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President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY
(Ghana).

Resumption of the nineteenth session

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly is now resuming the work of its nineteenth session, and I call the 1331st plenary meeting to order.
2. I wish to welcome all representatives who are present here today.

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (concluded)

REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS

3. The PRESIDENT: The Members of the General Assembly will recall that when we met last, at the 1330th meeting on 18 February 1965, the Assembly adopted resolution 2006 (XIX), establishing a Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to undertake, as soon as possible, a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, including ways of overcoming the present financial difficulties of the Organization. The Special Committee has been very active during the last few months and members will have seen its reports [A/5915 and Add.1 and A/5916]. In particular, I should like to draw the attention of the Members of the General Assembly to the statement which I, as Chairman of the Special Committee, made at the conclusion of the eighteenth meeting of the Committee and which represented the consensus

in the Committee. I should like to read out this statement:

"In the light of the statements made in the Committee, without prejudice to the positions taken therein and on the basis of paragraph 11 of the Committee's report of 15 June, I take it that the consensus is:

"(a) That the General Assembly will carry on its work normally in accordance with its rules of procedure;

"(b) That the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter will not be raised with regard to the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo;

"(c) That the financial difficulties of the Organization should be solved through voluntary contributions by Member States, with the highly developed countries making substantial contributions."

4. I take it that the General Assembly adopts the reports of the Special Committee.

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT: As Members are aware, the work entrusted to the Special Committee in terms of General Assembly resolution 2006 (XIX) has been dealt with only in part by the Committee. It is my understanding that there is general agreement that it is necessary to complete the work covered by the Assembly resolution I have just mentioned. If it is acceptable to the Members of the General Assembly, I would propose that the modalities for the continuance of the work should be decided upon at the twentieth session.

It was so decided.

ITEM 3 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

Credentials of representatives to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly (concluded)*

6. The PRESIDENT: It will be recalled that on 1 December 1964, at the 1286th plenary meeting, the General Assembly appointed a Credentials Committee for the nineteenth regular session. That Committee, in the circumstances pertaining at that time, did not submit a report to the Assembly before it adjourned on 18 February 1965. I would propose that, as all credentials have not yet been received and in order to wind up the nineteenth regular session as promptly as possible, it should be agreed that the credentials of representatives to the nineteenth session should be referred to the

*Resumed from the 1286th meeting.

Credentials Committee to be appointed at the twentieth session for study and report, together with credentials of representatives to the twentieth session. It is understood that this action will be without prejudice to the positions of some delegations regarding certain credentials.

7. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

Statement by the Secretary-General

8. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: On this occasion, and before the nineteenth session of the General Assembly comes to a close, I wish to make a brief statement.

9. I believe there will be general agreement that the nineteenth session, which began in an atmosphere of crisis, is ending on an encouraging and hopeful note. So much of the credit for this change of atmosphere is due to the leadership of the President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Foreign Minister of Ghana, to the patient and constructive work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, and to the co-operation of all delegations. I wish to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to you, Mr. President, and to the representatives of Member States gathered here today.

10. I am very glad that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was able to reach a consensus on some of the questions referred to it for consideration, and that the Assembly had adopted the reports of the Committee. I welcome, in particular, the proposal that Member Governments should make voluntary contributions to help solve the present financial difficulties of this Organization. As the Assembly is aware, some Member Governments have already taken the lead in pledging voluntary contributions for this purpose, and I have expressed my deep appreciation to these Governments. I take this opportunity to make an urgent appeal at the present time to all Member Governments to make voluntary contributions so that the financial difficulties of the Organization may be solved and the future may be faced with renewed hope and confidence.

11. In this connexion, I have been asked by many delegations to give an estimate of the amount of funds that would be needed to accomplish this purpose. I did make available, earlier this year, on a confidential basis, certain estimates in this regard to the members of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Naturally, those estimates now need some revision, in the light of subsequent developments. I feel that it would be helpful, therefore, if I were to give an up-to-date estimate of the financial situation of the Organization and of its needs, as of today, 1 September 1965. In order not to take up the time of the Assembly I propose to circulate very soon, as a General Assembly document, a revised and up-to-date statement of the estimated financial needs of the Organization.^{1/} I hope that all Member Governments will take note of the continuing seriousness of the financial situation of the Organization

and respond urgently and generously to my appeal for voluntary contributions.

Completion of the work of the nineteenth session

12. The PRESIDENT: As the nineteenth session draws to a close, I understand there are some representatives who have expressed the wish to speak at this stage.

13. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I remember that last year I had the good fortune to be the first to congratulate you here on your unanimous election to the high office of President of this General Assembly. Now, on this closing day of the nineteenth session, I am happy to have the privilege of saluting you again. I referred last year, when I congratulated you on your election, to the warmth and gaiety and vigour of your African personality, and I am glad that the trials and tribulations of the nineteenth session have in no way dimmed those radiant qualities.

14. Any lesser man would have been discouraged by the disputes and delays of the session which now closes; but you never allowed the disappointments to diminish your perseverance or your faith. Throughout the awkward and anxious months through which we have passed you have remained constantly, unfailingly good-humoured and steadfastly optimistic.

15. Now, at last, we can confidently look forward to the Promised Land of the twentieth session. As we do so we shall not forget the guidance and encouragement which you gave us as you led us through the weary wilderness. The greatest test of statesmanship has always been the capacity for leadership in and through adversity, and our gratitude to you, Sir, is all the more when we look back on the vast vortess wilderness through which you brought us and which is now happily behind us.

16. As we look back on the past year, it is well that we should reflect on the burden you have carried and on the contribution you have made. You had the honour of presiding at the anniversary celebrations in San Francisco last June. You have presided over the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations which sought, and found, the solution to our immediate problems. Today I remember many other occasions when we have been grateful for the lead which you have given us. Not least—let me say in passing—my countrymen and I will not forget the eloquent tribute which you paid in this Assembly last January on the death of Sir Winston Churchill.

17. All your friends and colleagues here join in congratulating you on the honour which has been done to you in your appointment as Foreign Secretary of your country, and we know that you will make good use in that high office of the experience which you have gained here.

18. I remember that when I congratulated you on your unanimous election last year we were engaged on the admission of three new Commonwealth countries to the United Nations. I said then that we in the Commonwealth, with all our diversity, are united in many things that matter most. We are united in the belief that no people, no race, no nation should be dominated by another. We are united in a dedication

^{1/} Subsequently circulated as document A/5917.

to help each other in bridging and narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor in the world. We are united in our determination to strengthen the United Nations and uphold the purposes of the Charter. As fellow citizens of the Commonwealth we share those aims.

19. Mr. President, if I may respectfully say so, you are a young man, at an age when many might be making a first start on a career in public affairs. We wish you a long life of further public service to your country and to the world and to the principles and purposes which the United Nations was created to establish and maintain.

20. Now, through you, Sir, let me pay our respects to the Secretary-General. During the past year he has wrestled with many problems and survived many crises. He has also endured and defeated an illness which gave us all great anxiety on his behalf. We depend so much on him and we place such full confidence in him.

21. We declare our tribute and our gratitude to him and to you, Mr. President, as we now come to the close of this session and look forward to the next. We do so resolved to avoid the pitfalls of the past, to work harder to make up lost ground, to make a greater effort in understanding and conciliation, with a renewed determination not to fail all those in the world who look to us for a lead and put their hope and trust in the United Nations.

22. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Mr. President, I have asked for the floor in order to explain my delegation's position on the statement which you have just made. I feel that it would have been proper to have given me the floor before giving it to other speakers who wished to offer you their congratulations. But, once again, you did not give it to me at the proper time, a fact which I greatly regret.

23. After a long period of forced idleness, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly has been reconvened on the eve of the twentieth session. It has been convened only to take note of the final failure of the efforts made by certain Powers responsible for the situation which, for two and a half months, has prevented its normal functioning, with the result that, on account of this and of everything that has happened, it will remain imprinted in men's minds as one of the saddest moments in United Nations history.

24. It would appear from the President's statement, which is included in the report of the Special Committee [A/5916, para. 2], and from other statements made outside the Assembly that those responsible for the serious harm done to the Organization have realized that it was impossible for them to continue the same game during the coming session.

25. Some might wonder how the United States could have resigned itself to such a defeat, which at the same time constitutes implicit recognition of the falseness of its arguments concerning Article 19 of the Charter. The answer is very simple: the United States had no other choice. At the last meeting of the General Assembly, on 18 February 1965, its wrong position on Article 19 was completely defeated.

On the initiative of Albania, and notwithstanding the machinations of the Powers responsible for the situation and the unprecedented manoeuvres in this principal organ of the United Nations, the Members of the General Assembly did in fact vote in the course of that meeting, thereby calling the United States Government's bluff and defeating its blackmail. On that day, the argument advanced by that Government was buried. This also confirmed conclusively the point of view which the Albanian delegation has repeatedly maintained in the Assembly, namely, that the question of the expenditure for United Nations operations was nothing but a pretext, and that what was at issue was not simply a financial problem—or, rather, a financial crisis of the Organization, as it was called—but rather a conspiracy in which this matter served as a pretext for undermining the nineteenth session of the General Assembly for shameful ends.

26. The vote of 18 February also showed that there was no reason to fear a clash, that such a fear was solely due to the blackmailing and pressure of those who had paralysed the General Assembly and who were interested in keeping it paralysed. That vote dissipated the fear and even made any clash impossible. It clearly showed that the unusual course of the nineteenth session was not due to opposition between certain Powers, but rather to their complete agreement.

27. The defeat suffered on 18 February by the United States Government, which sought to deprive of their voting rights certain Member States which rightly refused to pay the costs of operations which had served imperialist and colonialist interests, was a lesson even to the few States which still had doubts about the true aims of those who were undermining the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Most delegations then decided not to tolerate any longer the manoeuvres designed to violate the Charter and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, and were entirely convinced that, after all that had happened, particularly at the last two meetings on 16 and 18 February, those responsible for the abnormal situation in the General Assembly would not be in a position to play the same disastrous game at the twentieth session.

28. This situation and the results of the subsequent sounding out of several other countries by the United States Government forced it into a corner and compelled it to admit its failure publicly and to abandon the attempt to use the same methods in order to obstruct the coming session of the General Assembly.

29. This is certainly a great triumph for the peace-loving countries faithful to the cause of the United Nations. It must even be a source of encouragement for our future action.

30. The events connected with this session, including the retreat of the United States, must give those Member States which have the preservation and strengthening of the United Nations at heart, in keeping with the noble principles of the Charter, occasion to reflect. Although the United States has been obliged today to abandon its subterfuge, this does not mean that it will not attempt, at some future

time, to use similar manoeuvres if it considers that to be in its interest. The position of the United States towards the United Nations has always been and still is determined by its imperialist policy, by its determination to use our Organization as a docile instrument in the service of that policy. It is thus clear that that Government will shrink at nothing to achieve those purposes.

31. In these circumstances, we should take special account of the fact that the violations and excesses which we have witnessed during the present session are, in the last analysis, a result of the policy of hegemony pursued by certain big Powers within the Organization. The present needs of that policy, moreover, are not at variance with the agreement reached among those same Powers to enable the twentieth session of the General Assembly to proceed in accordance with its rules of procedure, an agreement reached outside the General Assembly and the Special Committee, and without their knowledge.

32. We cannot disregard the events that have taken place since the suspension of the nineteenth session on 18 February, the negotiations conducted by the United States by means of secret diplomacy, through influential people on holiday trips or by other methods, and the efforts made to promote the country's policy of aggression and domination in various parts of the world such as Viet-Nam, the Congo, the Dominican Republic and elsewhere. These facts prove beyond question, despite certain cunning attempts and demagoguery calculated to mislead world public opinion, that an understanding exists between certain great Powers. As a result, the cause and the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination and independence have suffered, and peace and the consolidation of the United Nations as an effective instrument for safeguarding and maintaining international peace and security have been dealt a serious blow.

33. There is no doubt that in the course of these dealings, which were inspired by the same policy of hegemony, new plans and methods have been worked out for manipulating the United Nations to suit the interests of such a policy and in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. Thus, while the ways and means may change, the objective remains the same. In these circumstances, the urgent need for us to be increasingly and constantly vigilant must not be underestimated.

34. The new position adopted by the United States Government towards Article 19 of the Charter deserves careful examination by the General Assembly. Indeed, while undertaking to stop pressing for the application of Article 19 with regard to the costs of the United Nations operations in the Near East and the Congo, the United States is nevertheless sticking to its erroneous point of view in the matter, as set forth, upon its insistence, in the introductory part of the statement made by the President of the General Assembly, to which I have referred. Such a reservation is inadmissible because it is at variance with the meaning of the article in question and incompatible with the open defeat suffered by the United States; it also leaves the door open to further provocations and blackmail by that country, and to situations similar to those which we experienced at the nine-

teenth session and which, if they recur, could ruin our Organization.

35. We cannot accept the proposal that the "deficit" resulting from the costs of the Organization's military operations in the Congo and the Near East should be met by so-called voluntary contributions. Albania's position in the matter has been stated on many occasions. My Government will not agree to contributing in any form whatever to the reimbursement of expenditure relating to United Nations military operations which were closely linked to imperialist policy and which served the interests of that policy. We consider that the Powers responsible for these operations or the Powers which used them for imperialist or colonialist ends should bear the costs.

36. Obviously the United States Government's purpose in the efforts it has made to date is to gain acceptance of the idea that the United Nations forces have not served the imperialist policy of oppression and enslavement and to ensure the possibility of using similar forces for those ends in the future. All peace-loving Member States agree with us that such designs must be firmly opposed. My Government's position is dictated by its policy of principle: in the present case it will not accept or tolerate anything that might favour the policy of aggression and oppression and to help, as far as possible, to guide the United Nations along the road prescribed by the Charter. Albania's position on this matter has been and remains final.

37. The peace-loving countries, which form the overwhelming majority of the Assembly, must be constantly and actively on the watch to frustrate all manoeuvres and plans that are incompatible with the Charter and to prevent any further manipulation of the United Nations by the United States or two or three Powers acting together. The long experience of the United Nations, especially the experience of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, has shown us how dangerous such plans and designs are for our Organization. The principle of the sovereign equality of Member States, which is proclaimed in the Charter, must be translated into action and not remain a dead letter. This principle must form the basis of United Nations activities. It is for us to enforce its respect and ensure its genuine application.

38. The success scored by the United Nations in calling the bluff of the United States and by the failure of the latter's claims relating to Article 19 of the Charter must be a source of encouragement for us and a point of departure for more vigorous action in the future, for a more active fight against any attempt to violate the Charter, for more solidarity and co-operation among the small peace-loving countries to eliminate the present anomalies within the United Nations, so that it may become a truly representative and universal international organization, capable of making an effective contribution towards solving the serious outstanding problems that have been on its agenda for many years, safeguarding peace and strengthening international co-operation in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples.

39. The People's Republic of Albania will always be ready, as it has been in the past, to collaborate for these purposes. We shall spare no effort to make our modest contribution to strengthening the United Nations, in keeping with the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter.

40. Permit me, Mr. President, to add a few words about your recommendation concerning the Credentials Committee. My delegation has always maintained in the Assembly a consistent and frank attitude of principle. We have constantly opposed any violations committed in the United Nations. The current session can serve as adequate testimony thereto. We have been and we remain opposed to any violations of the Charter or the rules of procedure, and we believe that the smallest concessions in that direction are dangerous and prejudicial to our Organization.

41. In keeping with this policy, I should like to inform the Assembly that we consider unjust the recommendation made to us that at this session we should not discuss the work which the Credentials Committee should have done and the relevant report that it was to submit to us. Such an irregularity becomes particularly serious if one bears in mind the intolerable anomaly which exists in the Assembly and the other United Nations organs, where the place of the great People's China is occupied by men belonging to a clique that represents no one.

42. For those reasons, the Albanian delegation cannot accept the recommendation of the President of the General Assembly concerning the Credentials Committee.

43. The PRESIDENT: I would have been happy to call upon the representative of Albania if it had been made clear to me at what stage he wanted to speak. Secondly, the Credentials Committee never met, and there was no report.

44. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): I have the honour and the privilege to speak on behalf of the delegations of the group of "Western Europe and other States". I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our sincere thanks and appreciation for the eminent services which you have rendered to the United Nations as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

45. When you accepted the Presidency of the Assembly last December, all your colleagues were fully aware of the heavy burden and difficult responsibilities which you were willing to take upon yourself, but we were fully convinced that your outstanding personal qualities and your devotion to the interests of the United Nations family were a guarantee for all of us that you would faithfully discharge the responsibilities imposed upon you and fulfil impartially and objectively the obligations of your high office. Mr. President, you have amply justified the confidence we placed in you.

46. The nineteenth session of the General Assembly was an unusually difficult one, which confronted you almost every day with new situations which were unprecedented in the history of the United Nations. As we all know, the United Nations went through its most serious crisis during the twenty years of its existence and you, Mr. President, faced deci-

sions which usually a President of the General Assembly does not have to take. We deeply appreciate the way you carried out these responsibilities under such difficult circumstances. Even if you did not want to do so, you had to demonstrate more personal initiative than perhaps any other President of our Organization. Your wisdom, your objectivity and your constant optimism in situations which very often seemed hopeless gave us great encouragement and largely helped to overcome our difficulties. Your tireless efforts contributed considerably to promoting constructive solutions, and the way you conducted the Presidency has served to strengthen further the feelings of admiration and esteem which we have always had for you.

47. In a most critical moment you also took over the chairmanship of the important Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and helped, by presiding over our deliberations in that Committee, as well as by numerous private and informal consultations, together with the Secretary-General, to find ways and means to bring about the well-known consensus which makes it possible for this Organization to work under normal conditions again.

48. The fact that a solution to the most serious crisis of the world Organization was found under the Presidency of a representative from a country which gained its independence only in most recent history gives us deep satisfaction and encourages us to face the future of the United Nations with new confidence. The able manner, the constructive spirit and the objectivity with which you, Mr. President, conducted the difficult and manifold negotiations with the regional groups of the United Nations, as well as with all delegations, in order to find a way out of the dilemma, has certainly secured you a special place in the annals of the United Nations. You took over the Presidency of the General Assembly at a most critical stage and you conclude this session of the Assembly with the satisfaction that you have paved the way for a normal functioning of the twentieth session.

49. On behalf of the group of "Western Europe and other States" I should like to reiterate our sincere thanks to you, Mr. President, for your outstanding services to the United Nations as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. By the manner in which you met all the demands, you have won the esteem of the whole Assembly, and, by doing so, you have also rendered a great service to your country. May I express to you, Mr. President, our best wishes for your personal happiness and success in your future responsibilities.

50. In concluding, I should like to assure the Secretary-General and the members of the Secretariat of our sincere appreciation and gratitude for their tireless efforts and assistance under most difficult circumstances.

51. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): I have been asked to speak on this occasion on behalf of the Commonwealth group of nations. Now that we have at last come to the satisfactory conclusion of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, it is most fitting and proper that great tribute should be paid, Mr. President, to your superb statesmanship and supreme

leadership in the conduct of the Assembly's affairs during these difficult months.

52. The patience and the skill with which you manœuvred these meetings and the unforgettable consultations which you held outside this Chamber point to more subtle and perhaps more efficient methods by which voting and other procedural matters might well be handled in the future.

53. Yes, Mr. President, your greatest contribution, which history will no doubt recall when the story of the United Nations comes to be written, will be your brilliant chairmanship of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the consultations and negotiations you held to bring all parties together in the search for solutions to the grave problems facing this Organization. For this worthy contribution in the service to international peace, I am proud to associate the thanks of my delegation and of the delegations of the Commonwealth group of countries with those which have already been expressed here today.

54. My pride is also of a personal nature. For the past four years, I have had the extreme pleasure and the rare experience of counting you among my friends. You are indeed a worthy son of Ghana, a country with which my country has always had the most friendly relationship. And, of course, you belong to Africa, the continent of the future. It was perhaps symptomatic of our times that it should have been your lot and destiny successfully to preside over this great Organization of the world during its year of crisis. We wish you well in your future career. We have no doubt that it will be full of lustre and brilliance and that it will fulfil all the exceptional promise your great year of service to this Organization, and, indeed, the years that have gone before, have indicated.

55. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): This is my first official appearance in this hall, and I hope that it will not be regarded as inappropriate for me to say that I come here, sadly, to share with the Assembly the sorrow which we all feel that the voice of the United States on this occasion is not the voice of that great American citizen of the world, Adlai Stevenson.

56. I should like also, if I may be indulged, to record my profound appreciation of the courtesy and the consideration which have been extended to me by my colleagues here in New York, the Permanent Representatives of their countries to the United Nations, by the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General and his staff, and indeed all who have made me feel very much at home here. I hope also that it is not inappropriate for me to record my deep feeling of high privilege in participating in the work and deliberations of this great world Parliament.

57. There is much that I have to learn about the work of this Organization, but I want to emphasize that there is one thing that I already know. It is that the General Assembly, through the years, has had the very good fortune to be guided by men as dedicated to the concept of international law and morality as they have been able in the performance

of their parliamentary duties. In this distinguished company, Mr. President, you have won for yourself an outstanding place, and you have continued that tradition during the nineteenth session of the Assembly, whatever its difficulties have been—all well known to us—in other respects.

58. Appearing for the first time before the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, I said that every parliamentary body must somehow resolve the issues before it or cease to have any useful existence. In your term of office, Mr. President, the General Assembly has determined to do this, and it is now our hope and conviction that it will get on with its job of helping to build a world of law and reason and peace.

59. It has been acknowledged here today, and it is known everywhere, Mr. President, that yours, in a sense, has been the most difficult term of any Assembly President since this Organization was established. But you have surmounted the difficulties and have opened the way for peaceful progress. For this, my Government, my colleagues and myself are deeply grateful to you and we wish to record our appreciation. At the same time, we would express our gratitude for the contribution which has been made by the Secretary-General of this Organization, who, throughout this session and in many other respects, has displayed patience, fortitude, understanding and goodwill to all Members of the Organization.

60. My late predecessor, Adlai Stevenson, told me, Mr. President, when I spoke to him shortly before he died, that he was enormously impressed by your impartiality, your patience, your extraordinary ability and your unfailing courtesy. By personal experience I share Governor Stevenson's impressions, and I too am impressed by your impartiality, your patience, your extraordinary ability, your unfailing courtesy and, if I may add, your fast gavel.

61. I said when I came to New York, and I repeat today, that I came here to curse no one, but to help to keep the candle of peace burning. I meant that remark when I made it on the occasion of my appointment to the high office to which I have been called. I should not like that remark to be misunderstood. I do not believe that it contributes to the cause of peace and understanding to engage in pejorative adjectives, unsupported by facts, which can only lead to misunderstandings; and, should the necessity arise, I shall not hesitate to keep the record straight.

62. I regret very much that one of the previous speakers has chosen to interrupt the closing minutes of this nineteenth session, properly devoted to paying tribute to an outstanding President, with an intemperate, inaccurate, scurrilous and totally isolated attack on the United States and the position of principle which it has taken during the last months. I need hardly say that I shall ignore that attack as irrelevant on this occasion and unworthy of this session. In fact, there is little that need to be said about the unsuccessful attempt of the representative of Albania to upset the harmony of this final meeting of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. It would, I think, suffice for me to say, very simply

and plainly, that I reject vigorously and totally the groundless charges that have been levelled against my Government. They have been dealt with fully at previous meetings of United Nations bodies. The devotion of the United States to the high purposes and principles of our Charter are well known, as is the support which, for twenty years, we have accorded to this Organization and will continue to accord.

63. Mr. President, I would again express most emphatically our appreciation to you, our congratulations on your election to high office in your country, and our thanks for a great contribution to the cause of world peace.

64. Mr. DE CARVALHO SILOS (Brazil) (translated from French): Allow me, on behalf of the Latin American delegations, to convey to you, Mr. President, our profound admiration for the way in which you presided over the work of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. We all owe you a real debt for the patience and mastery which you displayed in helping us to settle one of the most serious problems in the history of our Organization.

65. We are also happy to express our thanks to the Secretary-General for the continuing, intelligent and wise assistance which he gave to all Member States during the crisis through which we have just passed.

66. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) (translated from French): It is a great honour and a signal privilege for me to take the floor, on behalf of the group of Asian States, to express to you, Mr. President, our profound gratitude, our thanks and our admiration for the tact, wisdom and perspicacity with which you have so successfully guided the debates and the work of this difficult session.

67. When the nineteenth session opened, many of us regarded the future with much apprehension, nay, great pessimism. Fortunately you were there, always with us, to keep the flame of hope burning with a courage which is yours alone; you have always steered the ship with a steady hand towards the port where we are all glad to find, today, that your efforts have borne fruit. It is for this reason that you have earned our gratitude—the gratitude of the African group to which you organically belong, of the Afro-Asian group with which you are linked by no less important ties, of the entire Organization to which you have conscientiously devoted your efforts and your skill, sparing nothing to serve it and strengthen its position in order to help it overcome the difficult crisis it was facing.

68. The representative of the United Kingdom, with the discretion and tact of which he—this great democratic figure—is a past master, alluded to your youth. Perhaps he was referring also to the youth of your country in international life. Allow me to quote the great French poet and say to you: "[Vous êtes] jeune, il est vrai, mais ... la valeur n'attend point le nombre des années."

69. Before concluding, it is my duty to offer the Secretary-General our most sincere thanks for the diligent and untiring efforts with which he has con-

tinually bolstered the efforts you yourself have made, Mr. President, to lead us to this happy conclusion of the session over which you have presided.

70. Our thanks go also to all the members of the Secretariat and to all of you here who have made a positive and valuable contribution to the success we have just achieved.

71. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Albania in exercise of his right of reply.

72. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): If the United States representative is not happy with the statement I made just now, this does not surprise me but I cannot help it. I, for my part, have merely underlined here what actually happened at this abnormal nineteenth session of the General Assembly. I spoke of the manoeuvres and machinations of the United States, which created in the Assembly the abnormal situation, for which it bears a heavy responsibility. In addition, I made clear the meaning of its present retreat, which amounts to a complete collapse of its case regarding Article 19 of the Charter, a collapse which is now common knowledge. I said nothing new: I merely recalled what had happened to the United States, which in any case it has acknowledged itself.

73. As in the past, the United States representative has once again here described my statement as slander. This way of talking, this way of defending oneself, is yet another indication of the difficult position in which the United States delegation finds itself in defending an unjust and already lost cause.

74. Albania is well known to the peoples of the world for the courage with which it defends the truth. All peace-loving countries and peoples know full well our policy of principle, our intense struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression pursued by the United States, our struggle for peace and freedom. It is because of this policy and this struggle of ours that they express their profound sympathy towards Albania, while in increasing numbers and with growing determination they protest against United States imperialism, which they consider as their enemy number one.

75. This being so, I have no need to defend here the bold and consistent policy of Albania, an eminently peace-loving small socialist country, which devotes its energies to building up its new society, helping the peoples of the world to resist colonial and imperialist domination and promoting freedom, independence and human progress.

76. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as the delegation of the Soviet Union, have given me the honour of expressing to you, Mr. President, on their behalf, our heartfelt gratitude for the untiring energy, tact and skill with which you performed your functions as President of the nineteenth

session of the General Assembly under conditions there were made difficult by the creation of artificial obstacles which prevented the session from fully accomplishing its task.

77. The delegations of the socialist countries were especially pleased to greet in your person the representative of one of the countries that are our friends in the newly awakened continent of Africa, the representative of the young independent States whose arrival in the United Nations has helped to create a new majority here—a majority of States which, on the basis of strict observance of the principles of the United Nations Charter, favours the strengthening of peace and opposes colonialism and racism.

78. As we near the end of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, there is hardly any need to recall that the socialist countries, on whose behalf I now speak here, have from the very beginning—together, I must say, with the majority of the countries of Asia and Africa and a number of countries of Latin America—advocated the normalization of the work of the General Assembly in the conditions to which I have referred, namely the strictest observance of the Charter of our Organization.

79. In expressing our gratitude to you, we should like to point out that only twenty days separate us from the opening of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. We are firmly convinced that that session will be significant not only because the United Nations will be entering the third decade of its existence and activity, but also because important questions concerning the maintenance of international peace and security, the struggle for the final elimination of colonialism and its consequences, and the maintenance and establishment of international co-operation will be considered.

80. Allow me to express the conviction that the twentieth session of the General Assembly, which will meet at a crucial period of history, will successfully fulfil its tasks through the strictest observance of the very important Purposes and Principles of the Charter. This, as we have repeatedly emphasized, is the basic and paramount prerequisite for the truly effective achievement by the United Nations of its most important function of maintaining peace and security.

81. Allow me also to express the gratitude of the delegations of the socialist countries to the Secretary-General of our Organization, U Thant, whose efforts were of great help in coping with the heavy tasks which fell to your lot, Mr. President. I also wish to thank the Secretariat of the United Nations for its efforts.

82. Mr. LIU (China): Mr. President, allow me to associate my delegation with the tributes and congratulations that were offered to you from this rostrum this afternoon. We see in you the personification of all the noble qualities that are Africa's.

83. The representative of Albania made some remarks in his lengthy intervention about my delegation which are hardly worth replying to, for in speaking as he did he was only acting as the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communists.

84. Only this morning I came across the text of a broadcast by the Hsinhua News Agency, the Chinese Communist News Agency, in which the Chinese Communists denounced the United Nations as a tool for evil used by the United States and its collaborators. That broadcast also referred to a French report about a possible change of heart concerning the United Nations on the part of the Chinese Communists. That broadcast called these reports "distortions and fabrications", and that agency was authorized to say that the statements attributed to Mr. Malraux about the Chinese Communists' attitude toward the United Nations were entirely groundless.

85. I am not going to impose upon this Assembly a reiteration of the many urgent and compelling reasons which militate against the admission of the Chinese Communists. I am sure that I shall have occasion to do so at the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

86. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): As Chairman of the African Group, it gives me great pleasure to join in congratulating you, Mr. President, on the manner in which you have presided over the present session. You will recall that at the beginning of this session my Foreign Minister expressed confidence in you as an embodiment of the African personality. Truly you have fulfilled all those high expectations.

87. The task which you faced at the commencement of the session would have dismayed many lesser men. The financial picture of this Organization was very bleak. The very existence of the Organization was at stake. There were the Cassandras and the Jeremiahs who predicted that this session would witness the demise of the United Nations in the same way as its predecessor, the League of Nations, twenty years ago. However, you have confounded those prophets of doom. By your personal exertions and qualities, by resolving never to admit defeat, by rallying all the latent goodwill and collective wisdom of the membership, you have managed to pilot the ship of world brotherhood into safe waters again.

88. What seemed at the beginning of the session a step backward has proved to be a springboard for greater progress in international understanding and organization. We perhaps still have stormy and difficult days ahead. Peace is not an assured commodity. It must be constantly sought and protected. We face the future with greater confidence as a result of your demonstration of what may be accomplished by this Organization. The world looks at this body as the guardian of its peace and security.

89. By your statesmanship, Mr. President, you have enabled us to write another glorious chapter in the annals of world co-operation. Therefore, to you the African Group says, "Well done".

90. To the Secretary-General we want to express our appreciation for the role that he and the Secretariat played at a critical moment in the history of our Organization.

91. The PRESIDENT: It is in a spirit of humility that I should like to respond to the kind tributes

which have just been paid to me. There is no doubt that never in the annals of the United Nations has the existence of the Organization been so threatened. We all know the legal, political and financial problems arising out of the issue of Article 19, whose applicability in regard to the United Nations Operation in the Congo and the United Nations Emergency Force became a bone of contention at this nineteenth session. In fact, as Cicero would put it: "things reached such a state of debility that they were well nigh extinction".

92. But then the Assembly itself acted to avoid such a catastrophe. It managed to move along gingerly and delicately, dealing only with essential matters, allowing its President to guide it in a spirit of compromise and co-operation. The patience and forbearance shown by the Members of the Organization have now borne fruit. Thus, though the nineteenth session began, as the Secretary-General has just pointed out, in a mood of despondency, we now wind up fortified in our belief that the United Nations is here to stay and that it is bound to go from strength to strength. This transformation has been brought about mainly by the goodwill and understanding which Member States have shown in order that the United Nations may be strengthened and made an effective instrument for the attainment of the high purposes of the Charter.

93. On this occasion let me say how sorely we miss our departed colleague who was beloved by all sides of the house, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson. In this very hall tributes have already been paid to his memory, and I should like to add my voice to those tributes.

94. The nineteenth session will certainly be remembered for the many novel procedures it had to adopt in order to be able to function without restoring to voting on substantive issues. Even so, it has some accomplishments to its credit. To begin with, it welcomed three new Member States [1286th meeting], two from Africa and one from Mediterranean Europe: namely, Malawi, Malta and Zambia. Then the vacant seats were filled on the Security Council [1313th and 1314th meetings] and the Economic and Social Council [1328th and 1330th meetings], and the Councils were enabled to function as usual. The mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East was extended [resolution 2002 (XIX)]. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was established as an organ of the General Assembly, and the Trade and Development Board set up [resolution 1995 (XIX)]. The Assembly also approved, by the same resolution, the Secretariat of the Conference and confirmed the appointment of the Secretary-General of the Conference by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

95. However, I believe it will be generally agreed that the most important decision taken by the nineteenth session was the establishment of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. As a result of the Committee's having to meet under the chair-

manship of the President of the General Assembly, my responsibilities have continued through all these months. I am happy with the outcome of the work of the Special Committee. Now men everywhere can heave a sigh of relief that the twentieth session of the General Assembly will work normally and try to resolve the many vital problems which today bedevil the peace of the world. I wish to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to the members of the Special Committee whose constructive efforts have produced a consensus which has been embodied in its reports which have just been adopted by the Assembly. It has by no means completed its work, but the progress it has already made deserves our warmest praise. I should like to wish the Committee continued success in its comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects.

96. Yesterday, in a statement to the Press, the Secretary-General announced that the amendments to the Charter had come into force which increased the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. As Members of the Assembly will remember, General Assembly resolution 1991 (XVIII), which embodied these amendments, called upon Member States to ratify them by 1 September 1965—that is, today. That proviso has been met, and as President of the General Assembly I wish to thank Member States for their co-operation in making this possible.

97. I should like also to take advantage of this opportunity to make a brief reference to the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, which was celebrated in San Francisco in the last days of June of this year. Our special gratitude is due to Mayor Shelly of the City of San Francisco, to the Chairman of the San Francisco Committee for the Twentieth Anniversary Commemorative Meetings of the United Nations, Mr. Mortimer Fleishacker, Jr., and to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of that body, Mr. Robert Gros, for their great and successful efforts to celebrate the twentieth anniversary in a fitting manner.

98. And now, I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, a man who is the very embodiment of the United Nations, without whose assistance and wise guidance all my efforts would have been to no avail.

99. I would also like to extend my thanks to the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, who has quietly but effectively been my sheet-anchor, and to all the members of the Secretariat who have assisted me in the conduct of the nineteenth session. Their task was made more difficult by the fact that the normal rules of procedure could not be followed by the General Assembly. Their assistance and advice was available to me freely at all times, and for this I am very grateful. There are many of my United Nations colleagues whom we do not even see in this hall, whose work is an important element in the successful functioning of the Assembly; I refer here to the conference officers, the interpreters, the verbatim reporters, the translators, the typists and the reproduction

personnel, as well as the Public Information staff and my own immediate staff and countless others who have to work long hours when the Assembly is in session in order that our work may proceed expediently and smoothly. I thank them all.

100. Let me again express my gratitude and appreciation to all my friends who have just spoken in tribute to the Chair. I believe that they have spoken out of the kindness of their hearts and their friendship for me. I look forward to working with all my friends in continued co-operation and harmony. I thank you all.

ITEM 2 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

101. 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

102. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.