

eral Assembly Matters Files of the Sec. - Gen. : U Thant
cripts from statements by Representatives in the 14th Regular Session of the General Assembly
ntaining references to the Sec.-Gen.

01/01/1000 - 01/01/1000

PLEASE RETAIN
ORIGINAL ORDER

Clea pr

MAR 17 2011

CLEAR

UNARCHIVES

SERIES 0856
BOX 5
FILE 7
ACC. PAG 1/5,2,1,3

Jan 27
wp

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS BY REPRESENTATIVES IN THE
FOURTEENTH REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
CONTAINING REFERENCES TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

General Debate

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (A/PV.795 at page 4): "I should not fail, on behalf of all of you, to pay a warm tribute to the selfless activity of our Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, to whom I express the wish that he continue to carry out with success the high task entrusted to him."

The PRESIDENT (A/PV.795 at page 8): "At the same time, I trust in the wise co-operation of our great Secretary-General and his intelligent colleagues. The Secretary-General — I must say so solemnly and with pleasure — has been a decisive factor in these last years in the strengthening of the United Nations."

Mr. HERTER, United States of America (A/PV.797 at pages 17 and 18): "In the Middle East, a period of relative quiet prevails. This is in sharp contrast to the crisis of a year ago, when the Assembly had to take important emergency measures. The enlightened actions of the States in the area during the past year have helped to improve the situation. The agencies of the United Nations and the outstanding leadership and diplomacy of the Secretary-General have also contributed significantly to the lessening of tensions and the development of greater stability."

./.

Mr. TABOADA, Argentina (A/PV.797 at pages 46 and 47): "In some parts of the world problems have arisen with regard to important principles of international law, particularly in connexion with the difficult question of the freedom of navigation. As stated by the Secretary-General, these problems involve legal matters as well as political questions, and this is a fact which precludes our taking a stand on them. However, we do feel free to reiterate our belief that any solution, whatever its nature, must maintain and uphold the freedom of navigation of the high seas and international waterways, since this principle is the common heritage of all mankind.

....

"We could not end our statement without echoing the widespread opinion in favour of increasing the activities of some of the main bodies of the United Nations so as to overcome the apparent lack of efficiency that seems to possess them. This leads us to support warmly the suggestions contained in the Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly. This document outlines several practical ideas to further the work of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice. My delegation is ready to vote in favour of any draft resolution which might implement the suggestions of the Secretary-General.

....

"The recent and welcome visit of the Secretary-General to my country, as well as to the other sister republics of Latin America has greatly strengthened the ties that bind us to the United Nations."

Mr. FUJIYAMA, Japan (A/PV.797 at pages 57 and 58): "This Organization is playing a signal role to relieve international tensions by its efforts to promote mutual understanding through 'open diplomacy'. Through 'quiet diplomacy' -- the personal contacts between the permanent missions and the good offices rendered by the Secretary-General -- the United Nations is also playing an equally notable role for the maintenance of peace.

....

"So that the United Nations can overcome the East-West conflict and truly become a powerful organization for the maintenance of peace, so that it can become the centre for the exchange of responsible views to

./.

effect practical and constructive settlement of problems, I want to emphasize the need for positive co-operation among the Members toward strengthening the organization and functions of the United Nations and toward its effective use.

"In this connexion, I am in agreement in principle with the views expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction of his annual report."

Mr. LLOYD, United Kingdom (A/PV.798 at pages 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 17):

"... There is a second way in which the United Nations has shown its capability for helping to keep the peace. That is by the introduction of what we have come to call a United Nations "presence" in a troubled area. Again I look to the Middle East for an example. The special arrangements made by the Secretary-General following our Emergency Session last August, his visits and Mr. Spinelli's work in the area have undoubtedly played a useful part in removing misunderstandings and contributing to the lessening of tension which happily has taken place since this time last year.

"We know that lasting stability and true peace can only be brought about by the will and the efforts of the Governments and peoples of the region. It must be for them in the first instance to achieve harmony of aims amongst each other, or, at least, a reasonable working relationship.

"It was with such hopes that we voted last August for the Arab Resolution. We welcome signs that the spirit of that Resolution persists, and, no doubt, the Governments of the area will back up the efforts of the Secretary-General.

....

./.

"The very fact that the United Nations has not, as a rule, been able to take speedy action to deal with particular crises, has led to these new methods and new techniques being developed. The Secretary-General has spoken of the United Nations serving a diplomacy of reconciliation, of mediation and conciliation. I think the United Nations representatives in the Middle East have quietly, unobtrusively and successfully sought to operate such a diplomacy.

"We are filled with admiration for the work which the Secretary-General himself does, his journeys and his untiring efforts to find ways to iron out differences and to harmonize the relations between States. We have complete confidence in him and his work and he has our full support.

"I have read with great interest the section in the Secretary-General's report with regard to the role of the United Nations. He refers to the work of the permanent delegations and their growing diplomatic contribution outside the public meetings, often in close contact also with the Secretariat. He refers to the possibility of the organization of regular meetings of the Security Council in Economic and Social Council this year about the possibility of short special meetings of that Council at Ministerial level. These are interesting and imaginative ideas.

....

"The Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva was lengthy. It did not reach positive agreements. In spite of that, I believe that it did end with the respective points of view more clearly defined and

./.

the differences narrowed. The Conference made a definite contribution to the creating of an atmosphere in which further improvement in relations between the two blocs is in my view possible.

"The view of my Government is that this process will be assisted by a meeting between Heads of Governments. It is of course quite unrealistic to think that Heads of Governments at one single meeting can find some magic formula for solving the problems of this troubled world. We hope it will be the first of a series at which differences will be frankly discussed and we hope that, taking the problems one by one, some progress can be made toward their solution.

"I want, however, at this point to make one thing absolutely clear. We do not regard this as a process exclusive of the United Nations. This is not an attempt to push the United Nations on one side. In pursuing this course of reconciliation we consider that we are trying to fulfil our obligations under the Charter. The Secretary-General, in his Introduction to the Annual Report, said some very wise words on this subject. He put exactly the right interpretation, if I may say so, upon these developments. He said that they were not only in keeping with the principles of the Charter. He reminded us that

'the United Nations is not intended to be a substitute for normal procedures of reconciliation and mediation but rather an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security. Viewed in this light, the various diplomatic and political activities in the course of the past year are in full harmony with the intentions expressed in the Charter. They may even be said to reflect obligations which Member nations have assumed in the Charter' (A/4132/Add.1, page 1).

./.

After referring to one or two matters requiring attention, the Secretary-General continued by saying that in his view:

'These developments are not only in keeping with the principles of the Charter but are also free, I believe, from implications which impair the position of the Organization in principle.'

....

"I need not remind you of the abortive attempts in 1957 to set up a disarmament commission with a new limited membership, and the failure since the discussions in the Sub-Committee in 1957 to get anything resembling a negotiation going on these wider aspects. But Mr. Couve de Murville, Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Herter and I myself took advantage of our meetings in Geneva on certain European problems, to discuss the forum in which new talks on disarmament might take place. We had also been able to exchange views individually with the Secretary-General when he visited Geneva for the opening of our conference."

Mr. AHAM, Iran (A/PV.798 at pages 24, 32 and 35): "...I should also like to pay a tribute to the wise statesmanship and outstanding ability of the Secretary-General, whose wholehearted devotion to the cause of constructive international co-operation is a great asset to this Organization.

....

"The 1958 United Nations World Economic Survey indicates that a salient economic feature of the prevailing world situation is the vast and increasing gap between the industrialized and the under-developed countries, and the insufficient demand of the former for the primary commodities of the latter.

./.

"Among the generally accepted solutions for this problem, including industrialization, one remedial step, as the Secretary-General suggested, is that the United Nations should now begin to consider dealing more directly with the formulation of a collective international economic policy through consultations with governments."

Mr. SON SANN, Cambodia (A/PV.798 at pages 36, 37, 41 and 42):" ... In this connexion, I am duty bound to call to the attention of the General Assembly the recent intervention of the United Nations and the effective steps taken by Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, a very wise and active Secretary-General, on the occasion of a dispute arising between Cambodia and Thailand. This intervention was reported in detail in the Annual Report of the Secretary-General (A/4132) and in the Introduction to the Annual Report (A/4132/Add.1).

"After a period of rather alarming tension between the two countries, the Secretary-General of the United Nations was kind enough to send his personal representative, Ambassador Johan Beck-Friis, to Thailand and Cambodia. The happy outcome of this step is due primarily to the authority of Mr. Hammarskjold and the skill and ability of his representative, which made it possible for the two countries to resume diplomatic relations and for a better climate to be established.

"A visit of the Foreign Minister of Thailand to Cambodia ensued and during the course of this meeting the Foreign Ministers of both countries explored possible avenues for a friendly solution which might settle problems at present at issue. This visit led to the publication of a joint communiqué which reflected the agreement of both Governments regarding their desire to improve their relations in a spirit of good neighbourliness, their determination to refrain from intervening in the

domestic affairs of one another, in a spirit of mutual understanding and respect for the policy freely chosen by each one of the two Kingdoms. For its part, Cambodia is determined to settle these disputes in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

"But it is necessary to stress the very novel nature of the procedure utilized in this case by the Secretary-General. His representative was neither an observer instructed to report facts, nor an arbiter whose mission it was to encourage both parties to accept this or that solution. Ambassador Johan Beck-Friis acted only as a go-between who was available to both Governments so as to facilitate the resumption of diplomatic relations and so as to pave the way for improved relations between the two countries.

"This new course which is being pursued by the Secretary-General is, in our opinion, a very promising one. It made prompt intervention possible and, in case of failure, it would not undermine the authority of our Organization. It is a discreet, we might say, a tactful procedure, and as such a valuable recourse when such a procedure is used for the benefit of those nations which genuinely respect and observe the United Nations Charter.

....

"In contrast with irresistible population pressure, world production in 1958 increased by only 3 per cent. This state of things has a direct influence on the maintenance of international peace and security. Our Secretary-General himself has declared repeatedly that the gulf dividing the more prosperous nations from those less prosperous is growing wider. The delegation of Cambodia wishes to pay tribute to the far-sightedness of Mr. Hammarskjöld, who has also stated that the difficult economic

./.

situation encountered by many Asian and African countries calls for a new sense of responsibility and for more intensive assistance on the part of the wealthier nations. If such actions do not lead to practical and constructive achievements in countries beset by poverty, the danger of instability in the impoverished countries is inevitable. Such instability will have repercussions on the world situation. The Cambodian delegation hopes that these words will be heeded by all delegations.

"The delegation of Cambodia welcomes with deep satisfaction the news that an Economic Committee has just been constituted, to be presided over by the Secretary-General, the task of which Committee will be to introduce certain flexibility and a certain co-ordination in the handling of requests for technical assistance addressed to the United Nations. No initiative could be more felicitous than that designed to effect closer co-ordination by international programmes of technical assistance with the Special Fund for Economic Development, etc.

"The Cambodian delegation is convinced that this Economic Committee will play its role effectively in the judicious distribution and allocation of United Nations technical assistance."

HIS EXCELLENCY NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, USSR (A/PV.799 at page 2-3): "... Permit me, first of all, to express sincere thanks to the Assembly representatives and to the Secretary-General for this opportunity to speak from the lofty platform of the United Nations."

./.

Mr. KREISKY, Austria (A/PV.800 at page 2): "...Let me also pay tribute to Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, to whose brilliant leadership this Organization owes so much."

Mr. BHARA, Nepal (A/PV.900 at pages 28, 31, 32): "...Secretary-General Trygve Lie's memorandum clearly implies that the obligation of membership can be carried out only by governments which in fact possess the power to do so. I quote further from this same memorandum:

"where a revolutionary government presents itself as representing a State, in rivalry to existing government, the question at issue should be which of these governments, in fact, is in a position to employ the resources of and direct all the people of the State in fulfilment of the obligations of membership. In essence, this means an inquiry as to whether the new government exercises effective authority within the territory of the State and is habitually obeyed by the bulk of the population. If so, it would seem to be appropriate for the United Nations organs through their collective action to accord it the right to represent the State in the organization even though individual members of the organization refuse and may continue to refuse to accord it recognition as the lawful government for reasons which are valid under their national policies."

"I apologize to the President and to the Assembly for taxing your patience with this rather long quotation from the memorandum, but I have done so only because I honestly believe that this memorandum prepared by the then Secretary-General of this Organization is of special interest and deserves particular attention from this august body. It was really

./.

unfortunate that the initiative shown by Mr. Trygve Lie was not pursued any further.

....

"Those who have over the years consistently opposed the inclusion of this Indian item have always sought to shelter behind operative paragraph 1 of resolution 396 (V) of the fifth session, according to which the question should be examined in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. Let us see what the Charter stipulates. According to Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter:

'Membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.'

"Mr. Trygve Lie had the same thing in mind when he stated in his memorandum that the obligation of membership can be carried out only by a Government which in fact possesses the power to do so. Let me once again quote from Secretary-General Trygve Lie's memorandum:

'Where a revolutionary Government places itself as representing a State, in rivalry to an existing Government, the question at issue should be which of these Governments, in fact, is in a position to employ the resources of and direct all the people of the State in fulfilment of the obligations of membership. In essence, this means an inquiry as to whether the new Government exercises effective authority within the territory of the State and is habitually obeyed by the bulk of the population.'

./.

Mr. SHIYLLA, Albania (A/PV.801 at page 81): "As was very appropriately recalled by the representative of Nepal in his memorandum distributed on 8 May 1950 to the members of the Security Council on the legal aspects of representation in the United Nations, which is contained in document L/1466, the Secretary-General of the United Nations showed that it was harmful, from the practical point of view, and erroneous of the point of view of legal doctrine, to connect the question of the representation of Member States in the United Nations with the question of the recognition by the Governments of Member States.

"Referring directly to the case of the representation of China, the Secretary-General had presented, as the only valid criterion in order to grant to the revolutionary government the right to represent China in the Organization, the fact of whether that Government was effectively capable of using the resources of the State, so that the obligations incumbent upon Member States could be carried out, whether it exercises its authority within the territory of the State, and whether this authority is generally respected by the great majority of the population."

The PRESIDENT (A/PV.803 at pages 102 and 107): "We come now to the question of the adoption of the items on the agenda. These will be found on page 4 of the English text of document A/4214. Items 1 to 6 do not require any decision, since they have already been dealt with. Regarding item 7, 'Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter', (A/4216), since all that is required is that note be taken of this document, I will assume that the General Assembly takes note of the communication.

....

./.

"In paragraph 16 of this document, the Committee informed the General Assembly that it has taken note of the suggestion by the Secretary-General that verbatim services be provided for the First Committee and notes that the Secretary-General will also be in a position to have the debates of the Special Political Committee transcribed. If there are no comments or objections to this, I will assume that these services are acceptable to the General Assembly."

Mr. PELLA, Italy (A/PV.804 at pages 51 and 52): "In the context of the new international situation the United Nations Organization seems to us the instrument best fitted to bring about the co-existence which is our objective, and this is precisely why the Italian Government considers it to be its duty as well as its interest to participate as actively as possible in all activities of the United Nations. We offer our support so that we may work more and more, within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with the principles and spirit of its Charter, for solutions to the major international problems. In this evolution we know that we can count on the valuable and tireless co-operation of our Secretary-General. We are indebted to Mr. Hammarskjöld for a very clear introduction to the annual report on the activities of the United Nations; he has pointed out the course which our Organization must follow in order to bolster its influence by developing the activities and initiatives of the statutory organs. Mr. Hammarskjöld has indicated the machinery which would enable the United Nations better to meet the needs of promoting international collaboration, aiming at universality, the ultimate objective of our Charter.

....

/.

"As the representative of a Mediterranean Power I should like to recall the patient work of the Secretary-General in restoring peace to the Middle East."

Mr. RIFA'I, Jordan (A/PV.805 at pages 43-45 and 47): "The continued overflow of Jewish immigration is a serious threat to Arab security and Arab existence. In view of the consequences of this Israeli policy, peace-loving nations are requested, for the sake of peace and order, not to facilitate this Jewish movement from their countries. However, the items on our agenda pertaining to the Palestine question, are the report of the Director of UNRWA, and the proposals of the Secretary-General for the continuation of the United Nations assistance to Palestine refugees. The Jordan Government has given the report of Mr. Hammarskjold (A/4132) its full consideration. My delegation is in the process of submitting the views of my Government on this report in a fully detailed document.

....

"...The presence of the United Nations in Jordan is a matter of deep appreciation to my Government and my people, and the contributions of Mr. Hammarskjold toward stability and relaxation of tension in our region shall never be forgotten."

Mr. BRUCAN, Romania (A/PV.806 at pages 36 and 37): "Recently, that gap, instead of being closed, looks even worse. The Secretary-General had good reasons to point out the following in his remarks on 6 July before the Economic and Social Council:

'The gap between the rich and the poor countries continues to widen.'

./.

"In other words, in all these communities the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer. Ironically, this state of affairs is often described from the rostrum of this Assembly as 'the free world'."

Mrs. MEIR, Israel (A/PV.806 at page 52): "There is value to the principles of our Organization only when they are applicable to each and every Member State, large and small, without exception. The United Nations cannot compromise on principles. It cannot in one instance use all its collective moral pressure and in another exhibit an exaggerated leniency. We appreciate the efforts, so far without avail, of the Secretary-General and certain Member States. We have patiently awaited the effective intervention of this Organization..."

Mr. KHOMAN, Thailand (A/PV.806 at pages 71, 72 and 73-75): "In this connexion, my delegation fully shares the ideas developed by the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, in the introduction of his Annual Report. Both the United Nations and its Secretary-General have presently and potentially a truly significant role to play in preventing conflicts from aggravating as well as in resolving them peaceably. In support of what the Foreign Minister of Cambodia said, my country also can speak from direct experience and state that when diplomatic relations were at one time suspended, the United Nations, through the personal representative of its Secretary-General, was instrumental in helping the two countries re-establish normal relations. Since then, and thanks to the will of both Cambodia and Thailand to live as good neighbours, the clouds of misunderstanding are gradually being dissipated. This incident is illustrative of the services this Organization can perform for its Members. And when we are fully

./.

cognizant of the fact that the Secretary-General is not only truly devoted and dedicated to the cause of world peace but also capable and willing to take upon himself the high responsibility of his office, more delicate tasks concerning the preservation of world peace may be entrusted to him with confidence.

....

"...As has been noted by the Secretary-General's Annual Report, and also by many representatives who preceded me, the gap between the rate of income and the economic growth of the advanced nations and that of the under-developed nations continues to grow at an alarming pace, and so does the disparity between the increasing prices of manufactured products and the lowering prices of primary commodities."

Mr. AKO-ADJEI, Ghana (A/PV.807 at page 3-5): "The Government of Ghana will continue to co-operate with the United Nations, and undertakes to associate itself actively with any efforts of this world Organization to maintain peace and security among the nations.

"For this reason, the Government and people of Ghana are happy that it will be convenient for the Secretary-General to visit Africa towards the end of this year and in the early part of next year.

"We assure the Secretary-General that he will receive a warm welcome by the people in the several African countries he intends to visit, and we are confident that he will find his visit to Ghana an enjoyable and useful experience."

./.

Mr. GREEN, Canada (A/PV.807 at page 36): " All Member States have an equal interest in ensuring the continuing effectiveness of the Force. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General to consolidate its financial position. We hope these efforts will receive a degree of co-operation commensurate with the political significance of the UNEF operation and the collective responsibility of all Members to maintain international peace and security."

Mr. LANGE, Norway (A/PV.807 at pages 67, 68 and 71): "The Norwegian delegation shares the view of the Secretary-General that the assistance to the refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency must be continued, pending the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the area. However, as the Secretary-General also points out, this reintegration is only possible within the context of general economic development. Economic and technical assistance to the host countries therefore should be among the first steps toward the solution of the refugee problem.

....

" Highly industrialized countries may feel the need to make adjustments in their economies to achieve price stability as a basis for further growth. We should, however, all bear in mind that the various national economies of the world are so interlocked that measures taken in one country are bound to affect the situation in the world at large. The latest world economic survey clearly reveals the unfavourable repercussions which recent economic setbacks in industrialized countries had on primary producing countries in particular and on world trade in

./.

general. Until ways and means have been found to reinforce the foreign exchange position of primary producing countries in times of deteriorating terms of trade, or until a scheme for the stabilization of commodity prices has been established, the industrialized nations should, as we see it, as far as possible avoid any major reduction in their economic activity. In our opinion, the Secretary-General is therefore fully justified in putting special emphasis on these problems.

"My Government has also noted with interest his suggestion to strengthen the role of the United Nations in respect of global economic problems through occasional meetings of ministers of economic affairs within the Economic and Social Council. May I suggest that we encourage the Secretary-General to initiate such meetings whenever the development of the world economic situation in his view calls for ministerial attention.

....

"In his forward to the Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960, the Secretary-General states that the cash position of the United Nations is a matter of deep concern.

"It is no pleasant reflection on the attitude of Member States to the Organization that the Secretary-General cannot meet current payrolls because some Members have failed to pay their contributions. Each nation has been assessed according to its ability to pay and each nation has also by voting for the assessment scale committed itself to paying its share which, by no standard, should mean a heavy burden on its financial resources."

./.

Mr. QADIR, Pakistan (A/PV.808 at pages 2, 12 and 21): "The Secretary-General has drawn our attention in his Introduction to the Annual Report on the Work of the Organization to the evolution of his office within the framework of the Charter. His initiative in the direction of evolving procedures of a diplomatic, operational and "good offices" character without altering the constitutional balance among the various organs of the United Nations, and his efforts to build up an independent influence for our Organization by expressing independent judgment on questions of international concern, must be welcomed by all Member States. In particular, the not so powerful nations have especial reason to endorse Mr. Hammarskjold's independent role on matters which, though of primary concern to the great Powers, also affect the interests of the rest of the world.

....

"In cases of friction between States which cannot be removed through negotiations, it is essential that they should take recourse to independent third parties to compose their differences lest international peace and security be endangered. The Pakistan delegation has always maintained that no State should arrogate to itself the role of a judge in its own cause, but should abide by the verdict of disinterested and impartial individuals, or organs of the United Nations. We have faithfully adhered to this principle of international conduct.

"It is in this spirit that we gratefully accepted the offer of good offices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development made several years ago by its President, Mr. Eugene Black, in our dispute

. /.

with India over the continuance to Pakistan of the historic supplies of water from the tributaries of the Indus River. After seven years of untiring work, Mr. Black, Mr. Iliff and their associates have succeeded in narrowing the area of disagreement. If their good offices are crowned with success, as we sincerely hope they will be, they will have added, as the Secretary-General observes, a valuable new element in support of the general efforts of the United Nations.

"My delegation shares the regret and concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his Introduction to the Annual Report on the failure of many Members States to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice or to resort to the Court more freely for a judicial determination of legal questions.

....

"There is another matter relating to the role of this Organization which needs special attention. As the Secretary-General has said, the time has arrived for the United Nations to deal more directly with the formulation of international economic policies, or at least, to serve in a more systematic way as a forum for the consideration of such policies. In our opinion such a development is essential if international economic co-operation is to be a reality.

....

"As the Secretary-General remarked in his annual report, the World Refugee Year has begun auspiciously. We sincerely hope that it will give an impetus to a final solution of the problems of these unfortunate people.

./.

Mr. SHUKAIRY, Saudi Arabia (A/PV.808 pages 26, 48, 52 and 56) "By the force of living realities the United Nations role in this field is very much limited. No resolution nor heap of resolutions would lead to disarmament. This is an item on which all efforts of the United Nations have thus far failed, and miserably failed. A discussion between the two tête-à-tête, and heart to heart as we hope, is more likely to produce agreement. We believe that the United Nations at present can do very little or anything at all of this subject. Let us leave the great two to iron out their differences. This is no abolition of the United Nations but a Charter method to facilitate the task of the United Nations. There is a stage when the Secretary-General can participate in such discussions with his usual exemplary ability. There is another stage when the United Nations in full can play a useful role. We shall not abandon our responsibilities, but let us wait and see.

....

"If President de Gaulle means real business and if he wants a clean referendum, he should hand over the whole operation to the United Nations -- and we have complete confidence, let me add, in Mr. Hammarskjöld's taking over the operation. Once France is prepared to accept a referendum conducted by the United Nations, the Government of Algeria on the other hand will also be ready to accept it.

....

"This is the situation the United Nations is facing at the present moment. It is a situation which has arisen from the defiance of Israel, and of Israel alone. In his report of the problem, the

./.

Secretary-General has come to the conclusion that the United Nations Agency should be continued pending the repatriation or the resettlement of the refugees, in accordance with the choice of the refugees. I stress that it should be 'in accordance with the choice of the refugees'. A detailed analysis of the report will be circulated by the Arab delegations in due time. At this stage, we can safely say, without accepting certain reasonings of the Secretary-General, that his recommendations for the continuation of the Agency meets the necessity of the situation.

....

"The third stage for 1961 deals with the remainder of the refugees, that is, 500,000 refugees — half a million. This group of refugees would be reintegrated in the area now controlled by Israel. But this is not Israeli land. Under the Assembly resolution, and the report of the Committees of the United Nations, in this region projects for reintegration are feasible because Arab ownership there is preponderant, while Jewish ownership does not exceed 6 per cent of the whole area. So, under the third stage we are proposing the reintegration of half a million refugees on Arab land in an area where Israel does not own more than 6 per cent.

"The advantages of this plan are manifold. First, it is in accordance with every resolution passed by the General Assembly on the question of Palestine. Secondly, it is in accordance with the wishes of the refugees as stressed by the Secretary-General in his report. Thirdly, it brings to an end the United Nations financial responsibility by 1961. Fourthly, it cuts down to a fraction — and I say, to a minimum fraction — the cost of economic reintegration of the refugees anywhere. Under our plan, the United Nations does not have

./.

to provide a home and a land for a refugee. He has his land, his home, and his homeland in which he has lived, and for which he is always prepared to die.

"No other plan is workable. The refugees will not accept in any way to be reintegrated outside their lands. This is quite certain as the certainty of fate and as the decisiveness of destiny. This Secretary-General in his own way has warned against ignoring the wishes of the refugees. In dealing with the psychological aspects, in his report he stresses the impossibility -- and to this I call the attention of this august body -- of economic reintegration without the consent of the refugees. In analysing the political aspect the Secretary-General endorses the right of the refugees to repatriation in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly. In his last Introductory Report, you have those meaningful words of the Secretary-General where he has stated that 'his evaluation of the economic conditions ... does not in any way detract from or change the substance or legal validity of those General Assembly resolution'. This is not where we disagree with Mr. Hammarskjöld; we shall explain at the opportune moment where we disagree."

Mr. KHAG, Denmark (A/PV.809 at pages 12, 13 and 21): "Concurrently with the efforts of the Governments directly concerned, the efforts of the United Nations and of the Secretary-General have contributed to promote the development of greater stability in the Middle East. In this connexion mention should also be made of the importance of the

./.

presence of the United Nations force in part of the area. In his report on the United Nations Emergency Force, the Secretary-General states that the maintenance of peaceful conditions along the entire line between Egypt and Israel is attributable in no small measure to the presence of this peace force. Against this background, I note with satisfaction that, through its participation with a contingent in UNEF, Denmark -- together with other countries -- has been able to contribute within the framework of the United Nations to the fulfilment of one of the most significant objectives of the United Nations Charter.

....

"In conclusion, I should like to express the confidence of the Danish Government in the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who has so admirably shown himself ready, whenever circumstances so required, to devote his personal insight and efforts to the cause of peace. In our opinion, the Secretary-General's quiet diplomacy has had considerable success."

Mr. WIGNY, Belgium (A/PV.809 at page 21): "We should like to express our gratitude to Mr. Hammarskjöld for his unwearying efforts since the last session to increase the efficiency of our Organization and help it to achieve at least part of its essential purpose of settling disputes and maintaining world peace."

Mr. PAZHWAQ, Afghanistan (A/PV.809 at pages 37 and 48): "We have carefully studied the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General, particularly

./.

the part dealing with the role of the United Nations. We do not wish to express any disagreement with his interpretation of the role of the United Nations in the face of the developments and activities concerning international problems. We do not disagree, because under the circumstances it is a wise interpretation. But we shall not refrain from saying that we would have wished the circumstances to be different, so that this Organization could play its full and rightful role in the peaceful solution of all international problems.

....

"The recent trips of the Secretary-General to many countries in various continents constituted one of the most useful undertakings of the United Nations, leading toward a correct understanding of real situations, particularly in the less developed countries. We hope that the Secretary-General will continue his policy of direct contact with the Member States, and that he will receive the co-operation of Governments on matters which will bring about more fruitful conditions for all. However, as long as the present difficulties are not met, one can hardly hope that the goals of the organizations set up for these purposes can be achieved."

Mr. ZORLU, Turkey (A/PV.809 at pages 56 and 63): "Another question of the Middle Eastern area which has caused deep sorrow not only in the region but to all peace-loving States for many years is the litigation between our Arab brothers and Israel. There are many aspects of this

./.

problem. The question of the Palestine refugees is undoubtedly one of the most important of these aspects. The hope of a prompt solution of this problem corresponds to the desires of every country which is attached to the cause of peace and humanitarian principles, and the solution of all litigious questions between our Arab brothers and Israel within the framework of the principles of the United Nations Charter would cause our profound satisfaction. In this connexion I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization for his relentless efforts exerted before and following the Special Session of last year toward the establishment of peace and tranquillity in the region as well as in connexion with questions affecting the Suez Canal. I hope that the endeavours of our Secretary-General will continue to bear fruitful results as they have done up to the present and that they will be conducive to results conforming to the practices of international law, thereby assuring the settlement of these divergencies.

....

" Reports published by the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as statistical data furnished by experts in this matter, show clearly that the existing level of international assistance rendered by States or international institutions, as well as the present flow of private capital, are not sufficient to secure an adequate economic growth in the under-developed countries."

Mr. LUNS, Netherlands (A/PV.809 at pages 88 and 95): "As we all know, the United Nations is daily becoming more involved in the economic and social developments that take place all over the world. Our Organization now covers the entire spectra of economic, financial and social issues.

./.

This spread in width has lately been accompanied by a new concentration on depth. One such effort to dig deeper into the problems has resulted in the joint undertaking of the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations Secretariat and the Specialized Agencies to draw up a well co-ordinated programme of work for the period 1959-1964. Once we have such a programme we will know where we desire our Organization to go.

....

"On the institutional side I have with others, often advocated a more active policy role for the United Nations, especially the Economic and Social Council. I am glad to see the the Secretary-General, who supported this view at the last session of the Economic and Social Council, has again devoted some very interesting thoughts to this question. I should like to congratulate Mr. Hammarskjold on his subtle, well-balanced and thought-provoking reflections on this as well as on other subjects concerning the United Nations and his own office. I have read the Introduction to this report with more than routine interest and I am certain that my country will gladly follow him on the main road he has there traced."

Mr. ORTIZ-MARTIN, Costa Rica (A/PV. 809 at page 98): "Costa Rica is a member of the Economic and Social Council, and from that forum it has constantly struggled to solve the economic problems. We were very happy to inspire ourselves with the fundamental arguments of this nature that were raised by Mr. Dag Hammarskjold. In these arguments he maintains that the greatest problem of the United Nations, to achieve its ends, is in the under-developed countries, economically speaking. Facts are many and very often they are surrounded by tragedy. We do not deny, but rather we encourage the efforts of the United Nations, the plans which

./.

seriously and with full responsibility it is studying, and the preparation of new centres for economic co-operation. Nor do we in any way evade the recognition of the constant concern of the United States of America towards contributing to increase our resources."

Mr. JAWAD, Iraq (A/PV.812 at page 11): "One of the most tragic consequences of the creation of Israel was the uprooting of one million Arabs from their homeland in Palestine.

"The conditions surrounding the refugee problem, which brought UNRWA into being, are still with us and therefore the continuation of this Agency is an inescapable international responsibility. It will be remembered that the problem of the Arab refugees was the direct outcome of the partition of Palestine. The United Nations is responsible for the continuation of UNRWA because it has failed to enforce its decision concerning the right of the refugees to return to their homes. It is natural, therefore, that the United Nations should view the fate of these refugees with a full sense of responsibility, and that the Secretary-General should recommend the continuation of UNRWA.

"We believe that the maintenance of UNRWA's services is the minimum due to the Palestine refugees. This, however, should not be used as a means to deprive the Palestinian Arabs of their right of choice, already endorsed by this Assembly, to return to their homes. This right to choose is based on the most elementary principles of law and justice. We earnestly believe that references in the Secretary-General's report to the economic development in the Middle East should in no way be taken as an attempt to resettle these refugees against their will in lands other than their own."

Mr. TSIANG, China (A/PV.812 at pages 22, 23 and 27): "The general debate has already proceeded far. I note that the problem of the economic development of the under-developed countries has been emphasized by many speakers. The representative of Brazil, opening the general debate this year, devoted almost his entire speech to this problem. He urged the United Nations to engage itself in a concentrated fight against under-development. The same theme has been incorporated in many of the other speeches. My delegation has listened to such pleas with deep sympathy and understanding. We likewise urge the United Nations, and particularly the industrialized nations, to give special attention to this problem.

"The Secretary-General in his introduction to the annual report included a paragraph which we regard as very important. For this reason, may I be permitted to quote a part of that paragraph:

'The most important United Nations activity in South-East Asia is related to the development of the lower basin of the Mekong River. Assistance to the co-operation among four riparian countries, Laos, Cambodia, the Republic of Viet-Nam (South Viet-Nam) and Thailand, which has been established with a view to furthering this development, is being given through the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as well as on a bilateral basis. The work has been making good progress and it is to be hoped that results may be achieved fairly soon regarding some tributaries of the river, while research and planning activities are

./.

continuing regarding the river basin as a whole. The whole project is one of great promise where regional co-operation and assistance from or through the United Nations creates possibilities unattainable for any of the countries concerned if they work in isolation or in a more limited co-operation with others.'

"The Mekong River project is of great strategic importance in the economic development of South-East Asia. We are therefore grateful to the Secretary-General for putting his prestige behind it. The last sentence I quoted states a philosophy which we think is applicable to the whole problem of economic development in under-developed countries. Because of its importance, I would like to repeat the last part:

'... regional co-operation and assistance from or through the United Nations creates possibilities unattainable for any of the countries concerned if they work in isolation or in a more limited co-operation with others.'

....

"Now, the development of heavy industry in the under-developed countries meets with two serious difficulties. First, heavy industry usually requires large capital funds. The problem of finance in relation to heavy industry is much more serious than in connexion with light industry, simply because much larger sums of capital are required. In the second place, an under-developed country, establishing some branch of heavy industry, let us say an automobile factory or a farm machine factory, finds itself faced with the paradoxical situation of a very limited domestic market in the initial period. The products of light industry find in the large
./.

populations in the under-developed countries a natural and ready market. The products of heavy industry, because of their cost and the limited purchasing power of the peoples in the under-developed countries, may have only a very limited market at the beginning. This is a field in which -- and I again fall back on the wise words of the Secretary-General -- 'regional co-operation and assistance from or through the United Nations creates possibilities unattainable for any of the countries concerned, if they work in isolation or in a more limited co-operation with others.'

"It is clear that factories in the field of heavy industry should, at least in the beginning, be co-operative enterprises of a number of countries in the same region. Or, to take another method, the countries in the same region might agree on a division of labour, each specializing in some line of production and each providing for the products of the heavy industry of other countries a free and open market. In my part of the world, a common market for light industries is not of great importance, but a common market for the products of heavy industry is essential. I recommend this thought to the attention of the Economic and Social Council, as well as to the attention of the Secretary-General and his able assistants in the economic field, at least for purposes of exploration and preliminary survey."

./.

U CHAN TUN AUNG, Burma (A/PV.812 at pages 76 and 77): "On behalf of my delegation I want to pay a very warm tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, for his untiring efforts in discharging his very delicate duties towards the achievement of United Nations objectives. But we feel that, in the context of increasing flare-ups in some parts of the globe, the remedy lies in our ability to make the United Nations presence felt in all potentially explosive areas. Peace is indivisible. Any disturbance of the peace in any one part of the globe cannot fail to have repercussions on the other parts. My delegation feels that very close attention should be given by this Assembly to the possibility of stationing the Secretary-General's special representatives in those areas, with their functions clearly defined. This innovation worked with signal success in the Middle East last year during the period of grave crisis, and there is no reason to suppose that it will not work in other areas in similar situations."

THE PRESIDENT (A/PV.813 at page 2): "I should also like to confirm that the Security Council is now proceeding independently of and concurrently with the General Assembly to elect a member of the Court. Document A/4179 and Corr.1 contains a list of candidates, together with their curricula vitae. The list of candidates also appears in today's Journal. The Assembly also has before it document A/4180, which contains a memorandum by the Secretary-General on the present composition of the Court and on the procedure to be followed in the Assembly and in the Security Council in connexion with the election."

./.

Mr. HERRERA BAEZ, Dominican Republic (A/PV.813 at pages 17, 18-20):

"In his introduction to the annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General refers to the provisions made in the Charter of the United Nations which, although they may not be carried out within the organs of the United Nations, are nevertheless linked by the Charter itself to the tasks of our Organization. He also refers to the interpretation given Article 36 on the Security Council, in stating that as far as the recommendation contained in this Article is concerned, that the Security Council take into account any procedure which the parties may have adopted in order to settle a dispute. The Secretary-General then states:

'This rule has been understood to have reference especially to efforts on a regional basis or through regional organizations like the Organization of American States.' (A/4132/Add.1)."

Mr. CASEY, Australia (A/PV.814 at pages 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 27):

"One item on our agenda is the question of Palestine refugees. This is of great importance to the countries of the Middle East and is a vast humanitarian problem. It demands the sympathetic attention of all of us. It is not a question that is going to be solved quickly, and I do not believe that it can be solved in isolation from efforts to solve other problems in the Middle East, for example, the raising of standards of living and promotion of economic development throughout the Middle East. This is one of the points made by the Secretary-General in his report on the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East. It is the political disputes that tend to attract the attention of the outside world, but not the least fundamental problem in the Middle East is

. / .

to increase production at a faster rate than the rise in population in certain Arab countries.

"Another question that has remained before our attention during the past year, though it is not an item on the agenda of this session, is freedom of transit through the Suez Canal. This is of great concern to a large number of countries at both ends of the Canal -- European and Asian countries as well as others such as Australia and the Americas -- which need to use this important waterway for their international trade. I do not intend to go over any of the incidents that have occurred during the past year, mostly related to Israel, but, in view of these incidents, I wish to record again that we believe in free passage through the Canal for all countries without exception.

....

"In the political sphere we record our satisfaction at the success achieved by the Secretary-General in his efforts to ease difficulties that had arisen between Thailand and Cambodia. This was a good example of the quiet constructive work that can be done through the United Nations, and it should not pass unnoticed merely because it was done in private and not in public.

....

"One feature of the general debate so far has been a number of references by representatives to the report of the Secretary-General. This reflects the amount of thought-provoking material which Mr. Hammarskjöld has included in his report, and is one more example of the way in which he has been developing his high office so that it will help Member nations co-ordinate their own policies as part of the world

./.

community.

"In his report the Secretary-General has some pertinent things to say about economic growth. Even before reading his report I had intended to say something about this on the basis of his notable statement on the world economic situation, made on 6 July to the Economic and Social Council meeting in Geneva. He has directed our attention to what he regarded as an indication that recently much of Government thinking in many countries seemed to have shifted from an emphasis on economic growth towards giving a higher degree of priority to other goals such as price stability.

"The Secretary-General, I know, would not assert that economic growth should be pushed at the expense of all the other elements in a nation's economic and political policy, such as avoidance of a substantial rate of inflation or of severe balance of payments difficulties. There must be a balancing of objectives and also of alternative courses. I take it that what he was trying to encourage was a state of mind -- a climate which he calls 'growth minded' -- and for this I believe there will be wide support.

"Indeed, his remarks are very relevant to our own policies in Australia. The Australian Government in recent years has pursued the major objective of developing Australia economically. Since the end of the Second World War, Australia has maintained a high rate of immigration, at over one per cent of its total population each year. The Government of which I am a member has insisted on keeping this high rate of immigration, necessitating a high level of public and private investment, a proportion of which has been derived from current income rather than borrowing -- investment made necessary,

for example, by the demands for additional housing, roads, schools, hospitals, and other capital requirements, all being undertaken before the new immigrants are able themselves to contribute on net balance to our total production. Over the past ten years, expenditure by public authorities in Australia has increased very much more than expenditure on personal consumption. This indicates the importance the Government attaches to economic development. The same story is shown by figures for private fixed capital investment, which has risen from 15 per cent of the national income ten years ago to 21 per cent today.

"There has sometimes been criticism in Australia that we have been pushing this goal of development too far and too fast when we could avoid some of the strains by keeping on comfortably at a steady jog-trot. But we have rejected such a timid approach. On the whole, a society either progresses or goes backwards. As the Secretary-General said in his statement to the Economic and Social Council: 'No one, surely, will feel that price stability has been well won if its cost turns out to be economic stagnation'.

....

"...There have been some useful discussions in the past in the United Nations, some of them promoted by Australia, to the effect that all countries of the world, and particularly those which play the greatest part in international trade, have a duty to the international community and under the Charter to do their best to maintain a high level of domestic economic activity.

./.

"In this connexion I have in mind the Secretary-General's remarks about the repercussions on under-developed countries of a slowing-down in the rate of expansion of the advanced countries. What he says is relevant to my own country.

....

* Last year the General Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by Australia on scientific research. The Australian Government looks forward to seeing during the coming year the first results of this international scientific study being conducted through the United Nations and specialized agencies as a result of that resolution. I regard it as a contribution to the state of mind -- thinking in terms of growth rather than of safety-first -- that the Secretary-General referred to.

In the general debate in this Assembly last year I ventured to lay special stress upon the importance to under-developed countries, including Australia's own neighbours in South-East Asia, of maintaining stable commodity prices and in particular of avoiding violent fluctuations in such prices. Unfortunately I must substantially agree with the Secretary-General when he states that not much progress has been made in dealing with the problem of commodity price instability. Some progress has certainly been made, but not as much as many of us would like. In so far as it results in an overall reduction in agricultural protectionism, my Government, and I am sure, all countries which depend on primary products for an important part of their foreign exchange earnings, would like to establish a clear and continuing trend towards the reduction of agricultural protectionism over a wide range of

./.

primary production. The trend in recent years towards increasing agricultural protectionism in industrial countries is a cause for concern to those countries themselves because they must pay more for agricultural products. But it can also mean severe economic difficulty for the primary exporting countries whose markets and foreign income are constantly being eroded.

"In his report the Secretary-General raises the question of improving the procedures of the Economic and Social Council so as to 'render possible a searching examination and discussion of key issues of decisive general importance at a policy-making level'. There have been occasions in the past where it has done this, for example in some of the early discussion of economic development, and in the setting up of the United Nations Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance.

....

"In conclusion, let me say a few words on a matter that I know is in the minds of a great many of us. In the world as a whole there is a movement towards some accommodation between the great Powers. But in particular areas of the world there are -- and, unfortunately, it may be expected that there will continue to be -- tensions and potential sources of conflict, many of which are not susceptible to early or quick solution. In some of these places the United Nations has by its very presence had a beneficial influence; for instance, in ending open conflict or in calming the atmosphere. I have in mind such examples as the United Nations Observers in Kashmir and elsewhere; the UNEF in the Middle East; the Secretary-General's representative in Jordan, and the

./.

Secretary-General's own quiet diplomacy in the course of his many overseas visits. The United Nations 'presence' in a trouble spot can be a great influence for peace. It is something to which men's minds are increasingly turning, and is a development which the Australian Government welcomes as part of the positive role which the United Nations can play in the world. Let us exercise our minds towards directions in which the conception of the United Nations presence might be developed even more than has been the case in the past."

Mr. COUVE de MURVILLE, France (A/PV.814 at pages 28 and 31): "...It is true that since 1958 the situation in the Middle East has been remarkably stabilized. No one rejoices in this fact more than France, especially as far as Lebanon is concerned, where we hail the swift restoration of peace since the trials of 1958.

"Certainly all the problems are far from being solved, as is evidenced by the renewed difficulties concerning free transit through the Suez Canal for Israeli cargoes. The Constantinople Convention of 1888, reaffirmed by the United Nations, remains for us the Charter in this matter.

"Real progress, however, has been made, facilitated by the discreet and effective presence of the United Nations Emergency Force, which, as requested by the Secretary-General, should be allowed to continue its action."

./.

Mr. UNDEN, Sweden (A/PV.814 at pages 57 and 61): "In his annual report, the Secretary-General has drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the position of the International Court of Justice, which offers opportunities for constructive progress that have been seriously neglected. The Secretary-General recalls that, on previous occasions, he has noted with regret the failure of many Member States to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. In his report he further stresses that the development and acceptance of international law impartially administered by judicial tribunals is essential to progress towards a more just and peaceful international order."

....

"As we know, the International Court also has the function to give advisory opinions upon the request of the Security Council, the General Assembly and certain other United Nations organs. It should be recognized, the Secretary-General points out in this connexion, that there are many international disputes which involve legal questions along with the political elements and that submission of such questions to the Court for judicial determination would clear the ground for processes of peaceful negotiation in the political organs of the United Nations."

Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO, Indonesia (A/PV.815 at pages 4 and 5): "... As regards the functions and activities of the United Nations, I have read with great interest the views expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization.

Mr. Hammarskjöld points out that

'While the Charter establishes for its main organs the primary responsibility for the achievement of the purposes of the Organization, and gives access to its procedures to any State which appeals for its assistance for these purposes, the United Nations is not intended to be a substitute for normal procedures of reconciliation and mediation but rather an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security.'

(A/4132/Add.1, page 1)

./.

"Indeed, this conception clearly emerges from the fact the United Nations is an organization composed of sovereign nations. It is implicit in the provisions of the Charter. Moreover, numerous resolutions of the Organization, especially on political issues, recommend recourse to normal diplomatic procedures, as, for example, negotiations between the countries concerned.

"No, there is no question of the United Nations displacing other means of mediation or conciliation. But what does concern us very much is the proper utilization of this added instrument of diplomacy. As also noted by the Secretary-General, it is necessary for us continuously to reconsider the ways in which the United Nations can best function and fulfil its purposes.

"In this respect, it is appropriate to recall the reason for establishing this Organization as an additional instrument to preserve the peace. It was created not only with the expectation of maintaining for peaceful ends the close war-time collaboration among the great Powers but, equally, in recognition of the right of all countries to participate and co-operate in the solution of world problems. Peace and security in the international community have become the province and the concern of every nation, large and small.

"Referring once more to the report of the Secretary-General, I should like to support and to underline his contention that no international policy for the future can be envisaged which does not recognize the principle of organized international co-operation on a basis of universality and, further, is not willing to give this principle adequate implementation in practice.

"Within this context, the proper utilization of the United Nations as an added instrument for peace must mean the perfection of its integration

with the other means of reconciliation and mediation at our disposal. a procedure of co-operative or complementary efforts on the part of the United Nations and the individual Member States is, indeed, the basic framework for the operation of the Organization and its specialized agencies. It is the touchstone for the settlement of problems in accordance with our Charter goals. And in the past year we have seen it work successfully in the case of two aggravated issues."

Mr. PANYA, Laos (A/PV.815 at pages 51, 52, 68 and 71): "...Assistance to refugees, which has never been neglected since the inception of our Organization, surged forward suddenly and unexpectedly. Before the immensity of this problem and its growing acuteness as time passes, routine methods have proved inadequate. The collective conscience was stirred, and we may say that all felt ill at ease in the midst of liberty, security and comfort before the unfair situation and pitiable plight of millions of men who, at the very least, have as much right as everyone else to share in the goods of our world. The World Refugee Year was therefore proclaimed, and no doubt the results of this year will be commensurate with the efforts brought to bear. My Government and my country join wholeheartedly in this act of international solidarity, but I cannot fail on this occasion to pay a tribute to the country which, having conceived of this plan and having submitted it to the General Assembly, saw that it was supported by a substantial majority. I am speaking at this time of the United Kingdom.

"All these achievements can be inscribed on the credit side of the ledger of our Organization, but it would be unpardonable for us not

./.

to link with these successes our Secretary-General, whose tireless activity deserves our respect and gratitude. Thanks to him and to his qualities as a man, and to his high culture, his competence and his dedication, the decisions of the United Nations are translated into concrete acts and results. Whether he acts as Secretary-General or in his personal capacity, his action has always had a beneficent effect. His last visit to a certain number of capitals of Member States offers the best example of this. My country is happy to pay a public tribute to him from this rostrum.

....

"I would say, in parenthesis, that the Royal Lao Government has always affirmed its respect for the frontiers of Viet-Nam, particularly in this region. To give an example, the Lao-Bao military post which during the war operations was occupied by the Franco-Lao troops in 1954, was later occupied by units of the Lao army. During the months following the signature of the Geneva Agreement, the Lao army evacuated the village which since that time has been under the control of the Viet-Nam authorities.

"The occupation having taken place, the Hanoi authorities then offered to negotiate, but, we asked, on what basis should we negotiate? The negotiations could indeed not bear on the modalities for the evacuation of our national territory. But this is quite pointless, it would be sufficient for Hanoi to give a simple order for the withdrawal of its troops. The example of the occupation of Tasseng Chang is sufficiently enlightening and it would prevent us from attempting anything along these lines. Being desirous of avoiding a worsening of the situation,

. / .

the Royal Government withdrew the elements of the police force in this area, and troops stationed nearby were stationed elsewhere in order to avoid the risk of armed clashes.

"True to its policy of peace and to its confidence in the United Nations, the Royal Government requested the good offices of the Secretary-General to resolve this problem. While the Secretary-General sought ways and means to solve the situation, a more serious act was committed on 30 August which led to the first emergency measures taken by the Security Council."

Mr. FEKINI, Libya (A/PV.816 at pages 26 and 29): "Pending a just and fair solution of the Palestinian question as a whole, it is the duty of the United Nations, because of its responsibility in this matter, to assure the continuance of moral and material support for the Palestinian refugees through the competent agency of the United Nations. It is highly important that this United Nations assistance should be continued in the framework of the United Nations agency for Palestine refugees. In this connexion the Libyan delegation supports the proposals of the Secretary-General as regards the necessity for maintaining this agency, with all the functions it has been carrying out in conformity with United Nations responsibilities in this matter. The Libyan delegation considers that any solution concerning the settlement of Palestinian refugees must be sought through application of the General Assembly resolutions concerning the repatriation of the refugees to their homes and to their fields which have been despoiled by invaders.

./.

....

"Extending on behalf of the Libyan delegation the most sincere congratulations and well-deserved tokens of appreciation to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and his staff in the Secretariat for their sustained and devoted efforts in the service of the United Nations, I should like to conclude by assuring the General Assembly that the United Kingdom of Libya is indefectibly committed to the principles and ideals of the United Nations. I wish the General Assembly, during its present session, the greatest success in its deliberations and its work."

Mr. DELGADO, Philippines (A/PV.816 at page 41): "The Philippines will continue likewise to support the programme of the Secretary-General in the matter of advisory services in the field of human rights."

Mr. ALMAYEHOU, Ethiopia (A/PV.817 at pages 17 and 18): "In the field of the economic advancement of Africa, our requirements, both in terms of capital resources and technical know-how, are enormous. The United Nations is certainly doing useful work in the area through the expanded Technical Assistance Programme, and more recently by the establishment of the Special Fund and the Economic Commission for Africa."

....

"Having regard, therefore, to the scope of the Commission's activities in regard to the peoples of Africa, as determined by resolution 671 A (XXV) of the Economic and Social Council, we are

./.

confident that this Assembly will adopt the Secretary-General's modest budget estimate for 1960, because if the Commission does not have the necessary funds, it would be compelled to cut its essential programmes. I feel certain that the Assembly would not desire to see the essential programmes of the Commission handicapped."

Mr. KHEIR, Sudan (A/PV.817 at pages 21, 27 and 32) :

"To the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, and to his collaborators in the Secretariat and the specialized agencies goes our profound appreciation for doing so well a job that is so well worthwhile doing.

.....

"The United Nations assistance so kindly extended to the refugees is acknowledged as an act of human solidarity; as no less is the Secretary-General "strong and unreserved" recommendation in his recent report.

"Speaking, however, of assistance to the refugees and of gratitude for such assistance should not blind us to questions of essence. How long will this assistance endure? And for how long will it be endured? Living indefinitely on charity, however ungrudgingly given, is a matter most repugnant to human pride and dignity. Human dignity can only ebb to a certain abyss but not beyond. What then if such an abyss has already been reached?

./.

"The answer, in the view of the delegation of the Sudan, is clear and has been clearly endorsed by the Secretary-General in his report on Assistance to Palestine Refugees when he says, and I hope I am correct, that a final solution to the problem of the refugees as such cannot be divorced from a solution to the political and psychological problem of Palestine in its entirety.

.....

"On the question of general disarmament, we believe that the solution of the problem is the key to the consolidation of peace. In this context, we are gratified to note the establishment of the four-Power Committee as a serious attempt of tackling the problem. We appreciate also, the communications made by the four Powers to the Secretary-General in which the countries concerned declared their intention to keep the Disarmament Commission informed of the progress of their deliberations, because the question of disarmament and the regulation of armaments is of over-riding concern to all the Members of the United Nations."

Mr. CORREA, Ecuador (A/PV.817 at pages 51, 52, 53-55 and 63-65):

"It is true that the enigmas of the political world have to a large extent affected the workings of our Organization; but we do have a vigorous Organization which occupies the main position in world public opinion.

" In his admirable introduction to the annual report on the working of the Organization, the Secretary-General makes a number of pertinent observations which must be borne in mind in the course of our discussions.

./.

Two of the main bodies of the United Nations have shown increasing vigour and efficiency. I refer to the General Assembly and to the Secretariat.

.....

"Furthermore, the General Assembly, because of the admission of new Members to it, took a significant step toward universality and widened its representative character. Considerable fears were expressed regarding the danger that, due to the increase in and expansion of the General Assembly, we were not adequately revising the methods, procedures and workings of the body. It is obvious that the more numerous the Assembly becomes, the smaller is its capacity to act as a concrete unit. But it will give rise to a very much more complete understanding between the Members of the Assembly; the strengthening of the functions of the Secretary-General has also in practice added to the activities and possibility of action of the Assembly.

.....

"The ever-increasing functions being carried out by the Secretary-General, and particularly by the exercise of diplomatic activities besides those traditionally considered political and administrative, has been a factor which has given great life and vigour to our Organization in the last years. His presence at different diplomatic stages outside the United Nations constituted a symbol of the interest shown by our Organization in vital questions. His pacifying action in many countries has reduced the fear of conflict. His policy of encouraging the causes of the under-developed countries is so authentically representative of the spirit of the Charter. May I take advantage of this opportunity to say that the Government of Ecuador is behind the Secretary-General and we support and applaud him for what he has done.

. / .

- 49 -

"It is true that the actions and activities of the Council are seen suddenly emerging in a critical situation, as was the case in Lebanon in 1958 and in Laos in 1959, both extremely complex cases upon which the Council was able to pass adequate measures. In view of the importance of the functions of the Council, the Secretary-General suggests the holding of closed meetings, not called upon to study concrete items, but to examine the aspects of the international situation which may fall to the competence of the Security Council in view of the functions which are vested in it by the Charter. This might be one of the ways which will lead to a strengthening of the Council, and perhaps it might be worthwhile exploring it, as well as exploring at such meetings the possibility of setting up confidence in the minds of the parties to a conflict that their cases will be dealt with only on their merits.

....

"At the eighth plenary meeting of the Commission which was held in Panama in May of this year, it was unanimously decided that beginning in 1960 a group of experts of member Governments would draft an agreement for a common market on the basis of studies already set forth in the report of the Trade Committee and especially set forth in the report of the working group composed of outstanding personalities and officials of Latin America. The draft agreement will be referred to the members so as to set up a free trade zone which will gradually be transformed into a customs union.

"Latin America has placed great hopes in setting up this common market. May I take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General of the Organization the gratitude of my Government for the work which has been done with exemplary devotion by the eminent Secretary of the

./.

Economic Commission for Latin America, Mr. Saul Prebisch, and his group of colleagues."

Mr. Telli DIALLO, Guinea (A/PV.818 at page 2): "It is an agreeable duty for me to associate myself with the congratulations to

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld for the distinguished and able way in which he is fulfilling his duties."

Mr. MOKKALEM, Tunisia (A/PV.818 at pages 43-45 and 52): "At the same time I should like to pay a vibrant tribute to the great devotion of our eminent Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld who, through happy initiatives, has been able to strengthen the moral authority of our Organization and to strengthen the voice with which it speaks among the peoples.

....

"After a reading of the Secretary-General's report, my delegation considers that, in the immediate future, long term action on the humanitarian level must be further prosecuted. Only the repatriation of the refugees to their homes and the restoration to them of their goods can be the basis of an acceptable settlement and the beginning of the relaxation of tension, which is so desirable in this neuralgic region of the Middle East. We must particularly see to it that decisions and resolutions of the United Nations calling for the restoration of the refugees to their homelands are carried out. Pending the swift implementation of these decisions, conservatory measures may be adopted. Thus the properties of Arab refugees in Palestine might provisionally be placed under international escrow. In this connexion, our Organization can take some felicitous initiatives by creating an international jurisprudence for an administrative-juridical problem which may set a precedent for the future.

./.

"We register with satisfaction the positive elements contained in the Secretary-General's report as regards the continuation of United Nations assistance and the need to avoid all measures which do not command the assent of the refugees, but we cannot accept the link established between the economic development of the region and the treatment of the refugees because this economic advancement and development is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the countries and Governments concerned. In this respect, we stand solidly with our other fraternal Arab countries and we unreservedly support their views on the settlement of the Palestinian Arab refugee question."

Mr. AUGUSTE, Haiti (A/PV.819 at pages 19-20): "When one believes in human values, and when one meets these on the road of life, it is well to stop and salute the man who embodies these values, in order to note these merits, particularly when his acts come close to the beautiful ideal of always more and always better. It is therefore a particular pleasure for the Haitian delegation to pay public tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, a man who time and again has commanded admiration for his profound sense of social justice and his eminent qualities as a statesman."

Mr. SHANAHAN, New Zealand (A/PV.819 at pages 21, 22, 26, 27, 28-30, 32, 33-35):

"...Since the establishment of the United Nations, much has been done through international co-operation to assist the advancement of the less developed countries. In any historical perspective, this record is impressive; but, as the Secretary-General reminded us twelve months ago, the volume of resources absorbed each year in military uses exceeds the total resources available for economic development in Asia, Africa and Latin America. All of us, I am sure, would wish to reverse that trend.

./.

"I would refer particularly to the negotiations among the Foreign Ministers of the four Powers which have special responsibility in regard to Germany. These negotiations are of vital importance to the preservation of peace, and they receive appropriate mention in the Secretary-General's report to this Assembly.

"Despite the handicaps under which it has often laboured, the United Nations has given many proofs of its ability to contribute actively to the relief of international tension. In this respect, it is perhaps in the Middle East that we are confronted with the greatest challenge. Nowhere is a relaxation of tension more to be desired. The benefits of progress would be felt throughout the world; but, first and foremost, they would be reflected in better living standards for the peoples of the area themselves. In this context, I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to provide for the continuance of United Nations assistance to Arab refugees, and in every way to help in bringing about an improved international atmosphere in the Middle East.

"It is our impression that some changes in the role of the Council are also demanded if it is to keep pace with the extension of United Nations interests and activities. It is, however, equally pertinent to recall that the Council and its subsidiary bodies already have substantial achievements to their credit. Among the most notable is the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, which the Secretary-General has justly described as 'an example of international economic co-operation on an unprecedented scale'. This statement is all the more impressive when it is remembered that the Expanded Programme is only one facet of a larger undertaking - the economic and social development of the less-developed countries.

./.

"In order to raise living standards for the world's rapidly increasing population, a vast co-operative effort by both developed and under-developed countries is also required. This is a challenge which the international community must meet. A close analysis of all existing efforts in the light of priority needs will indicate the points at which further measures should be taken to raise living standards. By reason of its world-wide associations and its highly qualified staff, the United Nations is in a particularly good position to help in this function. Recently a number of ways have been suggested in which the role of the United Nations in the field of international economic policy could be developed. Among these, one of the most interesting, we feel, is the suggestion made by the Secretary-General at the recent meeting of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva for high-level discussions on major questions of economic policy."

Mr. ENCKELL, Finland (A/PV.819 at page 41): "My delegation does not share the view that recent trends need mean a diminution of the role of this Organization. In this context I wish to recall the significant words of the Secretary-General in his excellent introduction to his annual report. He pointed out that:

'The various diplomatic and political activities in the course of the past year are in full harmony with the intentions expressed in the Charter. They may even be said to reflect obligations which Member nations have assumed in the Charter. Also, irrespective of this formal aspect of the matter, those who support the work of the Organization must welcome all such serious efforts to further the purposes for which it was set up, whatever the specific form such efforts may take.'

"In another connexion, the Secretary-General described the United

Nations as 'an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security.'

"We have at this stage a great responsibility for using this instrument to its full advantage."

Mr. UPADHYAYA, Nepal (A/PV.820 at pages 6, 7 and 8): "The United Nations has before it the report of the Secretary-General on the question of continuation of the United Nations Emergency Force. Now, this Force was created in 1956 at the time of the Suez crisis, when the shadow of a third world war seemed to loom very large indeed. At that crucial moment in the history of the Middle East, the Emergency Force played a most worthy role in keeping and supervising peace along the Arab-Israeli border, and has continued to do so until today. It is difficult to pay a really adequate tribute to this Emergency Force, in view of the excellent work which it has done. Again, the United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon, to which my own country made some humble contribution of its own, did a really wonderful job along the Syrian-Lebanon border last year, and thus not only arrested the worsening of the situation in the area, but was also responsible for restoring or recreating the normal situation that obtains there today. In the light of experience of the fourteen years during which the United Nations has been in existence, it may be claimed that there has been a need for such a force on different occasions, for meeting a sudden and unexpected threat to peace. Therefore, His Majesty's Government in Nepal, in taking up the report of the Secretary-General, reiterates the stand which it took at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly that a small force, even if to be used merely for non-combatant purposes, should be available to the United Nations, and this force should be maintained by Member States to be employed at the

./.

behest of the United Nations. It has been amply proved by our experience that a small but efficient United Nations force will be necessary on a permanent basis if the United Nations is to fulfill the great responsibility of keeping the peace in the world.

"During the year, the Secretary-General made an extensive tour of several Asian countries, including Nepal, and at the conclusion of his tour, in a meeting of the Economic and Social Council, he made an appeal to the advanced countries to dedicate themselves even more vigorously than in the past to helping the development of the under-developed countries in Asia, Africa and South America. The Secretary-General is universally respected for his wisdom and imagination, and we hope that the United Nations will pay adequate attention to his words of wisdom in relation to the development of the under-developed countries."

Mr. FAWZI, United Arab Republic (A/FV.820 at pages 17, 18-20): "The report of the Secretary-General dated 15 June 1959 and entitled 'Proposals for the continuation of United Nations assistance to Palestine Refugees' has naturally been the subject of careful study and thought. It covers twenty weighty pages. The crux of it, especially as accurately measured by relevance, is a sentence of only six words in which the Secretary-General says, 'I recommend the continuation of UNRWA.' To this we readily agree, pending the definitive and equitable solution of the question of Palestine. We have all often agreed with Mr. Hammarskjold. But when to some of us he seemed to cast, I am sure involuntarily, a shadow on the undimable and inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab Nation, they could not help entertaining a feeling of concern. They have therefore especially welcomed the statements which Mr. Hammarskjold made later and in which, as was to be expected, he reaffirms his respect for the rights of the refugees and the

./.

resolutions of the United Nations regarding them. The concern which had been felt and expressed by some of us on this occasion was clearly a measure of the depth of the convictions and emotions in this respect embedded in every Arab mind and heart and in the minds and hearts of many others."

Mr. THORS, Iceland (A/PV.820 at pages 33-35, 42): "The Icelandic delegation has during the past weeks listened with interest to the many speeches of all those who have had anything to offer toward the solution of any of our diversified world problems. Some speakers have also referred to the status of our Organization of the United Nations, and to its future prospects. Let me only mention the difficulties and embarrassment caused by the tardiness of many delegations to pay their annual and approved contributions to the Organization to enable it to run efficiently its detailed work on a financially sound basis. However, it is gratifying to note that we all seem agreed in our unflinching trust in our wise, well-advised and energetic Secretary-General and in our highest officials, including all the Under Secretaries, as well as the members of the Secretariat in general and the staff. We have in fact to be thankful for all the information, statistical data, scholarly and even scientific reports with which the Secretariat treats us all the year round, although some of us are obliged to feel occasionally that we have more documents than there is time to read them. All these reports have great statistical and educational value, and our government offices could hardly function satisfactorily without these reports of the United Nations Secretariat.

"The situation in the Middle East, which was fraught with dangers and threatening clouds last year, has now, fortunately, somewhat calmed down, although not completely, as we have all heard this morning. There still

./.

remain many unsolved problems in that area. The whole question of the Middle East has to be treated on a broad basis, and it is to be hoped that the far-sighted and through suggestions by the Secretary-General regarding the Palestine refugees will receive adequate and undeserved consideration."

Mr. ISMAIL, Federation of Malaya (A/PV.821 at page 4-5): "My delegation feels that it is incumbent upon us to speak on Laos. Laos is an extremely friendly country. Laos is our close neighbour. We know that Laos is sparing no efforts in consolidating its position in order to create stability and prosperity for its people. All that Laos wants is peace to carry on and to be left alone. Yet what do we see in Laos but intrigues, subversion and now the position has deteriorated so much that the Secretary-General has been approached. We are glad that the Security Council is seized of the matter and we are definitely satisfied that the decision it took to appoint a fact finding Sub-Committee was a correct one. The maintenance of peace and security is certainly the business of the Security Council. Had it not taken that decision it would have failed in its sacred responsibility towards mankind."

Mr. PALAMAS, Greece (A/PV.821 at pages 27 and 28): "The fact that recent negotiations on the limitation of armaments, as well as certain great international problems which at present preoccupy the world, appear to be evolving outside the United Nations, has

created the impression that the world Organization is being excluded from these developments.

"Apprehensions on this subject have been voiced, of which the echo may be found even in the Secretary-General's report. It is true that he does not seem to find them justified and his personal opinion on this score is reassuring.

"However, while we share the Secretary-General's solidly established opinion, we think that we are all in duty bound to pay special attention to a matter which so closely affects the future of our Organization. For what is not happening today might happen tomorrow. And it would be a great misfortune if ever international relations were to be removed from the field of the United Nations and to return to the paths of the past. We hear it said sometimes that the ways and methods of the old diplomacy present considerable advantages as compared with those of the United Nations. To debate delicate political affairs -- we are told -- in open forum is an error which goes contrary to mutual interests and to friendly relations between nations."

Sir Claude CORRA, Ceylon (A/PV.821 at pages 60, 62, 73 and 74): "At the same time, there is an anxious feeling growing among many, including Members of this Organization, regarding a tendency to deal with pressing international problems outside this body, by diplomatic activity amongst a few or the great Powers. In his Introduction to the Annual Report, the Secretary-General discusses this important matter and concludes that

./.

such activity is within the Charter. Of course, my delegation agrees with him fully when he says:

'... the United Nations is not intended to be a substitute for normal procedures of reconciliation and mediation but rather an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security.' (A/4132/Add.1, page 1)

But the position should be carefully considered by us all and, more particularly by the great Powers themselves in order to prevent the weakening of our own Organization. This can happen if we neglect the possibilities which the Organization offers, and fail to discuss our problems here within the United Nations.

"There is also the possibility that some consider that the Organization is not able to meet the demands which Member States are entitled to put on it. A case in point is the Disarmament Commission established by resolution of the General Assembly at its thirteenth session last year. It is undoubtedly true that disarmament is essentially a matter for big-Power agreement. But it is an issue of vital interest to all Member States and one on which they are all, including the smaller States, competent to make some valuable contribution. The Disarmament Commission was not in fact convened for nearly a whole year, and was actually convened only a few days before the General Assembly met at its fourteenth session, after the great Powers had reached a decision. This is an unsatisfactory state of affairs which creates a legitimate concern. we are, however,

./.

satisfied that the Secretary-General has interpreted the situation correctly, but our concern makes us express the hope that all its Member States will utilize the possibilities of the Organization to the fullest extent.

.....

"I should like here to express our great appreciation of the most valuable constructive work done in his usual quiet but effective manner by our Secretary-General in reducing tensions, creating better understanding and in attempting to attain the basic objectives of the Charter. His task has not been easy, but we admire the patience, determination and confidence he has shown in carrying out his difficult and delicate task, and we wish him continued success in the role he has to play.

.....

"It is alarming that more than a half of the world's population belongs to what are called the under-developed areas. This is a danger to themselves and to the rest of the world, even to those who are highly developed and who enjoy a high standard of living. With the alarming increase of population, particularly in the under-developed areas, the people in these areas are getting poorer and the standards of living are declining at a time when in some other areas standards are improving. There is an unhealthy imbalance. We have read with considerable satisfaction the statement Dr. Ludwig Erhard, West Germany's Minister of Economy, is reported to have made only a few days ago. Addressing

./.

himself to his countrymen, he advised that they should ask themselves whether 'we have the right to enjoy all to ourselves the steady annual increase of 6 per cent in our national product.' He thought that a part of this increase could well be diverted to aid to underdeveloped nations. In the course of the same statement, Dr. Erhard described such aid as 'the greatest task of the twentieth century'. These are weighty words, coming as they do from so great an authority.

"Reference to this dangerous situation has been made by many other eminent and responsible persons over the years, on different occasions, notably by our own Secretary-General. In the introduction to his annual report to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General stated, in the course of his observations on economic stability and growth:

'Though we live in an era of unprecedented gains in material well-being, most of mankind is yet condemned to a life of extreme poverty. The task of ameliorating the conditions of life in under-developed countries demands a sense of urgency which, I believe, the nations of the world have not yet sufficiently realized.'

What the Secretary-General said in his report to the thirteenth session is equally true at the present time."

Mr. BENHIMA, Morocco (A/PV.823 at pages 27, and 37): "During the first seven months of 1959, my Government addressed three notes in succession to the French Government drawing its attention to the fact that the

territories where it was proposed to hold the explosions were in dispute and drawing its attention to the dangers which threatened particularly the people of Morocco, who are the closest to Reggane, where these explosions were to be held. The last of these notes was purely and simply rejected. It was then that the Government of His Majesty asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations to inscribe this question on the agenda of the current session.

"My delegation will set forth its views on all aspects of this question in greater detail when the matter is taken up in the First Committee. But an argument has been advanced by the French Government in connexion with which my delegation would like to make a few observations forthwith.

....

"The Secretary-General of the United Nations, of whose spirit of justice we know and whose efforts we wish to praise, has presented to this Organization a report designed to bring about the integration of the Palestine refugees in various Arab countries. Morocco abides loyally by the only valid principle of justice which can operate in the settlement of this question, and that can only be the return of the refugees to their fatherland. That is why my Government and my delegation have been unable to support the suggestions contained in the Secretary-General's report."

Mr. Krishna MENON, India (A/PV.823 at pages 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 66, 68, 73, 74, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 91, 93, 104, 106-109): "This session of the General Assembly opened, in the early stages, with an address of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. It was

./.

one of the greatest events of our time, especially in view of the pronouncements he made and the policy decisions he communicated to this Assembly, to which my delegation will address itself at a later stage.

"There has been a degree of criticism and, on the part of the Secretary-General, what sounds somewhat like an apology for the development of events outside the United Nations. So far as the Government of India is concerned, we do not look upon this as though we have to suffer through things as they are or make the best of a bad position. We think that the developments that have taken place in what is called outside the United Nations, in so far as they are developments which contribute towards the progress of humanity, towards world peace and co-operation, are inside the United Nations, in so far as the United Nations is not bound by the limits of this Organization but by the principles and purposes of the Charter. The Secretary-General has already pointed out the constitutional and other reasons which justify this kind of negotiation.

"We think that it is very important, wherever possible, that those who are in a position to negotiate, who are in a position to deliver the goods, those between whom there are greater suspicions than others, should take advantage of every opportunity, and we in the United Nations should wish them well. We are equally anxious that our anxiety or our concern in this matter should find a response in those others who are concerned, that we should be informed, that we should educate ourselves, and that we should make our contribution as to the places where we stand.

"We have before us the report of the Secretary-General, which is of unusual character. It deals with questions of political philosophy

and theory; it deals with problems that have to do with the development of this Organization in the future. And I say, in all humility, that I do not think that our Organization has given proper attention either to these problems or to the report itself. The Secretary-General's report is received as a matter of course, and we are inclined to think that our responsibilities are over when we pay him his meed of thanks.

"We are grateful not only to the Secretary-General for this report. In his person, he embodies the whole of the Secretariat. At the end of this general debate, we should like to offer the thanks of our delegation and, if I may say so, the thanks of all of us, to all those persons who make up the Secretariat, who make the functioning of the Assembly possible, and who prepare the large amount of material and the considerable number of documents which we receive, and some of which we do not receive. For all these things, we are grateful to the Secretariat -- to the administrative staff, to the interpreters and to everybody concerned. Most of them are people whose names do not appear in the newspapers and do not even appear in official records. If not for their diligence and their devotion to duty and the hard work they have to put in, often after office hours, it would not be possible for us to function here. May I therefore take the liberty of asking the Secretary-General to convey to the Secretariat, in an appropriate way, the appreciation of my delegation.

"It is not possible for me to study this report publicly, because some of it is obviously debatable, and I do not want at this stage of the Assembly to enter into a controversial field. However, one may be permitted to refer to the various points.

./.

"The Secretary-General has referred to the universality of the United Nations. I am sure that, as things stand, all delegations but one in this Assembly hall would vote for universality as far as membership is concerned. But the observations of the Secretary-General go a little further, when this universal conception has a bearing upon functioning in such a way as though the concern of every Member of the Assembly has to be demarcated in one form or another. I do not say that this is altogether a proposition that should not be considered, but it has its pitfalls. It is one of those things that I do hope will engage the attention of the Assembly in the future -- that is the development of the Organization, to what extent the United Nations has become synonymous with the entirety of its Members and the Governments represented -- and, even where the results are good, to what extent, for the time being or for all time, they have to keep out of it.

"There are certain constitutional procedures where, again, there are certain aspects which one would welcome and other aspects which one would want to study. We will all admit that as the work of the United Nations grows, becomes intensive, becomes more a day-to-day affair, the functioning of the representatives of Governments at Headquarters who are accredited to the United Nations would become more important. But my Government has always taken the view that, whether it be in groups, the Asian-African group or the European group or whatever it is, policies are to be made by chancelleries, and therefore no group of representatives, either at a particular time at an Assembly or otherwise, could, in the present circumstances of the world, in the absence of a world constitution and world law, become de facto a world government. Therefore, while we are fully aware of the importance of

day-to-day consultation, this Organization will carry weight with public opinion in various countries, will have the conscious and enthusiastic support of Governments, only to the extent that, in activities from day to day, the Secretary-General's personality itself is more and more in touch with Governments and Chancelleries. Mr. Hammarskjöld is fully conscious of this matter and, during the considerable time that he has between sessions of the Assembly, he takes care to visit capitals. Unfortunately, he has to do a certain amount of sightseeing, but included in these sights are the statesmen of those countries.

....

"The Secretary-General has also made reference to the International Court and its uses. In that connexion, reference was made in the course of the debate to the fact that certain countries -- particularly referring to us -- had taken the view that we could make decisions on matters where others are concerned, and that it would be far better if we accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court. Merely as a point of information, I should like to inform the Assembly that the Government of India has accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court, and the documents in this connexion have been circulated by the Secretariat. Of course, the acceptance contains reservations, but those reservations are not unusual. They are reservations which appertain to all Commonwealth countries, and reservations which are common in diplomatic practice. But, apart from that, we have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court.

"It is usual at this time to look at the agenda of the United Nations. It is one of the easiest things to do because we have looked at it for ten years. It is always the same agenda because it is the

./.

same world. But there are certain changes and developments, and then our approach to these items will vary. I do not think we should be cynical and say that we discuss the same things year after year. I suppose we discuss the same thing in one sense, but we make a different approach to these problems. Certain new items have come onto the agenda, and the Secretary-General's report, I think, constitutes one of the not unnecessary items on the agenda but a document which provides much food for thought. I hope the Secretary-General at some time will give consideration to placing the individual matters for consideration before the appropriate organs of the United Nations.

....

"There is another project where there is so much interest in the United Nations. Indeed, it figures in the report of the Secretary-General with regard to community project developments. India today aspires to cover herself with this form of village democracy and planning, economic and social, right from the bottom. Sixty per cent of our villages are covered by these projects, and 56.6 per cent of our population, somewhere about 165 million.

"Then we come to a larger development which has international bearings. In a country like ours, which has come into the field of modern development only recently and with a standard of life indicated by the figures I have given with regard to per capita income, modern development, which requires capital goods from highly advanced countries, and what is more, different separators, which also have been conditioned by the economy of other countries, is to a large extent conditioned by our capacity to buy in foreign lands. That is, external assistance becomes of great importance. In this sphere the United Nations itself has taken part, although only with what the Secretary-General would in private call at a laboratory stage.

....

./.

"From these matters we must now go on to various other questions which have been raised here specifically. In this matter, I should like to deal with questions with which we are intimately concerned.

"The Secretary-General, on the one hand, and various delegations, on the other, have referred to United Nations peace forces; that is to say, the machinery, the instruments, for applying sanctionary powers or carrying out police duties, or whatever it may be called. We, as a country, have participated in this development, and continue to do so and to carry some of its burdens. I hope, Mr. President, that you will forgive us if we take the opportunity of expressing our views.

"The Government of India is not at present prepared to participate in a standing force of the United Nations as such and we do not think that it is a practical proposition. We are surprised to find that some countries have proposed that certain units should be allocated and demarcated for United Nations purposes. But if they are so allocated, what do they do when the United Nations does not want them? Therefore, it is not possible, in a defence force of any country, to have troops allocated and demarcated in this way.

"Secondly, for political reasons, we think that, with the present state of development in the world and in the absence of world law and of the universality of the United Nations, in the absence of the fact that we as an Organization are free from group politics and capable of taking objective decisions, we do not think that it would be right to place at the disposal of such an organization forces which may be moved without the consent of the people concerned. The time will come, in a disarmed world, when war is no longer regarded as a machinery for the settling of disputes, when some kind of political organization may be required to deal with those who break the world law; but we think

./.

that it is premature at the present time to speak in terms of a United Nations force or to expect countries to shoulder the responsibility from the point of view of personnel or of money.

"In this connexion I am sure that the Secretary-General will expect us to say that units of the Indian army today in the Gaza Strip are there as a peace force; and we are happy to participate in this venture. But it imposes considerable burdens upon us, to a certain extent recompensed by the fact that these men, not diplomats, not university men, not men trained in the arts of peace but in the arts of defence, have been the best ambassadors whom our country has ever sent out. They have no quarrels; they have left no social problems behind them, as occupying armies do. They have created no difficulties in the places where they have gone. And this has been our experience in Korea, as well as with the officers who went to Indochina, the forces which Mr. Hammarskjold requested in a hurry for UNMOGIL in Lebanon, and now who, for two or more years have stood as a peace force in true Ghandian tradition on the Gaza Strip between Israel and Egypt -- giving unfortunate evidence of the fact that there is an armistice line and that the two countries are not at peace.

.....

"The Royal Government of Laos has alleged aggression and subversion by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Whatever may be the motives of the Democratic Republic in working for resumption of the activities of the Commission, it is clear that the Commission helped in achieving political integration and in the establishment of the unity and sovereignty of the Laotian Government over the entire territory of Laos. It has also been specifically directed under the

./.

Agreement to see that there are no violations of the frontiers of Laos. That was one of the functions of the Commission.

"India's view is that the present trouble is due mainly to the by-passing of the Geneva Agreement procedures and the aggressive attitudes that have prevailed since the Commission adjourned.

"Basing its attitude on its experience during its independence struggle, India believes in the pacific settlement of disputes. It is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in South East Asia and in the world. It undertook special responsibility in connexion with the maintenance of peace in Indochina at the request of the Co-Chairmen and, while not wedded to any particular procedures or interested in apportioning blame to parties, would like to see the adoption of procedures which would secure the cessation of fighting in Laos and the restoration of peace both inside and along the frontiers of Laos.

"In this connexion, I should like to quote a communication made by my Prime Minister. I have already referred to the fact that the two Co-Chairmen had taken notice of the adjournment motion, which was only for an adjournment sine die with a proviso to reconvene. Writing to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 30 June 1959, since the Secretary-General had very kindly taken it upon himself to use his good offices in his capacity as Secretary-General of the United Nations and had been in touch with us, my Prime Minister wrote to Mr. Hammarskjold in this way:

'The Agreement for the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos was a part of the resolution arrived at in Geneva in regard to the Indochina settlement. In the Agreements made in 1954, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was a signatory on behalf of the Fighting Forces of Pathet Lao and these Agreements were accompanied by a number of Declarations, including one by the Government of Laos, indicating in general terms that Laos would remain outside the active

of the Power blocs. Again, as a signatory of Geneva on behalf of the Pathet Lao, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is interested in the various Agreements later arrived at between the Royal Government of Laos and the Fighting Forces of Pathet Lao...We are not justified in assuming, and it would be unrealistic to assume, that the conclusions of these Agreements render the problems there, which have become increasingly ominous, solely the internal affairs of Laos. The International Commission, despite its adjournment, stands charged with the responsibilities assumed under the Geneva Agreements. This kind of development and situation which obtain at present were investigated when the Geneva Agreements were made and these were brought within the authority and the functions vested in the International Commission and the arrangements arising therefrom to which the Royal Government of Laos is a signatory.

'We have consistently taken the view that the territorial integrity and unity of Laos is basic to the Geneva Agreements in respect of Laos. Any problem of a "territorial conflict" between the different political groups within Laos is not envisaged by the Geneva Agreements. If, however, the "conflict" relates to the dispute between the North Viet-Nam and Laos, it will be in the nature of a border problem which can well form the subject of discussion and of mediation by and through the Commission.'

"In regard to the raising of the Laotian issue in the United Nations, the Prime Minister of India said to Mr. Hammarskjold:

'It is not clear to me how any effective action can be taken through the United Nations against a country such as the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam which is not a Member of the United Nations...In fact, any reference to the Security Council would bring these

./.

questions into the region of great Power conflicts and put an end to much of the good work that was resulted from the Geneva Agreements.'

"I want to assure the Assembly that we do not claim any vested interest in this matter, but our country, along with Canada and Poland, has struggled for four long years to keep the peace in this part of the world. So far as we are concerned, it has been a considerable strain, and the conditions that prevail have been the subject of communications between our two partners and the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union and, latterly, the Secretary-General, all in the hope that what was accomplished in 1954 -- when as I said, on 11 August the guns were silenced -- could continue.

"For twenty-five years war had reigned in the world, since Japan made its incursions into Manchuria. We think that, if that international body -- whether established by the United Nations or not, it was within its competence, it was there merely for the purpose of peace -- if it had continued its functions, perhaps, and only perhaps, the present situation could have been avoided.

"Over and above that, we would like to make this submission. Because a country is independent, and this includes our own, and because it is a Member of the United Nations, there is no authority in international law -- indeed it would be a very bad precedent -- by which it can therefore repudiate agreements it has previously made. This is a denunciation of a treaty, and it remains a denunciation of a treaty.

....

"All we should like to say is this. The basis of the position in Indochina is the Geneva Agreements. There is no fighting in Cambodia, but the Cambodian Government does not want the Commission dissolved. It is kept there in an attenuated form. Viet-Nam stands divided at the

./.

seventeen-and-a-half degree parallel, into the North and the South. Neither of them is a Member of this body, on account of this decision. We believe that it is largely the Geneva Agreements and the presence of the Commission, and its objectivity, that have been able to maintain peace in that area. It should not be forgotten that, far away as this part of the world may be from the Headquarters of the United Nations, small countries as they may be, inhabited by people on a lower standard of life and so on, and however we may regard them as outside the centre of so-called civilization, any conflict in that area would disturb the stability of South-East Asia.

"We all breathed a sigh of relief when, as I said largely to impress the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at that time, ably assisted by the Soviet Union and, I must say, the Prime Ministers of China and Viet-Nam, and by all the other parties -- the Pathet Lao, the Laotian Government and everyone else -- and with the help contributed by the former Prime Minister of France, Mr. Mendes-France, an agreement was reached and it kept the peace. Our Government had the responsibility of supplying the greater part of the personnel for maintaining communications. The French Government carried a great deal of the financial burden. The Governments of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom made financial contributions in order to keep the machinery of peace going. It is a great pity if international agreements are disregarded, and in some way any action taken by the United Nations tends to throw a degree of support into this. There is nothing in the action the United Nations has taken that would necessarily be inconsistent with the Geneva Agreement, and I am sure it is the desire of the Secretary-General to see the restoration, not necessarily of the Commission or anything of that kind -- that is up to him to decide -- but that there will be some attempt to establish the position of the Geneva Agreement.

./.

....

"A colonial territory is a territory where the majority of the populations can make no impact upon the policy of Governments and where economically, socially and otherwise, they are exploited. There are large parts of Africa in this condition, and there are small portions of Asia in this condition. The Portuguese representative pointed out here the other day that Portugal had no colonies, they were all part of the metropolitan territory. Portugal's reply to the Secretary-General on 8 November 1956 stated 'She does not administer any territories that come under Article 73 of the Charter'. That Article is very clear on this matter, and we shall discuss it in detail in the Fourth Committee. Article 73 states:

'Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end ...

'e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories' -- that is all we ask for -- 'for which they are respectively responsible...'

....

./.

"I should like to deal for a moment with the position in Africa. To anyone who has spoken about the colonial territories, Africa stands in a category of its own, and my delegation has been delighted to notice that year after year for the last three or four years the Secretary-General has paid special attention to Africa, and the establishment of the Economic Commission on Africa is a great measure of progress about which my Government would like to express its appreciation.

.....

"We have asked for a long time, from the year 1949, for an armaments truce, and also for the Secretariat to start what they call the blueprint for a disarmament treaty so that the arguments would be in regard to particular details and not merely to phrase-placing juxtaposition.

.....

"We therefore think that this problem is fully covered in pursuant to the principles laid down in the Constantinople Convention of 1888:

"The Suez Canal Authority, by the terms of its Charter, can in no case grant any vessel, company or other party, any advantage or favour not accorded to other vessels, companies or parties on the same condition. Complaints of discrimination or violation of the Canal Code is incorporated in the Canal Code. Violations of the Canal Code shall be sought to be resolved by the complaining party by a reference to the Suez Canal Authority in the first instance. In the event of such a reference not resolving the

✓.

complaint, the matter may be referred, at option of the complaining party or the Authority, to an Arbitration Tribunal composed of one nominee of the complaining party, one of the authority and a third to be chosen by both. In case of disagreement, such third will be chosen by the International Court of Justice upon the application of either party. The decisions of the Arbitration Tribunal shall be made by majority of its members. The decision shall be binding upon the parties when they are rendered and they must be carried out in good faith."

"Soon afterwards, in order to set all doubts at rest, we are glad to note that the following declaration also was deposited with the Secretary-General on 18 July 1957:

'I, Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Egypt, declare on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Egypt, that, in accordance with article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice and in pursuance and for the purposes of paragraph 9 (b) of the Declaration of the Government of the Republic of Egypt dated 24 April 1957 on the Suez Canal and the arrangements for its operation, the Government of the Republic of Egypt accept as compulsory ipso facto, on condition of reciprocity and without special agreement, the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in all legal disputes that may arise under the said paragraph 9 (b) of the above Declaration...'
(S/3818/Add.1)

"So that as far as we are concerned, if there is a violation of any legal rights, intra-national or international, they are today justifiable. Therefore, if the existing situation is something that militates

against the interests of the parties concerned, or of international behaviour, I think that we should follow the advice of the Secretary-General and evoke the operation of the Courts.

....

"Mr. Khrushchev referred to the fact that \$100 billion was spent in the making of armaments and that if this money was saved, it would go towards the development of the world as a whole. I have not the time nor the facts before me to detail these matters to you. Not only do we have hope, but we must work for a warless world, a world without war. A world community has been established and at the present time it has been placed in the context of measurable time.

"There arises a new situation. Today in this world we have 2,800 million people. Whatever may be your personal views on this matter, at the end of this century there will be 5,200 million people in this world. We are increasing at the rate of sixty million a year. And arising from this, my delegation would like to put to the Assembly the fact that the Secretariat should be charged with producing the blueprints of what may be called 'a world plan of development'. It is not only a question of the Special Fund or the technical aid, or this or that other thing, but how we are going to subsist in this world with 5,000 million people, where, on the one hand, the per capita income of a prosperous country is somewhere about \$1800 per head, while in other places it is \$58 per head, while there are large pockets of unemployment, while there is the position that industrially and socially they are backward, and where there is the problem of feeding these vast populations. So a world of peace must be a world of imbalance. A world of imbalance would be a world that is not at peace.

./.

" My delegation would submit for the consideration of the Secretariat that they produce the blueprints of a world plan, which should be the main concern of the Second Committee from next year onwards. It should not be a question of tinkering with this or that, but it should be recognized that the \$100 billion that would be saved would not go to the production of consumer goods which would find their place in the under-developed areas. No under-developed country is prepared to take imperialism in reverse. It should not be forgotten that when the making of armaments in the present armed world has stopped and the producers who are now consuming the \$100 billion in one way or another turn to peaceful occupation, the under-developed world at the same time is also producing goods.

.....

" It is not a question merely of technical assistance as we knew it before, but of a world plan, and the Secretariat, in the first instance, should produce working papers so that we could side by side, as a corollary of a disarmed world, proceed in this way. Therefore, it is not as though we do not have the problem before us. The problem has been brought nearer by the picture of a warless world that is put to us at the present time. I would therefore submit to the General Assembly that this would be one of the tasks that we could undertake. But we could not approach any of these problems if we approach them from the point of view of suspicion, from the point of view of "well, it is a vision of the future".

./.

Mr. RAHIM, Yemen (A/PV.822 at pages 7, 8-10 and 11): "How much optimism is there for the Arab refugees from Palestine? The Israeli aggression on Palestine and its subsequent partition was, and still is, a black spot in the book of humanity, a great injustice plaguing the conscience of the world, a grave responsibility for this international Organization, and a continuous threat to world peace. A million Arab refugees have been thrown out of their homes by Israel to live in tents and caves, in utter despair and misery. For the last two years the United Nations Relief and Works Agency has been engaged in alleviating the misery of those unfortunate refugees. An important question to be reviewed during this session is the continuation of this Agency. The Secretary-General has strongly recommended it, and we support his recommendation.

....

"An elaborate economic study attached to the Secretary-General's report on the continuation of the relief agency points to the possibility of reintegrating the Arab refugees in neighbouring Arab countries. Thus, an economic factor has been needlessly injected into the issue of continuing that Agency. Such integration is in conflict with the United Nations resolution on repatriation and inconsistent with the desire of the refugees themselves. The General Assembly has, on many occasions, reaffirmed the refugees' right to repatriation. The fundamental principles of justice and freedom demand that the Palestine refugees should be allowed to choose between repatriation and resettlement with adequate compensation. This is the least that the United Nations can do for these oppressed people."

./.

- 80 -

Mr. de LEQUENICA, Spain (A/PV.822 at page 18-20): "...The Secretary-General very acutely pointed out the utility and usefulness of this Organization, devoted to public diplomacy, and that it was extremely useful to work in it on the normal levels of diplomacy, if at least not secret diplomacy, at least, shall we say, reserved diplomacy. This is true and there is no essential contradiction in such a gauging of it."

Mr. MONTIRO DE VARGAS, Paraguay (A/PV.822 at pages 41 and 42): "As head of the Paraguayan delegation, I speak for the Government and people of Paraguay when I express recognition of the tremendous work which has been carried out by our Secretary-General on behalf of the United Nations. As a result of his work, our international Organization is daily gaining in prestige and renown through the formation of a greater consciousness among peoples throughout the world, a greater confidence and hope for the objectives of the United Nations Charter. The personal prestige and renown of Mr. Hammarskjöld as a tireless worker seeking to keep alive this world consciousness on behalf of the United Nations is indeed a most valuable contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. The policy which Mr. Hammarskjöld has pursued along these lines, particularly in his visits to many different countries, with a view to fostering closer understanding of world problems within the province of the United Nations, has enabled peoples to see more clearly the role that is being played in our world by this international body."

"Paraguay recently had the great pleasure and privilege of playing host to Mr. Hammarskjöld in the course of a visit which for us

✓

Paraguayans was vitally important. Paraguay is a small country, not very densely populated, but our people has always believed that the rule of law should govern the solution of the problems of the world which could degenerate into conflict among the nations. As Mr. Hammarskjöld will have appreciated, we in Paraguay represent one indivisible people, a new race formed as a result of the assimilation of the proud Spaniards with the Guaraní race, known also for its pride and its warmheartedness. With these roots, the people of Paraguay had no outstanding problems of racial or religious distinctions or of social divisions. Paraguayans are a united people, that is conscious of its social and ethnic unity and feels that it provides a bulwark for the defence of its destiny and its progress.

"This was the people that welcomed Mr. Hammarskjöld during his recent visit to Paraguay. It was the same people that informed him, through authorized Government spokesmen, of its concern, of its disappointments and its hopes, and also of the tremendous efforts it is making to bring about greater well-being in keeping with the principles of a sincerely peace-loving people, a people which at the same time is a fervent champion of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is an honour for me to express to the Secretary-General our warm appreciation of his support and understanding of the aspirations of the people and Government of Paraguay in their peaceful struggle to secure their progress and well-being, of which they are so much in need, and I wish to thank him also for the privilege he conferred upon us in visiting our Guaraní fatherland."

./.

The PRESIDENT (A/PV. 824 at pages 26 and 27): "Before adjourning the meeting, I should like especially to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the World Refugee Year. In resolution 1285 (XIII) adopted by the Assembly last December, three aims were set: One, to focus interest on the refugee problem; two, to encourage additional financial contributions from Governments and from the people all over the world; and three, to encourage additional opportunities for permanent refugees solutions.

"The Secretary-General undertook these tasks immediately. Some Governments have already generously increased their contributions to the programmes of assistance to refugees.

"As President of the Assembly, I must point out to this body that the success of the World Refugee Year is as yet by no means assured. We all know that the World Refugee Year cannot solve world refugee problems, but there are, however, a number of clearly definable refugee situations that have been on the conscience of the world for far too long, largely due to the lack of funds and also to inadequate public understanding of the problem. At present, and as matters stand, however encouraging the beginning of the World Refugee Year may be, its ultimate success still depends on the concrete response that has yet to be made known by a significant proportion of the members of the Assembly.

"This is a humanitarian task that we are undertaking, and because it was set up under the auspices of the General Assembly, it will have to be borne by all of us and will have to be concluded successfully. In the next few weeks, members will be able to consider and then make known their contributions, be they financial or of any other type. But perhaps the most important fact will be the meeting of the ./. .

General Assembly in ad hoc committee of the whole for the purpose of announcing pledges of contributions to the two United Nations organizations dealing with the problem of refugees.

"This pledging conference will take place some time in November. I therefore must very warmly urge all members of the Assembly, if they have not already done so, to give their most careful consideration to the contributions they will make and to announce them at the forthcoming meeting to which I have just referred. In launching the World Refugee Year, we, the General Assembly of the United Nations, have given a new hope to millions of refugees around the world. It is our duty and our task to fulfil the promise made. The Secretary-General and his worthy task have done their duty. Now the responsibility is ours."
