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(Closing meeting)

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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly (concluded):

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee (concluded)

1. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Ever since the advent of the People's Republic of China, the delegation of Burma has voted for the seating of the representatives of that Government in the United Nations. Accordingly, we are unable to recognize as valid credentials emanating from any source other than the People's Republic of China.

2. Burma enjoys normal diplomatic relations with the Government of Hungary. Accordingly, my delegation recognizes as valid the credentials of the delegation of Hungary, presented to the seventeenth session of the Assembly. Finally, my Government, for the time being, does not recognize either of the rival claimants to be the *de jure* Government of Yemen. My delegation, accordingly, takes no position on the credentials of the delegation of Yemen.

3. Subject to these reservations, my delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee but, if separate votes should be taken with regard to the credentials of China, Hungary and Yemen, we shall vote on them as indicated earlier in this statement.

4. Mr. USTOR (Hungary): Having heard the introductory statement of the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, may I be permitted, in explanation of the vote of my delegation, to complete the picture given by him and in the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395], on one particular point and one point only, namely, on the so-called problem of the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

5. As you may see from the report before us, a motion was introduced by the delegation of the United States in the Committee, which reads as follows: "... the Committee takes no action on the credentials submitted

on behalf of the representatives of Hungary" [A/5395, para. 10].

6. This motion was debated. In the course of the debate, the question was raised as to whether the credentials of my delegation were formally in order. This question was answered by the unchallenged authority of the Legal Counsel of the United Nations, who stated that the credentials of the Hungarian delegation are formal in perfect order. Indeed, these credentials were issued in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, by the Head of State of my country. They were signed and sealed as required by the constitutional regulations.

7. Then it was asked whether the motion was in order, whether the Committee, in fact, discharged its responsibility if it adopted the motion, and did not say either yes or no on the question of the validity of our credentials. No answer was given to this question, not even a mere reference to the practice at previous sessions.

8. It is my position that there might be instances where the Credentials Committee or the Assembly itself is unable to decide on the validity of a given document in a case, for example, when more than one authority contend that they represent one and the same Member State, but this is clearly not the case in this instance where there is only one Government, that being the sole and legitimate Government of Hungary. No other political party or group, either inside or outside Hungary, could or indeed does lay claim to the rights and duties of the legitimate Government of Hungary.

9. This, I submit, clearly indicates that the motion of the United States was at variance with the rules of procedure and with the duties of the Credentials Committee, under these rules. The mere fact that similar unlawful motions were made and accepted in the course of previous sessions cannot heal the obvious deficiency of the motion.

10. In the course of the debate which has taken place in the Credentials Committee, the representative of the United States was asked whether he found his motion consistent with the fact that his country maintains diplomatic relations with the Hungarian People's Republic, and whether he considered his motion consistent with the previous attitude of his delegation when it participated in the unanimous vote by which the permanent representative of Hungary to the United Nations, Mr. Csatorday, was elected rapporteur of the most important Committee of this Assembly. No answer was given. References were made by the representative of the United States, as seen from paragraph 10 of the report [A/5395], to recommendations of the General Assembly with which Hungary did not comply. However, no answer was given to the question whether this had anything to do with the validity of the credentials.

11. Moreover, it was pointed out, this time by the representative of Nigeria, a member of the Credentials Committee, that there were numerous, and indeed very serious, instances where resolutions of the General Assembly were by-passed and ignored by other Members of the United Nations. This has happened in matters of grave concern and importance. Yet, the United States never raised the question of the validity of the credentials of those countries, countries which, it seems, stand nearer to the sympathies of the United States.

12. No answer was given which could have explained the inconsistency in the various attitudes of the United States. The debate in the Credentials Committee ended with a vote and the result is well known: there were five votes for the adoption of the motion of the United States, and four votes against. The meeting of the Credentials Committee was public; I attended it myself, and I do not reveal any secret if I state that the opposing votes came from the representatives of Guinea, Indonesia, Nigeria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. May I extend the thanks of my delegation for their just and proper action.

13. The motion of the United States was supported by its own representative; it was supported also by representatives of three other countries with which my country has no diplomatic relations. My delegation does not believe that this can substantiate their attitude. There was, however, a fifth vote in support of the motion of the United States; this came from the representative of a country with which Hungary maintains normal diplomatic relations. The envoy of this country presented his credentials to the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Head of State of this fifth country has solemnly accepted, in turn, the credentials of the Hungarian Minister. The credentials of our own Minister were signed with the same signatures, and sealed with the same seal, as the credentials considered by our own Credentials Committee. My vocabulary is too narrow, and my respect for you, Mr. President, and for the Assembly, too great, to find and use the proper adjectives for this kind of action.

14. This very Assembly has unanimously adopted a resolution [1815 (XVII)] on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. When we drafted this resolution, of which my delegation became a co-sponsor in the Sixth Committee, the delegation of the United States among others, stressed the importance of the rule of law and the inclusion of this expression in our resolution. The rule of law among nations was said to be one of the main goals of this Organization, and its promotion was considered of paramount importance for the development of friendly relations and co-operation among States.

15. These were the words; but the words seemingly do not apply when it comes to deeds. When the United States asked for the inclusion [A/5164], in the agenda of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, of the so-called Hungarian question, we were told that a new approach would be made, and a new look given, to a country which shows undeniable signs of great vitality, stability and development. This was the sense of the words. And the deeds? The deeds are shown by the document lying before the Assembly.

16. This kind of action we are witnessing now will not disturb the development and policy of socialist Hun-

gary. Our principles remain unchanged. Our firm adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, and our trust in the possibility of maintaining and developing friendly relations and co-operation among States, irrespective of their political, economic and social development, remain unshattered.

17. But we fulfil our duty not only in our interest, but in the interest of this whole Organization and in the interest of peace and friendly relations among States, if we raise our loud voice against such practices, against practices which are apt to undermine the trust in words given, shatter confidence in the rule of law, and which are at variance with the fundamental principles of our Charter.

18. Is this the way in which we want to live together in peace with one another, as good neighbours? Is this consistent with the principle of the sovereign equality of all Member States; with the principle of non-intervention? But, first and foremost, is it consistent with the paramount requirement of good faith, one of the cornerstones of the Charter and of international law as a whole? Is it an act of good faith to maintain diplomatic relations with another State and then question the credentials of its delegation, or vote for such a motion? On behalf of my delegation, I wish to place a vigorous protest against the kind of action mentioned.

19. In conclusion, I wish to state that my delegation, for the reasons given, will vote against adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.

20. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): My delegation deems it necessary to explain the reasons for its vote on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395].

21. First of all, we wish to lodge a strong protest against the Committee's acceptance of the credentials of the people who unlawfully style themselves the representatives of China in the United Nations. These individuals, members of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has long since been thrown out by the Chinese people, do not, of course, represent China in the United Nations; they are merely a tool in the hands of those who are attempting to deprive that great country of its lawful place in the Organization.

22. The absurdity, harmfulness and grave danger inherent in the continued attempts by the United States to foist upon the United Nations as representatives of the Chinese people those whom the Chinese themselves have forever driven from their soil is becoming increasingly obvious, here in these halls as elsewhere.

23. History pursues its inexorable course, and its onward march cannot be halted; however stubbornly the United States and its allies may resist, the Chinese People's Republic will inevitably take its lawful place in the United Nations and the Chiang Kai-shek clique will be driven out. The sooner this happens, the better it will be, for no one can now deny any longer that the absence from this hall of the true representatives of China has impaired the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations. Unless the Chiang Kai-shek representatives are expelled from the United Nations and the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic—a State with a population of 650 million—are restored to it, it is impossible to talk seriously about the universality of our Organization or to achieve con-

structive solutions of the most important international problems.

24. My delegation also protests vigorously against the Committee's decision, again completely unwarranted, to cast doubt on the credentials of the representatives of Hungary. The United States, turning the question of the representation of the Hungarian People's Republic into an object of political manoeuvring, has again imposed on the Committee a completely unjustified decision concerning the representation of an active Member of our Organization and a socialist country, the Hungarian People's Republic.

25. How is it possible to pursue such a discriminatory policy against the socialist countries and at the same time verbally affirm the need for maintaining and strengthening world peace, co-operation and mutual understanding? The absurdity and harmfulness of such a course are also obvious from such simple facts as that the United States itself maintains diplomatic relations with Hungary and did not even protest when at this session the representative of Hungary was appointed Rapporteur of the important First (Political) Committee of the Assembly.

26. If the United States and those countries which follow in its wake think that Hungary's credentials are not in order, then how can they agree to let the representative of that very country report to the Assembly on the important decisions taken by the First Committee? The present session of the General Assembly has witnessed the inglorious end of the so-called "Munro mission", which was buried here in this hall just today.

27. The fact that in the Credentials Committee the United States succeeded by only one vote—that of the Greek representative, who obediently followed its lead—in pushing through a decision which violates the United Nations Charter is equally significant.

28. My delegation vigorously objects to the shameful manoeuvring against the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, which is nothing but an artificial attempt to intensify the cold war. The whole world knows that the Hungarian People's Republic is a sovereign State, which maintains diplomatic relations with other States on every continent, and that it is a full and active Member of the United Nations.

29. My delegation considers that the Credentials Committee's decision to take no action on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation is unlawful and is clearly not prompted by a desire to normalize relations between States and strengthen world peace.

30. In view of the categorical objections which I have just expressed to two specific points in the Credentials Committee's recommendations, my delegation cannot support those recommendations [A/5395] and will abstain from the vote on the proposal to approve the Committee's report. At the same time, we note with satisfaction that the Committee has accepted the credentials of the new delegation of Yemen, which has been sent to the General Assembly by the republican Government of that friendly Arab State.

31. Mr. MALHOTRA (Nepal): I should like to express my delegation's two main reservations on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395]. My delegation's first reservation is with regard to the credentials of the representatives of Nationalist China.

As the Assembly is aware, my Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Government of the people of China and we have pleaded for the seating of the legitimate representatives of China year after year in the Assembly. Accordingly, we do not agree with the Credentials Committee's report that the credentials of the representatives of China seated in the Assembly are in order.

32. Our second reservation is with regard to the Committee's decision concerning the credentials of the representatives of Hungary. My Government, as indeed several Governments represented here, has diplomatic relations with the Government of Hungary. Also, for the reasons so ably stated by the representative of Nigeria in the Credentials Committee, which are briefly reproduced in paragraph 12 of the report [A/5395], my delegation fails to see any valid reason why doubts should be raised regarding the credentials of the legitimate representatives of the Government of Hungary. We regard those credentials as valid.

33. As regards the credentials of the representatives of Yemen, my delegation will abstain, or take no position, on their credentials at this moment, as we have not yet received any instructions from my Government on the matter.

34. With these reservations, my delegation would be prepared to approve the report of the Credentials Committee.

35. Mr. OKAZAKI (Japan): My delegation will vote for the draft resolution as a whole which is recommended by the Credentials Committee in its report [A/5395]. However, I should like to place on record that our favourable vote on the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole does not prejudice, in one way or the other, the position of my Government regarding the question of the recognition of the Yemeni Government.

36. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): The Afghan delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395]. This approval, however, is subject to reservations on two points. In this connexion, I should like merely to put on record that our approval of the report of the Credentials Committee should in no way be interpreted as any change in our well-known position on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China and of the delegation of Hungary.

37. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): My delegation will vote to approve the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395]. It would like, however, to make the following reservations; first, our favourable vote does not signify and can in no sense be taken to indicate approval of the procedure which the Credentials Committee has once again followed in the case of the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic; secondly, my delegation's well-known attitude on the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations remains unchanged.

38. My LIU (China): As the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, under your brilliant and inspiring guidance, Mr. President, is swiftly drawing to a close, I do not propose to delay the proceedings in any way by replying to the aspersions which the Soviet representative seeks to cast on my delegation. It is no surprise that the Soviet representative objects to the

presence of my delegation in the United Nations, but I do not think he can be allowed to take advantage of this occasion to reopen the so-called "question" of Chinese representation. That question, if it is a question, was considered by the General Assembly only a few weeks ago [1156th to 1162nd meetings], with the result that the lawful position of my delegation was decisively upheld. I need only say that that decision of the General Assembly is still valid, and whatever the Soviet representative chooses to say about my delegation will not have the slightest effect in frustrating the law of the majority of the General Assembly.

39. Mr. RIAD (United Arab Republic): The General Assembly has before it the report which the Credentials Committee has submitted in accordance with rule 28 of the rules of procedure. As it appears in paragraph 20 of the report [A/5395], the members of the Credentials Committee, without a single negative vote, have recommended to the General Assembly that the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic, whose credentials were issued by President Abdullah al Sallal, are the only valid credentials in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure. I am confident that the General Assembly will uphold this recommendation of the Credentials Committee and that the Secretariat will be instructed to see that the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic occupies its rightful seat in the General Assembly.

40. I did not intend to ask for the floor because of the fact that the seventeenth session of the General Assembly is coming to a close, but the objections raised by the representatives of Jordan and Saudi Arabia [1201st meeting] compelled me to come to this rostrum to urge the Members of the General Assembly to support the lawful representation of the Yemen Arab Republic in the United Nations.

41. Since the emergence of the new and progressive revolution of the people of Yemen against the reactionary feudalist régime, the Yemeni people have been subjected to a brutal combination of the reactionary forces in the Arab world. All means of slander and terror have been mobilized against the peaceful people of Yemen and its new progressive revolution.

42. It was natural that both the people and the Government of the United Arab Republic would sympathize with the people of Yemen and their revolutionary Government in its determination to fulfil the aspirations of the Yemeni people and to bring about a developed society where every Yemeni citizen would be proud and would find a decent opportunity for a happy and prosperous life.

43. The reactionary forces, however, have not ceased to interfere directly and indirectly with a view to frustrating the aspirations of the Yemeni people as proclaimed by their revolution.

44. It has been said that some United Arab Republic forces are in Yemen and thus are interfering in the internal affairs of Yemen. Nothing could be more inconsistent than this allegation, since the military forces dispatched by the United Arab Republic to Yemen at the request of the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic have been placed at the disposal of the supreme command of the army of Yemen with the sole purpose of enabling the Yemeni people to practise their inherent right of self-defence in a war launched against them from outside Yemen territory by the enemies of the revolution.

45. The United Arab Republic was duty bound to come to the assistance of the Arab Republic of Yemen in its defence of its sovereignty and its territorial integrity. The United Arab Republic, moreover, could not conceivably be indifferent to the reactionary aggressive conspiracies designed to reimpose the monarchy which isolated the Yemeni people from the world and from civilization for generations.

46. The credentials which belong to the delegation representing the Yemen Arab Republic are the only credentials which are valid because they are legally and politically in full conformity with international law and with the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

47. As to the form, the credentials issued by President al Sallal are the only legal documents which should be recognized by the General Assembly. These credentials are issued by the Head of the State of Yemen, who is the only source having the authority to speak on behalf of the people of Yemen. The State of Yemen is under full control of the Government of President al Sallal. Thus it follows that the delegation representing this Government is the only delegation entitled to be seated in the General Assembly and its various organs. Politically the Government of President al Sallal is the Government which the people of Yemen chose on 26 September 1962 and to which their confidence was entrusted.

48. The political decision which the people of Yemen took was their own decision. They have chosen the kind of Government they considered fit to run their own affairs in the manner which will afford Yemen the chance of catching up with the civilization of the twentieth century. What happened in Yemen is a Yemenite affair, and as such it was automatically hailed in many corners of the world, and in particular the Arab world.

49. So much for the political aspect. As to the facts, no one can challenge the authority of the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic and the fact that it is the only Government in full control of Yemen. This fact was witnessed by all those officials who visited Yemen after the revolution. In this connexion, it may suffice to refer to the report of the British parliamentary mission which visited almost every part of Yemen, when the head of that mission said:

"... the towns, the coastal region, the tracks that pass for roads and the vast high central plateau are now as firmly held by the Republicans as formerly by the Imam.

"There can be no question about the popularity of the new Government. The previous Imam had deliberately tried to keep his country backward, isolated from foreigners, and poor. Yet he had amassed a large personal fortune, much larger than anyone has realized, of some \$10 million."

50. It is clear, therefore, that according to the well-known and accepted norms of international law, the Government of the Yemen Republic is the only Government in power and, as such, its representatives are entitled to occupy the seat of Yemen in the General Assembly of the United Nations and its organs. In fact, no effort is needed to prove the legitimate and the well-established grounds on which this case is based. I am convinced that the Members of the General Assembly will endorse the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

51. I am sure that the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic will co-operate with the representatives of the Member States in upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and will work collectively to bolster peace and international security in our part of the world.

52. Before I leave the rostrum, let me say this. In the Arab world, as in other parts of the world, there exists a decisive battle between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress, between the will of the people and the reactionary régimes. It is the determined desire of the people to liberate themselves from poverty, injustice and exploitation.

53. The victory of the forces of progress will be an accomplished fact in the foreseeable future. No effort to stifle the people and challenge the power of these new forces will be successful. This is what happened in Yemen, and any honest and objective observer could not but welcome the great achievements of the people of Yemen.

54. Mr. PRIMELLES (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): With respect to the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395], my delegation wishes to state that our Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of China. We therefore consider that the credentials of those who currently claim to represent the people of China are illegitimate.

55. We also wish to state that in our view the credentials of the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic, which is a Member of the United Nations in good standing, are in conformity with the rules of the Assembly and therefore valid.

56. Mr. SULEIMAN (Sudan): My delegation will support the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395] subject to two reservations. My Government recognizes and maintains diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. We therefore consider it as the only Government entitled to represent China in the United Nations.

57. My Government likewise recognizes and maintains diplomatic relations with the Hungarian People's Republic. Therefore, we consider its representatives to be the legal representatives of Hungary.

58. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): My delegation welcomes the decision of the Credentials Committee to admit the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic to the United Nations. The Government of the Republic of Iraq, which is one of the most important forces of progress in the Arab world, has recognized the Republic of Yemen and has expressed its satisfaction and happiness that a régime based on the will of the people of Yemen, a régime dedicated to their progress and salvation, has finally been able to come to power in Yemen after centuries of backwardness and oppression.

59. My delegation can only express its satisfaction at the stand taken by a majority of the members of the Credentials Committee. We trust that a majority of the Members of the United Nations will welcome the Arab Republic of Yemen as the true and only representatives of the Yemeni people in the United Nations.

60. Regarding the other parts of the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation has two reservations. The first relates to the credentials of the

individuals who pretend that they represent China. It is well known to this Organization that the Republic of Iraq recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China. We believe that representatives of that Government are entitled to represent the Chinese people in the United Nations.

61. Our second reservation relates to the decision of the Credentials Committee on the representation of Hungary. My Government has the most friendly relations with Hungary, and we recognize the delegation which now sits in our midst as the only delegation that legitimately represents the people of Hungary.

62. Our attitude towards the Credentials Committee's report will be dictated by those considerations and reservations.

63. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jordan in exercise of the right of reply.

64. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): I made my statement at the opening of the debate on the report of the Credentials Committee [1201st meeting] with every sincere intention not to introduce an unpleasant atmosphere into this Hall and not to make any unfavourable reference to a sister Arab State. I strictly followed that line in everything I said.

65. Having heard the reference made to my country by the representative of the United Arab Republic, I wish to say that his statement does not change the facts of the situation in Yemen, and it does not change my intentions in any way.

66. Mr. VOLIO (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): My delegation will vote to approve the report of the Credentials Committee but reserves its position on the credentials of the representatives of Yemen, since my Government has not decided what view it takes of the political situation in that country.

67. Mr. LUQMAN (Mauritania): The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee, subject to the following reservation. My delegation's vote on this report does not mean that there has been any change in my delegation's views concerning the credentials either of the representatives of China or of the representatives of Hungary.

68. Mr. CHANDERLI (Algeria) (translated from French): My delegation will vote to approve the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395], but it wishes to make the following reservations.

69. The Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and maintains diplomatic relations with them. Accordingly, my Government cannot but regret that the representative character of these two friendly Governments, which exercise full sovereignty over their respective countries should be challenged or denied by a section of the Credentials Committee's report. I must therefore make the strongest reservations here concerning the course which the Committee has seen fit to pursue with regard to the credentials of the People's Republic of China and the Hungarian People's Republic.

70. The Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria has recognized the Government of the Yemen Republic and supports without reservation the Credentials Committee's recommendation

concerning the validity of the credentials of that Government's delegation to the United Nations.

71. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece in exercise of the right of reply.

72. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (translated from French): The representative of Hungary has just singled out my country for reproach in connexion with the vote taken in the Credentials Committee this morning. I therefore owe him a reply and a word of clarification.

73. The Hungarian delegation's credentials were not put to the vote this morning, so that there was no occasion for my delegation to express its views concerning them. The question of Hungary and that of its delegation's credentials have been pending for several years, and it would be no exaggeration to say that throughout this period an impasse had existed with regard to these matters. Confronted with this impasse, which results from the fact that the Hungarian Government has not yet found a means of establishing with United Nations organs and closing the books on this matter, the Credentials Committee has invariably decided—regardless of its composition, which is different each year—to refrain from examining the Hungarian delegation's credentials and thus avoid having to take a stand on such a controversial matter.

74. The same procedure has been followed again this year, with the difference that this time a step has been taken towards breaking out of the impasse. This step consisted in putting an end to the mission of the United Nations Representative on the Question of Hungary, with whom Hungary had not found a means of establishing contact, and turning the matter over to the Secretary-General, who has been invited to visit Hungary in the near future—a fact that has given us hope that a solution can be found.

75. Under these circumstances, my delegation, having given mature consideration to all aspects of the question, has concluded that the General Assembly should maintain its attitude of waiting and refrain from going into the substance of the question of the Hungarian delegation's credentials, since there will unquestionably be sufficient progress on the Hungarian question during the coming year to enable the General Assembly to take a unanimous decision in favour of Hungary at its eighteenth session.

76. With regard to the Soviet representative, who stated just now that the United States motion had been adopted thanks to the vote cast by Greece and to the way in which I myself had voted, I shall merely say that this is not the first time I have had occasion to note that he fails to show his colleagues that courtesy which alone makes it possible for the Assembly to conduct its business in an atmosphere of serenity. May I say that it ill behoves Mr. Zorin to attack others on a matter in connexion with which his Government bears such a heavy responsibility.

77. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia in exercise of the right of reply.

78. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): I would have liked to keep silent, but I was challenged to make this intervention. Inasmuch as I avoided referring in my statement to the intervention of the United Arab Republic in the affairs of Yemen, I kept aloof. I said that I would try hard—and I hope I succeeded—in divorcing from my statement anything that might lead to a quarrel amongst brothers, because we still

consider the people of the United Arab Republic as our brothers.

79. However, I am here as the accredited representative of Saudi Arabia. I have stood here at this rostrum during the last sixteen years and I have learned the rules of the game: to avoid involvement in anything that might lead to useless recriminations and accusations. Although I personally would have wished to remain silent, as the representative of Saudi Arabia I have no choice but to make the situation clear to this Assembly lest it labour under a false impression with regard to what is really happening in Saudi Arabia. After all, we are the neighbours of Yemen. We should know more than anyone else what is going on, at least, in that part of Yemen which is contiguous to Saudi Arabia. Of course, it will be alleged that we are distorting the facts to suit our interests.

80. I believe we have at the head of our Government a man who has been known for his integrity and for his honesty, and as often as not he has chosen to keep silent in order not to exacerbate relations between Arab States. But since, in this Assembly, my country has been challenged as being by implication reactionary, as being against progress—and also, I believe, other countries who have monarchs have also been called reactionary—let us see what is meant by reactionary. Is the word reactionary used like the word democracy? Is it used like the word liberty? Is it used like the word freedom? In what sense are such words used?

81. I have no choice but to read to you part of a memorandum which my delegation received from my Government and which presents the facts as they actually obtain in Yemen.

"Ever since the rebellion of a small group of Yemeni citizens occurred on 27 September 1962 against their lawful Government by resorting to armed force for the attainment of their objectives, the Saudi Arabian Government has been watching closely and with deep concern the development of events in Yemen."—And naturally so, because Yemen is on our frontiers.

"The main interest of the Government of Saudi Arabia has been motivated by its genuine desire to safeguard a neighbouring sister State from becoming the victim of evil strife and civil war. Soon after this rebellion, the whole world was confronted with the interference of an interventionist Government"—and I do not have to tell you who that Government is—"in the internal affairs of Yemen. It was a flagrant interference, bolstering the insurgents against their lawful Government by supplying them with arms, ammunition, fighter planes, naval units, troops, aside from providing them with other means of material and moral support.

"To justify its interference in Yemen and its support to the insurgents, the interventionist Government resorted to a number of contradictory and conflicting pretexts. First, the interventionist Government declared that, in the rebellion against the lawful Government, the Yemeni insurgents were motivated by the desire to free the Yemeni people from backwardness and to open the door for their progress and development. Hence, the interventionist Government has alleged that the insurgents deserved all the support and encouragement for the sake of the general welfare of the Yemeni people. However,

in justifying its action, the interventionist Government seems to have forgotten or tried to ignore the fact that no sooner had His Majesty Mohammed Al Badr ascended the throne after the death of his father, the late Imam Ahmad, than he declared a new policy introducing various reforms. In order to inaugurate a new order of progress and development, His Majesty further proclaimed his intention to establish suitable democratic institutions for ruling his country."—Well, he was not living in the time of the djinn so that he should be able to do all this overnight. But within one week things began to happen, through conspiracy, through subversion and through sabotage.

"Secondly, the interventionist Government advanced another pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Yemen, which it has done by throwing its force on the side of the insurgents. Its pretext is to the effect that other countries had interfered in Yemen—alleging that Saudi Arabia was one of those countries supplying the Mutawakilita Government with troops. From the outset the Government of Saudi Arabia categorically denied these allegations in their entirety, and still denies them emphatically. Once again, the Government of Saudi Arabia wishes to declare that there is not a single soldier on Yemeni territory, nor has the Government of Saudi Arabia at any time interfered by the dispatch of troops in the internal affairs of Yemen. Consequently, the Government of Saudi Arabia challenges anyone to prove the presence of a single soldier in Yemen or that at any time Saudi Arabia interfered, militarily or otherwise, in the internal affairs of Yemen."

82. The interference of the interventionist Government in the Republic of Yemen and the aid and support of this Government to the insurgents has resulted in the shedding of Yemeni blood—is that progress?—and at the same time threatened to bring about war among certain Arab States. As a result of bombing carried out by the naval and air forces of that interventionist Government on Saudi Arabian territory, a number of Saudi Arabian cities and villages were subjected to air and sea attacks. And we kept silent for the sake of Arab solidarity. The interventionist Government bombed the territory of Saudi Arabia causing a lot of damage to property and loss of human lives. We could have brought this issue to the Security Council. But we know about the exercise of the veto and how, due to certain alignments in the Council it would be possible to muzzle us or anyone else for that matter. Unfortunately, human beings are sometimes muzzled like cattle in the United Nations through the exercise of the veto.

83. The persistent foreign interference in the internal affairs of Yemen is likely to worsen the situation and cause the present conflict to spread into other States.

84. Recognition or no recognition, the fight will go on in Yemen because the Yemeni people are fighting in their homeland, as I said in an earlier intervention [1201st meeting]. Such is the situation in Yemen. Such is the situation that might threaten the peace in the area and, who knows, probably elsewhere.

85. Progress need not be achieved exclusively by a bloody revolution. There were revolutions in history where the price was excessive. The French Revolution, no doubt, contributed to the awareness of people regarding their political rights; the great Russian

Revolution, which cost, possibly, twenty million lives, was a great revolution, no doubt, because it paved the way for the awareness of people regarding their economic rights. However, is this the time for bloodshed, at the time when things should happen in a progressive, evolutionary manner, in this era of the United Nations? Should we foment groups inside other States, even bolstering them with the sending of troops to rouse them, in this era of the United Nations?

86. I submit we should have loyalty not to our respective countries alone; our loyalty should be, first and foremost, to the lofty principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, that imposes on us the solution of our problems by peaceful means. Is this the way that any State accepts its responsibilities in order to achieve development and progress? Why do the interventionists not begin at home? Charity begins at home, as the proverb says. Why do they not become a model so that we may copy them? Is there no more room for progress even within the highly developed countries? Why should governments interfere in the internal affairs of other States, dispatching soldiers and killing people under the guise of opening a new era and doing away with reaction?

87. Let us not use these rubrics of progress and reaction. Even liberty and freedom have duties and obligations, not only duties and obligations within the State but, in our era, duties and obligations to the international community.

88. Again, I have to refer to the Arab of the peninsula. The Arab of the peninsula is adapting himself as best he can to new world currents without necessarily losing his identity or discarding the moral values he has learned throughout the ages. Those hailing from the East or West or from whatever corner of the world: beware! Do not attempt to impose on him your respective ideologies, revolutionary, evolutionary, or whatever they may be. Let the Arab of the peninsula, in freedom, shape his own destiny and who knows, by the grace of Allah, you might yet learn many good things from him as you did in the past, when his peninsula was the cradle of a great civilization.

89. Mr. SOSA RODRIQUEZ (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): My delegation will vote to approve the report of the Credentials Committee but wishes to go on record as stating that this vote does not imply any decision on its part concerning the credentials of the Yemeni delegation, with respect to which it refrains from taking a position.

90. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): With two reservations my delegation will vote to approve the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395].

91. The first reservation concerns the part of the report dealing with the representation of China. Since the Government of the Republic of Mali continues to be convinced that only the representatives of the People's Republic of China should represent China in the United Nations, my delegation cannot approve the part of the report which recognizes the representatives of Formosa as the representatives of China.

92. The second reservation concerns the representation of the Hungarian People's Republic. My delegation, as I had occasion to note this morning, feels that it is neither objective nor realistic to challenge the

validity of the Hungarian delegation's mandate. In this respect I share the opinion expressed by the representative of Nigeria [A/5395, para. 12].

93. My delegation congratulates the Committee on the fair and objective opinion which it has expressed with regard to the representation of Yemen. My country has recognized the Yemen Arab Republic and looks forward to welcoming the representatives of its Government to this Hall in the very near future.

94. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): My delegation will vote to approve the report submitted to us by the Credentials Committee [A/5395]. However, it cannot agree with the conclusion concerning the representation of China. The only Government which, in the eyes of my delegation, has the right to represent China is that of the People's Republic of China. Thus, we have reservations concerning the conclusions set forth in paragraphs 6 and 8 of the report.

95. My delegation makes the same reservation with regard to the representation of the Hungarian People's Republic. My country maintains normal diplomatic relations with the Hungarian Government. Therefore, acting in a manner consistent with that fact, we hold that the credentials issued by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic emanate from the legitimate and lawful authority.

96. With regard to Yemen, my delegation is happy to note that the Credentials Committee has recommended acceptance of the credentials issued by the President of the Yemen Arab Republic. We take this occasion to recall that the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic recognized the revolution in Yemen from the very beginning since the aim of that revolution was to put an end to a reactionary régime which was clearly not acting in the interests of the Yemeni people. We therefore rejoice to see republican Yemen representing the Yemeni people among us. It is, of course, for the people of Yemen alone to choose the road which will enable them to advance. That is a matter lying solely within the competence of Yemen, and there can be no interference of any kind in that country's affairs.

97. In conclusion, my delegation would like at this time to congratulate the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic and to wish it every success in its endeavours.

98. Mr. CABALLERO (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): My delegation, which will vote to approve the report of the Credentials Committee, wishes to emphasize that the Bolivian Government promptly granted the request of the Government of the Yemen Republic for recognition because it regards that Government as a truly democratic representative of its people.

99. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): My delegation will vote in favour of the recommendation of the Credentials Committee [A/5395], with the following reservations.

100. My Government recognizes the People's Republic of China, with which we have the most friendly relations, and consequently we believe that that Government legitimately represents the people of China.

101. We also object to the doubts cast on the validity of the credentials of the delegation of the People's Republic of Hungary, with which we also maintain friendly and diplomatic relations.

102. Finally, my delegation welcomes the credentials of our neighbouring and sister nation of Yemen, with which we have always had the most friendly, cultural and geographical relations. We believe that the events taking place in that Arab country are exclusively a domestic affair and that only the people of Yemen are entitled to solve their problems and to choose the régime which corresponds to their own interests.

103. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): The Liberian delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395]. Our affirmative vote, however, is not to be construed as approval of that portion of the report which recommends that no action be taken on the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary. Nor is it to be interpreted as taking a decision on the credentials of the Yemen Arab Republic.

104. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee, which appears in its report [A/5395].

The draft resolution was adopted by 73 votes to 4, with 23 abstentions.

105. The PRESIDENT: I shall now give the floor to representatives who wish to explain their votes after the voting, and I recognize first the representative of the United Kingdom.

106. Mr. CROWE (United Kingdom): I wish to put on record that my delegation voted for the report of the Credentials Committee solely on the grounds that the credentials concerned are, considered as documents, in order. This approval should not necessarily be taken as implying recognition of the authorities by whom the credentials were issued.

107. It will be recalled that for many years now, whenever this Assembly or any other organ of the United Nations has approved the report of its Credentials Committee, a statement similar to the one I have just made has been made on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation in respect of the credentials of China.

108. The limited significance of the approval by United Kingdom representatives of reports of the Credentials Committees of the United Nations is thus now so well known that it appears superfluous to restate it whenever such reports are approved, and in the future this will not be considered necessary. I wish to place on record, however, that the absence of such a statement on any occasion must not be taken to mean that any different significance from that which I stated at the outset is to be attributed to the United Kingdom's approval of the report of the Credentials Committee.

109. Mr. JIMENEZ (Philippines): The Philippine delegation voted in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee, with reservation as to that part of the report regarding the acceptance of the credentials issued by the President of the Yemen Arab Republic. My Government has not yet taken a definite stand on the political situation obtaining in Yemen.

110. Mr. MENCIA LISTER (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): My delegation has been unable to endorse the report of the Credentials Committee because, not yet having recognized the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic, it is obliged to reserve its position on the credentials issued by that Government.

111. Mr. CUEVAS CANGINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): My delegation has abstained from the vote as it did with respect to the draft resolution submitted in the Credentials Committee concerning the credentials of the Yemen Arab Republic, [A/5395, paras. 20-23]. It considers that the action taken by the Credentials Committee has very serious implications that have not been duly weighed, and wishes to reiterate the objections [*ibid.*, para. 15] it expressed in this regard in the Committee.

112. Mr. DELEAU (France) (translated from French): My delegation has just voted for the draft resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee. We have done so primarily because the position taken by the Committee on the credentials of the delegation of the Republic of China and on those of the representatives of Hungary meets with our approval. However, we would like to make it clear that our vote does not signify that the French Government has taken any position on the question of Yemeni representation. We would have abstained from the vote on paragraphs 19 to 21 of the report if those paragraphs had been put to the vote separately.

113. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): My delegation has voted to approve the report of the Credentials Committee, but it has done so with a reservation which it would like to have placed on record. This reservation relates to the acceptance of the Yemeni credentials, a question on which we have not taken a position and on which we have therefore abstained.

114. Mr. ALAINI (Yemen Arab Republic) (translated from French): It is a great honour and pleasure for me to be the first representative of the Yemen Arab Republic to mount this rostrum for the purpose of expressing the gratitude of the people of Yemen and their progressive Government to all the countries which have recognized us and supported our people's aspirations. Those countries have thus demonstrated their friendship and their desire to promote the well-being, development and progress of our people and our country.

115. The deplorable conditions in which our people were living and the backward state of our country under the former feudal régime, as well as our complete isolation from the outside world in an era of progress and development were known to everyone and were a disgrace to mankind. It goes without saying that we, the people of Yemen, were the ones most ashamed of these things, from which we were the chief sufferers.

116. That is why, after long and painful years of waiting during which we hoped that a change of régime would be brought about by some peaceful and miraculous means, the people had to take the path of rapid change by establishing a democratic, progressive republic in the place of a mediaeval régime which no longer responded to the needs and conditions of modern life and was, in fact, a source of embarrassment to all our friends throughout the world.

117. As is known, our country was one of the first in the world to hold aloft the torch of civilization, one of the first to exploit its resources, to develop its potentialities and to promote international relations. Yemen was the country of the Queen of Sheba, who, some twenty-eight centuries ago, had a consultative assembly to help her rule more wisely, and was the

first country in the world to build large dams and even sky-scrapers. It was the country which the Romans called Arabia Felix; thus, it is a country with an ancient civilization.

118. Conscious of their glorious past, our people could not fail to acclaim the abolition of an evil régime which hampered their development and made Yemen one of the most anachronistic of countries. It was therefore with indescribable joy and enthusiasm and with a sense of relief that our valiant people supported the establishment of the Yemen Arab Republic, a democratic, progressive republic which is deeply devoted to the rules, methods and principles of change.

119. In establishing a Government representing their own aspirations, our people are seeking to regain the time which has been lost and are fully aware that there is much to be done if they are to reclaim their rightful place in international affairs.

120. As far as our domestic affairs are concerned, we have inherited three dread scourges: ignorance, poverty and disease. We have also inherited an incompetent and inadequate governmental apparatus, a complete lack of trained leadership, and any number of other anomalies and difficulties which make our legacy a most meagre one. However, our determination is great, and the hopes that we place in international co-operation will be carried out primarily by and through the United Nations and its appropriate organs and specialized agencies. We also know that we can count on technical and financial assistance from friendly countries at a higher level of development which are offering us unconditional help.

121. As far as our foreign relations are concerned, we have inherited complete, or virtually complete, isolation. We must therefore tear down the barriers of isolation so that we can work more closely with the family of nations and establish relations with all representatives of the world community. We must strengthen our economic, cultural and other relations with the countries that already have such relations with us, and we must establish relations on a world-wide scale with those who wish to grasp the hand we hold out to all without exception, subject to respect for our national independence and sovereignty.

122. Clearly, the task that awaits us and our Republic is great and will absorb all our energies. The President of the Yemen Arab Republic, Abdullah al Sallal, therefore proclaimed at the outset a policy of non-alignment, since it is the only policy suitable for our country; that policy is one which we shall pursue for a long time to come.

123. This policy of positive neutrality—that is, the maintenance of sincerely friendly relations with all—by no means signifies that the Yemen Arab Republic has no interest in any problems but its own.

124. Our people are aware that they form a part of the world community, just as they are aware of their duties towards mankind. Consequently, they feel an obligation to concern themselves with the fate of all peoples which, like the Yemeni people, have suffered and are still suffering from foreign rule, whether colonial or of another kind. They also feel that it is the duty of the United Nations to display even greater interest, within the framework of the Charter, in all peoples which are suffering the injustice of foreign rule and its unfortunate consequences.

125. Our over-all policy is therefore based on the United Nations, which represents for us—perhaps more than for many others—a source of hope for a national rebirth. This Organization is one of the main reasons why we take an optimistic view of our own country's future and that of the world at large.

126. I should like to conclude this first and last statement of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic at the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly by reaffirming our adherence and dedication to the United Nations and renewing the thanks of the Yemen Arab Republic to all those who have supported us, who are supporting us now and who will support us in the future.

Completion of the work of the seventeenth session

127. The PRESIDENT: This concludes the business that was committed to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. However, there are a few more minutes needed to come to the formal conclusion of the session.

128. By four resolutions, the Assembly had conferred upon me the duty either of setting up committees by nomination, or of enlarging Committees and the Working Group^{1/} already in existence. I decided not to take any action until the last of these resolutions was adopted, as I knew there would be certain considerations of adjustment between the groups and the States with regard to the membership of these Committees and the Working Group. The last of these resolutions was adopted only a short time ago; and during the interval, I have striven diligently to try to complete not only my suggestions with regard to the membership, but also the consultations that were necessary and the preparation of the acceptances of the various memberships by the delegations that might be nominated to them. That process is still in progress; it has not yet been completed. Some delegations find it necessary to consult with their Governments; and with the best will in the world, that the announcement should be made before the session concludes, I have not been able to carry out that part of my duty. I shall continue, however, to work on it; and as soon as the whole process has been completed, the delegations will be given due information of these nominations. I trust they will overlook this default on my part.

129. I shall now call on the representatives who have expressed the wish to speak at this stage.

130. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): It must be confessed that many of us have been taken by surprise that you have been able to ring down the curtain of this seventeenth session of the General Assembly even before the scheduled date. Some of us are almost out of breath trying to keep pace with the agenda.

131. Mr. President, you have achieved almost the impossible; and no one will contradict me when I say that his was due almost entirely to the rigid discipline which you first applied to yourself and which you succeeded in injecting into us, also, by your stern and splendid example.

132. The delegation of Ceylon is very happy to be the first to pay high tribute to the efficiency and objectivity with which you, Mr. President, presided over one of the heaviest sessions in the history of the

Organization. In paying this tribute, the delegations of Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos and Nepal also have expressed their wish to be associated with my own delegation. I said that the seventeenth session was one of the heaviest sessions in the history of this Organization. I might perhaps add that it could turn out also to be one of the most important.

133. The General Assembly is a unique institution in the world and since its resolutions are only recommendations, it is possible to evaluate its accomplishments only if we go beyond the cautious wording of the decisions and evaluate also the pronouncements of policies which delineate the trends of the future. An appraisal of our work must therefore be the sum total of many components. Among these are moral compulsions which, by the very nature of our 110-nation membership, constitute an ever more accurate reflection of the public opinion of the world beyond these walls.

134. This is the concept of the universality of the United Nations—not only how many nations contribute to its deliberations, but to what extent the Assembly reflects and capitalizes the dynamic trends of our fast-moving, revolutionary world. If we understand the true nature of this universality, we will not allow ourselves to yield one iota in the determination of pushing the United Nations to its maximum goal of complete and total representation, the representation of every nation in the world, large or small.

135. I believe I am correct in saying that this session has placed the United Nations well on the way to strength and stability, in contrast to the unhappy situation last year when it found itself without leadership, without finances, and with a dangerous split on its future organization. Today the situation has been stabilized and the United Nations has emerged stronger from its ordeal than before it. It is true, however, that the questions of financing and of the staff have not been completely solved. But what is important is that their solutions are no longer being resolved in a spirit of crisis.

136. Beyond the structure of this house are the Assembly's major decisions, which have met the three outstanding problems of our time, and met them with greater firmness and greater wisdom. The first of these are the decisions on the various issues of colonialism, based on the firm resolve to advance far into the field of implementation of the principles enunciated in the historic Declaration on colonialism. The Committee of Seventeen,^{2/} which is now going to be augmented to twenty-four, has unequivocal authority to move forward with its task of bringing to an end an entire era of human injustice with all the resources at its command.

137. Secondly, there are the many resolutions adopted in the economic sphere designed to reorganize the economy of the world on a basis of just partnership between the rich and the developing nations. This is our courageous and resounding response to the demands of the Decade of Development.

138. Thirdly, there are the political resolutions, especially those on disarmament. On this burning issue of our time, the Assembly has not given up its efforts and it continues to advance the slow and painful

^{1/} Working Group on the examination of the administrative and budgetary procedures of the United Nations.

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

negotiations in Geneva. Disarmament is not yet in this forum, but from the debate in this session several positive points have emerged which are worth noting. First, that whatever new elements of hope there are, and there are several, these new elements have been supplied by that valiant little band of the eight non-aligned nations. And speaking of the creative spirit of non-alignment, it should be noted that most of the compromises, which made many of the most important decisions possible, have been due to the initiative and the innate spirit of harmonization and conciliation of the non-aligned nations.

139. Was it not the small nations, in the spirit of non-alignment, which met on that fateful night of the Cuban crisis in October 1962 and launched the intervention by the Secretary-General, an intervention which did so much to head off the worst crisis since the last war?

140. I do not think I shall be guilty of revealing prematurely any state secrets if I suggest that the role of non-alignment in reducing the tensions between India and China will also not be inconsiderable; and when the facts become known, I am sure they will provide material of great interest to future historians who will have to write this chapter of our times.

141. Also in the disarmament debate this Assembly has expressed its final revulsion against the cold war, the mad armaments race. And what lessons it could not learn out of its own wisdom, it learned from the rude experience of the Cuban crisis, which brought the consequences of failure to act promptly to the very door of the Assembly.

142. Thus we could claim that this session has rung the death-knell of political colonialism, of economic colonialism and of the spirit of the cold war. The cold war has not only been rebuffed, but some positive measures have also been taken to replace it by an era of peace. This has been done by a number of resolutions, especially on the rule of law by the peaceful coexistence of States. But our labours do not end with adjournment; more correctly, they only just begin when we adjourn.

143. We have not had formally the item of the Congo on our agenda, but this issue of the Congo, as we are all aware, is rising to its climax. It now appears that the Secretary-General, armed with a unanimous mandate and with a universal vote of confidence, is moving resolutely to bring this hideous and humiliating challenge to the dignity and finances and the very morale of the United Nations to an end.

144. There are great diplomatic pressures among several big Powers and U Thant has embarked on a great mission. The adjournment of this Assembly must not symbolize our isolation from his task. Let us recall that, in his acceptance speech [1182nd meeting], he called on the support of all of us in this hazardous showdown. Let us express our resolve that he and the United Nations must win this battle. The United Nations cannot equivocate with victory. The Congo must be united, just as the United Nations must be as one to carry out this mission. If we fail in that mission, the one world which we so fervently desire will not be one world.

145. Finally, I think that this Assembly can claim to have contributed much to the spirit of the "détente" which now guides the policies of the great Powers in their relations. This Assembly has already, by its own restraint and spirit of accommodation, set a good

example. For the United Nations, the portents of the year ahead are those of much work and many efforts and, perhaps, of many lingering tensions. But we can face this with confidence. We can say that this year we have not let down the hopes of the peoples of the world, but have guided them, along the lines of their highest hopes and highest aspirations. We will not, and we must not, fail the world in the years ahead.

146. The delegations of Burma, Colombia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Laos and Nepal wish you, Mr. President, a pleasant and restful holiday and we hope that you will have a very prosperous and happy New Year in 1963.

147. Mr. ZEA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): Perhaps the most agreeable duty that has fallen to me as chairman of the Latin American group is that which I am now performing, on behalf of the delegations of that group and of the distinguished delegation of Trinidad and Tobago, in conveying to you, Mr. President, our deep gratitude and warm congratulations on the admirable manner in which you have exercised the high responsibility which this Assembly, at the beginning of the present session, had the wisdom to entrust to you.

148. The Members of the United Nations were already aware of your eminent standing as a magistrate, internationalist and statesman. And now, as this session draws to a close, you have provided abundant proof of how fully you embody in your distinguished person these roles which you have played in public life.

149. You have guided us with skill, serenity, intelligence and tact. You have seen to it that our work went forward at a good pace, with the excellent results that we now witness. Never before in the history of the United Nations, I believe, has the Assembly completed its agenda before the scheduled closing date. Nor does that mean that the items have not been carefully studied and pondered. Our decisions have been taken only after the most mature consideration and are certain to have a most salutary and far-reaching impact on international life.

150. Our world organization emerges from these meetings with new strength, with enhanced prestige, and with greater confidence in its future capacity to defend the peace and uphold the principles embodied in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

151. In all this, Mr. President, your presence, your wisdom and your irreplaceable guidance have been a decisive factor.

152. For all these reasons, you deserve the gratitude not only of the delegations present here but also of all Governments and of mankind in general. We are now living in what are perhaps the best and most promising times that the world has known since the end of the Second World War. The great Powers, which hold in their hands the fearful and unenviable responsibility of unleashing war or maintaining peace, are now achieving greater mutual understanding and finding better and wider points of contact.

153. We have seen smiling faces today in the United Nations, and in these faces are reflected our hopes for a more secure and peaceful future for all mankind. We are probably still very far removed from the ideal of a happy world, of unarmed peace, and of true coexistence, neighbourliness and harmony between nations. Yet, it is a great achievement in itself

that this Christmas of 1962 should find us all inspired by this feeling of confidence and relief.

154. Nevertheless, we must not forget our brothers who are suffering, who still languish in slavery, who are still hungry, or who are still waiting, determined to take their rightful place in a society of equals. It is towards improving the lot of all this suffering humanity that we must now direct our efforts, irrevocably and unflinchingly.

155. We wish to express our gratitude and congratulations to all those who have worked under you, Mr. President, displaying their customary efficiency, placing their knowledge at our service, and making an invaluable contribution to the success of our labours.

156. To you, Mr. President, and to your entire staff, we, the delegations of the Latin American countries and of Trinidad and Tobago, extend our very best wishes for personal happiness and good fortune.

157. Mr. NDAWULA (Uganda): Mr. President, it is a great honour and pleasure for me, as Chairman of the African group for this month, to come here to express our profound felicitations to you for the exemplary manner in which you have steered the course of this Assembly, and we extend to you our sincere appreciation for bringing the seventeenth session to a happy conclusion.

158. The African group has more than one reason to be grateful to you, Sir, for out of the ninety-two items on the agenda, about one-quarter were issues concerning, in one way or another, matters which are of real moment to us and to which we attach great priority—such questions as decolonization, economic and educational development and technical assistance, to mention only a few.

159. These matters were deliberated upon and resolutions passed and adopted under your wise guidance. Indeed, by your equanimity, equity, integrity, sagacity, and, perhaps above all, your punctuality, you have won our admiration. In that way, too, the hope, confidence and aspirations which the peoples of Africa have in the United Nations have thereby been enhanced and heightened, and we thank you.

160. We wish to extend our thanks also to your very capable lieutenants on the General Committee, and to the Secretary-General, whom we were very pleased to see confirmed in his office.

161. On a more personal note, for my delegation, which for the last seven weeks has been enjoying the status of a Benjamin, it has been a wonderful and very uplifting experience, which I can assure you will stand us in good stead at future sessions. My delegation takes great pride in having been admitted to this community of nations during your presidency.

162. Once again, Mr. President, on behalf of the African group and on behalf of my delegation we congratulate you and we salute you, and we wish you well for the years that lie ahead.

163. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): Mr. President, I have the signal honour and the very great pleasure of conveying to you, on behalf of the delegations of the Arab States and on my own behalf, our warmest and sincerest congratulations on the sustained and patient efforts which you have made to ensure the smooth conduct of the General Assembly's seventeenth session. Now that we are about to bring

this session to a close under the happy augury of punctuality, I take pleasure in expressing to you our great appreciation of the qualities of wisdom, competence and tact which you have so abundantly displayed in guiding the deliberations of the seventeenth session, qualities which have contributed most effectively to the orderly conduct of our work. We rejoice, together with all the other Members of the Assembly, that we had the good fortune and the happy inspiration to choose you to preside over the work of this Assembly, which has thus had the benefit of your great wisdom, your rich experience and your great courtesy. I should like in particular to mention your punctuality and dispatch, which have enabled us to complete our work on schedule. I should like to tell you, Mr. President, that we are most grateful to you for this, and we thank the Vice-Presidents for the same reason.

164. I should also like, with your permission, to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General, his representatives, all the members of the Secretariat, and the interpreters for their valuable assistance, which has greatly facilitated our work.

165. In reiterating to you our thanks and appreciation, I should like, Mr. President, to express the earnest hope that the international community will in the future have the benefit of your experience, your talent and your devotion to the cause of the United Nations.

166. Now that we are saying good-bye, let me also take this occasion to express our feelings of friendship and appreciation to all the delegations which are devoting themselves to the cause of justice, equity and co-operation; we extend to them our best wishes for prosperity, peace and happiness.

167. I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that the deliberations of this Assembly and the resolutions which we have adopted will contribute to the cause of peace and international co-operation.

168. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): I am proud of the honour which has fallen to me of carrying out, on behalf of the delegations of Japan, Turkey, Thailand, the Philippines and my own country, what is certainly a most pleasant task, and that is to convey to you, Mr. President, our gratitude and admiration for the remarkable way in which you have directed our work.

169. You are known and greatly respected for your wisdom, your impartiality, your courtesy and your very human personality, but those who, like myself, have the signal privilege of being your friends combine affection with their respect. May I be permitted, therefore, Mr. President, to extend to you, on behalf of the delegations I have just named, our warmest congratulations and thanks for all that you have done to ensure that the labours of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly might be crowned with success.

170. I should like to borrow from the eloquent tongue of the late President Edouard Herriot a phrase which sums up my whole idea of you: "Merit unrecognized is better than recognition unmerited." But your merits have won due recognition.

171. I should also like to convey my respectful thanks to the Secretary-General and to all the members of his staff who, with such untiring enthusiasm and devotion, have helped us to carry out our task. The road to peace and concord among nations is very long. At this session, both within these walls and, so to

speak, extramurally, we have made a start in the right direction. We must continue to deal with the tasks before us with redoubled energy and vigour, while always maintaining the right course.

172. It would be ungracious of me to leave this rostrum without saying a word in Persian to a man whose rich knowledge of Persian culture never ceases to astonish me. I apologize to the interpreters for not being able to give a translation of this phrase into one of the official languages; these words are intended to express the extent and strength of my personal feelings of friendship for Sir Zafrulla Khan:

"Tohenan por shod fazayeh sineh az doust,
"Keh naghshah khishtan raft az zamiram."

[My friend has completely captured my soul and my own image has faded from my thoughts.]

173. Sir James PLIMSOLL (Australia): It is my pleasure, on behalf of the countries of the Commonwealth, to extend our good wishes to the President and to express to him our appreciation of the way in which he has conducted the affairs of the Assembly during the present session.

174. The countries of the Commonwealth are drawn from all the continents of the world. Three of our members have been admitted to the United Nations during the present session: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda. It has been especially gratifying to us to have seen one of our number chosen as President of the General Assembly this year.

175. You, Mr. President, have played a notable part in the development of your own country. You have played a distinguished part in the development of the Commonwealth and in its evolution since the Second World War. Some of the conferences in which you have participated and some of the decisions which you have helped to frame have shaped the constitutional structure of each member of the Commonwealth, including Australia. You have, of course, also played a most distinguished part in the evolution of the United Nations, as Foreign Minister of your country, as its Permanent Representative here, and as a Judge of the International Court of Justice.

176. It was because we all recognized these qualities in you that we chose you as our President for this session. We knew that in choosing you, we were choosing a strong President—and we have had a strong President. We knew that you would bring to this task great intellectual qualities, integrity and the capacity to make decisions and to inspire respect. We have accepted your decisions without question, I believe, throughout this session. We have done so because we have known that the decisions were based on good judgement and a desire to serve the interests of the Organization.

177. Of course, there are various outward signs of what you have achieved that are easy to discern. Our meetings have started on time every day. We have finished the session a day ahead of schedule. These are real achievements, and you can take credit for them.

178. But it would be wrong to judge you merely on the mechanical achievements. There have been these mechanical achievements, but at the same time there have been a great many substantive achievements. We have not achieved a short session by cutting short our discussions; all the items have been thoroughly discussed.

179. And a President has a great deal to do in addition to presiding here. Indeed, presiding over plenary meetings is perhaps the least of his tasks. He must spur on Committee Chairmen. He must inspire in all of us a sense of the importance of acting in a timely and constructive way. You, Mr. President, have done that. You have spoken to us and conferred with us, and as a result we have done our work well not only from the mechanical point of view, but also from the point of view of dealing with substance. That is something for which delegations can take some credit, also. But in order to do these things we need a President who will give leadership and help to focus our attention. Thus, it is a great pleasure to extend to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the entire Commonwealth, our thanks for the work you have done during this session.

180. I should also like, on behalf of the countries of the Commonwealth, to say some words of appreciation to the Secretariat. One of the most important decisions we made at this session was to elect U Thant Secretary-General. That decision gave us all great joy. It gives the entire world confidence to see U Thant sitting in the chair that he now occupies. We had an opportunity at the time of his election to speak at greater length about his qualities and to pay a tribute to him. I need only remind the Assembly of what we said on that occasion [1182nd meeting].

181. I should like to single out in this connexion Mr. Narasimhan, the Under-Secretary who is charged in particular with the work of the General Assembly. His task here, and behind the scenes, in keeping the work of the Assembly going is a full-time job in itself, but as we know, he has had to carry out all the other duties that fall upon him in his responsible role in connexion with substantive matters. I therefore single him out for special mention.

182. But I would also refer to other members of the Secretariat, those who have been Committee Secretaries and those who are not directly connected with the work of the General Assembly but who, as part of their normal work, day in and day out, deal with the business of the Assembly—preparing its documents, executing its decisions, and so forth. On behalf of the countries of the Commonwealth, I should like to refer particularly in this connexion to the interpreters and those who prepare, duplicate and circulate the records of the Assembly. We must all marvel at the accuracy and speed with which the interpreters turn our words from one language into another, sometimes giving sense to our utterances when we have been obscure. We must also marvel at the speed with which our records come out. Only this week, with all the pressures that have had to be faced, we have seen the records of plenary meetings which have ended at 11 p.m. produced for circulation first thing the next morning. Thus, I mention particularly the interpreters and those who are concerned with the preparation of the records of the meetings.

183. In conclusion, I should like on behalf of the Commonwealth to extend to you, Mr. President, and to all the members of the Secretariat our thanks and good wishes.

184. Mr. TCHOBANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is my pleasant duty to address to you on behalf of the delegations of the socialist group and my own delegation our sincerest thanks and warmest congratulations on the brilliant

way in which you have conducted the deliberations of this session.

185. I think I am voicing the feelings of all the delegations here when I say that, while allowing each delegation the most complete freedom of expression, you have at the same time introduced a remarkable degree of organization into our deliberations, both in the Assembly and in the various committees, thus in large measure enabling us to avoid wasting time and to proceed with our work in an orderly fashion. I think the fact that you have helped us avoid a resumed session is not the least of the reasons why all delegations are deeply grateful to you.

186. We have also admired the ease with which you have handled the most difficult questions of procedure, to the satisfaction of all and in full conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly's rules of procedure. I should like particularly to pay a tribute to your exemplary impartiality and to your unflinching readiness to cooperate and maintain contact with the different groups of delegations on all important questions.

187. You may be sure that the equanimity and good temper which have never deserted you, as well as your delightful sense of humour, have left us all with a most pleasant memory.

188. On behalf of the delegations which have asked me to convey their feelings to you, I wish you the greatest success in your every undertaking.

189. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (translated from French): Mr. President, it has fallen to me to have the honour to express to you, on behalf of the delegations of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Yugoslavia and Greece, our congratulations and thanks for the remarkable way in which you have conducted the work of the seventeenth session, which is now coming to an end.

190. An impressive number of personal factors have contributed to your complete success. I need mention only the esteem, the confidence and the enormous prestige which you enjoy in this Assembly, thanks to the dignity of your person, the integrity of your character and the impartiality you have always displayed.

191. To these major virtues let me add those—no less valuable in a diplomat—of tact, discretion and, where necessary, authority, the latter always tempered by the sense of humour which has won you so much affection.

192. You have even accomplished the remarkable feat of enabling us to end this session twenty-four hours in advance of the scheduled date, even though only a few days ago we were wondering if we might not have to have a resumed session after the New Year.

193. Having called upon us to work with dispatch, I am sure that you will be the first to appreciate the brevity of my statement. I shall confine myself to telling you how grateful to you we all are and to expressing, with our most sincere wishes for your personal happiness, our conviction that your brilliant leadership of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly will be followed by ever-increasing successes in important international gatherings.

194. We also express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and all the members of the Secretariat for

their devotion and the great efforts and sacrifices which they have made.

195. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America): Mr. President, it seems appropriate at this season of the year that a miracle should come to pass—and one has. This seventeenth session of the General Assembly now stands ready to adjourn, and ready to adjourn one day ahead of schedule. When the agenda for the session was drawn up, it was the longest that any Assembly had ever had to contend with. Yet we have completed it, and completed it with comparative equanimity under your beneficent, yet stern leadership. Under the circumstances, no tribute that I could pay to you, Mr. President, would be adequate. I can only say that you have presided magnificently and have set for us all an enviable example of parliamentary efficiency, fair-mindedness and tact. The burden you have carried has been great, yet it has been equalled only by your unflinching courtesy and equilibrium. Your good humour has never failed you and neither did your penetrating understanding of the many complex problems which have occupied us. You have been a strict taskmaster of unprecedented punctuality, and for this we thank you.

196. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank all the officers of this Assembly, the Secretary-General, and all the officials of the Secretariat who have helped us in so many ways, and not least, our faithful and accurate interpreters. All deserve our gratitude. They are true international civil servants whose dedication means so much to the success of the accomplishments of this Organization.

197. The fact that we have completed our deliberations for this session, however, is secondary to the fact that this Assembly laboured faithfully to cope with so many of the urgent problems of our time. We have made progress in some areas. In others we must redouble our efforts, for these past months have shown that no problem defies solution if the approach is made in good faith. I think we should remember that the United Nations is not something separate from its 110 Members. Rather, it is an instrument which the Members can, if they will, use for the fulfilment of the aims of peace, progress and justice, set forth in our Charter. It is the most effective instrument available to us to build a community in which every nation, every man, strong or weak, will have the greatest chance to develop the unlimited possibilities of freedom. We must continue to build that community.

198. We will meet again in a few months, and when we do, I trust that we will continue on the road we have taken during this session: a road that, eventually, will lead us to a world at peace. This is our hope at this season of goodwill among all men.

199. Once again, may I thank the President, and wish godspeed to him and to all of our colleagues in this Assembly. Allow me to express the hope that 1963 will be a year of happiness and fulfilment for all.

200. Mr. HSEUH (China): As the seventeenth session of the General Assembly is coming to a successful conclusion, I wish, in the name of my delegation, to express to the President our gratitude and admiration for the inspiring leadership he has given us in our work.

201. If my memory is correct, this is the only session in recent years which has been able to complete its work on the target date without the

necessity of stopping the clock or of having a resumed session. The President has made our labours, under the guidance of his firm, but gentle, hand flow with "diligence, restraint and punctuality". These are the words which the President himself used in his inaugural speech on the opening day of this session. Now we all see that the results are rewarding.

202. That is not all. The impartiality, wisdom, courtesy and graciousness which the President has brought to this high office in the discharge of his duties will always be in our fond and grateful memory. As I recall, the President spoke on the opening day of: "... a striving today among all peoples to live in freedom and in peace with each other" [1122nd meeting, para. 17].

203. At this closing hour we cannot yet say that these high objectives have been obtained. The striving will have to go on, but if the work of this Assembly has given us a better hope for the outcome of this striving, we owe it to the able leadership of the President and to his inspiring guidance.

204. We also wish to pay high tribute to the Secretary-General whose devotion to the work of the Organization and whose leadership in the Secretariat are factors which have made this session a fruitful one. Our thanks are also due to the members of the Secretariat, without whose loyalty and efficient services we could not have achieved so much.

205. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): At the close of this session my delegation wishes to pay tribute to the very impartial, fair-minded, tactful and effective way the President has conducted the work of this Assembly. The dignity of his personality has greatly enhanced the traditional decorum in the Assembly and has thereby contributed together with the President's punctuality, to the effectiveness of the debate and to the prompt termination of the Assembly's business within the time limit provided.

206. The work of this Assembly has been high-lighted by certain not inconsiderable achievements and the major one is that which has given gratification on all sides: the final election, as Secretary-General, of U Thant, which publicly acknowledged the independence, determination and character of the Secretary-General and ensured for the United Nations the services of a man dedicated to peace and endowed with exceptional qualities to serve it.

207. Another notable achievement was the adoption, by an overwhelming majority, of a resolution [1854 (XVII)] accepting the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, thus strengthening respect for the rule of law within the United Nations and giving protection to its financial means of continued existence. It was, in effect, an expression of confidence in the United Nations and the world-wide determination for its survival and development.

208. A subject that has closed during this session on a note of hope for improvement is that of the Palestine refugees, with the adoption of a unanimous resolution [1856 (XVII)] which followed an exceptionally acrimonious debate.

209. Furthermore, agreement for scientific and technical co-operation in outer space is an important achievement in this session.

210. This session, in adjourning, feels, however, deep regret and disappointment that the most vital field of

progress, on which the eyes of humanity were turned with anxiety and expectation, has yielded no results, in spite of all efforts in the United Nations. I refer to the question of disarmament, and more particularly to the banning of nuclear tests. We realize the difficulties involved in disarmament, bearing in mind that we have not yet moved sufficiently towards an orderly world in which it could be a reality. On nuclear tests, however, no such difficulties are involved. In fact, the two sides have come so near that it is indeed most regrettable and astonishing that no agreement has been possible as seen from the report presented by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament [A/5338 and Add.1 and 2]. This report was to have been presented on 10 December 1962, so that the Assembly could consider it. The practical and constructive proposals made in this session, particularly those submitted in the Eighteen-Nation Committee, by Sweden and Mexico [see A/5338/Add.2], could well form the basis of an agreement. We have noticed with appreciation, and great attention, the remarks made by the President on the subject and the expression of hope that the priority which has been given to the question of nuclear testing in the Eighteen-Nation Committee, and which we hope will continue, will eventually give the required results, for indeed this is a matter which should not be forgotten when we adjourn. We have to bear in mind that it is the one subject which concerns the whole world and every individual in that world, if we do not forget that every test is actually harmful to humanity's health and life to an extent which affects not only the present, but the future generations of mankind.

211. Therefore, we hope and trust that agreement will be reached soon and that in the meanwhile, we bear in mind the wise words which the President expressed; namely that the negotiating parties should see to it that the United Nations is constantly informed about the progress of the negotiations by periodic reports to the Secretary-General and to the General Assembly.

212. We hope that this will mark the end of the discussions on nuclear tests and that, before the next session begins, there will be a definite agreement on nuclear testing so that this terrible evil will cease.

213. Before concluding I wish to express to you, Mr. President, the profound appreciation of my delegation and our best wishes for your future happiness and for success in your further services to humanity.

214. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): My delegation wishes to join those who have expressed congratulations and best wishes to the President of the General Assembly, the distinguished representative of Pakistan, Ambassador Zafrulla Khan. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the objectivity and great tact which Mr. Zafrulla Khan has displayed in discharging his heavy and difficult responsibilities as President of the General Assembly. It is with especial satisfaction that we mention his skill and exceptional organizing abilities, which have enabled him to bring the Assembly's work to a successful conclusion even before the appointed time.

215. Our present session coincided with an acute international crisis, in which the world was threatened with a devastating thermo-nuclear war. Hence, it is all the more significant that the United Nations General

Assembly, under your guidance, Mr. President, and with the active collaboration of the Secretary-General, was able to take a number of important and constructive decisions, which have strengthened the peace and security of States, furthered the struggle of the colonial peoples for liberation, confirmed the principles of peaceful coexistence and economic co-operation among States on a footing of equality, and contributed to an improvement in international relations.

216. My delegation hopes that the United Nations will help to strengthen the peace and security of peoples and will fulfill the high ideals enshrined in its Charter and in the various resolutions adopted at this seventeenth session of the General Assembly.

217. We should also like to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General and the entire Secretariat staff which assists the work of the Assembly, in particular the interpreters, and to express our best wishes for their success in 1963.

218. The PRESIDENT: Dear and esteemed colleagues, the moment has come for me to render back to you the trust which you, in the generosity of your hearts and overlooking my many shortcomings, committed into my hands a matter of three months ago. If I beg your indulgence to express the hope that you may receive back this trust undamaged and untarnished, I give no credit for it to myself. For me it was a great honour to have been so entrusted, and the guarding of this trust and the endeavour to discharge its responsibilities have been a rich, rewarding and revealing experience. It would not be enough to say that I am deeply moved; I am indeed overwhelmed by the expression you have given to your feelings and to your appreciation concerning the work that all of us together are concluding this evening.

219. I am deeply grateful to you, my colleagues, to my dear friend the Secretary-General, to my esteemed coadjutor on my left and to all the Secretariat officials and staff, as well as to the Vice-Presidents who have striven to lighten my burden all through the session. I am grateful also to the Chairmen of the Committees, who have worked hard and diligently to have the work entrusted to their Committees duly performed within the allotted space of time. From among all the Vice-Presidents it would perhaps be invidious to distinguish any, when all have been so deeply devoted to the interests of bringing the session to a successful conclusion, but I am particularly grateful to my two colleagues Sir James Plimsoll and Mr. Abdul Monem Rifa'i for having taken, at difficult times, the burden of presiding over the meetings on their own shoulders and for having performed their duties so well.

220. Every one has rendered diligent and loyal co-operation, not to me, but to the President of the session, because he was your trustee. I wish particularly to pay my tribute of praise to the staff, those silent workers, most of them working behind the scenes. If you and I have been punctual, they have been more than punctual and have added considerably to their normal hours of duty during these three months. If you and I have been diligent, they have been more than diligent, they have been devoted. As one example of their devotion to duty, and diligence, and a very striking one, I would draw your attention to this heavy volume which has been lying here in view of all of you since the representative of Ceylon came to the rostrum. This volume is entitled the Roundup of

the seventeenth regular session of the General Assembly—18 September to 20 December 1962. Page 39 of part I reads as follows:

"Subject of resolution: Credentials of representatives to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly

"Date adopted: 20 December 1962

"Vote: 73 in favour, 4 against, with 23 abstentions

"Documents numbers Committee report to Assembly: Credentials Committee report (A/5395)

"Resolution as adopted by Assembly: approves the report of the Credentials Committee."

From that you can judge how much goes on behind the scenes and with what diligent devotion all your departments' work and all the records of your doings are preserved for future reference and for action to be taken.

221. I would beg your indulgence for a few moments more. It is not my intention nor would it, perhaps, be appropriate for me to bring into review, however brief, the work of this session and its achievements, more especially, when that has been done so well and so much better than I could have done it, particularly by the representative of Ceylon and the representative of Cyprus; but I would like to bring one matter to your attention. We are all conscious, by now, of the march of humanity towards freedom and the march of this Organization towards universality, made possible by this successful march towards freedom. There still exist some difficult obstacles, before this strong and mighty stream of freedom can begin to flow unimpeded. Those will surely be overcome. They will be overcome sooner than most of us imagine.

222. That expression of hope is fortified when we look backwards. I recall the evening of the Assembly session held in Paris as short a time ago as 1951 when many of us, if I might say so, fighters in the cause of freedom, were sorely disappointed that we could not succeed, even in inscribing on the agenda of the Assembly, the problems of Tunisia and Morocco. We have only to look around today to see what a difference eleven short years have made in that respect, and from that many lessons may be drawn; but the one lesson, above all, is that if there are those who still seek, in effect, to obstruct the flow of this strong and mighty current for freedom, apart from differences of approach and differences of method and pace, they stand in the way of it, not only in a futile effort which is bound to be brushed aside, but also at the peril of those very interests which they are trying to preserve and the safeguarding of which is their primary duty.

223. However, freedom is only the first step, though a very necessary and essential step, towards the achievement of the ultimate objective; and what is that ultimate objective? The ultimate objective is that mankind, which today constitutes not only one family, but one organism, shall continue to develop and to evolve as a healthy, co-ordinated and beneficent organism. If one part of it is diseased, the whole is diseased. If one part of it is in want, the whole lacks something essential. Freedom, as I have said, is not in itself the objective. It is a means towards the achievement of that objective. We are almost at the threshold of universal freedom today.

224. At one time, it was said that the world could not survive half free and half slave. We have realized the truth of that adage. It would be wise and beneficent if we were also to recognize that mankind cannot continue one quarter fed and three quarters hungry, one quarter well and three quarters ill, one tenth basking in the light of knowledge and science and nine tenths floundering in the morass of ignorance. It behooves all of us to realize the truth of that statement and to work diligently towards correcting that picture.

225. The one outstanding feature of this session is that the developing nations have been seen moving forward from the position of asking for greater economic and technical aid to a position where they demand, as of right, that these inequalities be redressed, and redressed quickly, in the interests both of those who have and those who have not.

226. There have been resolutions passed, and speeches made, which have rendered it quite clear that the primary producers—the so-called developing countries—the sweat of whose labours feeds the factories and the workshops all over the world, are no longer willing to be content with the present position or to be put off with alleviations of it as a matter of charity or even of benevolence. They demand that the prices of the products of their labour shall be stabilized. For, every fluctuation in those prices, and even a very sudden upward trend in them, disrupts and ruins the economies of those countries. A downward trend means starvation. They ask that these prices should be stabilized at a level which shall secure for them a fair share of the ultimate wealth, the production of which would be impossible unless they gave the sweat of their bodies, unless they gave of their health, of their lives, so that the wheels of industry might continue to turn.

227. For the first time, the "have" nations will be confronted, late in 1963 or early in 1964, around a table, with that problem and with how to solve it. As I have said, in their own interests, as well as in the interests of humanity, it would be well for them to

come prepared to that table—not to obstruct, but to co-operate; to say goodbye for ever to exploitation and to welcome with open arms co-operation and partnership among all sections of the human family.

228. It remains for me only to wish all of you and yours a very merry Christmas and a very happy New Year—a New Year that will bring fresh challenges, a New Year that will require the fulfilment of what you have been planning here, a New Year to which, like all succeeding years will attract the application of these words of great wisdom uttered fourteen hundred years ago.

[The speaker continued in Arabic.]

"We now return from the lesser striving and embark upon the greater striving"

[The speaker resumed in English.]

for beneficent striving is the very bread and sustenance and support of life. I pray that all of us may be enabled to enter upon that striving and take up the new challenges, and discharge them with success.

[The speaker continued in Arabic.]

"Our last cry is that all praise is due to God, who has created, nourishes, sustains and leads all the worlds stage by stage, towards perfection."

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

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

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

230. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the seventeenth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.00 midnight