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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Rifa'i (Jordan),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): It is a great pleasure and a distinguished honour, on behalf of the delegation of Liberia and myself, to extend sincere congratulations to the President, Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, on his election as President of the General Assembly at its seventeenth session. We feel certain that in the exercise of his heavy responsibilities he will bring to bear on our deliberations his extraordinary and rich experience, his keen sense of justice and his wisdom.

2. The expansion of the United Nations membership is, in the opinion of the delegation of Liberia, of great importance for the Organization's role in the maintenance of international peace and security. By such expansion, the United Nations moves much closer to being the universal organization it was intended to be. It is thus a source of gratification to my delegation to extend a very warm welcome to Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago into the family of this world Organization. We are certain that these new States will make a significant and constructive contribution to the objectives of the United Nations and assist in establishing it as a centre for harmonizing the actions of States in the attainment of the principles and purposes of the Organization.

3. Each year seems to bring with it many critical and crucial problems for which solutions need to be found by this world Organization. To find solutions requires the will and determination of Member States and a new approach, free from bias and prejudice. We should focus our attention on the main objective—the peace of the world—and we should resolve to search for fair and just solutions. No one wants to think of the horrible alternative which might stare us in the face if we failed in our efforts to achieve peace.

4. It is a source of some satisfaction that agreement was finally reached and a declaration signed at Geneva on 10 July establishing a government of national unity in Laos. Let us hope that the International

Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos will be able to ensure a stable and peaceful situation in that country.

5. We are indeed happy, also, that the situation in New Guinea has been settled and that the people of that country will eventually exercise their right of self-determination. We congratulate the Acting Secretary-General on the part he has played in bringing about a peaceful solution.

6. Although the principal parties to the issue of Berlin, which is a dangerous area of tension, have accepted the principle of negotiation, the fact remains that there appears to be no reduction of tension and we are still far away from a solution of that problem. It is extremely doubtful that this question can be satisfactorily settled except by the unification of Germany, something which can be effected only with the free and unfettered participation of the German people.

7. My delegation does not accept the theory that there should be negotiation merely for the sake of negotiation; nor does it accept the theory that there should be prospects of success before negotiation begins. Negotiations in good faith may help to expose areas, limited though they may be, where there may be the possibility of compromise. The Liberian Government is prepared to support any measure, within or without the United Nations, which may bring the contending parties together to find a reasonable and equitable solution.

8. The voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing by the big Powers was broken last year while the nuclear Powers were still holding discussions on a test ban; and now two of them are carrying on a series of tests in what they have described as their national interests. We appear to be moving in a vicious circle; and there is still a deadlock in the test ban negotiations. We are pleased at the efforts to bring the two sides together which are being made by non-nuclear countries in the negotiations. But the progress that has been made in the past year is, to say the least, not as satisfactory as we should like. The people of the world abhor being continuously exposed to radio-active fall-out, and we have been recently warned by a committee of scientists of the harmful effects of atomic radiation. We wish our children and generations yet unborn to live and make contributions to the improvement of life on our planet. We have been treated to numerous peace festivals and similar conferences, where we have heard many resolutions. What the world wants now is peace action, not peace talk. I hope that this session of the Assembly can help the nuclear Powers to take the essential first step towards general disarmament by signing a nuclear test ban treaty.

9. In spite of the provisions of the Charter on disarmament and the regulation of armaments, no agreement in this field has yet been reached. The cold war has been largely responsible, but the two principal

sides seem to be insisting on iron-clad guarantees for their present positions. Modern weapons threaten our very existence. No effort should be spared and no ingenuity should be left untaxed in trying to find a solution to the problem of disarmament. Disarmament will not prove to be a panacea, but I believe it will be a significant and important advance in our efforts to reduce tension and find peaceful solutions to world problems. That is our task and our challenge, especially in this age when we are haunted by mutilation, if not annihilation. Our prime interest should be human survival in freedom and justice, not mass human destruction.

10. At the sixteenth session of the General Assembly the problem of finding a successor to the late Dag Hammarskjöld was temporarily resolved by the interim appointment of Acting Secretary-General U Thant to fill the unexpired term. He has served well and efficiently, and my Government has been greatly impressed by his performance. We feel that this should weigh heavily in his favour for election to a full term.

11. For the past two years we have been beset by the proposal for an executive triumvirate, or "troika". In the past two sessions I have expressed my Government's disagreement with this formula, which cannot be applied without amending the Charter. At the United Nations Conference on International Organization we accepted the principle that the Secretary-General and the staff of this Organization should be independent and therefore free from the pressures of Governments. The change now being proposed would make the Secretariat an inter-governmental organization, which would easily be subjected to tremendous pressures. This strikes at the very heart of the Organization as a whole.

12. The Liberian Government has agreed to and has fully supported the principle of an independent Secretariat, and believes in its effectiveness. To sacrifice it would be too costly, in our opinion, and might even be fatal to the continued existence of the Organization itself.

13. Besides, if we agree to the "troika", who can tell that we shall be able to stop there? Once the principle of dividing up the Secretariat among the different groupings in the Assembly is accepted, we may find ourselves urged in a year or two to advance from the "troika" to the four-in-hand, in order to recognize the rights of some newly organized bloc of delegations. Before long, indeed, the Secretary-General might find himself trying to control with one rein a whole regiment of cavalry. He would then be able to match the feat of the Stephen Leacock character, who leapt upon his steed and rode madly off in all directions.

14. The desire of my Government is not to enervate or weaken the United Nations, but to give it greater strength and vitality as one of the most useful instruments of diplomacy in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

15. The United Nations is undergoing a financial crisis due mainly to the failure of some Members to contribute to the enormous costs incurred by its peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo. Some delegations have invoked all kinds of arguments which, they contend, make it impossible for them to pay their assessments. My delegation regards such arguments as mere excuses and ruses. We

believe that such acts are deliberately designed to cause financial strangulation of the Organization and to bring pressures to get a point of view adopted which has been lost either in the General Assembly or the Security Council.

16. There has never been any doubt in my mind that, since United Nations organs authorized the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and the United Nations Operation in the Congo, all Members of the United Nations are obligated to bear the expenses. Speaking at the last session of the General Assembly on this matter I said:

"It is quite obvious then that when decisions are made by the Security Council bearing on the maintenance of peace and security, or if the Security Council is unable to make a decision and the matter is referred to the General Assembly where the decision is made, if any financial involvement of the Organization becomes necessary it is the obligation of each Member of the United Nations to contribute its share, once that has been determined, in meeting the expenses which are to be incurred.

"It is wrong for any Member of the United Nations to refuse to make its contribution on any ground whatsoever; for when either the Security Council or the General Assembly takes an action it does so on behalf of each Member, and we are all obligated because we have conferred on these institutions the power to take action in our behalf. . . ." [1017th meeting, para. 29].

Continuing, I said:

"My delegation feels that the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations are an obligation of Members and, therefore, the expenses thereof should be apportioned by the General Assembly in keeping with Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter." [*Ibid.*, para. 31.]

17. For these reasons the Liberian delegation co-sponsored the resolution [1731 (XVI)] referring this question to the International Court of Justice. It is therefore with satisfaction and great joy that my Government accepts the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice [A/5161]^{1/} that the expenditures authorized by the General Assembly to cover the cost of ONUC and UNEF constitute expenses of the Organization within the meaning of Article 17, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter.

18. It is true that this is an advisory opinion but we feel that the decision is an historical one and is also peculiarly significant. We solemnly appeal to all Members to accept the International Court's opinion and show their good faith by contributing their quota to these peace-keeping operations. If we fail to do this, the result may be to paralyse the United Nations in one of its most important functions, to stifle its growth and to retard the development of international law and order and stability in our strife-torn world.

19. Independence has come to many countries in the past few years. This has been an important means of eliminating some of the tensions arising from foreign domination. Independence by itself, however, is not enough. The economic gap between developed countries and developing countries is great and seems to be widening.

^{1/} International Court of Justice, *Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter)*, Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

20. As one of the purposes of this Organization is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, it is necessary for greater efforts to be exerted in this decade of development. There is a passionate desire among people in the developing countries for a better life. If they are not to be disappointed in their hopes, long-term planning and greater assistance will be needed to develop dynamic economies.

21. Through the promotion and expansion of various means of co-operation for general development, international tensions will also be reduced. The developed countries have the opportunity now to use more imagination and to put forth maximum efforts in this particular field of economic assistance, the surface of which is just being scratched. In doing so, they should consider the virtues and advantages of using multilateral means.

22. We read a great deal in the newspapers these days about the success of the European Common Market and, of course, we can rejoice to know that six nations have found a means of increasing their prosperity by exchanging rivalry for co-operation. It must not be overlooked, however, that a strictly limited prosperity may in the end create more problems than it solves. The world has reached a stage at which we can no longer risk the continuance of a situation in which the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Prosperity must be indivisible. The world cannot survive if it is to be part palace, part slum. I commend this consideration to all those who may take part in Common Market negotiations in the future.

23. Great scientific achievements have been made in space and in peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We are pleased to note that some advance has been made among the big Powers for co-operation in space. We can only hope that this co-operation can be extended to the communication satellite and to other fields so that economic growth in developing countries can be accelerated and turned into self-sustaining growth.

24. My Government registers its special congratulations and appreciation to the United Nations committees on decolonization, South West Africa and the Portuguese Territories for their excellent work.

25. The resolution adopted at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly regarding the Constitution of 1961 of Southern Rhodesia [1747 (XVI)] provides an accurate indication of how the majority of the people of the world and the peoples of that country feel about a government which the indigenous population had no part in creating. The African population does not have adequate representation in that government. The Federation was instituted without seeking the views of the majority.

26. The decision was made as if these people did not exist. Governments should be instituted with the consent of the governed and this is the philosophy to which the United Nations itself subscribes. The Africans have therefore properly rejected the new Constitution of Southern Rhodesia. At the Foreign Ministers' meeting of the Conference of African and Malagasy States in Lagos in June 1962, we authorized our representatives here to see that a resolution on this matter was presented.

27. My Government feels certain that, with the attitude and past performance of the United Kingdom on the whole matter of decolonization and independence,

that Government will respect the decision of the General Assembly.

28. Because the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has observed that South Africa has some expansionist and imperialistic designs on the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, this General Assembly should declare that these territories are not open to unscrupulous seizure.

29. The General Assembly has in the past approved a number of resolutions in respect of the colonial territories under Portuguese rule, but they have all been flouted. The empty pride, stubbornness and obstinacy of the Portuguese Government have been exhibited for all the world to see. The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration has recommended that the Government of Portugal should grant independence to its territories [A/5160 and Corr.1, paras. 442-443].

30. The Committee has also reported that there are reasons to believe that NATO arms have been used to fight the Africans. I referred to this in the course of the general debate last year [1017th meeting, para. 48] and recommended an arms embargo. If NATO is pledged to save lives, it should not seek to save the lives of Europeans and destroy the lives of Africans.

31. What the report reveals is not different from what the African States have been saying nor is it different from the account of those few Western representatives who have been permitted to enter the territories. This so-called historic mission to spread civilization has been unmasked and is now found to be one of the greatest perpetrators of falsehood and deception the world has ever seen. The African States are being constantly condemned and castigated in the Portuguese Press. But we are not the enemy of Portugal. The real enemy of Portugal is Portugal itself.

32. My Government will support the report of the Special Committee and will join in any reasonable action designed to persuade and coerce Portugal to see the error of its ways and to conform to the principles of the Charter. I desire to emphasize, however, that continued defiance of United Nations decisions is not compatible with membership in the United Nations.

33. In the report of the United Nations Special Committee on South West Africa, it is the view of the Committee that the United Nations should take over South West Africa and prepare it for independence [A/5212, paras. 79-82]. Here are Africans practically separated from the world and deprived of freedom and human rights. This can become a very serious threat to peace and security.

34. My Government and that of Ethiopia have brought a contentious proceeding in the International Court of Justice on this matter and hearings will start on the preliminary objections to jurisdiction in the next few days. However, any action taken by this Assembly which will relieve the unhappy situation in South West Africa will be supported by the Liberian delegation.

35. The story of South Africa itself is one of extreme sadness. Perhaps we should pity those people in their incredible actions. But the continued defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, the pursuit of the iniquitous policy of apartheid and the enactment of more stringent laws which deny the Africans all fundamental rights require some attention and action by the United Nations. Drastic diseases require drastic

remedies and my delegation will support firm action to stop this senseless drift.

36. One can understand the reluctance of the non-African communities of Central and Southern Africa to give up the special privileges which they now enjoy. One cannot understand their failure to realize that, in their own interest, this reluctance must be overcome. Have they read nothing of recent history? Can they not realize that of the long succession of colonialist wars fought since 1945, not one has ended with a victory for the moribund colonial cause? Six and a half years of struggle in Algeria have just ended with the now familiar denouement—the triumph of nationalism. Those non-Africans who still dream of clinging to power in Africa can hope for no more success than was achieved in Algeria. All they can hope to do is to prolong a battle which they are bound to lose and which will grow more and more bitter, more and more futile, as the months and years are allowed to pass and the last opportunities for conciliation are frittered away. We must pray that the leaders responsible for this vain effort to keep the book of history open forever at page 1962 will be blessed with a change of heart and a clearing of vision before it is too late.

37. My Government received an appeal from the Acting Secretary-General requesting its continued assistance in the efforts of the United Nations for peace in the Republic of the Congo. The Secretary-General noted that since independence in 1960 the stability and territorial integrity of the country had not been established, that the continued defiance of the province of Katanga and the support which it has been able to receive from various outside sources makes it difficult for the Central Government to overcome its problems and perform its responsibilities. It is this state of affairs which makes necessary the continued financial expenditures of the United Nations in the amount of about \$10 million per month and the posting of about 15,000 troops.

38. For any hope of peace and prosperity, for stability in the territory, for peace in Africa and the world, the Congo crisis must be brought to an end and the territory should be united. The Government of Liberia, which has a contingent of troops in the Congo, believes that one of the most significant developments since the Congo crisis is the Acting Secretary-General's recent proposal for ending the secession of Katanga. My delegation will give its full support to the Secretary-General's proposal and hopes that the Congolese people will give these proposals a fair trial as an important beginning in bringing to an end the crisis which has plagued that young country in the past two years; for it is the Congolese people themselves who alone must resolve this tragic problem.

39. Concomitant with the rapid decolonization process has been an increase in the membership of the Organization, with States from Africa and Asia making up almost fifty per cent. This has imposed on the African-Asian States the important responsibility of exercising their influence with even greater care and responsibility and we are fully cognizant of this. But there are important organs from which African-Asian States are excluded under agreements made before the increase in membership. Either the membership of these organs has to be increased or we will strive to use our votes to ensure adequate representation on each of them.

40. There have been some recent outbursts by some States when certain decisions went against them and

these States have also made attacks against the motives of the majority. It is true that some of the States which felt themselves entrenched may be worried that there are large numbers of States which are thinking differently and they have been obviously stung by some adverse votes. They have therefore attacked the United Nations and sent up trial balloons about change in the voting system in the United Nations Assembly. My Government considers this another direct attack on one of the fundamental principles on which this Organization was founded—the sovereign equality of all Members—and it will oppose any such change, just as we oppose the proposed change regarding the administrative machinery of the Secretariat.

41. So far as I am aware, no one has yet been able to devise any new form of voting procedure that would, on the face of it, be just as equitable and likely to appeal to a majority of the Members of this Assembly. What is to be the new criterion? The geographical area of each State? There are many States which are largely desert. The population of each State? That would put all power in the hands of a very small group of nations. The wealth of each State? That would be going back to the nineteenth century with a vengeance. No, this is a case where the lack of any workable alternative compels us, in my view, to let well enough alone or, in the words of the poet:

*"To keep a hold of nurse
For fear of finding something worse."*

42. Some States seem to arrogate to themselves the determination that views not in accord with their own on some problems are wrong, and thereby insidiously imply that States which vote contrary to their point of view are acting unreasonably. We reject this view. I do not believe that I can emphasize too strongly that the price for compromise on the system of one vote for each country in the General Assembly is too high and may bring about a sacrifice that could adversely affect the Organization.

43. Another result of the increased membership has been the length of the recent Assembly sessions. Both the 1960 and 1961 Assemblies have had resumed sessions extending into the following year. This is an expensive proposition both in terms of finances and personnel, especially for the smaller countries and the United Nations itself. The President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session, Mr. Mongi Slim, has offered a number of suggestions concerning changes in the procedures of the General Assembly [A/5123] in the hope that these changes might produce efficiency and speed in the discharge of the Assembly's functions. As far as can be seen, the number of items on the agenda will not diminish. Indeed, the evidence points to the conclusion that they will increase each year. Mr. Slim must therefore be congratulated for his constructive initiative in advancing these suggestions.

44. However, in order that these and any additional proposals may serve to achieve the objectives envisaged by Mr. Slim and be approved by Member States of the United Nations, my delegation is prepared to co-sponsor a draft resolution by which this Assembly shall create an *ad hoc* committee with terms of reference which will enable the committee to make recommendations regarding the implementation of the proposals.

45. Finally, we stand on the threshold of an era in world affairs where with new vision and greater imagi-

nation we can make the United Nations one of the world's great forces for peace, and usher in a long period of greater development and victory over the scourges of poverty, ignorance and disease; but a lack of vision and imagination may well cause us all to perish. It is my earnest hope that, in spite of the complexity of the problems, our deliberations at this session will bring about some solutions, lessen the tensions and start us on the road to assuring international peace and security.

Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) took the Chair.

46. Mr. HAEKKERUP (Denmark): In spite of deep conflicts of political interests between nations, in spite of differences in race, religion, culture and nationality, mankind has overriding and vital common interests. It is the great task of the United Nations, in this epoch of history, to translate this common interest into action. It is my ardent hope that a profound consciousness of our responsibilities for this task may be reflected in the debates of this seventeenth General Assembly.

47. We should concentrate on areas in which concrete action for peace and "détente" can be instituted. If we fail in this, we shall be failing in our duties and our responsibilities for that community of man which is greater than any selfish interests and transcends all that divides us.

48. To maintain international peace and security is the primary aim of the United Nations. In present conditions this means that the disarmament problem is the most burning issue of our time.

49. For the first time in history a military apparatus exists which is technically capable of annihilating mankind or, at any rate, all forms of civilized life. We have gradually grown accustomed to living with this knowledge, but it is difficult to escape a feeling that an uncontrolled arms race cannot go on indefinitely without some day ending in disaster. Across all national and ideological frontiers there is an elementary and fundamental common interest in preventing this.

50. The Disarmament Conference at Geneva, which will be resumed in a few weeks' time, has gone into all the aspects of the disarmament issue. It is true that the Geneva negotiations have not yet resulted in concrete agreements, but they have been realistic and constructive. The neutral countries have contributed substantially to the endeavours to bridge the gap between the conflicting positions.

51. These negotiations, and the detailed scientific studies which have been carried out, have served to elucidate further the very complex problems raised by disarmament. On a number of problems the opposing views have come closer together. In several fields virtual agreement seems to have been reached. Our discussions during this general debate should aim at laying the best possible foundation for the continued negotiations at Geneva.

52. The goal must be general and complete disarmament under international control. On this we all agree. But in the present international situation it would be of capital importance if agreement could be reached on rapid implementation of certain initial and partial measures of disarmament designed to promote international security and pave the way for more comprehensive agreements. What is decisive is to

make a start with disarmament, to get out of the vicious circle where mutual distrust leads to an arms race, which leads to added distrust which, in turn, leads to even greater armaments. We should try to start the good circle where minor progress on specific points may alleviate international tensions. One such limited but important step would be to take measures to prevent the dissemination of independent nuclear capabilities. This is a key problem of today. The world of the sixties and the seventies will be dangerous to live in if more and more countries acquire independent nuclear armaments.

53. But the most immediate problem is, in my Government's view the need to arrive at an early agreement on a nuclear test ban. The recent report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/5216] has shed more light on the sinister radiation hazards involved in these tests. It is desirable from every point of view that these tests should be stopped as soon as possible in order to eliminate the biological and genetic risks from fall-out, in order to prevent wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and in order to halt the nuclear arms race.

54. In an attempt to meet the Soviet views, the Western atomic Powers at the Geneva Conference have now declared themselves ready to accept an agreement on an immediate ban on all nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and in the oceans, without any form of international inspection on Soviet territory. They only call for a minimum of international control as a condition for widening the test ban to include underground tests which are not detectable by scientific devices in other countries. In other words, an agreement on a self-policing stop could be concluded tomorrow for those categories of nuclear tests which produce the dangerous fall-out. It seems to us that this compromise proposal represents a constructive contribution to a solution. It will simply be impossible to understand if, being so near to a solution, we now fail to solve this problem of such tremendous importance to mankind.

55. Disarmament is, as the Acting Secretary-General says in his annual report [A/5201/Add.1], a subject in which all nations, big and small, are concerned. We all have a responsibility, also to future generations. In the same way as Denmark takes part in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations in the Middle East and the Congo, we are ready, within our limited possibilities, to contribute scientifically and technically, with equipment and personnel, to the implementation of any disarmament programme on which agreement may be reached. Now, as before, Denmark is ready to make a direct and practical contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem.

56. Progress towards disarmament is intimately bound up with the efforts we make to promote international "détente" and mutual trust. It is a paramount task of the United Nations to make an effective contribution to the settlement of international crises and conflicts.

57. I am glad to have this opportunity to pay tribute to the Acting Secretary-General for his constructive efforts to bring about reconciliation in the Congo and assist the Congolese people in solving their constitutional, political and economic problems. My country whole-heartedly supports the Congo operation of the United Nations and, in our view, the Secretary-General's conciliation plan is a reasonable and realistic

tic basis for a lasting solution of the Congo problem. It is essential that the Secretary-General should have wide support for the accomplishment of this task, for the sake of the Congolese people and for the sake of the authority of the United Nations and the future possibilities of the Organization as a peace-preserving factor.

58. Since we met here last year, the international situation has shown some encouraging features—for instance, the agreements on Algeria and Laos. But at the same time it is a regrettable fact and a source of concern that the Berlin situation is still tense. An arrangement which could eliminate the tensions surrounding the Berlin issue and which, at the same time, could safeguard the freedom and security of, as well as free access to, West Berlin would help materially to improve the international climate. This would also pave the way for positive results from the disarmament negotiations. The idea of assigning a role to the United Nations by moving some United Nations organ to Berlin should enter into the deliberations.

59. Since the Second World War, we have witnessed a gradual abolition of colonial systems of former times, which has led to the emancipation of vast areas and hundreds of millions of people. The United Nations has played an important role in these developments, which have the warm sympathy and full support of the Danish people and which represent one of the greatest advances of the twentieth century. We have now reached a stage where the colonial issue will soon be a thing of the past, but the racial policies pursued by certain States is a bitter and immediate reality. I am thinking, for instance, of the apartheid policy of the Republic of South Africa, which reflects a contempt for the dignity of man which we can never accept.

60. It is our obligation to defend fundamental human rights wherever they are violated or threatened. National independence and political liberty are, however, not in themselves sufficient to ensure proper living conditions for the peoples of the emerging independent nations. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of this earth suffer from poverty and misery. The difference in living standards between the more and the less developed countries is growing. This widening gap will jeopardize the foundation of peace.

61. It is my impression that it is generally realized that the aim of assistance to developing countries should be to help them develop their own natural and human resources in order to win the struggle against hunger, disease and illiteracy. Education is the core of technical assistance. But, if education is to produce quick results, it must be backed up by efforts to accelerate the early phases of capital formation in developing countries.

62. Denmark regards technical assistance as an international task of historic significance, and the Danish Government gives unreserved support to the United Nations Development Decade. By far the greater share of Denmark's contribution is channelled through the United Nations. Our contributions to the United Nations aid programmes—already among the biggest on a per caput basis—have lately been increased substantially. Appropriations for bilateral assistance—which may be preferable in specific situations—will also be raised, and our future bilateral activities will be co-ordinated with the assistance programmes under United Nations auspices. In our view, the special significance of bilateral programmes lies in the fact

that this form of assistance is particularly suited to promoting interest in assistance activities among the population of the contributing country. For technical assistance is a human task in which the efforts of Governments must rest on the whole-hearted understanding and active participation of peoples.

63. The long-term economic problem of the developing countries is to create a diversified economy. Only this will enable these countries to become equal partners in the international exchange of goods and services. But we also realize that the acute trade problems of the developing countries must be solved, and we believe that regional trade co-operation, based on liberal and outward-looking principles, will lead to greater exports for the developing countries. Contributions to the solution of these problems should also be made by such international organizations as the International Monetary Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Danish Government hopes that the international conference on trade and development which the Economic and Social Council decided should be held [resolution 917 (XXXIV)] may mark an important step forward. It is essential, therefore, that the conference should be prepared with the greatest possible care.

64. In all the fields I have mentioned—disarmament and arms control, settlement of conflicts, decolonization, and assistance to developing countries—there are concrete opportunities for constructive action by the United Nations. In order to cope with all these tasks it is, however, essential that the United Nations should have the full support of the Member countries. In the financial crisis in which the United Nations now finds itself this means, above all, that Member countries must make available the funds required to meet the expenses of the Organization. Only when the international Secretariat can operate effectively will the Organization be able to take action whenever and wherever this may be necessary to uphold the principles of the Charter. It is for this very reason—because we want to preserve the United Nations as an effective peace-preserving factor—that Denmark is against the so-called "troika" system.

65. In our view the importance of the United Nations will be further enhanced and world-wide co-operation promoted if the principle of universality of membership is applied fully. For this reason we continue to support the representation of the People's Republic of China.

66. It is an overriding purpose of the Danish Government and the Danish people to do everything in our power to strengthen the United Nations. That is why we take an active part in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations and make relatively considerable contributions to the Organization's assistance activities and its bond issue. The small nations have a vital interest in supporting the authority of the United Nations and its development towards becoming an effective instrument for the rule of law.

67. In a world of tension and conflict the United Nations carried humanity's best hope for peace.

68. Sir Garfield BARWICK (Australia): Allow me, Mr. President, at the opening of Australia's statement in the general debate, to express the sincere congratulations and the great pleasure of my country and of myself upon your election as President of this Assembly. The office is one of great distinction, for

which your well-known career in public service, both national and international, both executive and judicial, proclaim your eminent fitness. But it is also a place of great responsibility requiring much arduous attention and labour. Australia expresses its confidence in you in these respects and wishes you health and strength to perform your many duties.

69. Your country, Mr. President, Pakistan, has been active in its membership of this Organization throughout the period since it was admitted in 1947. It has served in UNKF and in the Congo forces; it has served in UNCURK, in the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, in the Security Council, in the Economic and Social Council, and it is at present providing troops for the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority in West New Guinea. Your service as President will add to this noteworthy record.

70. The general debate in this Assembly affords each Member nation an opportunity to express its views on some of the great issues of the day, and by that process we are all able to form some judgement of the state of world affairs and some assessment of the trends of the immediate future. Not unnaturally, what is said by the great Powers bulks large in that consideration. On this occasion, the statements of the United States [1125th meeting] and of the Soviet Union [1127th meeting], made on successive days, not merely afforded us the advantage of their views but gave us a clear and indeed a dramatic picture of their contrasting ways of life, of their standards of conduct, and of their divergent appreciation of the rules of international behaviour.

71. The United States speech set out a list of the major questions on which nations are currently divided but, without unrealistic optimism, it also called attention to the progress of the last year as indicating what reason and good will could accomplish in easing the tensions so easily set up in such a divided world could accomplish in easing the tensions so easily set up in such a divided world as that in which we have been living. As a contribution to continued rapprochement and to the widening of areas of agreement, that speech commendably avoided provocation or threats.

72. But it was met and followed by a statement by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union which was opposite in tone, in content, and, one may be pardoned for suspecting, in intent.

73. I noted with interest the reference by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union to his Government's view that there is no fatal inevitability of war. But Australia, as one of the smaller nations, looks for something much more positive. While recognizing the difficulties and also the unlikelihood of quick solutions, Australia would look for some more positive steps as a way out of the cold war impasse in which we have lived for so long. Those of us who sought hope in the Soviet Union statement for a further relaxation in international tensions were disappointed. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union spoke of peaceful coexistence. But peaceful coexistence, as interpreted by the Soviet Government, means the continuation of the cold war. According to Soviet Government policy statements, it means the continuation of the struggle to win the world for the communist system and, in that behalf, to exploit situations in both Western Europe and non-aligned countries wherever they occur. As Soviet theoreticians have said, peaceful coexistence is merely the continuation of the struggle for a communist world without

risking in a nuclear war the destruction of gains already made.

74. The Soviet Union—and this was reflected in its Foreign Minister's speech here—tends to describe any issue as a cold-war one when it suits it to do so, though very often basic elements are involved which have to be taken into account, cold war or not. The Berlin question, for example, though obviously being exploited as part of the cold war, involves questions of principle—principles of human freedom and free democracy—which cannot be disposed of by talking about the cold war, and which most countries of the world, including Australia, cannot overlook.

75. The Soviet Union has long been embarrassed by the obvious repugnance with which the people of East Germany and East Berlin regard the régime which continues to be imposed on them, a repugnance which is so strongly felt that millions of Germans have crossed the frontier to escape the tyranny. Over a year ago—none of us here can forget—a wall was erected to prevent persons escaping from East Berlin. Nevertheless, Germans still risk their lives to get away from East German communist rule, despite the fact that many of them have been shot in the attempt and callously left to die. In the minds of the people of the world the wall has replaced the hammer and sickle as the symbol of communism.

76. Of necessity I must in this speech select a few facets of world situations of particular concern to Australia. But in doing so I would emphasize my profound belief that the world is one world, truly indivisible as is the peace. Events in one part cannot be ignored by dwellers in another part. Poverty, ignorance, or oppression in one part cause consequences and bear significance for the people of all other parts, even though the impact of the one on the other may not always be perceived or fully assessed by persons or nations.

77. But there are regions of special interest to Australia and to the state of one of these, South-East Asia, I should like briefly to refer. I was privileged to visit some of the countries of this region earlier this year and to talk with some of its leaders. Let me say something of the situation, first in Laos.

78. As a result of the agreement reached by the Laotian leaders and subscribed to by the Powers at the Geneva Conference,^{2/} a Government has been established to control the whole country, whose members are drawn from all the political parties and which is uncommitted and pledged to a neutral foreign policy. This is in itself a notable achievement, and if the agreement from which it results and the foreign policy which has been announced are genuinely carried out and universally respected, particularly by the Powers signatory to that agreement, a great step forward in achieving peace and stability in South-East Asia will have been taken. The Government of Australia has consistently believed that the best situation for Laos was one of genuine neutrality. This was our publicly stated position immediately after the Geneva agreements in 1954. It was again stated by me, as Acting Minister for External Affairs, in the Australian Parliament in September 1959, when the Laotian situation was engaging the attention of the Security Council,

^{2/} The International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question opened at Geneva on May 16, 1961, and was concluded on July 23, 1962, when the participating Governments signed a Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and an accompanying protocol.

and it was repeated in this Assembly at the fourteenth session [814th meeting] by the then Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Casey, who is now Lord Casey. Genuine neutrality is not a position easy to maintain in the world of today and it is often difficult for nations who espouse it to convince committed nations of the genuineness of their neutrality. Consequently, it is of the utmost importance—indeed I would say of critical importance—that the agreement should be genuinely and scrupulously observed by all the parties in the coalition Government—by all the various forces and organizations in the country—and perhaps above all that there should be no outside interference. If these conditions are observed, then Laos will not be a source of apprehension to other countries, and it will be able, with United Nations and other assistance, to embark on programmes of economic development. Laos, pursuing policies for the social, educational and economic development of its own people, and genuinely neutral, not allowing itself to be in any way used for the purposes of the conflict in South-East Asia, can make a great contribution to the peace, stability and general progress of that region.

79. Viet-Nam is another country which, at the time of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in 1954, had been torn apart between Communists and non-Communists. In this case, the course agreed upon at Geneva was to divide the country into two parts, resulting in a communist régime in the North and in the non-Communist Republic of Viet-Nam in the South. But since then the Republic of Viet-Nam has found itself subjected to subversion directed from North Viet-Nam and to infiltration of clandestine and guerilla agents aided and sustained by that country. This activity has increased steadily over the years and is clearly established in the published report of the international control commission of June this year,^{3/} agreed to by a majority of the three-man Commission, namely, the Canadian and Indian representatives, with the Polish representative dissenting. If I may, I commend this report to the attention of representatives here in this General Assembly. The object of the Communists is clearly to murder leaders and skilled persons in the Republic of Viet-Nam and at the same time to impose such a heavy burden in men, money and resources on the Republic of Viet-Nam authorities in maintaining law and order that these resources are diverted from economic development. It is no doubt hoped not merely to undermine civilian morale by terror but to reduce agriculture so as to cause economic crises; and in any case to halt the steady continuing improvement in social, educational and economic standards which would otherwise quite clearly have taken place. But the Republic of Viet-Nam does not stand alone, and it should be recognized that it will not be allowed to go under. Surely then it is in the interests of peace and progress in the whole region that there should be an end to this communist subversion and insurgence directed from outside the country.

80. Cambodia has not been the subject of the same internal division that has racked the two countries to which I have made reference. In this, the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk has played a notable part. The international preoccupations of Cambodia lie rather with disputes with two of its neighbours—Viet-

Nam and Thailand—as to incidents associated with their borders with Cambodia. The disputes between these countries, and the psychological and other consequences resulting from them, cause great distress to their friends. Some way should be found of allaying suspicion, of putting an end to incidents, and of avoiding differences associated with the frontiers. Australia has expressed its understanding of the foreign policy of Cambodia and wants to see that country's rights and its chosen policies fully respected. We have welcomed the suggestion that a United Nations representative should be appointed with the aim of easing the situation on the borders, and we hope that the Secretary-General will be able quickly to appoint someone acceptable to everybody.

81. On the Cambodian-Viet-Name border the situation is no doubt difficult for both countries. The insurgent Viet Cong undoubtedly seek to exploit the areas immediately adjacent to the boundaries between the two countries. This must place a strain on Cambodian resources in Cambodia's attempt to keep its territory clear of these insurgents and upon Viet-Name troops engaged in routing them out of Viet-Nam. It is to be hoped that some means can be devised which will reduce the possibilities of misunderstanding without hampering Viet-Nam in its courageous struggle against the Viet Cong.

82. Thailand, which has common borders with both Laos and Cambodia and whose own security is affected by any threat to their security, is acutely aware of the consequences of developments during the past year in this region, particularly in Laos. Australia is closely bound to Thailand by treaty as well as by less formal associations, and we and other countries took action during the present year to assure Thailand that it was not alone in the face of possible outside communist threat. I might mention that Their Majesties the King and Queen of Thailand have just completed a visit to Australia where they were received with enthusiasm and were able to meet large numbers of private Australian citizens and Thai students studying in Australia as well as Australian Government representatives.

83. The Australian Government has watched with sympathetic interest the progress towards the realization of the establishment of a Federation of Malaysia to include Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei. This is an imaginative and far-sighted development in an area of immediate interest to us, based on the most extensive practicable consultations between the Governments and peoples concerned, and it could make an important contribution to the stability of South-East Asia. Moreover, it represents a new step in the process of decolonization bringing, as it would, four territories in various stages of dependence to full independence within Malaysia. Australia considers that a stable, viable State of this nature would play a more effective role in South-East Asia and in this Organization than the States concerned could hope to do separately.

84. There are other situations in South and South-East Asia which are of concern to Australia but which I shall not discuss on this occasion. West New Guinea, for example, would have called for special and lengthy mention if I had not spoken on it last Friday [1127th meeting] when the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the recent agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands [1752 (XVII)].

^{3/} International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam: Special Report to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China (Saigon, 2 June 1962). Published by H.M. Stationery Office, London, as Cmd. paper 1755.

85. I was also able to touch on East New Guinea last Friday when I reaffirmed Australia's determination progressively to increase the participation of the Papuan people in government and restated our objective of self-determination. Australia's policies will be the subject of statement by Australian representatives in the Fourth Committee of this Assembly and in other bodies of the United Nations. On this occasion, therefore, I need make but a brief reference.

86. During the year, a Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council was in Australian New Guinea. Its report⁴ speaks in commendatory terms of the way in which Australia has been performing its most difficult task in this unique Territory and recognizes that the basic work which Australians have done has prepared the ground for further development towards self-government by these people. The proposals of the Visiting Mission are at the moment under close and constructive study by the Australian Government, and also in the Territory itself by the persons, including Papuans, participating there in government.

87. The Australian Government has not wavered in its determination to bring the people of Australian New Guinea to self-government at the earliest moment at which they are able and desiring to undertake the task for themselves. Nor has it slackened in its continuous effort to prepare the Papuan people to discharge that task. The question of the pace at which effect should be given to the Australian Government's resolve may of course be the subject of some genuine difference of opinion. But Australia has dedicated itself and a substantial part of its resources to the performance of its duty to the people of this Territory; and it will not delay the final steps of self-determination one moment beyond the time when the indigenous inhabitants desire to take them.

88. Our record of co-operation with the United Nations in this field is concrete proof of our good faith and our resolve. I am sure that this Assembly recognizes that Australia has responsibilities in New Guinea which it cannot abdicate. For our part we accept and welcome the interest of the United Nations in the manner in which these responsibilities are being discharged. We intend to continue to co-operate with this Organization in fulfilling the aims of the Charter of the United Nations, and we look to this Assembly for a realistic assessment of our efforts and an objective endeavour to facilitate our task.

89. This session of the General Assembly will need to take crucial decisions in relation to the whole future of the United Nations. There is, for example, the appointment of a Secretary-General. It is in our view vital for the survival and the further progress of this Organization that there should be, as the Charter clearly requires, a single person as Secretary-General, able, according to his judgement, to exercise those powers which the Charter and, under and in accordance with it, the Security Council or this Assembly give him. It is imperative that the office be filled by a person who believes in this Organization, is devoted to forwarding its purposes, and has the confidence of its Members. The Secretary-General, as a great international servant, must lead a Secretariat which is also genuinely international and, like him, takes orders from no Government in any respect.

90. Australia believes U Thant, the Acting Secretary-General, to be such a man. He has fulfilled his duties as Acting Secretary-General during a period of great difficulty with distinction and a genuine singleness of purpose which would, I hope, lead the majority of our Members, as it would lead Australia, to support him if he were a candidate. It is well known that his willingness to be put forward for this important post would depend, amongst other things, upon the prospect of an early settlement of the Congo problem and the financial situation of this Organization. No doubt this circumstance will be borne in mind by representatives as these matters pass in review in this Assembly.

91. The financial situation of the Organization has become so serious that United Nations bonds have had to be issued in an attempt to provide the Organization with the financial resources required to meet its immediate commitments. Apart from the United States, whose President has authority to match the purchases of all other countries put together up to \$100 million, \$73 million has been pledged to the bond issue by almost fifty countries. These countries include many from Africa and Asia and some from Latin America which have recognized the importance of the survival of the United Nations for their own future as independent States and which have therefore felt bound to undertake an additional financial burden because some more wealthy countries have not been prepared to pay their shares. Australia itself has purchased bonds to the value of \$4 million. Yet the countries which have declined to pay have nevertheless taken from and through this Organization and its agencies much benefit, whether of national advantage or of prestige or of propaganda.

92. The success of the bond issue is vital to the Organization, and Australia hopes that it will be fully subscribed. At the same time, we must recognize that the bond issue is only a temporary expedient, a short-term measure which cannot provide a solution to the vital longer-term problem of finding a sound financial basis for the operations of this Organization.

93. The General Assembly will have to consider the advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice, in response to a request by the last session of the Assembly, on the expenses of the Organization. This opinion has been given by the Court with, if I may say so, commendable promptitude after hearing the submissions, written and oral, of many Member States. Australia made a submission in writing and also orally by a distinguished representative before the Court.

94. The solvency of the Organization rests on the loyal discharge by its Members of their explicit obligation under the Charter to pay their share of the expenses of the Organization, as apportioned by vote of the General Assembly. A year ago great costs had been incurred, in pursuance of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in the Congo, and many Members did not bear their apportioned share of those costs. This Assembly therefore asked the International Court for an advisory opinion on a question of law—that is to say, whether the costs of these operations were properly included, by resolutions of the General Assembly, among the expenses of the Organization. The Court has now answered "yes" to the question we asked.

95. The judicial organ of the United Nations having thus told us what the law is, we should not for a moment re-open last year's debate on the question, but

⁴/ Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 3.

should act, in respect of the future as well as in respect of the costs already incurred and apportioned, in accordance with the Court's opinion. Australia is prepared to do so. The declaration to the contrary made last week by the Soviet Union was discreditable to a great State and, if carried out, would damage the United Nations. Refusal to pay is nothing but a naked attempt to blackmail those of us who are responsibly playing our part into finding, if we will, the Soviet Union's share in order to prevent the dissolution of the Organization.

96. Acceptance by this General Assembly of the Court's opinion will have a decisive effect on the prospects of finding a permanent solution to the problem of the finances of the Organization. I hope that the Assembly will recognize the importance of working out, on the basis of the Court's opinion, arrangements whereby the Organization will have the means to carry out its tasks.

97. It is no answer to say that the financial troubles really have been caused by United Nations action in the Congo which has turned out different from the liking of some Members. None of us can be happy at everything that has occurred in the Congo or at all the decisions that have been made by United Nations authorities and representatives. In an operation of such a kind there must be some compromise and some room for mistakes. But we must cast our minds back to 1960, when the United Nations first became involved in this operation through decisions of the Security Council, decisions which were not dissented from by any of the permanent members, any one of whom could have blocked the relevant decisions by simply casting a negative vote. The United Nations took action to prevent the Congo from becoming the scene of armed clash and outside intervention by foreign Powers, and to prevent the disturbances there from spreading into a wider conflict. There were also humane objectives such as saving human lives and limiting destruction and disease and also of giving the people of the Congo some chance to establish government and administration in an undivided Congo. Whatever criticisms may be made of the events of the last two years, whatever problems still remain to be solved, and whatever frustrations still lie ahead, the original objectives of the United Nations were not merely good in themselves, but were in keeping with the broad purposes of the Charter. Much has been achieved, even if the original objectives have not as yet been fully accomplished.

98. I have referred briefly to some of the political problems with which the United Nations is dealing or which affect its work; and also to the financial and administrative operations of the United Nations itself. But the economic and social fields also demand our attention, though usually they figure less prominently in the general debate than do political matters because the activities of the United Nations in these fields are less controversial. But they are not less important. Indeed, they require as intensive consideration, as is evidenced by the length and vehemence of some of the debates in the Second Committee and also by the fact that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have had to devote a special series of meetings, just concluded in London, to the European Common Market. Economic development and stability and social progress on democratic lines are in fact very much at the root of our lives, as nations no less than as individuals.

99. The General Assembly will be considering the United Nations Development Decade on which the Economic and Social Council has made some recommendations. Economic and technical assistance from other countries is clearly not enough, even if it were increased. A great deal has to be done by each country for itself. Furthermore, and particularly in the case of countries such as most under-developed countries which are dependent mainly, and in some cases solely, on the export of primary products, it is essential to sustain reasonably economic prices for those products, with some assurance against violent fluctuations in the prices. Australia itself is a country whose balance of payments is very much dependent on its exports of commodities such as wool, wheat, meat and metals. Australia has therefore long been prominent in work by international bodies in the field of commodities, and we share with countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America concern at the worsening terms of trade for countries mainly or solely dependent on the export of primary products.

100. Australia has also a very great interest in the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas, which is to meet in Geneva next February. Australia took an initiative in this General Assembly in 1958 when the then Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. (now Lord) Casey, made as a main feature of his speech in the general debate the need for the United Nations to play a greater role in the scientific field [759th meeting]. Australia introduced a draft resolution [A/C.3/L.668] on this subject which was adopted with amendments by the General Assembly as resolution 1260 (XIII). Since then, we have continued to push our efforts and we welcome and attach importance to the forthcoming Geneva conference, particularly because it is related to the practical application of science and technology to economic development. We know from our own past and present experience in Australia that a vital problem is how developing countries can apply for urgent practical purposes effective doses of the vast amount of scientific and technical knowledge available. This is less of a problem in advanced countries, though even they cannot be said to have solved it, but it is very difficult in less developed countries to bring about sufficient and effective use of scientific and technical know-how. I suggest that thought be given to this in connexion with the February conference. Another problem is how to stimulate research by scientists and inventors into the problems peculiar to the developing countries. This may require novel measures, such as wider and more specific contacts and co-operation between national research institutions.

101. I hope that the political leaders of Member nations will take some account of the fact that this conference is to be held and will make possible the attendance of those scientists and others in their countries who can contribute to the work of the conference and who can benefit from the formal meetings and from the personal contacts that will profitably occur during the conference. Australia will play its part and our scientists at Geneva will look forward to meeting there many others from both developed and under-developed countries. We expect to learn from others, as well as to pass on to them the results of some of our own experience.

102. The present session of the General Assembly is, as I have said, confronted with great political and economic problems. Some of them have been before us

for a long while, a fact which attests to their complexity. One such question is disarmament, to which the Australian Government, like most Governments of the world, attaches great importance. We believe that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which has been meeting in Geneva, should press on with its work without delay. The cessation of nuclear tests seems one aspect of arms control on which some agreement should now be possible. We should prefer a treaty covering tests in all environments, properly inspected and enforceable. But if this cannot be achieved immediately, agreement seems feasible right away on a cessation of tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water.

103. The process of decolonization will continue to engage the attention of this session of the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies. We have been happy to admit four new Members at the present session, two of which—Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago—are fellow members of the Commonwealth and nations with which Australia has had friendly contact over many years in trade, in sport, and in other ways. In the field of decolonization, Australia favours as rapid progress as possible, recognizing the need for the transfer to independence to be as smooth as possible, with the new State being endowed with a functioning political, economic and social structure and with as good an economic basis as possible; and believing likewise that administering Powers have an obligation to facilitate and speed the evolution of self-government and independence.

104. For this Organization itself, too, the present session is important. I have referred to the appointment of a Secretary-General and to the financial situation of the Organization. This, it seems to me, means that we must have a hard, long look at what I might call the housekeeping side of the Organization so that it will remain solvent and can operate efficiently. It means, to my mind, that within this Assembly we must more than ever act responsibly in shaping the resolutions that are adopted, aiming at achieving the maximum possible area of agreement, and trying

to ensure widely based support for resolutions that are proffered.

105. I mentioned earlier that the events of the past year gave some promise of what may yet be achieved by and through this Organization. I have called attention to the gloomy prospect which the uncompromising attitude of the Soviet Union might warrant. But, without being unrealistic, I think we should face the times with a degree of confidence, confidence that patient pursuit of reasonable solutions will have some success—at least enough to avoid the cataclysmic events of a modern war.

106. Australia believes in the United Nations. We have demonstrated that by our support in many directions, such as our financial backing and our willingness to make contributions in men and resources. We believe that informed criticism in a constructive spirit is also an element in a positive approach. These are the principles that determine Australia's part at this session of the General Assembly.

107. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to state for the information of Members that the Second Committee has started sitting today and the Third and Sixth Committees will start tomorrow. The Fourth and Fifth Committees will start early the following week. It is also possible that the Special Committee will meet towards the end of that week. It is hoped that in the week beginning 8 October all Committees will have started their work. In view of that possibility, I would suggest that those delegations scheduled to speak in the general debate during that week might consider—I am not saying that they should—from the point of view of their own convenience, inscribing their names to speak at some earlier meeting. If the general debate is not concluded by the end of next week and plenary meetings take place at the same time as Committee meetings, they may be faced with some inconvenience with regard to their participation in the general debate.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.