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(Closing meeting)

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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 97

Question of Southern Rhodesia (concluded)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): It now remains for us to hear explanations of vote before the voting. We shall then pass on to the voting, and afterwards to explanations of vote after the voting.

2. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon) (translated from French): I wish to explain briefly my vote on the draft amendment contained in document A/L.387. My delegation will of course vote in favour of it, since it touches upon the crux and key of the problem.

3. In his brilliant statement this morning, the United Kingdom representative's essential argument was that the General Assembly lacks competence, in view of the alleged autonomy of Southern Rhodesia. Of course, he failed to convince us. He even said:

"... an assertion of competence is an assertion and no more. It does not and cannot make something exist which does not exist in the Charter itself. It cannot create or confer a new jurisdiction." [1120th meeting, para. 23.]

We in turn reply that the repeated assertion of an error does not make it a truth. What he repeated is in fact what he has constantly said, without being convinced himself and without convincing anyone else.

4. What is the basis of this alleged autonomy? The United Kingdom representative himself said:

"It has been self-governing ... since 1923 when, following a referendum, the then electors of Southern Rhodesia chose 'responsible government' in preference to incorporation in South Africa." [Ibid., para. 25.]

We say that they did very well to refuse incorporation in that Republic, which we would very much like to see elsewhere than in Africa. We approve that action, although we disapprove of the Southern Rhodesian régime.

5. There, in our humble opinion, resides an intolerable fact, namely, that 500,000 persons—300,000 of them foreigners—should have determined the fate of

3 million others, without any legal right to do so. If I may, I should like to put a hypothetical, though almost unthinkable case: it is as though a million Indian nationals in Great Britain should meet and decree the deposition of the Queen. What Englishman would accept such a decision as legal? That is why what must be done is to restore by universal suffrage what was taken away by an iniquitous and legally quite invalid voting system, namely, the principle of "one man, one vote". The United Kingdom representative's last statement again bears us out, and prompts us to call for the explicit inclusion of that formula in the draft resolution. He has just said that it is valueless and dangerous to introduce universal suffrage now in Southern Rhodesia because of the very different conditions prevailing in that Territory.

6. As an African, I wish to make a firm but courteous protest. History has proved that our peoples, whatever their degree of evolution, have known how to vote and have voted intelligently. Before the European colonial penetration, our father knew how to govern their peoples in their own fashion. Moreover, who could contend that, if we were to ask the people of Southern Rhodesia what they think of the Land Apportionment Act of which we spoke at length yesterday, whereby 53 per cent of the best lands were seized from the Africans for the benefit of the white settlers, the Native Education Act, or the Act relating to the abolition of discrimination, their answer would not be clear? That is a challenge to the common sense of Africa. My delegation therefore vigorously protests, and affirms that it is now, today, that universal suffrage must be introduced. Times have really changed in this chamber. Only a few days ago, Belgium told the Fourth Committee: "Give your orders, and I will carry them out." No one would give credence to this statement. Today, the United Kingdom, to which the world pays tribute, says of one of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that it is dangerous and valueless. Perhaps La Fontaine was right again when he wrote:

"According to whether you are powerful or in want, Court judgements will make you either white or black."

7. I shall conclude by expressing my regret at the statement made this morning by the United Kingdom representative, when he said that he would not vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. I wish to appeal to him solemnly, in the name of Great Britain's legendary fair play and of the democratic traditions that he has invoked in his country's defence, to take part in the voting in which, as we firmly hope, our votes will be joined.

8. Mr. COILLIER (Sierra Leone): I shall be very brief. I wish to comment on the amendment, presented by Bulgaria [A/L.387] to the draft resolution before us [A/L.336/Rev.1 and Add.1-4]. The view of my delegation is that the idea of "one man, one vote"

has been fully expressed in operative paragraph 2 (a) of the draft resolution. Even though we accept in principle the idea of equal representation which the representative of Bulgaria assures us it is his intention to preserve, it is of little consequence to us whether this specific detail is added to the draft resolution itself and my delegation sees not much to object to in it, because it meets the call for conciliation. We are quite prepared to support a resolution in general terms which does not spell out particular details which might make it difficult for the United Kingdom Government to co-operate.

9. I thought it useful to take this opportunity of making certain comments on the remarks the United Kingdom representative chose to make in defence of his Government's policy in relation to Southern Rhodesia. I refer to his comments about certain statements which my Prime Minister made here on the occasion of our admission to the United Nations, and also statements made by the Mayor of Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, on another occasion. It is the view of my delegation that it was particularly unfortunate for the representative of the United Kingdom to cite these instances in his defence of a completely untenable policy. It was particularly unfortunate because Sierra Leone is one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution before us which supports the recommendations of the Special Committee of seventeen members^{1/} concerning the status of Southern Rhodesia. My Government has indicated on many occasions in times past that we do not accept the legalistic argument of the United Kingdom Government about the position in Southern Rhodesia, and to quote the statements of my Prime Minister and the Mayor of Freetown out of context was quite unfortunate. It is true that Sierra Leone obtained its independence under the most pleasant circumstances. We are fair-minded enough to admit this. We have had the most pleasant relationship with the British. But everyone knows that the political situation in West Africa, particularly in Sierra Leone is very different from the position in Southern Rhodesia. As has been said here from this rostrum time and time again in this debate, the British always choose to change their policy depending on the situation. In Africa we had to fight for independence under very different circumstances. The position in Southern Rhodesia has been contaminated by the presence of white settlers, and we find this time-honoured policy of preserving the interests of the white minority against the interests of the majority in all situations where these communities have to live side by side.

10. My delegation stands very firmly by the view that the situation in Southern Rhodesia is one of racial discrimination, which is something that we cannot support, we cannot countenance. It is our duty to condemn it and we have done so; I did so in this debate and my Prime Minister has done so on many occasions. And I wish it to be very clearly understood that we in Sierra Leone think very poorly of the British stand in this matter. We feel that this draft resolution is most moderate in the circumstances. Bearing in mind all the facts of the twentieth century and particularly of 1962, it is unfortunate that these arguments continue to be pressed, that the interests of the white minority should be preserved against the greater interests of the majority, thereby making

a mockery of the very idea of democracy, completely abrogating the practice of democracy in the United Kingdom and that much-vaunted ideal of toleration and justice which they find it so convenient to preach when it is in a different context.

11. This is all I have to say, and in concluding I wish to make it clear to everyone that the Sierra Leone Government in no way is impressed by the policy of the British in Southern Rhodesia. On the contrary, the Sierra Leone Government condemns that policy, and we shall vote whole-heartedly with those who support the draft resolution [A/L.386/Rev.1 and Add.1-4] now before us. In fact, we are one of the co-sponsors.

12. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): There are no more speakers on the list for explanations of vote before the voting. We shall therefore proceed to the vote, and I should accordingly like to sum up the situation.

13. The Assembly has before it two documents: (1) the thirty-eight-Power draft resolution circulated as A/L.386/Rev.1 and Add.1-4; (2) the amendment to sub-paragraph (a) of operative paragraph 2 of that draft resolution, submitted by the delegation of Bulgaria, which will be found in the first paragraph of document A/L.387.

14. I would remind you that the amendment appearing in the second paragraph of document A/L.387 has been withdrawn by its sponsor. In conformity with the General Assembly's rules of procedure, I shall put to the vote first the Bulgarian amendment, then operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, whether amended or not, and lastly, the entire draft resolution.

15. A vote by roll-call has been requested by Bulgaria on the amendment contained in the first paragraph of document A/L.387, which I now put to the vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Mexico, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg.

Present and not voting: Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

^{1/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The amendment was adopted by 55 votes to 1, with 42 abstentions.

16. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly will now vote on operative paragraph 2 as a whole of the thirty-eight-Power draft resolution [A/L.386/Rev.1 and Add.1-4], as modified by the amendment which has just been adopted. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Cameroon, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United States of America, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium.

Present and not voting: Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Paragraph 2 as amended was adopted by 75 votes to 1, with 23 abstentions.

17. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole, as amended—that is, A/L.386/Rev.1 and Add.1-4. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Austria, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United States of America, Argentina, Australia.

Present and not voting: Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 73 votes to 1, with 27 abstentions.

18. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now hear explanations of vote subsequent to the voting.

19. Mr. O'SULLIVAN (Ireland): My delegation abstained in the vote on this resolution because there are provisions in it which appear to us to be based on a mistaken idea of existing political realities in this matter. My delegation is anxious, however, that our abstention should not be taken as implying that the Irish Government is not deeply concerned about the present situation in Southern Rhodesia. We cannot regard the new Constitution, the promulgation of which has recently been postponed, as doing justice to the African population of the territory. Some of its provisions, in fact, seem to us impossible to reconcile with the principles of the Charter.

20. My Government is sincerely concerned at the prospect of this Constitution's being brought fully into force in view of the fact that that step would put further liberalization of the political régime in Southern Rhodesia, and particularly of the franchise, entirely in the hands of the Southern Rhodesian administration and would, finally, divest the United Kingdom Government of such means of influencing these matters as it possesses at present. We should like to see a situation in which liberalization of the Constitution could be brought about while the United Kingdom Government is still legally in a position to influence developments, and for that purpose we would exhort the British Government not to make the proclamation envisaged under article 40 of the 1961 Constitution,^{2/} pending the holding of a constitutional conference representing all parties concerned in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia, including the United Kingdom Government, the Government of Southern Rhodesia, the leaders of the several parties and all the people of the territory, with the object of working out a constitution under which all elements of the population will be able to play a full and free role in the government of the country.

21. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation expressed its opinion in detail on the most important aspects of the question of Southern Rhodesia on 21 June [1113th meeting]. On that occasion it voiced its view as to how justice should be done to the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia and also how the Declaration on colonialism [resolution 1514] should be implemented in that African territory. Therefore, I shall limit myself only to a very brief explanation of the reasons for our vote.

22. The resolution just adopted by the General Assembly embraces a majority of principles, the implementation of which is imperative for the independence of the African population in Southern Rhodesia, and consequently it was supported by the

^{2/} The Southern Rhodesia (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961 (London, H.M. Stationery Office).

Czechoslovak delegation. These principles are contained in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution. Furthermore, the resolution rightly notes that Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory in the sense of Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. Last, but not least, in its preamble the resolution denounces the present unpopular and racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and, if we read it carefully, we can see that it also rightly condemns the Administering Power for the present situation in that country.

23. The resolution was improved by the adoption of the Bulgarian amendment [A/L.387] calling for universal suffrage in accordance with the principle of "one man, one vote".

24. As all of us know, the resolution has one great shortcoming. It does not set a target date for the independence of the population of Southern Rhodesia. At present, it may be useless to analyse the reasons why this did not happen. However, we face the fact that the General Assembly, has, to a certain degree, side-stepped the Declaration on colonialism contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), operative paragraph 5 of which provides that: "Immediate steps shall be taken...to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations...". We consider that the case of Southern Rhodesia cannot become a precedent permitting a delay in the immediate granting of independence as required by the Declaration. The Declaration *de facto* develops the aims of our Organization and has become one of them and therefore it must be defended and consistently applied in each individual case. Our criticism of the failure to set a target date in the resolution emanates, together with the reasons of principle, from the apprehensions that this will be misused by the colonizers for a future postponement of the objectives of the Declaration on colonialism, as well as the aims of the resolution just adopted.

25. In spite of this fact the Czechoslovak delegation voted in favour of the resolution in the firm belief that it would contribute to its effectiveness if it were supported by the greatest possible number of States Members of the United Nations.

26. I believe that the purpose of our debate has been attained. In spite of the resistance of the colonial Powers and several of their allies, it has been possible to hold the debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia at this session. The discussion fully confirmed that the situation in that territory was grave and explosive and that it required an urgent solution. The colonizers have been warned that at present it is impossible to ignore world public opinion for egoistic interests and that colonialism in all its forms, particularly in the forms which manifested themselves in Southern Rhodesia, is a disgrace which will not be tolerated by the peoples. In the end, this debate represents a significant moral support of the oppressed and exploited people of Southern Rhodesia in its justified struggle for its rights. The Czechoslovak delegation is firmly convinced that at the end of its rightful struggle the people of Southern Rhodesia will be free and independent.

27. Mr. NIELSEN (Norway): The Norwegian delegation abstained on the resolution just adopted. We did so largely because of the fifth preambular paragraph, inviting the General Assembly to note with regret that the Government of the United Kingdom has not yet taken steps to transfer all powers to the

people of Southern Rhodesia, as required by operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV).

28. We did so, first, because we are generally in doubt with regard to the usefulness and value of an expression of regret addressed to a responsible fellow Member. We doubt that such a procedure will enhance the likelihood of a fellow Member following the recommendation made to it by this Assembly. In the case now before us, it is the view of the Norwegian delegation that the substance of the matter does not justify any expression of regret with regard to the attitude taken in the past by the United Kingdom Government. Furthermore, we do not consider the problem of Southern Rhodesia solely as a colonial question. To us the question is to a considerable degree a matter of securing equal and basic human and political rights for the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia. Only then can a meaningful expression of self-determination take place.

29. The Norwegian delegation is therefore in basic agreement with the goals as outlined in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution, sub-paragraphs (a) to (c); that is, the promulgation of a new constitution for the territory which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; and secondly, to do away with all ordinances or regulations or practices which directly or indirectly lead to racial discrimination in the territory.

30. Finally, and as a matter of course, we also favour the immediate release of any political prisoners who might be held in the territory or whose movements within the territory are restricted. That is the reason why we voted for operative paragraph 2 in the separate vote.

31. I repeat that the reason for the Norwegian abstention on the resolution just voted upon was that we did not agree with the fifth preambular paragraph containing an expression of regret concerning the policies of the Government of the United Kingdom. Without this paragraph the Norwegian delegation would have voted for the resolution since, as I have stated, we are in agreement with the goals outlined in the most important operative paragraph of the resolution.

32. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): Mr. President, I am here to pay a tribute to you as President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. It is my privilege and duty to do so on behalf of the delegations of Ghana, Guinea and Mali. We salute you as one of the greatest Presidents that the United Nations General Assembly has seen.

33. The sixteenth session has been the longest in the history of the United Nations. For ten months, Mr. President, you have presided over our deliberations with dignity, impartiality and with a great sense of justice. You have played the role of a midwife rather than a surgeon, and, if I may mix my metaphor, had you been a midwife within the ten months of your presidency a child would have been born.

34. Under your gentle but effective guidance, the sixteenth session installed an Acting Secretary-General, thus resolving a crisis brought about by the death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. The great Powers, through the prodding of this Assembly, agreed on the general principles of disarmament and also on the eighteen-Power Disarmament Committee [resolution 1722 (XVI)]. We agreed on the establishment of

the Special Committee of seventeen members [resolution 1654 (XVI)]—and other committees engaged in the greatest task confronting this Assembly—that of bringing about decolonization. And to crown your efforts, Burundi and Rwanda are going to emerge as independent sovereign States of Africa on Sunday, 1 July 1962.

35. We have just seen a demonstration of how world opinion can react when there is injustice. By the vote on the resolution on Southern Rhodesia the Assembly has demonstrated that we did not come here to be revengeful or to be emotional, but that common sense and goodwill are bound to prevail. We hope that his demonstration will have an effect in London.

36. It is because of the hard work and great achievement of the sixteenth session that we are duty-bound to thank you for presiding over this great Assembly. Mr. President, you have been the very arbiter of elegance. You have brought great credit not only to yourself and to your country, Tunisia, but also to the great continent of Africa. You have exhibited all the great qualities of statesmanship which have always marked you out as an international figure, and which makes all of us who have worked in close co-operation with you very proud indeed. You have contributed your share to world peace and security.

37. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.386/Rev.1 for the reasons already mentioned in its statement to this Assembly, in accordance with the position which it had adopted as a member both of the Special Committee and of the Sub-Committee specially appointed to study the question of Southern Rhodesia.

38. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat those reasons now; however, with regard to its vote on the amendment submitted by Bulgaria [A/L.387], my delegation wishes to state that it is in complete agreement with the principle of universal suffrage, practised in my country and implicit in the amendment, but that it abstained from voting on that amendment because it believed that the resolution should simply recommend the application of general principles, as done in operative paragraph 2 (a) of the original draft resolution, and should not deal with details which can be settled only by the constitutional conference mentioned in that paragraph.

39. We cannot decide here whether the suffrage should be granted, say, to persons aged over twenty-three, twenty-one or eighteen. The guaranteeing of one vote to each person is therefore a matter which can be considered only by the drafters of the Constitution concerned, at the constitutional conference, which would be held with the participation of representatives of all political parties, as expressly stated in the resolution's operative paragraph 2 (a).

40. Despite that objection, my delegation voted in favour of the amended paragraph because of its fundamental significance with regard to the application of universal suffrage.

41. Mr. VELAZQUEZ (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): In my statement during the general debate I made clear the views of my delegation on the main aspects of the question, and more particularly on the key point of the suffrage; and I do not intend to add anything now. In accordance with those views, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.386/Rev.1. On the other hand, it did not believe it neces-

sary to amend operative paragraph 2 as formulated in the original draft resolution, and for that reason it abstained from voting on the amendment submitted by the Bulgarian delegation [A/L.387].

42. It was in fact the view of my delegation that operative paragraph 2 (a) of the draft resolution made explicit and adequate reference to the objectives which must be borne in mind in the process of constitutional revision, since none can doubt that those objectives are clearly set forth both in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which are the documents referred to in the resolution. Our view was strengthened by the fact of the Special Committee stating in paragraph 43 of its report, with the approval of my delegation, that "It is not for the Sub-Committee to say what the basis of an agreed constitution should be, but in order that any constitutional advance may have a chance of success, it must be based on the acceptance of the principles of equality and non-discrimination"—all of which points were, in my delegation's view, already appropriately covered in the draft resolution put to the vote, no further elaboration being necessary.

43. Sir James PLIMSOLL (Australia): Australia was unable to support the resolution that has just been adopted for reasons that have been set forth by me during the debate here [1114th meeting] and on other occasions in the plenary and other bodies of the United Nations. In brief, the reasons are legal and practical. The legal reason is that, in several respects, this resolution, in the opinion of the Australian Government, went beyond the competence of the General Assembly. The practical reasons are quite numerous, and I shall not set them out again. I set them out in my speech in the general debate. However, the attitude of the Australian Government towards Southern Rhodesian questions, generally, was also set forth by me in the general debate.

44. While I am on the rostrum, and inasmuch as our colleague from Ghana has paid a tribute to you already, Mr. President, I shall take this opportunity of associating the Australian Government with tributes that will justly be paid you this afternoon. You are the first President of this Assembly to come from Africa; you are an admirable choice, both for your own qualities and the qualities of your country, and because of your long experience in the United Nations in very many of its bodies. It has been a privilege for the Australian delegation and, I know, for everyone here, and a pleasure to sit under you during the past ten months.

Completion of the work of the sixteenth session

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As the representative of Ghana has said, there appears to be some confusion here, between explanations of vote and statements concerning the closing of the session. Therefore, if there is no objection, I shall consider that the discussion of agenda item 97, "Question of Southern Rhodesia", has come to an end, and that we now pass to the closing of the session. The discussion of agenda item 97, "Question of Southern Rhodesia", has come to an end.

46. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): Before the sixteenth session of the General Assembly adjourns, I ask leave, on behalf of the United States,

to say a word of heartfelt appreciation to all the officers of the General Assembly and all the Secretariat officials who have so faithfully and rigorously served us through these many trying months. Especially, let me express admiration for you, Sir, on whom such a large share of the responsibility has fallen, as President. It has been your task to preside during some of the most fateful decisions ever made by this parliament of the world. You have been exposed to the full stress and strain of the intractable problems which history has placed on our agenda, and to the factious impatience which we representatives, as fallible human beings, have inevitably shown. You have borne this burden with grace and good sense—with the same grace and good sense that we knew you possessed when you were chosen for this responsible post. If, on occasion, you have been a hard taskmaster, I submit that if you had not kept us to our work, the sixteenth session of the General Assembly might have gone into permanent orbit.

47. This has been the longest session of the Assembly in the sixteen years of the United Nations. We hope the historians will judge its length to have been justified by its deeds. However, that may be, this Assembly has certainly worked its President, its Committee Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, Rapporteurs and its faithful Secretariat staff harder and longer than any other in our history. It is fitting that we should thank them and honour them in proportion to their labours; and we do so wholeheartedly.

48. Since coming here a year and a half ago I have been more and more impressed with the United Nations as a parliamentary training ground, for here many of us have learned lessons in forbearance, in tolerance and in the orderly conduct of public affairs. I think that not the least of the contributions of the United Nations to a peaceful and orderly world is this educational process and the constant reminder of the importance of rules of procedure and their firm, decisive and consistent application.

49. Perhaps I may add a word as the representative of the host country to those representatives who are now bound for home. We wish them happy landings and a good rest until our next meeting, and may all of us, as we return to our national homes, remember that, in a larger sense, we have a common home on this planet Earth and a duty to promote domestic peace within the family of man.

50. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): It is a great honour for me to follow the representative of the United States of America. I am here to speak on behalf of my own delegation of Ceylon, and of the delegations of our sister nations of Burma, Cambodia, the Federation of Malaya, Indonesia, Laos and Nepal, to pay our high tribute to you, Mr. President, for the objectivity and efficiency with which you have presided over this sixteenth session of the General Assembly. You have carried the burden of this Assembly, which opened on 19 September 1961 and now adjourns today, 28 June 1962, and you have carried the weight of the three parts of the session with the staggering total of 115 plenary meetings with ease, with grace and, if I may be allowed to say so, with singular dispatch and distinction.

51. You have presided over a most dramatic session, assuming your great office under the tragedy which befell the late Secretary-General and the political crisis which happily ended in the choice of his noble successor. In that tense and anxious interlude you,

and you alone, were the pillar of strength which held our hopes high, a symbol of the indestructibility of this international community.

52. You have held the Chair of an historic Assembly, the session which restored the crucial negotiations on disarmament, the session which inaugurated the United Nations Development Decade, the session which set up new landmarks and a new vigour in our common enterprise of pursuing to finality the disestablishment of the era of colonialism.

53. It must have been a great source of joy to you, an African, to preside over what some might call an African Assembly, especially the Assembly which saw the birth in the past forty-eight hours of two new independent African States. Yet, as you sat there concealing your feelings behind the expression of objectivity, who can say that you have not comported yourself with the most unimpeachable and the most praiseworthy impartiality at all times and under the most difficult circumstances? During your term the United Nations has been subjected to much reappraisal and to much controversy, but through all these attacks you remained an unshakable tower of strength and a symbol of the United Nations which remains intact and unshaken, like a towering mountain with strong storms swirling round it. It has been so with you, it has been so with our Organization, and throughout all these events, throughout all these storms, you have upheld the greatest virtue, essential above all to the successful conduct of this difficult office, the virtues of balance and moderation which are the rudder of statesmanship in these days of tension and rancour, of restlessness and alarm.

54. In this way you have written a legacy for the temper which should guide us in the session of the Assembly which follows so closely upon the one that you are now about to adjourn. And because of these exalted qualities you have been able to assert your wisdom and guidance also behind the scenes, where so much has to be accomplished with so little public knowledge, and certainly with extremely little public recognition.

55. For these reasons, and for many more, the delegations representing the peoples on whose behalf we speak wish to express their thanks for the magnificent service you have rendered to this Organization—indeed to all mankind—in a most difficult period of the history of humanity.

56. Now we wish to pay homage also to the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, and his staff, on whom all the burdens which have fallen upon you, Mr. President, have descended with equal and sometimes perhaps with even greater weight. U Thant was placed at the helm when the captain of this Organization was struck down by a cruel fate and the high waves were buffeting this gallant ship, and gallantly indeed has he taken hold and steered us to fairer weather. And now, with a bigger cargo and a greater passenger list, the ship rides with supreme confidence under his captaincy.

57. We wish you, Mr. President, a happy vacation from your labours, and to U Thant, who is bound to his labours like Ulysses to the mast, goes the expression of our thanks and the assurance of our co-operation in the difficult days that lie ahead and the great responsibility placed upon him.

58. Mr. CASTAÑEDA (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the twenty Latin American

Members of the United Nations, who have done me the honour of asking me to speak for them on this occasion, I take pleasure in expressing to Mr. Slim our admiration of the way in which he has discharged the duties of President of the General Assembly.

59. During these lengthy meetings we have had many opportunities of appreciating his skill, gained from long parliamentary experience; his efficiency in the conduct of debate; his courtesy; his patience, and his complete impartiality.

60. The Latin American group's many and frequent contacts with Mr. Slim were always cordial and constructive. We therefore wish to express our gratitude to him and to convey to him, once more, our congratulations on his work as President.

61. Mr. Henry Ford COOPER (Liberia): Mr. President, on behalf of the African-Asian countries, I wish to express to you our congratulations and our deepest appreciation for the wonderful work you have done as President of the General Assembly. I need not describe this work in detail, for that has already been done by the representatives who have preceded me. But I can say that none can challenge your sincerity and your devotion and certainly none can challenge your impartiality.

62. To those of us who come from the countries of Africa and Asia, your behaviour and the manner in which you have conducted your work at this session—the longest in the history of the United Nations—have given reason for much pride and gratification.

63. You, Mr. President, come from the continent where, owing to a lack of experience, statesmen and diplomats are still largely unknown. During the time that you have been President of this Assembly, you have been missed in the course of the deliberations of the African-Asian group. Nevertheless, while you were among us, your advice and admonitions were appreciated and accepted. Among the young diplomats of Africa and Asia you will always be remembered for your kindness, consideration and helpfulness in matters which were beyond their comprehension. It is now rumoured that you will be terminating your direct connexion with the United Nations after this session. If that is true, it is indeed sad news. But all partings, regardless of the circumstances in which they occur, are characterized by some degree of sadness and regret. We may, however, take consolation from the fact that the name of Mongi Slim will never completely disappear from our deliberations for you leave with us another Slim, your brother, who has already shown friendship and geniality, as well as qualities of wisdom as a diplomat.

64. Please take with you our best wishes for your continued success, wherever you may be and in whatever you may do. You are a true example of the maxim "Whatsoever thy hands find to do, do it with all thy might". Your work in this Assembly makes you a distinguished figure not only in your own country, but among all men who desire peace and friendship. Your actions in the Security Council and in the General Assembly have made you the foster parent of many of the new nations of Africa. I salute you in their name and in the name of those who will follow.

65. We should also like to express our appreciation to our very distinguished Acting Secretary-General, U Thant. In the short period of time during which he has presided, he has already written his name in the

Book of Fame and we could not conclude these remarks without recording our appreciation of his efforts and those of his staff, without whose labours the work of this session of the Assembly could not have proceeded.

66. Mr. SALIFOU (Niger) (translated from French): After the representative of Liberia, who has spoken on behalf of the African-Asian group, to which we belong, I in my turn shall speak on behalf of the delegations of Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville), Ivory Coast, Gabon, Upper Volta, Madagascar, Mauritania, Senegal, Chad and my own country. I have the honour and pleasure to express to you, at the conclusion of the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, our deepest gratitude and sincere congratulations.

67. During this session to which you have so ably brought your spirit of conciliation, high competence and great wisdom, we have experienced and valued the calmest and most constructive moments in our Assembly. If on occasion feelings have run high in our debates, you have always been in full control of the discussion and succeeded through your tact and ability, in restoring to it the normal, relaxed character that is so necessary and desirable in a responsible organization such as ours.

68. In short, Mr. President, you have spared us the sterile "cold-war" atmosphere which seemed to be invading these precincts. You have shown yourself before us all to be a great African, and in doing so you have in a way rehabilitated our old continent of Africa, which has suffered in the past and still suffers today the unjust humiliation of colonial subjugation.

69. We are proud of you, Mr. President; you are proof of the fact that this despised Africa can produce eminent statesmen and make a substantial contribution towards brotherhood among men and towards universal peace.

70. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): In the name of the delegations of Afghanistan and the Arab countries, I have the great privilege of expressing to you, Mr. President, our sincerest congratulations at the end of the present session for the remarkable success which you have achieved in the conduct of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. Your fine statesmanship and great ability have enabled us to conclude our debates in a spirit of understanding and harmony.

71. This session has been the longest in the history of the United Nations but your efficiency has shortened it considerably and I shall, therefore, not lengthen it any further by making a long speech now.

72. I do not wish, however, to conclude without paying a high tribute to our Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, and to all the members of the Secretariat for their valuable contributions to the success of this session.

73. Mr. President, we shall always remember the achievements of this session of the General Assembly under your Presidency and the great decisions that have resulted from our deliberations and which have promoted international peace and stability. We look forward to the forthcoming session with renewed hope.

74. Mr. JHA (India): In a few moments the curtain will fall on the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. The lights will be dimmed but never extinguished. The representatives will go home to

enjoy a well-earned respite before they resume the business of the General Assembly at the seventeenth session in a few months' time. This business will perhaps always be unfinished business, since the fullest realization of the ideals of the Charter means the attainment of perfection, which men in human societies can seldom hope to reach. There can readily be no respite, no relaxation in the totality of human efforts represented by the debates and discussions, actions and resolutions of the United Nations in the pursuit of these ideals.

75. The sixteenth session which is about to conclude merits a high place in the annals of the United Nations. It has been the longest session on record. Not only has it this distinction, but it has tackled the most momentous issues in a way which promises to move forward towards the solution of some of the most complex problems of our time. After many years of frustration, meaningful agreements have been reached between the two principal Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, on the principles of general and complete disarmament. The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which included for the first time the representatives of the uncommitted countries, was convened. This Conference has been meeting in Geneva with the backing of the ardent hopes of all the nations of the world. The General Assembly adopted, after prolonged debates in 1961, important resolutions on the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, even though these resolutions, we are sorry to note, have not yet come to realize the hopes and wishes of mankind.

76. The Assembly has devoted much time to the consideration of colonial questions and the conclusions reached by the Assembly mark a great leap forward in the continuing contribution of the United Nations towards a solution of the problem of the freedom of dependent peoples. Among the signal achievements of the session were the constitution of the Special Committee of seventeen members [resolution 1654 (XVI)] for the liquidation of colonialism in accordance with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and the resolution adopted yesterday [resolution 1746 (XVI)] which ushers into independence two more new States in Africa—Rwanda and Burundi. We rejoice in the expansion of the area of freedom in Africa.

77. Among the knottiest problems was the one of choosing a successor to the late Mr. Hammarskjöld, and we know, Mr. President, how closely associated you were in the discussions and the informal contacts which led to the solution of this problem. To you fell the task of inaugurating the term of U Thant as Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations. The selection of U Thant and the unanimity of that selection were among the most signal achievements of this session, and my delegation and others have been very happy to see U Thant sitting by your side and assisting you and the Assembly in its very heavy task.

78. The task of presiding over this long and momentous session has fallen to you, Mr. President, the first distinguished statesman from Africa to have the honour of occupying this post. In the discussions on questions which were potentially so acrimonious and which often produced heated debates, you transmitted your wisdom and tranquillity. Your imperturbable calm infused the Assembly in a subtle way, and

I believe you have had to face fewer points of order—and points of disorder—than any other President of the General Assembly. Your consummate knowledge of the procedures of the Assembly, your understanding of the debates and close attention to the discussions, have enabled you to conduct the proceedings in an exemplary way and to help us reach momentous decisions with a minimum of fuss and temper. And I might observe here that the longer the session went on the fresher and more imperturbable you appeared to all of us.

79. Mr. President, those of us who have known you at the United Nations have always had the fullest conviction that you would preside over our deliberations in the admirable way in which you have done so. Your wisdom and statesmanship have in the past helped in the solution of many a problem before us when you led the delegation of Tunisia in such a distinguished manner and contributed, on behalf of your country, so much to the United Nations.

80. Since this is the last occasion for at least some time that I shall be speaking from this rostrum, because of the impending relinquishment of my post, I wish to say that it has been a great privilege, Mr. President, for me personally to be associated with you, to enjoy your friendship and confidence and always to receive good advice, co-operation and sympathy from you.

81. This momentous session is coming to an end. Another is going to begin very soon—the work must go on—and it is one of the most inspiring facts of our times that the General Assembly, in spite of frustrations, disappointments and set-backs, goes on and on, trying to achieve the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. In this task, Mr. President, we need men of your calibre and statesmanship at the helm of the Assembly's affairs. You have done your job admirably; you have added to the prestige of the continent from which you come and have given pleasure to all your friends from all parts of the world. In the name of my delegation and in the name of the delegation of Yugoslavia, which has done me the honour of allowing me to speak on its behalf, I wish to offer you our sincerest felicitations and best wishes for your continuing association in the affairs of the United Nations in one way or another, and for the continuation of your constructive statesmanship in the cause of the United Nations.

82. Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Pakistan delegation and of the delegation of Turkey.

83. This has been a full and eventful session. The decisions taken during the session will have far-reaching consequences and will affect, we hope and believe, beneficently, the honour, dignity, welfare and prosperity of millions around the globe. The United Nations will, we are sure, look back to this session as a notable landmark in its history.

84. That the session has worked so smoothly and productively is due largely, Mr. President, to your wisdom, experience, statesmanship and, if I may say so without impertinence, to your imperturbability. I would most respectfully offer you the sincere felicitations of the people and Government of Pakistan and of the Pakistan and Turkish delegations for your outstanding success in the conduct of the session. I take particular pride in doing so on account of the close and more than friendly relations that have existed

between our respective countries both before and since the attainment of independence by Tunisia and, I may add, on account of the high esteem and deep affection in which I have always held you.

85. I would venture to offer our sincere felicitations also to the Acting Secretary-General for his wise and far-seeing conduct of the affairs of the Organization since the date of his appointment, thus more than fulfilling our high expectations concerning him to which I gave expression when I had the honour of congratulating him at the time of his appointment.

86. I would add an expression of our deep appreciation of the Secretariat officials and staff who have, through their high sense of devotion to duty and unremitting hard work, contributed so materially to the smooth working of the session.

87. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): I wish, on behalf of the Canadian and New Zealand delegations, to add a few words of thanks and tribute to you, Mr. President, the distinguished gentleman who has presided with such calm and competence over this exceptionally long session, a key session in the history of the United Nations. I choose the word "calm" because one of my chief memories of this session will be the contrast between the calm of the President and the passions which have seldom been far below the surface of the General Assembly and have, from time to time erupted through its surface.

88. The many new Members of the United Nations, pre-eminently from Africa, have brought new life to this Organization. We have all been conscious of this life flowing. We have been conscious too of the passion and determination of many of these Members as they press ahead the unfinished business that lies so heavy on their conscience. Life is always to be welcomed, even if it can sometimes be awkward, inconvenient, or embarrassing. This life, these passions have at times strained to bursting point the Charter and the rules of procedure, documents drafted in more leisurely days. The genius of our President has perhaps been his skill in letting this new life of the General Assembly flow as freely as possible, nevertheless keeping it channelled within the limits of the Charter and the other agreements upon which this whole Organization, this greatest hope of mankind, is based. How difficult that task must have been we can only guess. From the President's constant calm, we might assume that nothing was easier, but we fancy that this calm was built upon skill and experience quite out of the ordinary.

89. This sixteenth session was very much the session of Africa. Two new African States joined the Organization and the groundwork has been laid for the early entry of three more. African issues, highly complex and highly charged, were the dominant ones. It was a happy coincidence and a hopeful symbol that the President should have come from Africa, and from that part of Africa which has traditionally been a bridge between Africa and Europe.

90. I offer, on behalf of the delegations of New Zealand and Canada, our thanks to the President, to the Acting Secretary-General and, through them, to all who have made possible what has been achieved at this session.

91. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): We have now concluded our work, and it is an honour and a great privilege for me to express to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the European delegations, our appreciation, gratitude,

and indeed our admiration for the businesslike way in which you have guided our debates. Your skill as a diplomat, your objectivity and your tact have deeply impressed us all. If our debates have been conducted in a conciliatory atmosphere and have led to the accomplishment of our task, we owe it in no small degree to your never-failing guidance and wise leadership. I am sure that I speak the mind of all of us if I thank you sincerely for your work and for your indulgence towards us.

92. I should like also to convey our gratitude to the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, who has skilfully assisted in the work of the General Assembly. Our thanks go also to all the members of the Secretariat—the interpreters, the *précis*-writers, the Press Officers, the verbatim reporters, and all the other invisible helpers who have contributed so efficiently to our deliberations.

93. Once more, Mr. President, we wish to thank you, and may our best wishes for a happy future accompany you.

94. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): The delegations of Spanish America, by the authorized voice of the Mexican representative, have spoken in tribute to our President. Peru is already represented, therefore in this well-deserved expression of our gratitude and congratulations to Mr. Slim.

95. Nevertheless, in my capacity as perhaps the dean of the representatives at the United Nations and in view of the fact that I once held the post so brilliantly filled by our President, I feel a moral obligation to add a few words to those which have so rightly been spoken here.

96. I shall begin by saying that in friendship, as in love, there is a "coup de foudre". I must declare that my friendship with Mr. Mongi Slim had that quality of instant sympathy which was strengthened as I gradually came to discover and recognize his great talents as statesman and diplomat.

97. One of the best distinctions drawn by the human mind is that which places wisdom on a higher plane than intelligence and intelligence on a higher plane than technical knowledge. When Mr. Mongi Slim came to the United Nations, he had technical, political and diplomatic training, but in addition he had the very rare gift, beyond specialized learning and the knowledge gained from experience, of discovering the heart of every matter; this is what is known as intelligence.

98. Above intelligence, however, there is yet another quality of the first order, which is known in Spanish as "sabiduría". Translated into every language—"sagesse" in French, "wisdom" in English, and no doubt similar words in other tongues—it presupposes something more than technical knowledge, something more than an understanding of things: it presupposes a mixture of intuition as to facts, a just evaluation of events, and the prudence required for dealing with them. I may say, Mr. President, that you have combined these qualities in an admirable synthesis, these supreme virtues of understanding, justice and prudence; for this reason it might be said that your presidency has been characterized by the exercise of true wisdom.

99. We Latin American peoples feel bound to the President of the General Assembly, not only by that mysterious, cosmic link which has bound us and

binds us today to the peoples of Africa, but also by something which has been recalled here by the representative of New Zealand: we belong to that mysterious, cosmic world which unites Africa and America, which has mixed African blood with American blood, and which perhaps gives to our culture an African origin if it is true that we stem from Egyptian civilization. But we also belong to that Mediterranean culture in which Africa, Europe and Asia together partake and have, in the past, partaken.

100. You have been a "universalist" President, because you have been a President who represented a continent destined for universality and because you have also represented that Mediterranean culture which exists for the service of humanity.

101. This may be my last opportunity to address the United Nations from this rostrum. I would not wish to leave the United Nations without paying, at the same time, my warm tribute to our Acting Secretary-General. I earnestly hope—and I may be imprudent in this, as one who is leaving—that he may be a permanent Secretary-General. He has shown those qualities of wisdom, sagacity and prudence which make him a kindred spirit to the President. He has the confidence of the General Assembly and also, I think, of all who believe that the United Nations is still the greatest hope for the peace of mankind.

102. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): It is a privilege for me to address these last few words to you, Mr. President, before you leave this office.

103. Better than any words of praise on my part is the record of this session, the orderly and dispassionate way in which the proceedings of this session have been conducted under your calm influence. Your exemplary conduct of these proceedings has reflected credit on the United Nations and, particularly, on you.

104. It should be recalled that in a quiet and undramatic way this session has achieved not a little. They are not very noticeable achievements, but they are achievements none the less. Resolution 1721 (XVI) on international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space is a significant one, because it opens the way to co-operation in many other fields. Another achievement is resolution 1722 (XVI) on the question of disarmament. Resolution 1724 (XVI) on the question of Algeria was adopted during this session and we look forward to the coming independence of this sorely tested country. The implementation of the Declaration on colonialism and the measures that have been effectively taken or are in process of being taken, and the no less effective solution of the crisis over the office of the Secretary-General and its authority, with the happy selection of U Thant, as Acting Secretary-General, have given new vigour and significance to the United Nations. The resolute stand of the United Nations on the Congo has restored peace to and preserved the integrity of that territory.

105. Your task, Mr. President, has been very effectively carried out because of your tact and understanding, which, together with your efficiency, have made you the ideal President. I should like on behalf of my delegation to offer you our gratitude, our congratulations and our heartiest wishes.

106. Mr. TCHOBANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): Speaking for a number of my colleagues representing the socialist States and on my own behalf, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for

the exemplary manner in which you have directed our debates.

107. This session of the General Assembly has been one of the longest, if not the longest, of all; it has also been a very important one. It would of course be incorrect to think that it has acquitted itself fully of its task or that it has solved with complete success, all the questions on its agenda. Nevertheless, it has in many respects done useful work, particularly with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

108. A number of new States which were formerly colonial dependencies have now joined us as Members of the United Nations.

109. During the session, efforts have also been made to solve other problems. The United Nations has tackled these from various angles and with varying degrees of success, but it cannot be denied that important steps forward have been taken at this session.

110. No one can cherish the illusion that all the tasks confronting our Organization could be accomplished overnight. For their accomplishment, a certain period of time is required. What is important is that the authority of this Organization is growing from day to day and from year to year, as an ever-increasing number of States become Members and raise their voices here. The Organization is thus progressing towards true universality. Difficulties still lie ahead, and they will not disappear from one day to the next; but we are advancing.

111. This very long and very important session has been directed by you, Mr. President, if I may say so, in an outstanding way, with great ability, experience and wisdom and with exemplary objectivity. You have been a remarkable President from the technical standpoint, and, at the same time, a democratic President fully conversant with parliamentary rules.

112. While expressing our gratitude to you, I should also like to express our thanks to the Acting Secretary-General of the Organization, U Thant, and to all the staff of the United Nations, who, by their industry and competence, have so greatly contributed to the success of our work.

113. Allow me, Mr. President, in taking leave of you, to convey to you our most sincere wishes for success in all the fields of human endeavour which you may enter in the future.

114. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have no more speakers on my list. It now remains for me to make the statement closing the session, but I should first like to convey my gratitude to those representatives who have congratulated me personally on the conduct of our work and who have expressed most kind and indulgent feelings towards me. I am very touched by their remarks, and I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

115. We have now completed consideration of the items on the agenda of this second resumed session. The General Assembly has therefore come to the end of the agenda of the sixteenth session. It only remains for it to close its proceedings, which have required of it no less than twenty-four weeks, twice interrupted, of patient and exacting effort to deal with the ninety-seven items submitted for its consideration.

116. I must therefore, as we close our session, express to all representatives my deep gratitude for their co-operation with the Chair in the organization and conduct of our work. This expression of gratitude applies in particular to the members of the Assembly's General Committee, to the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of Committees, and to their assistants.

117. I am also glad to be able on this occasion to express my sincere thanks to the Acting Secretary-General, to his immediate colleagues, and to the interpreters and other Secretariat officials for the help which they have patiently and courteously given us in the discharge of our important task.

118. We have just had one of the longest and most important sessions of our General Assembly. Opened in the circumstance of a grievous tragedy which complicated and increased international tension in September 1961, the sixteenth session is closing in a general atmosphere of "détente", in circumstances of hope and confidence regained.

119. By patient and sustained effort, it has endeavoured to recommend, and even to initiate, compromise solutions which have sometimes been very difficult to find—suitable, realistic solutions in conformity with right and justice as well as with the Charter and its principles. In this way, grave problems which have given rise to serious apprehension are moving toward natural and salutary solutions, through the subsidiary organs set up by our session. Other problems, which greatly exercised the General Assembly prior to our session, are despite the tragedies continuing to surround them, on the eve of peaceful and just solution, in the search for which our session has added its contribution to that of previous sessions.

120. There remain some problems for which a final solution has not yet been found, but they are now surrounded by a definite atmosphere of "détente" which will, I am sure, greatly contribute toward the solution which is best and most in accordance with right, justice and the principles of the Charter.

121. It is therefore with relief and hope that we have found during this session that the basic problems posed for Member States by general disarmament and peaceful decolonization do, despite the difficulties

and obstacles, really seem to be on the way to radical solution, for the greater good of all mankind.

122. There is thus a vigorous revival of hope, and certainly greater confidence in the future and in the triumph of human reason and wisdom. To these hopes regained, despite the major apprehensions which marked its opening on 19 September, the sixteenth session has made a far from negligible contribution.

123. It has proved, above all, the usefulness of the United Nations in smoothing out difficulties and international crises, in recommending appropriate peaceful solutions for the grave problems which may produce threats to international peace and security, in creating and promoting the relaxation of tensions, and in consolidating friendship and co-operation between nations.

124. It is perhaps not presumptuous to say that in the course of its sixteenth session the General Assembly, despite a certain reserve, has regained confidence in itself and its effectiveness, as well as in the United Nations and its Charter.

125. To this valuable result the Members of the General Assembly have all made their contribution and devoted their energy and effort. And it is with pleasure and satisfaction that I, most sincerely, congratulate you on this.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

126. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

127. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I declare closed the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.