrets about the original inhabitants, and they carved up the land among themselves. Fortunately, this operation, by which they created a number of Guianas—Portuguese, French, Dutch, British and Spanish—and even subdivisions like the colonies of Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo, left no noticeable scars because the divisions were made according to the courses of rivers.

104. In the lowlands, the Netherlands, history has taught us a plain but enormously important truth: that mountains may separate, but rivers exist not to divide but only to unite people, and that water is the most natural way to establish contact and commerce among men. This being the case, the most central part of the old Guianas, Surinam, extends its very cordial congratulations to its neighbour country, the newly independent State of Guyana, across the river which does not separate our two countries but which will certainly prove to be a symbol of their intimate contact and friendship. Across the Caribbean Sea, the Netherlands Antilles join Surinam for the same purpose, and from across the Atlantic Ocean the Netherlands adds its voice to the chorus of well-wishers.

105. We all know that Guyana had to travel an arduous way before attaining the fulfilment of its rightful aspirations. It succeeded because it was prepared to carry the full burden of independence and because it had to deal with an ancient colonial Power which has set a remarkable example of willingness to decolonize its former possessions. The United Kingdom, although it has not always been able to solve all the problems connected with the difficult task of decolonization, is therefore also to be congratulated on this occasion.

106. My delegation, representing the three parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, sincerely hopes that Guyana now will enter an era of prosperity, peace and rapid development, not only for its own benefit but also for the benefit of all the Guianas and all the peoples represented in this place.

107. Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I come to this rostrum for the first time this session for a twofold and pleasant purpose. First, I wish, on behalf of the new Government of Guatemala, to congratulate you on your well-deserved election to your high office; and second, I wish to welcome the arrival of a sister nation, Guyana, to strengthen the ranks of our Organization with the message which the noble people freed

^{5/} Speech delivered at Amherst College, Mass on 26 October, 1963.

at length brings with it. For Guatemala, your election to the highest post in the Assembly is a fitting tribute to your career as an outstanding international statesman and to your personal political philosophy, characterized by an independence and a will to surmount obstacles that always enables you to rise above the controversies dividing men from one another.

108. Our congratulations are twofold, because you represent a friendly country standing at the historical and geographical crossroads of a great continent, ancient in its traditions and modern in its intellectual outlook, a continent of nations with which—if I may be permitted this tone of personal nostalgia—I enjoyed the closest ties of friendship and co-operation while I was with the United Nations several years ago.

109. It is not merely on behalf of Guatemala, but also as Chairman of the Latin American group and on behalf of its members that I have the honour to extend to Guyana our most cordial welcome upon its admission to the United Nations. We are certain that its contribution to the discussions, operations and action of the United Nations will reflect the democratic zeal with which long-oppressed peoples always seem to be inspired as they emerge. Our welcome is all the more earnest in that—as in the case of Mexico mentioned a short while ago by the representative of the United Kingdom—racial harmony is a heart-warming fact of daily life throughout the continent of Latin America, including Brazil and Ecuador, Bolivia and Guatemala, Colombia and Peru. We rejoice, too, that a spirit of economic and social reform, backed up by a widespread fellow-feeling and a sense of equality, is shedding its light over our entire region.

110. The admission of Guyana holds special significance for the Latin American group. It marks another step towards the liquidation of foreign domination on a continent born to be free. The anti-colonial tradition of Latin America spurs us to greet with fervent joy this new sister nation which today joins our ranks amid such cordial goodwill, taking its place among the United Nations and spurred on by the revitalizing force of the principles of the Organization.

111. Mr. MARTIN (Canada): Mr. President, my first words are addressed to you as the newly elected President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. Your long and distinguished period of service to the United Nations is fittingly crowned by your election to this high office, and I know you will preside over our debates with that dignity and courtesy which distinguish the people of Afghanistan.

112. I also wish to express the gratitude of my country for the distinguished way in which Mr. Fanfani has presided over our deliberations.

113. As the representative of Canada, it is a great honour to welcome Guyana to membership in this Organization, and I am glad to note that the Prime Minister of Guyana, Mr. Burnham, is with us for this important occasion in the history of his country. As the oldest Commonwealth country in the Western Hemisphere, Canada has watched with satisfaction the emergence to independence of the new Commonwealth nations in the Caribbean. Guyana, which became independent on 26 May of this year, is the most recent of these. Historically, Canada has had a special

relationship with Guyana and the other Commonwealth countries and territories in the Caribbean. Trade and economic ties have been of great importance in this respect, but our special relationship has extended to many other fields and has, I think, benefited us all.

114. Just over a month after his country became independent, the Prime Minister of Guyana joined his colleagues from the Commonwealth Caribbean and the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Pearson, in a Conference at Ottawa to explore ways of giving a new meaning to the traditional relations which have linked our countries, and of establishing a process of closer consultation and practical co-operation. We in Canada were proud that this Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference was one of the first international gatherings of its kind attended by Guyana as a sovereign and independent nation.

115. In welcoming Guyana to the United Nations, I have also been asked to speak on behalf of my Nordic colleagues. I know that we can count on Guyana's representatives to make a positive and effective contribution to the deliberations of this Organization. My country looks forward to a close and friendly association with Guyana in our approach to important international questions.

116. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): My first pleasant duty on behalf of the delegation of Jamaica is to extend congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your elevation to the high and distinguished post of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. The Jamaican delegation is particularly pleased to witness your assumption of this office because we have deeply admired your outstanding qualities and talents, which have been so assiduously devoted to furthering the work of our Organization. We know that you will preside over this Assembly with your usual wisdom, tact and immense patience, at the same time displaying, as you always have, a deep respect for proper procedures in this great body.

117. My second very pleasant duty is the purpose for which my delegation asked for the floor, and that is to issue a brief but profound welcome to the new State of Guyana, which has just been admitted to membership. It would have been impossible for the Jamaican delegation not to speak on this occasion, as the ties of friendship between Guyana and Jamaica are particularly close and go back into our history. We have collaborated for a long time with Guyana in a variety of fields, and we look forward to a long future of co-operation in the many areas of common interest which we share.

118. We take this opportunity to record again our admiration for the leaders and the people of Guyana on the conclusion of their long struggle for freedom and independence and on their determination to meet the heavy responsibilities and challenges of nationhood.

119. The Jamaican delegation is confident that Guyana will make important contributions to the work of this Organization, as it will bring to our deliberations considerable experience, talent and understanding. Like Jamaica, Guyana is a multiracial society and thus inherits the strength with which such societies are blessed. Where there is genuine equality among all groups in the community and the determination to

ensure it, whatever the transient difficulties might be, it will always be possible to maintain proudly the great motto of the new State of Guyana: "One people, one nation, one destiny".

120. The Jamaican delegation extends the hand of friendship to the Prime Minister of Guyana, His Excellency the Honourable L. F. S. Burnham, who has led his delegation into this session, and to the other members of the delegation of Guyana. On behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica, I wish to assure them of our co-operation at all times in our joint efforts at the United Nations.

121. Mr. Patrick SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): Mr. President, may I join with those representatives who have spoken before me in offering you heartfelt congratulations on your almost unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. May I assure you that not merely geographical considerations nor yet political expediency decided the choice of this year's President, but particularly those fine qualities which enable men in any generation to recognize leaders among men. May I also express the hope that the duties of this high office, onerous though they may be, will sit lightly on your very capable shoulders.

122. I come now to the question of the admission of our friend and neighbour, Guyana, to the family of nations. The Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago have a particularly deep feeling of satisfaction today on the occasion of the formal admission of the independent State of Guyana to membership in the United Nations. From a distance of not more than a few hundred miles, and with a history of close cultural and social intercourse, and with keen awareness of fraternity, our people in Trinidad and Tobago have watched the people of Guyana move fitfully, and sometimes convulsively, towards the fulfilment of their very obvious destiny.

123. Independence for Guyana has been achieved at a higher price and after far greater hardship than that experienced by any other former colony in the Caribbean area. We in Trinidad and Tobago watched hopefully, and, when we thought it appropriate, we offered assistance and encouragement as she attempted once more to stabilize her social order and free herself from the costly irrelevancies that had frustrated her legitimate expectations since 1953.

124. Guyana's experience in the last fifteen years has not been in vain. She has won her independence; it has not been handed to her on a platter; and she has thus demonstrated to the world a number of very useful lessons about the extent to which and the manner in which and the ease with which small countries with weak economies and minimal military capacity may become prey to global forces to which they do not contribute and which cannot in any way serve their peoples' interests.

125. Those of us who have looked at Guyana's development with a sympathetic eye feel that we, too, have benefited from her experience. We feel that her people and our people enjoy a mutual cultural accessibility. We share a common cultural idiom which has been established over the years, inconspicuously it is true, but at great depth and ineradicably. Our peoples have

traded together, worked together, intermarried, and formed common institutions. We have also played together. Now, in the moment of Guyana's greatest achievement, we feel entitled to express our happiness too. We most cordially welcome Guyana to the community of nations, and we are confident that her contributions to the work of this Assembly will assist in maintaining the peace of the world and in enhancing the dignity of the human person.

126. Mr. EBAN (Israel): Mr. President, the delegation of Israel wishes you well as you embark on the discharge of your high responsibilities. In the present international situation, your readiness to assume that office is both a testimony and a challenge to your sense of duty and courage. You join a respected lineage of statesmen who have helped to establish a presidential tradition in the life of the international society. That tradition was recently illuminated and ennobled by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Italy, whose leadership of our Councils has left the United Nations in his debt.

127. We have today come much nearer to the moment when, for the first time in history, all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere will live under the flags of their own sovereign States. This is the broad continental significance of Guyana's admission to membership in the United Nations. But we welcome that membership also in its own right. It marks a reinforcement of the community of small States which bring their traditions, their experiences, and their diverse cultures to the task of fashioning a new international society.

128. Guyana can be assured that her friends in many continents stand ready to co-operate with her in her international relations and in her tasks of national development. It is in the construction of new societies that men achieve their highest sense of creativity, and Guyana is essentially an experience in the harmony of races joined together in tolerance and mutual co-operation.

129. In bringing Israel's sincere and fraternal congratulations to Mr. Burnham and the Government and delegation of Guyana, let me express the conviction that the people of Guyana will never lose the memory and the emotion of this day.

130. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): Mr. President, before I make a few remarks on the happy occasion of the admission of Guyana as a Member State of the United Nations, I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the profound satisfaction of my delegation at your unanimous election to the exalted position of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. Your election is a matter of immense gratification for my delegation. We are happy and proud that the President of this session of the General Assembly, which may turn out to be one of the most important sessions in the history of the United Nations, comes from a close neighbour with whom my country enjoys the most friendly and brotherly relations. Afghanistan and India are bound together by age-old ties of common culture and neighbourly intercourse in commerce and other fields from which both the nations derived mutual benefits. These ancient ties between our two peoples have been further strengthened in modern times as a result of

sharing common aspirations in nation building and close identity of outlook on world affairs. The recent high-level exchange of visits between our two countries brought out further the spirit of co-operation and friendliness which prevails in the relations between Afghanistan and India. Moreover, it is a matter for satisfaction to us that the great nation of Afghanistan is represented in this high office of President of the General Assembly by a person of your eminence who is well known and respected in international circles for his outstanding qualities of wisdom and knowledge.

131. As the Permanent Representative of your country to the United Nations for the past several years, you have made a most significant contribution to the work of the Organization in all its fields. We have greatly admired your tack, your patience and your perseverance in dealing with most difficult and intricate issues. If I might add a personal note, it had been my proud privilege to have been associated with you ever since my arrival in New York and I have greatly benefited from this association. My delegation has no doubt that, under your wise and enlightened guidance, the General Assembly will be able to proceed with its work smoothly and bring it to a successful conclusion. In this difficult task, let me assure you of the whole-hearted support of my delegation.

132. May I also take this opportunity to pay my delegation's tribute to the retiring President, His Excellency, Mr. Fanfani, who guided our deliberations with such distinction and outstanding success last year.

133. The independence of Guyana is a matter of particular satisfaction for the United Nations since it had been the subject of its consideration for many years. We in India have had close links with the leaders and people of Guyana for a considerable length of time. Not only did we follow Guyana's fight for freedom with deep interest and admiration, but we also actively sought her independence through the appropriate organs of the United Nations. We considered it our great privilege to join in the effort to help accelerate the liberation of a country for whose leaders and people we entertain feelings of the highest respect and affection. It was, therefore, with great joy that we welcomed the emergence of Guyana as an independent State on 26 May 1966.

134. Guyana, with her vast and rich potentials for economic and social growth is at the threshold of the exciting process of development which all nations of the world are experiencing in varying degrees today. The motto of "One people, one nation, one destiny" inscribed in the national coat-of-arms of Guyana is an inspiring one. Initially, Guyana's problems might seem enormous, due to her long history of colonial exploitation and her multiracial population, but her soil, rich in natural resources, her people, full of courage and determination to progress, and her dynamic leadership, ensure a glorious future.

135. In this most challenging task of development that faces the people of Guyana, the international community will, we are sure, offer its sincere co-operation and assistance so that they may enjoy the fruits of their fertile land in peace and harmony.

136. Guyana's membership of this world body is its due and will bring a step nearer the realization of the dream of universality of the United Nations. We have no doubt whatsoever that, despite the problems and pressures that inevitably absorb the attention of an emerging nation, Guyana's contribution to the outside world, and especially to the ideals espoused by the United Nations, will be important and significant. My delegation warmly welcomes the admission of Guyana to the United Nations, an admission which has been unanimously endorsed by this Assembly. We offer our warmest congratulations and good wishes to the Prime Minister of Guyana on this happy occasion.

137. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): Mr. President, I associate myself in full measure with the deserved tributes that have been paid to Mr. Fanfani upon his retirement from the office of President of the General Assembly and to your accession to the Presidency of the Assembly at its twenty-first session.

138. Both Mr. Fanfani and you, sir, are associated with me by close ties of friendship: in his case, old ties; and in your case, new ties. Mr. Fanfani and I were trained for diplomacy in the same school of hard knocks, both of us having served as Minister of Labour in our respective countries. You, sir, were one of the first representatives with whom I had association when I came here a little more than a year ago, and even at that time, in helping to negotiate the consensus which led to the report of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations to the General Assembly,^{6/} you displayed those qualities of resourcefulness, integrity and conciliation which, I am sure, will dominate your work as President of the General Assembly.

139. I believe, Mr. President, that you must feel today as I have felt on occasion when I have been designated to an office less exalted than yours; I have hoped that my mother and father could be present on such an occasion and could hear all the nice things that were said about me because my father would have appreciated the remarks and my mother would have believed them.

140. I should like at this point to say just a few words, because of the lateness of the hour, about Guyana, our newest Member, and I trust that the brevity of my remarks will in no way be taken as a measure of the warmth of the welcome which I extend on behalf of the United States to Guyana, its people and its delegation.

141. Guyana is the twenty-fifth independent State in our hemisphere, a fact in which we all take pride, and I congratulate Guyana. On 26 May our delegation to its independence day ceremony saluted it as a sovereign State and as a good neighbour in our hemisphere. Today I salute it as a good neighbour in the international community, to which it pledged allegiance in the speech from the Throne on that momentous occasion.

142. I believe that a word of congratulation is in order for the United Kingdom also. Despite many

^{6/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, document A/5916 and Add.1.

difficulties and many obstacles, this independence—this genuine independence—was brought about by planning and in conditions of order and conditions of agreement, which is the only way that independence should be and can be achieved in a spirit of peace.

143. I should like also to say a word to an old friend, the Prime Minister of Guyana. He too was trained in the same school as Mr. Fanfani and myself, in the labour movement of his country. He is an experienced statesman and will be a great leader of his country. He has already demonstrated these qualities. I congratulate him, I congratulate the people of his country, and I welcome him to constructive partnership in the work of our great Organization.

144. Mr. PIRZADA (Pakistan): Mr. President, first let me offer to you the warmest felicitations on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and on behalf of my delegation on your elevation to the highest office of this Assembly. Those who know you—and their number is legion—in this Organization have not the least doubt that in your conduct of the difficult session which lies ahead you will add lustre to the brilliant tradition set by your predecessors.

145. Pakistan and Afghanistan, apart from being close neighbours, share bonds of common culture and history, and we are therefore particularly happy to see you, Mr. President, occupy the highest elective office of this body. The personal qualities of patience and perseverance, together with the long experience that you possess, make you eminently fit to head this Assembly. We are confident that, given the benefit of your able guidance and wise counsel, the task of the General Assembly, in deliberating the vital issues which we face today, will be greatly facilitated. May I once again offer the sincerest congratulations of my delegation on your elevation to this high office.

146. Now it is my pleasant duty to welcome Guyana, our new partner in the Commonwealth, as a Member of the United Nations. Pakistan has always believed in the concept of universality, and in the view of my delegation, therefore, the more the number of Members of the Organization increases, the nearer this concept comes to realization. I look forward to cordial co-operation with the delegation of Guyana in the deliberations and activities of the Organization.

147. I may add that I have been entrusted by the delegations of Iran and Turkey with the honour of welcoming Guyana on their behalf also, which indeed I am happy to do.

148. I should also like to take this opportunity to warmly welcome the decision of the Government of Indonesia to resume its full co-operation with the United Nations and to participate in its activities starting with this session of the General Assembly. That step will greatly enhance the prestige and effectiveness of this Organization and we have no doubt it will lead towards the strengthening of this world body. Indonesia is one of the largest countries of Asia and the world. It is therefore only appropriate that Indonesia should play its rightful role in the comity of nations.

149. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Mr. President, I am happy to add to the sincere and warm congratulations addressed to you

on the occasion of your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly.

150. Allow me to express to the delegation of Guyana the most earnest congratulations on behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Romania.

151. The accession of Guyana to independence represents the victorious climax of the heroic struggle waged by the people of this new State to assert themselves as a nation. The event marks the nation's first step on the road to free economic and social development in keeping with its own aspirations and desires.

152. The accession of the people of Guyana to independence also marks a new phase in the process of total liquidation of the colonial system.

153. We see in the admission of Guyana to membership in the United Nations an expression of the universal purpose of this Organization and an essential element for its effective operation.

154. On behalf of the delegations I have just mentioned, and on my own behalf, I am delighted to express to the delegation of Guyana our most sincere wishes for the progress and prosperity of its people in the interests of peace and international co-operation.

155. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. Your election to this high post is a credit to your nation, Afghanistan, which has played a very interesting and constructive role in the work of the Organization ever since its founding. With your country having followed a non-aligned policy in the strict sense of the word. I am sure you, also, as President of this session, will be guiding this session in a spirit of impartiality and in a spirit of constructiveness. I am sure that, under your guidance, this session will bear fruitful results as much as the past Assemblies have done. If there is any failure, I am sure the failure will not be attributed to you.

156. Having said that, I should like, on behalf of the African countries, members of the Organization of African Unity, of which group it is my privilege to be Chairman this month, to welcome the admission of Guyana to membership in the United Nations. Guyana's admission has special significance to us. Its people are linked with ours by strong ethnic and cultural ties. In a much broader sense, Guyana as a country and the Guyanese as a people represent a living embodiment of Afro-Asian solidarity. By reason of the composition of its population, coupled with the fact of geography, as well as its experience with colonialism and economic and social under-development, it is a country which is destined to play a constructive role in the work of the United Nations. The way in which Guyana obtained its independence is eloquent proof of to what constructive and diplomatic use the United Nations machinery could be put, provided, of course, there is goodwill on all sides.

157. We should also like to pay tribute to the United Kingdom for its role and understanding. But we shall not pass without pointing out the close parallel between

the case of Guyana and that of Rhodesia. We hope that the United Kingdom can be guided in Rhodesia by the same wisdom that has guided its action with respect to Guyana.

158. In conclusion, on behalf of all the African countries, I should like to extend a welcome to Guyana and its distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Burnham, who is in our midst.

159. Mr. TOMEH (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, it is my privilege to convey to you, on behalf of the Arab States and the Kingdom of Nepal, the expression of our sincerest congratulations and brotherly joy on your unanimous election to the post of the Presidency of the General Assembly. You come, sir, to guide the world Organization in one of its most difficult eras, entering as it is its third decade, and facing as it is the crisis of its own existence and of its future. But your ability, your deep sense of impartiality and justice, your devoted service to the better cause of mankind, in and outside the United Nations, are all reflected in the admirable record of your long years of service and contributions to the work of the United Nations; and likewise in the record of your great country, with which the Arab States have the most solid ties of history, geography, common aims and deep faith in the triumph of the ideals of humanity so richly embedded in the culture of your country which has brought so many contributions to human history and to mankind.

160. Our great appreciation goes as well to the distinguished retiring President, who, through relentlessly constant effort, wisdom and tact has held the United Nations together, consolidated its chances of success and guided it at one of the most memorable of its sessions.

161. In sincerely congratulating Guyana on its admission to membership, we all voice our felicitations on its liberation, its attainment of independence and its determination to forge its own destiny. Indeed, the liberation, self-determination and independence of countries are for us basic principles that we actively support and for which we constantly strive. Those considerations increase our joy at welcoming Guyana in our midst, to make its own contribution to the world Organization.

162. Finally, we express to the Prime Minister and the people of Guyana our heartfelt congratulations on this great day.

163. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Since this is the first time that the delegation of Italy has had an opportunity of speaking at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, on your election to that high office.

164. I have had the good fortune, since my arrival at the United Nations, to know and appreciate your great skill, capacity and perfect knowledge of international affairs and of the United Nations tasks, machinery and objectives. The great respect you have earned among all delegations and all Governments is faithfully reflected in the election that has just taken place, an election which is at the same time the best acknowledgement of the great distinction with

which you have served the United Nations and your own country.

165. I should like to add to the congratulations of the Italian delegation our best wishes for the successful accomplishment of your very high and certainly difficult task—indeed, one of the most difficult tasks in world affairs. We are confident that under your very able guidance we shall not overlook the objectives that you have pointed out to us.

166. May I also take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, and all the representatives who have so kindly expressed appreciation to the President of the General Assembly at its twentieth session, the Foreign Minister of Italy, Mr. Amintore Fanfani. As Italians we have all been moved by the words used by representatives in expressing their sentiments of high esteem and regard for one of our compatriots.

167. I should now like to extend a warm welcome to Guyana on behalf of the Italian delegation and all the delegations of the Western European Group, on this happy occasion when Guyana is becoming associated with our world Organization.

168. The representative of the United Kingdom, my good friend Lord Caradon, has spoken in very glowing terms of the very close links established through the centuries between Britain and Italy. I would mention that many of my countrymen have travelled abroad since Julius Caesar did. Among them—much later—was Christopher Columbus. I say that only to indicate how sincerely happy the Italian delegation is to see another American country take its place in our midst, in international circles.

169. Reference has already been made to the many human qualities and material resources that make of Guyana a vigorous nation with a brilliant future. On behalf of the Italian delegation and of the delegations of the Western European group, I have the pleasant duty of extending our warmest congratulations to the delegation of Guyana on this happy day. Guyana can count on the sincere friendship of all the Western European countries. We are sure that, starting today, we shall be able to co-operate in the many fields of United Nations activities, and we rejoice at the prospect of profitable and successful work together.

170. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): First, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, most warmly on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf on your unanimous election to the high and important office of President of the General Assembly. During our long association in the United Nations for the past fifteen years, since the fifth session of the General Assembly held in Paris in 1951, I have had more than one occasion to appreciate the positive spirit of international understanding, conciliation and moderation animating your statements on world problems. In my view and that of my Government, it is an auspicious event that you will be at the helm of the General Assembly and the United Nations during the present crisis, a crisis in the United Nations itself and in the world.

171. You have expressed the hope that this may be the session of reason. Indeed, humanity is now in a period of transition from the concept of force and war

that has prevailed in the world over the ages to that of reason and peace, which must come if mankind is to survive. Reason means justice, right, equality, freedom. Force is the abrogation thereof, by virtue of the concept of might makes right; it is therefore a denial of justice. In our world of today there can be no survival unless the spirit of reason prevails. I join with you, Mr. President, in hoping that if this is not the session of reason there will at least be some indication that, in this period of transition, there can be a move towards reason. Then—and this is very important—the Secretary-General, U Thant, may find it possible to accede to the universal demands for the renewal of his mandate. I hope that that will be the case.

172. I wish to congratulate the Government and the people of Guyana on the occasion of their independence and the admission of Guyana as a Member of the United Nations, a fact which in itself ensures its complete independence and sovereignty. I welcome the Prime Minister and the members of the delegation of Guyana to the United Nations and look forward to our close co-operation in the United Nations in the interests of peace and international understanding.

173. Guyana is a small country and so is Cyprus. We come to the United Nations a very small geographical unit which is small in population, but we hope to bring and have tried to bring our constructive contribution in the interests of peace. Perhaps, by our smallness, we might bring a more spiritual contribution to the world Organization, and we look forward to Guyana's joining us in this humble effort to help constructively towards world international peace and international agreement.

174. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting His Excellency, Mr. L. F. S. Burnham, Prime Minister of Guyana, to address the General Assembly.

175. Mr. BURNHAM (Guyana): Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you upon your election to the high office which you now hold and to wish that, bringing to such office all your known qualities and experience, you will guide this Assembly with success through the difficult year which lies ahead.

176. May I also express my young nation's deep gratitude to you, to the members of the Commonwealth and to our Latin American neighbours, who have sponsored our admission to this Organization, and to others who have expressed such kind sentiments and warm wishes.

177. Mine is a small country with a land mass approximately equal to that of Britain and a population of about 650,000. There are the indigenous Amerindians, there are the descendants of African slaves and indentured Indians—who together form the bulk of the people—descendants of Chinese, Portuguese and others. All except the first have come to our part of the world as part of that economic and political process, imperialism.

178. Hence we share the experiences and aspirations of the newer nations and are determined to reconstruct our whole life and institutions—economic, social and political—to ensure for ourselves survival and a better life.

179. In an ideal world a new nation might hope to go it alone. But this is not an ideal world and, in this age as in others, there is always some factor that bedevils the existence of small, weak nations. In the last century it was the imperialist dynamic—which even now has not entirely disappeared, especially in Africa. In our time it is the self-interest, albeit sometimes enlightened, of great Powers and their concomitant desire to control and patronize the smaller and new nations. That is one of the reasons why, in our relations with our sister Caribbean nations, we devote every effort to the strengthening of Caribbean unity, the development and maintenance of regional co-operation and integration at all levels and the building of a strong, viable Caribbean community.

180. At the same time, situated as we are geographically on the Latin American continent, we cherish the warmest feelings of friendship for our neighbours, the Latin American nations, with whom we look forward to more than a lifetime of meaningful co-operation.

181. Mr. President, I hope that you will not find it presumptuous if, on behalf of the newest of the new and one of the smaller of the small nations, I declare that my Government's and people's passionate desire for peace among the nations is second to none. In Guyana we have experienced the misery of communal strife, which I am happy to say is now a thing of the past. But it is because we have lived with what on a larger scale seems to be one of the major problems of the world that we claim the right to challenge the nations, great and small, to cease making war and implements of war.

182. In Viet-Nam, for instance, it is my hope, which I feel sure this Assembly shares, that an honourable and acceptable means will be found to substitute discussions around the conference table for the bullets of the battlefield. And I say this, though I know how badly reason oft limps beside the striding soldier.

183. Our nation has neither the capacity for nor the intention of conquering or dominating others. We want to survive and to help to build the brave new world. Our major contributions are and will be moral suasion and, we hope, dispassionate thinking.

184. Guyana shares with its friends an active and undying dedication to democracy—political and social—and to the democratic process and ideals and is not committed *ex mero motu* to any major Power bloc. We want to preserve our newly acquired independence, to develop our resources with our own energies and the assistance of friends. We know that we have to live in a world of stark realities, not fanciful dreams, but we are sure that, given an opportunity to be heard, we can contribute to the stability of our hemisphere and the peace of the world.

185. But what hope of peace is there when 4 million Africans are oppressed by a small white minority of a quarter of a million in Southern Rhodesia? When Angola and Mozambique remain running sores? When the inhuman policy of apartheid continues in South Africa and those who utter pious sentiments grapple to their economic hearts former admirers, if not supporters, of Adolf Hitler? When the people of

South West Africa are denied the right to self-determination? What has become of the loud protestations—I am sometimes inclined to say cant—about the dignity of the human being, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? I pose these questions. We shall not rest until they are answered and answered satisfactorily. We share with Lincoln, that great liberator, the conviction that the world cannot survive half free and half slave.

186. As we in Guyana see it, and here we claim no originality, there is yet another threat to international stability and therefore peace. I refer to the imbalance between the rich and poor countries. It is accepted that, in general, the gap between the under-developed nations and the developed ones widens year by year even though many of the former produce valuable basic and strategic materials on which others grow fat and rich.

187. In this the United Nations Development Decade there has been a decline rather than increase in real terms in the level of economic aid and flow of resources to the developing from the developed countries. The situation is grave and most urgent consideration by this Organization is indicated. This is not a question of charity, it is one of stability and global prosperity.

188. My Government subscribes to the Charter of the United Nations, it has faith in this Organization, of which it hopes to be an active rather than a sleeping Member. It also hopes for and will work towards the United Nations being truly representative of all the peoples of the world, regardless of ideological and mythological differences.

189. Again, Mr. President, thank you and your colleagues for admitting and welcoming Guyana. May I hope that, as we trudge along the difficult road and wander through the tortuous paths, we can rely on the helping hands of our older colleagues and the advice of our more experienced friends, and in our turn contribute from our experience to the deliberations of this Assembly.

190. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Venezuela, who wishes to speak in explanation of his vote.

191. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, during the general debate, the Venezuelan Minister for Foreign Affairs will express to you, at the highest government level, the

congratulations of the Government of Venezuela upon your election to the supreme office of the Assembly. But I cannot mount this rostrum, Mr. President, without offering you my warmest personnel congratulations. A friendship of nearly ten years' standing enables me to affirm that your great skill as an international statesman and your outstanding independence of character will, I have no doubt, make of you a great President.

192. I also wish to extend my cordial greetings to the illustrious outgoing President, Mr. Fanfani.

193. Venezuela has confirmed with its affirmative vote the support it previously expressed for the admission of the new State of Guyana to this Organization. My country nevertheless wishes to state formally that this affirmative vote in no way implies a renunciation of its rights of sovereignty over the territory situated on the left bank of the Essequibo River, nor does Venezuela in any way recognize the so-called Arbitral Award of Paris of 1899 concerning the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. A similar reservation was expressed by Venezuela in the Security Council on 21 June, as well as at the time of recognizing the new State.

194. We repeat that Venezuela merely wishes to reaffirm its national rights, and in no way desires to initiate a discussion on the substance of the dispute in this august Assembly. It is a matter that should be dealt with only—as is actually the case—through the channels established in the Geneva Agreement of 17 February 1966. We are pleased to report that the Mixed Commission set up under that Agreement has just concluded its second meeting at Georgetown.

195. The people and Government of Venezuela welcome the accession of Guyana to independence and hope that the close ties of friendship and co-operation established between the two neighbours from the outset will grow stronger as time goes by.

196. We also wish to welcome the members of the Government of Guyana represented here, as well as our distinguished colleagues who have come to represent the new State in the United Nations.

197. The PRESIDENT: Before we adjourn, I should like to announce that the flag of Guyana will be raised during the course of a ceremony to be held at 3.15 p.m. tomorrow in front of the delegates' entrance.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.