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**President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).**

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BARRAU RALAEZ (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to begin by congratulating Sir Leslie Munro most heartily on his election to the distinguished office of President of the General Assembly.

2. In recent years, confidence in the results of United Nations action has grown stronger, and it is a fact that the Organization has been very successful in many of its efforts. But it is equally clear that the great objectives which our Organization originally set itself involve more than purely political problems. I believe that it is our duty to persuade the great Powers that there are serious structural problems still unsolved in many countries which are probably as deserving of consideration as the maintenance of international peace or, on a different level, the application of the right of peoples to self-determination. In reality, what is at stake is the destiny of mankind, man's right to live in dignity. We should not, therefore, consider that only certain objectives are deserving of our attention.

3. It is evident that the majority of the countries in the international community have been unable to progress at the same speed as certain others. Since the Second World War, the more fortunate countries have been advancing towards the conquest of material well-being at a pace which makes it all the more noticeable how difficult it is for others to benefit from the new inventions of science and technology. That is why certain countries, despite the high level of their civilization and the wealth of their cultural tradition, today regard the progress made by the privileged countries as if it had been accomplished by men from other worlds. It is tragically ironic that the latest scientific accomplishments should seem to the under-developed nations to be the work of Martians or creatures from science fiction.

4. The rapidity with which the material world has been transformed during the last decade has accentuated the social and economic differences between the great Powers and the smaller ones. While the former are

today enjoying the benefits of technology, the latter are confronted with fresh and more pressing problems caused by the imbalance between the countries which are prosperous and those which are not.

5. Accordingly, it is the function of the United Nations to take the lead in efforts to ensure that the living standards of the people of the poorer countries are gradually brought up to the level of the inhabitants of the other States which are today enjoying prosperity. For this purpose it will be necessary to take advantage of every move designed to translate into economic reality the principles of technical assistance. Bolivia, which is receiving such co-operation from the United Nations, is today a perfect example of this need to proceed from theory to practice.

6. For this reason, my country strongly supported the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.<sup>1/</sup> We consider it most encouraging that the United Nations should have drafted the legal framework of this instrument of economic co-operation. However, until such an instrument becomes operative, we must take care to maintain normal international trade, especially between the countries which produce raw materials and the industrialized countries which consume these materials.

7. Conditions in the past caused certain countries to develop a mono-productive type of economy; in the case of Bolivia, the economy is based on minerals. Trade in these primary materials — such as the lead and zinc referred to by the Foreign Minister of Peru in his statement [683rd meeting] is today threatened by tariff barriers. I refer to measures tending to establish discrimination by reason of the origin of such primary materials.

8. If the markets of the highly industrialized countries should be closed, what would be the future of these extractive industries, and what would be the effect on the vulnerable economies of the mono-productive countries? We hope that this situation may be understood by those who, if they were to apply measures of excessive protection, might cause irreparable harm.

9. In the much discussed problem of disarmament, which the Assembly will discuss again, as it has done in former years, a solution could be found if the great Powers approached it in the spirit in which the President of the United States approached it when, speaking before the United Nations General Assembly [470th meeting], he appealed for the peaceful utilization of discoveries in the field of nuclear physics.

10. However, it is clear that in connexion with this important problem we must consider the limitation

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 662 B (XXIV).

and reduction of conventional armaments, and that this is a matter of direct concern to the under-developed countries. In this problem, as in others confronting us, it is the responsibility of the smaller countries to commend to the great Powers the path of wisdom, by means of unmistakable evidence of goodwill.

11. In 1955, during the general debate at the tenth session of the General Assembly, Dr. Siles Zuazo, then head of the Bolivian delegation and today President of Bolivia, stated [523rd meeting] that it was in the higher interest of mankind and of the maintenance of international peace to limit the armaments of the under-developed countries. He stated bluntly that a large part of the huge resources employed by the small countries for the acquisition of arms should be applied to the development of production in all phases of economic activity.

12. My delegation considers that President Siles Zuazo's statement is still timely, and that it is even more urgent now than formerly for the smaller countries to disarm, or at least to reduce their armaments to the level consistent with the necessities of internal order and international security. This security, I might add, is determined by the change which has occurred in the very concept of defence, for conventional armaments mean little or nothing as compared with the hydrogen bomb and intercontinental missiles. It would also be naïve to claim that the under-developed countries or those distant from the critical areas will play any decisive military role in the event of a world conflict.

13. Owing to adverse circumstances, Bolivia is now a landlocked country. Cut off from the sea ports that were a part of its territorial heritage, Bolivia has persistently sought means of compensating for this anomalous condition, which has a decisive bearing on the need to ensure free and unrestricted transit to the great sea lanes of the world.

14. In the United Nations — where the needs and aspirations of all peoples of the world find expression — it was decided last year [resolution 1105 (XI)] to convene an international conference on the law of the sea. One of the principal items on the agenda of this conference will be the study of the problems affecting the landlocked countries, a matter which concerns one-quarter of the States Members of this Organization. My Government is profoundly interested in this conference, since we believe it is destined to have a most important influence on the maintenance of international peace and security and on the development and prosperity of the world economy.

15. The economic development of my country, specifically the exploitation of petroleum and the necessity of transporting petroleum to foreign markets by means of pipelines through neighbouring countries, poses new problems relative to freedom of transit. The forthcoming conference will undoubtedly consider with particular care the conditions governing the transport of petroleum originating in landlocked countries, with a view to laying down general principles.

16. In this connexion, I take pleasure in paying a tribute to the generous understanding shown by the Governments and peoples of all the neighbouring countries which have granted Bolivia facilities for the construction of pipelines. Nevertheless, we consider that the conference which is to meet in Geneva next

year ought to adopt regulations governing freedom of transit and the fuller exercise of this freedom.

17. In conclusion, I wish to state that my delegation will spare no effort to co-operate with all the delegations present here for the accomplishment of the purposes of this Organization.

18. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): The circumstances in which this session of the General Assembly is being held seem to be less unfavourable than those which preceded and accompanied the eleventh session that recently came to an end. Nevertheless, the world scene does not offer any consolation. The great problems remain: disarmament; the situation in the Middle East; the occupation of Hungary; the domination of many peoples by a foreign Government — a domination which in some cases accounts for the arbitrary division of a State into two States, one subject and the other independent — the efforts of the peoples of former colonies and other territories yearning to exercise their right to self-determination; disregard for and violation of human rights in many areas; and so forth.

19. Twelve years after the signature of the Charter, and despite persistent and often successful efforts, the United Nations has not yet found effective or adequate methods of solving these problems. This may be explained by two fundamental reasons: first, as sociology teaches us, there is nothing so changeable or so complex as relations among human beings, more specifically, relations among human communities; secondly, at the present time, mainly on account of the impressive technological advances, these relations have become increasingly frequent, closer and therefore more complex.

20. This Organization, praised by some and reviled and opposed by others, has been doing all that is humanly possible to avoid war, to maintain and strengthen peace, and to enable men and women throughout the world to enjoy a dignified, healthy, pleasant and hopeful life, free from fear, humiliation and suffering. Like any other human enterprise, the United Nations is imperfect and liable to error and is moving forward only very slowly towards the attainment of its purposes; yet, despite all this, no one can deny that the annals of the Organization contain glowing pages of lasting value, which I shall not speak of now as I do not wish to make a very long statement.

21. My delegation wishes to reaffirm on this occasion the faith of the Government and people of El Salvador in the United Nations. El Salvador, one of the founder Members of this Organization and also a founder member of important regional bodies such as the Organization of American States and the Organization of Central American States, has at all times distinguished itself by its spirit of solidarity and by its support of the great moral and legal principles on which the coexistence of nations is based — the principles of the juridical equality of States, the right of peoples to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention by one State in the affairs of another.

22. It is noteworthy that whereas these and many other principles are recognized in the Charter, particular emphasis is placed on the first, in Article 2, which states that the Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. This equality is particularly evident in the work of



the General Assembly and is clearly incompatible with the privileged voting procedure enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council.

23. We were therefore greatly surprised by the ideas expressed a short time ago by Sir Winston Churchill, that illustrious British statesman and author, one of the architects of the United Nations, a prominent figure in contemporary history and the distinguished chronicler of the most important events of our century.

24. In the address he delivered at the Guild Hall in London at a dinner in honour of the 1957 Convention of the American Bar Association, the distinguished former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, recognizing that differences between the great Powers had thrown responsibility increasingly on the General Assembly, said that it was anomalous that the vote or prejudice of any small country should affect events involving populations many times its own number, and that the situation should be improved. He went on to say that there were many cases where the United Nations had failed; he mentioned the case of Hungary and added that he did not want to suggest an elaborate new Charter for the United Nations, but simply felt that all agreed that its present conception was imperfect and must be changed.

25. These ideas expressed by Sir Winston contain unfair criticism of small States, or rather of those States Members of the United Nations which are not great Powers. His criticism is unfair because the votes of these States are not based on, or are not usually based on prejudice, but on the political and juridical convictions of their Governments, and find their justification precisely in the principle of the sovereign equality of all States. His criticism is unfair because the reason why certain important problems relating to peace — whether they concern the Suez Canal or the invasion of Hungary — are referred to and considered by the General Assembly is that the Security Council, owing to the lack of unanimity of its permanent members, is unable to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. His criticism is unjust, lastly, because it was the great Powers at the Yalta Conference, where none of the smaller States was present, which established the voting procedure for the Security Council and which later stipulated that system at San Francisco as a condition sine qua non for the establishment of the United Nations.

26. No doubt it is exasperating that, whereas the United Kingdom, France and Israel complied with the recommendations of the General Assembly in the case of Egypt, neither the Soviet Union nor the régime in Hungary made the slightest attempt to obey the Assembly's recommendations in the heartbreaking case of the Hungarian people; yet the venerable British warrior-statesman will surely agree that the Charter authorizes the General Assembly to make only recommendations in cases of this kind, and that if the Security Council is unable to adopt a binding decision, even though it is empowered under the Charter to do so, it is because the great Powers deliberately intended it to be thus when they proposed a voting system which enables any one of them to act as judge and party in the Council when the latter deals with serious political problems, such as threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

27. Yet there is another, more interesting point; the veto also applies to the amendment of the Charter. No amendment of the Charter can come into force unless it is ratified by all the permanent members of the Security Council in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. Upon the proposal of the Latin American delegations, certain items relating to the review of the Charter and designed to increase the membership of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice, were included in the agenda of the eleventh session and also appear on the agenda of the present session.

28. These proposed changes, however, were not accepted, and doubtless they will not win acceptance for some time to come, owing to the opposition of the Soviet delegation, for the Soviet Government will neither approve nor ratify any amendment of the Charter so long as the representatives of Communist China have not taken the place of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China both in the General Assembly and in other United Nations organs. Will Sir Winston also blame the small States for this?

29. My delegation deeply regrets that the London conversations concerning disarmament did not produce an agreement that could have smoothed the way for the General Assembly's consideration of the disarmament item, which is the most important of the political items we discuss year after year and which is of particular urgency now that the danger of a third world war haunts mankind with the prospect of the catastrophic devastation that could be caused by the use of nuclear weapons.

30. Without indulging in excessive optimism, we think that the strenuous and sound efforts made in the recent months may lead here, in the General Assembly, to discussions more constructive than those of past years on this question, all of which have merely resulted in a procedural resolution recommending that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-committee should continue to study this vast problem and the various proposals submitted in connexion with it.

31. El Salvador's position with respect to disarmament will remain unchanged. We shall support any suggestion or proposal which in our view is prompted by good intentions and which tends to reduce as much as possible the danger of war by means of a real limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, and by means of the prohibition of the use of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

32. We shall also adhere to El Salvador's traditional position with respect to the problem of peoples who aspire to independence or to the exercise in any other form of their right to self-determination. We are in particular interested in the fate of countries such as Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam, each of which is unjustly divided into two parts owing to foreign domination over one of these parts. My Government, like the great majority of the Governments represented here, would like the General Assembly to take an active interest in measures for the early reunification of Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam and for the immediate admission of these countries to the United Nations, to whose work they would certainly make a valuable contribution.

33. We are deeply concerned about the situation in Hungary, the fate of other subject peoples and the

imminent danger threatening the countries of the Middle East. We are also concerned about the systematic violation of human rights in a large number of countries.

34. My country is a member of the regional community of American States which, as is well known, at the Ninth International Conference of American States held at Bogotá in 1948, adopted the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and at the same Conference declared:

"The ideal that inspired the epic of the independence of America will always animate our peoples and Governments, united in their moral pledge to strive by all peaceful means within their power to eliminate from the continent any status of dependency, whatever its form, political, economic or juridical..." We have always felt that this doctrine should be applied throughout the world and, just as we do not want any colonies or occupied territories in America, so we do not want such dependencies to exist in any other part of the world.

35. As is its custom, the delegation of El Salvador will be glad to make its modest contribution to the examination of these questions to which I have referred, and of all the others on the agenda of this session. In particular, we wish to take part in the debates on the economic and financial items, above all the items relating to the economic development of the under-developed countries and to technical assistance programmes.

36. The five Central American Republics — Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua — are engaged on a programme of incalculable importance for the future of the region. I am referring to the programme for the economic integration of the Central American countries which, under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Latin America and under the immediate supervision of the Central American Economic Co-operation Committee, has been developing gradually and steadily for a number of years. This project is based on a resolution which was adopted in 1951 by the Economic Commission for Latin America on the initiative of the five Central American delegations and which expresses the interest of our Governments: "...in the development of agricultural and industrial production and of transportation systems in their respective countries so as to promote the integration of their economies and the expansion of markets by the exchange of their products, the co-ordination of their development programmes and the establishment of enterprises in which all or some of these countries have an interest".<sup>2/</sup>

37. It is a pleasant task for me to convey from this rostrum the thanks of the Government of El Salvador for the assistance it has received under the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and particularly for the co-operation of the Technical Assistance Administration in the study and implementation of many aspects of the programme for the economic integration of the Central American countries.

38. One of the items on our agenda concerns the appointment of the Secretary-General, since the term of office for which Mr. Hammarskjöld was appointed

will expire in the spring of next year. It is my great pleasure to state that my Government, knowing Mr. Hammarskjöld's qualities, his devotion to the noble ideals of the United Nations and his spirit of sacrifice, which at times takes the form of an almost incredible vigour in the discharge of his functions, whole-heartedly supports the continuation of this eminent statesman and diplomat in the high office of Secretary-General. My delegation welcomes the recommendation made this morning by the Security Council and will consider it an honour to vote this afternoon in the General Assembly for the appointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld for another term of office.

39. In closing, I wish the General Assembly every success in its efforts in 1957 to promote the welfare of all its Members and, in general, of all peoples throughout the world. Public opinion expects great things from each and every one of the representatives attending this great international forum, and therefore we should all endeavour to be worthy of the great confidence placed in us by our Governments and of the responsibility we bear.

40. Mr. Yacoub OSMAN (Sudan): Let me first, on behalf of the Sudan delegation, congratulate Sir Leslie Munro on his election as President of this General Assembly. We are sure that he will discharge his duties with skill, ability and impartiality.

41. I would like to comment very briefly on the international situation from the point of view — as it must be in this case — of a small and under-developed country. For today not even small and under-developed countries can afford to ignore the developments and implications of the international scene. The world today, for good or ill, is more closely knit than it has been at any other time in the long and turbulent history of man.

42. The last session of the Assembly witnessed some tragic events, notably the attack on Egypt, from which the Egyptian people emerged strong and more united, and with the Suez Canal under Egyptian management functioning smoothly and efficiently. Great credit goes to the United Nations and its Secretary-General; to counsels of wisdom that prevail in the end; to world public opinion; and to the part played behind the scenes by some Member States, notably among these the Government of the United States.

43. At the same time, the world was witnessing the grave events in Hungary. Our position on this question was dictated not by opportunism or animosity towards any country, but by our sincere belief that armed intervention, or any other intervention for that matter, in the domestic affairs of an independent and sovereign State should not be accepted among the principles that govern relationships between independent and sovereign States, irrespective of the reasons which might have led to this state of affairs.

44. Again, the Algerian war of liberation is still raging furiously, and no settlement is as yet in sight. The tragedy of the Palestine Arab refugees remains the same and scores of thousands of these refugees are still living under conditions of immeasurable misery and injustice. Racial conflict in the Union of South Africa, far from decreasing, is gaining momentum every day, every week and every month.

45. For these and other reasons, the Middle East will continue to be a very dangerous area, pregnant with

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 8, resolution 9 (IV).



explosive possibilities, unless solutions based on the basic principles of human rights and the principles of the Charter are reached without delay.

46. But the situation, grave as it is, should not blind us and prevent us from seeing that there are signs that, owing to two catastrophic world wars, humanity has begun in earnest to learn its lesson through slow but gradual realization that another world war may bring about the total annihilation of the human race and all that has been achieved in the various fields of progress by hard labour, sweat and blood. But even this cautious mood in the world today should not lead us — any of us — to relax our efforts for the achievement of peace, without which it would be futile for nations to map and plan for the future.

47. But the realization of peace demands positive action. First, and most important, an agreement should be reached regarding disarmament questions, upon which the fate of the world depends. We must abandon once and for all the assumed right of the strong to govern the weak. We must condemn the economic domination of one country over another. We must liquidate colonialism and replace it by mutual trust, mutual co-operation and mutual interests. We must fight racial superiority and racial conflict, if only for the reason that they are the negation of democracy and rational thinking. The "cold war" is another dangerous phenomenon which must be eliminated. There is plenty of room for peaceful coexistence amongst the nations of the world, big and small, if only confidence and trust are allowed to penetrate deep into our hearts and minds. And I feel sure that there is not one single nation in the world today that dares take the risks and consequences of modern warfare lightly.

48. I wish to turn now to another aspect of the international relationship. It will be remembered that, during the old days of the League of Nations, there was a phrase which had wide circulation and wide popularity, namely, that of the "haves" and the "have-nots". Today we have the developed and the under-developed countries. And I believe it is an open secret that, in the under-developed world, Africa today is termed the most under-developed. Also, many parts of Asia and the Middle East fall into the same category.

49. Millions of peoples in these countries stand today at the cross-roads of the world. It is inconceivable that they will be expected to wait where they are indefinitely and watch, as disinterested spectators, the procession of prosperity and progress. They are anxious to satisfy their essential needs, which revolve primarily around food, clothing, shelter and education. Their economy is still based on agricultural and pastoral products. But what is more significant in this respect is the fall in world prices of agricultural exports in countries where such exports are the main item in the balance of payments. Such a fall in world prices of primary commodities, coupled with the fluctuation and variations of such prices, constitute uncertainties contrary to the basic interests of the peoples of the under-developed countries who are anxious to raise their national revenues in order to be able to finance development projects in hand, and plan to undertake new ones in the future.

50. There is no alternative open to the peoples who produce major crops and who have not as yet made

great strides in the industrial field if they wish to raise their standard of living. There is no escape from the fact that only by securing adequate and guaranteed prices for their major crops will the under-developed countries be able to share in the prosperity of the modern age, and take firm steps forward towards progress and peace.

51. But in order to overcome the immediate difficulties, it is imperative that the whole situation should be reviewed in the widest possible way. Such revision has become even more urgent because of the apparent desire of some parts of the world for the creation and consolidation of economic areas based on preferential treatment.

52. For these and other considerations, a conference — it might be a world conference — between those who produce major crops and those who depend on such crops for feeding their industrial machine can no longer be postponed. Such a conference, in order to achieve its objectives, must be conducted in a spirit of accommodation and with the understanding that, like peace and justice, the prosperity of the world is indivisible.

53. It is natural and reasonable that the Sudanese people, having achieved political independence, should demand autonomy in the monetary and financial fields. It is our objective to have an all-round development in every field with a view to securing a strong balanced economy that leads to stability, prosperity and peace. In this respect, we realize fully the important part played by the United Nations and its specialized agencies in providing technical and other useful assistance to the under-developed countries.

54. In the Sudan, our policy is to see to it that the best use is made of existing resources. At the same time, an expert inquiry is being conducted into alternative and new sources for agricultural expansion and the development of our mineral wealth. We are in favour of the inflow of foreign capital for the expansion of our agricultural projects and the development of our mineral wealth and light industries. Such capital is usually placed in good hands and is devoted to its legitimate uses.

55. A prerequisite for social evolution in the under-developed countries in the world today is the improvement of productive capacity involving the installation, maintenance and operation of modern equipment and the rational exploitation of natural resources. This will add moral and material benefits not only to the people directly affected, but also to the world at large. It will ultimately bring to the under-developed countries the methods and advantages of modern life.

56. And, lastly, the Government and the people of the Sudan place full confidence in the future of the United Nations. We hope that it will be a citadel of peace where international grievances and disputes may be resolved without fatal risks and where men and women of all nations may join hands in the building up of a better future for humanity. This is a dream of thinkers and philosophers throughout the ages. We have no doubt that, through the joint efforts of all of us, it will be achieved.

The meeting was suspended at 4 p.m. and resumed at 4.15 p.m.

## AGENDA ITEM 17

**Appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations**

57. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it a letter dated 26 September 1957 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the President of the General Assembly [A/3682], relative to the appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Security Council has unanimously decided to recommend to the General Assembly that Mr. Hammarskjöld be appointed as Secretary-General of the United Nations for a new five-year term of office.

58. I should like to suggest that the Assembly proceed to the vote by secret ballot in public, rather than in private, meeting. I take it that that is the desire of the Assembly.

It was so decided.

59. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put the recommendation of the Security Council to the General Assembly.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Padilla Nervo (Mexico) and Mr. Schiff (Netherlands) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

60. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: for Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, 80 votes. There was one invalid ballot.

61. In connexion with the voting that has just taken place, I should like to read the following letter dated 25 September 1957 which was addressed to the President of the General Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel:

"The Israel delegation will be unable to be present at the General Assembly tomorrow, because of the Jewish New Year. In consequence, Israel will be unable to cast its affirmative vote for the re-appointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General. I wish, accordingly, to register that vote by means of this communication."

This letter will form part of the record of today's proceedings.

62. I have now the honour to announce that His Excellency, Mr. Hammarskjöld, has been unanimously appointed Secretary-General of the United Nations for a new five-year term of office.

Mr. Cordier, Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General, conducted the Secretary-General to the platform.

63. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: It is with deep awareness of the significance of the responsibility which your decision imposes on me that I accept the appointment as Secretary-General of the United Nations for a second term.

64. When, in the spring of 1953, I was elected to my present office, I felt that it was my duty to respond to the unexpected call. What I could hope to do was to serve the aims of the United Nations to the limits of my capacity. My only claim now is to have tried to do so. Whether my service has met the needs of this difficult period in the life of the Organization and, indeed, the world, is for others to decide. Whether the direction I have tried to give to the development of the office of the Secretary-General is the best one will

have to be judged in the perspective of time. Your decision is in these respects an encouragement for the future and a highly valued expression of confidence.

65. Nobody, I think, can accept the position of Secretary-General of the United Nations, knowing what it means, except from a sense of duty. Nobody, however, can serve in that capacity without a sense of gratitude for a task, as deeply rewarding as it is exacting, as perennially inspiring as, sometimes, it may seem discouraging.

66. There are many reasons for such gratitude. Let me mention first the privilege of working on terms of mutual confidence with all the Governments and their representatives, in order to find ways through the many problems arising in international co-operation.

67. Let me mention, also, the gratitude a Secretary-General owes to his collaborators in the Secretariat, from the third basement to the thirty-eighth floor. He is fortunate to profit in his work from a team spirit which renders him unfailing support. He can count on dedication often to thankless jobs, necessary for the success of the joint effort. He can trust that a challenge will be met with a deep sense of responsibility, broad knowledge and a truly international spirit.

68. The significance of what this Organization stands for, as a venture in progress towards an international community living in peace under the laws of justice, transforms work for its aims from a duty into a privilege. Political factors, yet to be overcome or outgrown, may put narrow limits on the progress possible at a particular juncture. We may believe that the United Nations needs basic reforms. We may even share the view held by some that its task ultimately will have to be taken over by a body with a different structure. However, we cannot doubt that the main direction of the work of the United Nations, as determined by the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, indicates the path which the world must follow in order to preserve the achievements of the past and to lay a basis for a happier future.

69. Therefore, service of the United Nations, guided by those principles, is profoundly meaningful — whether it bears immediate fruit or not. If it paves one more inch of the road ahead, one is more than rewarded by what is achieved. This is true whatever setbacks may follow: if a mountain wall is once climbed, later failures do not undo the fact that it has been shown that it can be climbed. In this sense, every step forward in the pioneer effort of this Organization inevitably widens the scope for the fight for peace.

70. I have tried to present my views on the role of the United Nations in the introduction to this year's Report to the General Assembly [A/3594/Add.1]. Last year, I explained in the Security Council [751st meeting] how I felt that I should interpret the responsibilities of the Secretary-General. I have little to add here, and nothing to change.

71. In the multidimensional world of diplomacy, the Euclidean definition of the straight line as the shortest way between two points may not always hold true. For the Secretary-General, however, it is the only possible one. This line, as traced by principles which are the law for him, might at times cross other lines in the intricate pattern of international political action. He must then be able to feel secure that, whatever the difficulties, they will not impair the trust of Member States in his office.



72. I do not believe that the Secretary-General should be asked to act, by the Member States, if no guidance for his action is to be found either in the Charter or in the decisions of the main organs of the United Nations; within the limits thus set, however, I believe it to be his duty to use his office and, indeed, the machinery of the Organization to its utmost capacity and to the full extent permitted at each stage by practical circumstances.

73. On the other hand, I believe that it is in keeping with the philosophy of the Charter that the Secretary-General should be expected to act also without such guidance, should this appear to him necessary in order to help in filling any vacuum that may appear in the systems which the Charter and traditional diplomacy provide for the safeguarding of peace and security.

74. The many who, together, form this Organization — peoples, governments and individuals — share one great responsibility. Future generations may come to say of us that we never achieved what we set out to do. May they never be entitled to say that we failed because we lacked faith or permitted narrow self-interest to distort our efforts.

75. The PRESIDENT: As President of the General Assembly, I wish to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Hammarskjöld on his reappointment to his eminent office. I know that the Secretariat joins in these felicitations.

76. I have no need to remind the Assembly of the grave and manifold responsibilities undertaken by the Secretary-General. Equally, I have no need to stress the undoubted fact that Mr. Hammarskjöld has discharged those responsibilities to the complete satisfaction of our Organization, and indeed of the whole world.

77. The Charter refers to the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General. No one of us who has conferred with Mr. Hammarskjöld could fail to observe his scrupulous objectivity. He is surely our supreme international civil servant, dedicated to his task, superbly equipped for it, and self-effacing in its performance. We are not, then, surprised that he is an apostle of quiet diplomacy — a phrase which, if he did not coin, he has certainly made famous by his assiduous work behind the scenes.

78. In the course of his duties, Mr. Hammarskjöld has visited most countries in the world, in particular China and the States of the Middle East. To refer to his journeys through these countries is to praise him for his patient and indefatigable labours in the cause of tranquillity, peace and justice.

79. Most of us assembled here today were present at the last session. Who of us will forget the almost never-ceasing activities of the Secretary-General, to whom sleep did not appear a necessity, as he laboured to create the United Nations Emergency Force, an achievement which owes so much to him and will alone, I venture to say, suffice to secure him an honoured place in history?

80. Mr. Hammarskjöld, we welcome your reappointment with respect, with friendliness, and with complete confidence. We look forward to another fruitful period of co-operation with you for the good of the whole world, whose distinguished and devoted servant you are.

81. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): This is a happy moment in the life of the United Nations. Much of what the United Nations has been able to accomplish for world peace and justice and human betterment in these last five turbulent years has been due to our Secretary-General. In voting unanimously, as we have just done, to reappoint him for another five-year term, we have paid a great personal tribute to a great man. We have also done the United Nations a great favour.

82. The Charter calls this Organization a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of international peace and justice. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Hammarskjöld, because of his extraordinary qualities of mind and character, personifies that function. He is in himself a centre for harmonizing. He is diligent and tireless. He is without vanity and desire for magnification of his public personality. He has an exceptionally clear intelligence and clear judgement of human beings and political forces. His faithfulness and his idealism are great. Every nation represented here, whatever the conflicts and differences of international policy, can find in him an attentive listener and a tireless servant of the international community, impartial, patient, vigorous and determined.

83. The United States extends congratulations to Mr. Hammarskjöld. We wish him Godspeed in the tasks ahead and we hope that he will have all that is best in life.

84. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Allow me, Mr. Hammarskjöld, to extend to you the congratulations of the Soviet delegation on your election to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations.

85. It is hardly necessary to mention the important role that can and should be played by the Secretary-General of an organization which now has a membership of eighty-two States and which is called upon to direct the efforts of all its Members towards fulfilling its basic task — the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

86. We fully appreciate Mr. Hammarskjöld's efforts in a number of matters related to the activities of our Organization. We must nevertheless note, in this connexion — and here I think that the Secretary-General will agree with me — that many problems of vital importance to the preservation and strengthening of peace remain to be settled. I should like to express the hope that, during Mr. Hammarskjöld's second five-year term as Secretary-General, the United Nations will achieve far greater success in solving the problems with which it is confronted.

87. The peoples rightly expect the United Nations to be an effective instrument for the maintenance of peace and security. The United Nations has many opportunities and many ways in which to be more active in strengthening international confidence and promoting the development of broad co-operation among peoples and States, irrespective of their social systems.

88. Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Soviet delegation extends to you its best wishes for a successful accomplishment of the lofty tasks of the United Nations. For its part, the Government of the Soviet Union assures you of its full support in your efforts and endeavours to maintain and strengthen world peace.

72. I do not believe that the Secretary-General should be asked to act, by the Member States, if no guidance for his action is to be found either in the Charter or in the decisions of the main organs of the United Nations; within the limits thus set, however, I believe it to be his duty to use his office and, indeed, the machinery of the Organization to its utmost capacity and to the full extent permitted at each stage by practical circumstances.

73. On the other hand, I believe that it is in keeping with the philosophy of the Charter that the Secretary-General should be expected to act also without such guidance, should this appear to him necessary in order to help in filling any vacuum that may appear in the systems which the Charter and traditional diplomacy provide for the safeguarding of peace and security.

74. The many who, together, form this Organization — peoples, governments and individuals — share one great responsibility. Future generations may come to say of us that we never achieved what we set out to do. May they never be entitled to say that we failed because we lacked faith or permitted narrow self-interest to distort our efforts.

75. The PRESIDENT: As President of the General Assembly, I wish to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Hammarskjöld on his reappointment to his eminent office. I know that the Secretariat joins in these felicitations.

76. I have no need to remind the Assembly of the grave and manifold responsibilities undertaken by the Secretary-General. Equally, I have no need to stress the undoubted fact that Mr. Hammarskjöld has discharged those responsibilities to the complete satisfaction of our Organization, and indeed of the whole world.

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89. Mr. KRAG (Denmark): Very few men have carried as heavy a burden as has our Secretary-General, especially during the last year. The manner in which he has discharged the duties laid upon his shoulders by this Organization and by what he has himself characterized as his "Bible" — the Charter of the United Nations — cannot receive too great appreciation. Dealing always with the most difficult and controversial matters, and often walking untrodden paths and hoping against hope, Mr. Hammarskjöld has succeeded in finding solutions where none seemed to be in sight. But, even more, in so doing he has won our admiration and respect and, I might almost say, a universal confidence very rarely enjoyed by any man, and certainly unique in the field of politics.

90. May I say, also, that his high personal qualities, his friendliness, his patience in dealing with even the most complicated Gordian knot, his quiet sense of humour even in the midst of battle, all this has added to the position he holds in our minds.

91. It is an honour and a pleasure to me, on behalf not only of the delegation of Denmark, but also on behalf of the delegations of Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Turkey, to give voice to our complete confidence in Mr. Hammarskjöld and to confirm our whole-hearted support of his reappointment as Secretary-General for another term. We wish him every possible success in the great task before him.

92. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): It gave my delegation great pleasure to support the recommendation of the Security Council that Mr. Hammarskjöld should be reappointed Secretary-General of the United Nations for a further period of five years.

93. The Secretary-General has two very different tasks to perform. He is, first of all, in the words of the Charter, the "chief administrative officer of the Organization". We depend upon him and upon the staff whom he appoints for the vast range of administrative services which our work requires. He has set such a high standard in providing these services that we are sometimes tempted to take them for granted; in fact, to take only one example, if we pause to consider for a moment how much planning and work a single meeting of this Assembly involves, and how effortlessly this work is performed, we will realize how very fortunate we are in having a Secretary-General of such outstanding administrative ability.

94. The second part of the Secretary-General's task is, of course, political. Under the Charter itself, the Secretary-General has certain obligations in this regard. In addition, Mr. Hammarskjöld has been entrusted with a great variety of particular tasks of conciliation and investigation in many parts of the world. In performing these tasks, he has made us familiar with his remarkable skill and patience. In particular, we can be certain that his name will always be associated with the contribution he has made to the easing of tension in the Middle East.

95. All who have served for any length of time in this Assembly will know how Mr. Hammarskjöld can thread his way through a maze of difficulties and how resourceful he is in finding ways of reconciling opposite points of view. Such resourcefulness is in itself a valuable gift, but when, as in this case, it is combined

with great force of character and attention to the aims of the Charter, it produces the remarkable results of which we all know.

96. I am grateful for this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General on behalf of the United Kingdom for all his work in the service of this Organization. We have expressed our thanks and our confidence by voting today for his reappointment. We wish him all success.

97. Mr. TSIANG (China): My delegation voted both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly for the reappointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld. We are glad that the Secretary-General will serve us for another term of five years as Secretary-General of this great Organization. In voting for his reappointment, my delegation was actuated very much by the sentiments which the President so eloquently expressed in his brief address of congratulations. There is no need for me to say much. I would like only to say that, in addition to the great ability and high intelligence which Mr. Hammarskjöld brought to his position five years ago, he has now at his disposal a rich experience of five years in performing the complicated tasks of his office. That experience will again be available to this great Organization for another five years. I congratulate you, Mr. Secretary-General, and I also congratulate the Assembly and this Organization on the fact that you have accepted reappointment.

98. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): On 9 April 1953, upon arriving in New York to assume the high position to which he had just been appointed, Mr. Hammarskjöld said these words:

"In my new official capacity, the private man should disappear and the international public servant take his place. The public servant is there in order to assist, so to say, from the inside, those who take the decisions which frame history. He should analyse and learn to understand fully the forces at work and the interests at stake, so that he will be able to give the right advice when the situation calls for it. Do not think that he takes but a passive part in the development. It is a most active one. But he is active as an instrument, a catalyst, perhaps an inspirer."

99. The next day, addressing the General Assembly for the first time, Mr. Hammarskjöld described his approach to his task in words both memorable and prophetic. He said:

"Ours is a work of reconciliation and realistic construction. This work must be based on respect for the laws by which human civilization has been built. It likewise requires a strict observance of the rules and principles laid down in the Charter of this Organization. My work shall be guided by this knowledge..."

"We are of different creeds and convictions... But common to us all, and above all other convictions, stands the truth once expressed by a Swedish poet when he said that the greatest prayer of man does not ask for victory but for peace." [426th meeting, paras. 10 and 12].

100. Nobody who reviews the record of Mr. Hammarskjöld's achievement during the five eventful years during which he has held office can fail to be impressed by the precision with which he judged the functions and responsibilities of his position as well as by the exact-

itude with which he has tailored his conduct and his actions to the measure of his own words.

101. The quiet efficiency with which he carried out the reorganization of the Secretariat is one measure of his extraordinary achievement. Without fanfare, yet with a stubborn resolution which he badly needed in order to resist the pressures that bore down upon him from all sides, he proceeded to accomplish the highly delicate task of reorganization with an eye solely to the objective of maximum efficiency consistent with the needs of the Organization and the resources at its disposal.

102. His successful execution of this initial task in the field of administration was a clear indication of the attitude which he would take towards the substantive problems that would come before him. It showed that in him were combined the qualities of the inward intellectual with his penchant for careful analysis, the qualities of the skilled technician who has a passion for detail as well as for the whole, and the qualities of the resolute fighter who will move forward or stand still when the battle is hardest but never will take a step backward.

103. All through the great crises that have rocked the United Nations during his incumbency, these qualities of Mr. Hammarskjöld have come fully into play. The task of extricating the American airmen who were held in prison by the Peking Government, the mission to Palestine, and the simultaneous crises of Egypt and Hungary, which imposed upon the Secretary-General an almost superhuman burden, have tested these qualities and revealed the man to be a diplomat of extraordinary suppleness as well as a quiet fighter of tempered will and steely resolution.

104. If Mr. Hammarskjöld had done nothing else but firmly hold the United Nations, as he did, on its true course through the perilous crises of Egypt and Hungary, he would be entitled to the gratitude of humanity and to the reward and honour which, by reappointing him today, the General Assembly has proudly bestowed upon him. But he has done more. He has, by his conduct during his term of office, firmly established in the minds of delegations, Governments and careful observers alike, the image of the Secretary-General of the United Nations as administrator of a vast organization and number one peacemaker of the world.

105. As he begins his second term of office, I know that I speak the thoughts of all when I wish him continued good health and every possible success in the undertakings which he may be called upon to face. With the modesty which is innate in him, and yet also with the nobility which is second nature to the man, he has set the true measure of his work and achievement—and I quote him again—"the greatest prayer of man does not ask for victory but for peace."

106. Mr. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): Since the beginning of this session we have witnessed two welcome and comforting events: the unanimous election of the President of the current session of the General Assembly and the unanimous recommendation of the Security Council that the Secretary-General should be appointed to another term of office. Unanimity in the decisions of the Security Council is, I am sorry to say, something to which we are not accustomed. We are therefore grati-

fied to note that it materialized in so important a matter. It is our keen hope that these two notes of harmony and co-operation will be auspicious signals for constructive solutions in such important problems as disarmament, international economic co-operation, and the difficulties in the Middle East.

107. Article 99 of the Charter confers very important functions upon the Secretary-General by giving him authority to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

108. Watching over the maintenance of peace and security is a full-time task which requires faith, foresight, patience, will-power, a sustained courage and sober enthusiasm. The Secretary-General possesses these qualities and has demonstrated them during the grave crises of the past five years. In order to perform his functions successfully during the new term of office to which he has been elected, the Secretary-General need merely follow in his predecessor's footsteps and be guided by the same caution and wisdom as were displayed by Mr. Hammarskjöld, the present Secretary-General.

109. As the Secretary-General told us a little while ago, one of our principal tasks is to make full use of all the resources of the Organization and its various organs for the purpose of giving effect to the fundamental principles of the United Nations.

110. In view of the qualities which we know he possesses, we are certain that in his next term of office he will boldly and relentlessly work towards the goals which he himself has set and which are precisely those of the United Nations. He will take effective action to help ensure the maintenance of peace and the pacific settlement of international disputes.

111. Every great undertaking has a humble beginning in the mind of man. Mr. Hammarskjöld has the intellectual capacity, within the limits of his functions, to devise new approaches to current problems.

112. On behalf of the delegation of Mexico, I extend my sincerest congratulations to Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, whom we have just elected unanimously.

113. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand): May I, as one who has seen Mr. Hammarskjöld closely at work, be permitted to add my voice and that of my delegation in welcoming with the deepest gratification his unanimous reappointment as Secretary-General for another term of five years.

114. The masterly diplomatic role which he played in the negotiations for peace during the recent sessions of the General Assembly is still fresh in the minds of my fellow representatives.

115. I attach the highest importance to the diplomatic role of the United Nations as a means of harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of the purposes of the Charter, and I consider it fortunate that our world Organization will continue to have the great benefit of Mr. Hammarskjöld's signal services. But it is not only for his political or diplomatic role that I welcome his reappointment. After one of our night sittings during the eleventh session, I was surprised to find that the Secretary-General was going up to his office again in order to deal with papers on some other



than political matters. This shows that he attaches the same essential importance to economic and social matters, which are of such fundamental concern to the small and under-developed countries. We know that the Secretary-General cares for us all, whether great or small, and we all give him our implicit confidence.

116. It is in this spirit that I offer him my warmest congratulations and my best wishes for his continued success in the service of the United Nations.

117. Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon): On this happy occasion of the reappointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General of our Organization, I wish first to congratulate the permanent members of the Security Council on having agreed on him, and that for two reasons. First, agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council is not a common occurrence in these parts, and therefore when they agree on anything they deserve to be congratulated. But when their agreement is on a good thing, they will have doubly earned our congratulations. I must also congratulate the Assembly on having positively acted on the recommendation of the Security Council. The good sense of the Security Council has rightly infected us, and we also deserve to be congratulated on the wisdom and unanimity of our decision.

118. Finally, a special word of congratulation to Mr. Hammarskjöld himself. He has won the confidence of the world, and that is not a simple thing. He has won the love and admiration of his colleagues, and that is a great and noble thing. He has ably, faithfully and devotedly given himself to our service, and that is a most fortunate thing for the United Nations.

119. Considering all the stresses and pressures to which the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the very character of his position is heir, especially at this moment in history when the giants menacingly eye each other, within and without the United Nations, and when so many emerging nations throughout the world look to the United Nations for fellowship, for status, and at times even for security and succour, considering all this, I think the manner in which Mr. Hammarskjöld has so honourably and fairly deported himself throughout these past years merits our deepest admiration.

120. He has tried not to be unduly swayed and, what is more, he has succeeded. He carefully and, I might and, humbly delimited the bounds of his function, and, what is more, he stuck to them. He unerringly perceived the nature and limitations of the United Nations and, what is more, he convinced others of the truth of his perception. The resulting confidence which he consolidated for his person and his post, and the ensuing healthy sense of realism which he managed to instil both as to the possibilities and impossibilities of the Secretary-General and the United Nations, are amongst the permanent recent positive acquisitions of the world Organization.

121. No region has given Mr. Hammarskjöld more worry and perhaps even greater challenge than the Middle East, and it is here that I consider his greatest achievement to have lain; for he is widely respected and trusted throughout the Middle East as an indefatigable public servant, as a man of evident goodwill, as one who can rise above contradiction and despair, as a most resourceful diplomat, as a self-effacing but fruitful mediator and negotiator, and as a man who

accepts temporary unpopularity for being objective and fair, in the certain knowledge that truth, which is the standpoint of objectivity and fairness, will vindicate itself in the end.

122. You have only to imagine what is concretely involved in the manifold problems with which Mr. Hammarskjöld, assisted by a most able staff, has had personally and persistently to deal in his term of office so far, to appreciate the magnitude and character of his achievement. For I think it can be justly said that, in all these stupendous tasks to which Mr. Hammarskjöld turns his mind and his energy in the Middle East, he has honourably acquitted himself.

123. We are happy that Mr. Hammarskjöld will stay at the head of the Secretariat for another five years. In wishing him every success in his endeavours, and in assuring him of our readiness to co-operate with him under the Charter and in the interests of peace with justice, we are confident that, in so far as it depends on the United Nations, and indeed on that principal organ of the United Nations which is the Secretary-General, the cause of peace and of human welfare will be in good and able hands.

124. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the twenty nations which form the Latin American group in expressing to Mr. Hammarskjöld their deep satisfaction with his reappointment to the distinguished office of Secretary-General of the United Nations. The unanimity of the vote makes it permissible for me to violate the secrecy of the ballot, for there can be no doubt that all the Latin American nations voted for Mr. Hammarskjöld.

125. When Mr. Hammarskjöld came to the United Nations some years ago he personified a fine hope; but not all of us in the Americas were necessarily familiar with the extraordinary merits which even then made him the inevitable choice as Secretary-General. On the present occasion we voted advisedly, after seeing Mr. Hammarskjöld perform outstanding services with resolution, with extreme conscientiousness, and with an extraordinary faith and optimism concerning the destinies of the United Nations.

126. I understand, Mr. Hammarskjöld, that for a man as modest as yourself it must be a great trial indeed to listen to these encomia. There is nothing you can do, however, but to go on listening to them; and please reflect that what I am saying now must be multiplied by twenty, for I am speaking on behalf of twenty nations.

127. The Secretary-General's report is not merely a monument to his principles, but also a historic monument to him personally, testifying to the discharge of a series of most important and very numerous tasks.

128. You, Mr. Hammarskjöld, have had to face such difficult situations as those in Asia, the Far East, Suez and Hungary, and each of these situations has provided a fresh occasion for the display of your qualities as a great diplomat and mediator in finding the solutions needed to preserve international peace and security.

129. It is for these reasons, Mr. Hammarskjöld, that we American nations rejoice in this, your second elevation to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations; and we rejoice to see that there are men in this world who are capable of stimulating and recon-

ciling all the cultures, all the civilizations and all the nations of the world.

130. This second aspect is perhaps the more important. Even more important than the United Nations Charter is the existence of men with the integrity, the will, the faith and the optimism necessary for the correct interpretation of the Charter. To this class of men belongs Mr. Hammarskjöld, who has been elected unanimously by all the sectors, all the groups, and all the nations of which the United Nations is composed.

131. We of the Latin American group wish to tell you, Mr. Hammarskjöld, how happy we are at your appointment to this post and to assure you that the Latin American group will continue to co-operate, as it has done hitherto, in assisting you in the task you are discharging so successfully.

132. Mr. MACDONALD (New Zealand): I regard it as an honour to endorse in the warmest terms the reappointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General of this Organization for a further five-year term. Since taking office in 1953, Mr. Hammarskjöld has discharged his heavy responsibilities with unfailing skill and resourcefulness. Under his guidance, the Secretariat of our Organization has adapted itself without strain to the changes in the United Nations, to the growth of the United Nations and its subsidiary organs. It has maintained a remarkable ability to fulfil the many continuing and diverse demands made on it, as well as to improvise in situations of emergency. Its consistently high standard of service can be attributed not only to the talents of its personnel but also to the inspiring leadership of the Secretary-General.

133. Mr. Hammarskjöld has brought to his task an incomparable understanding of the potentialities and capabilities of this Organization, an acute awareness of the issues which under the Charter form the subject of our concern, and a complete devotion to duty. He has displayed at all times admirable patience, calm and impartiality.

134. I say this with personal knowledge of his qualities, a knowledge which I have gained not only at our meetings here in New York but also in my own country, which was privileged to receive the Secretary-General during a visit he paid to our part of the world.

135. It is with the greatest of pleasure that the New Zealand delegation welcomes the appointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld for a further term and offers him its sincerest good wishes.

136. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia): It is with a feeling of very sincere pleasure that I extend to Mr. Hammarskjöld the most sincere congratulations of my delegation on his second appointment to the high office of Secretary-General of the United Nations.

137. Yesterday in the general debate [688th meeting] I recalled the role of paramount importance that the United Nations has already played and is more than ever called upon to play in dispelling the divisions between nations, in promoting goodwill and understanding, and in giving a harassed world the peace and security it so badly needs. In these efforts it is generally recognized that the office of Secretary-General is assuming a growing importance, and this, I think I may safely say, is to a very large extent due to the ability of Mr. Hammarskjöld and to his unswerving dedication to the cause of the United Nations.

138. We have all had the privilege of seeing Mr. Hammarskjöld at work. We have witnessed his tireless and selfless efforts to dispel misunderstanding among the Members of the United Nations, to help them get together and settle their differences and to work out a constructive approach to the problems that were facing them — that were facing the United Nations. We have all watched him work with such outstanding success in the field of quiet diplomacy which has come to be associated with his name. We are quite sure that in the coming years Mr. Hammarskjöld will pursue his endeavours with the same success and earn the renewed gratitude of all those who cherish peace and harmony among nations.

139. I wish, in concluding, to assure Mr. Hammarskjöld on behalf of my delegation that all our best wishes go to him as he is about to shoulder once again the heavy responsibilities of an office in which he has done so much for the United Nations and for the peace of the world.

140. Mr. DE FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): Mr. Aranha, who is a former President of the General Assembly, is very sorry that he cannot be here at this time. He is absent for an imperative reason. However, I have been asked by him to extend our sincerest congratulations to Mr. Hammarskjöld.

141. The opinion of Brazil about the reappointment of our Secretary-General has already been voiced by Mr. Sapena Pastor. As an old-timer of the United Nations — Mr. Hammarskjöld calls me — I beg to recall the difficulties that we had at the Savoy Hotel when the Security Council was choosing a first Secretary-General and decided to appoint our dear friend, Mr. Lie. My friends Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Padilla Nervo will bear witness to that. Today, there is no fight, there is impressive unanimity in telling Mr. Hammarskjöld that he deserves our confidence and that his devotion to his charge and his courage in difficult moments establish a pattern of the way in which the Secretary-General should act. We have confidence in what he is going to do during his next term.

142. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): It is a great honour for me to speak on behalf of the Eastern European countries in associating myself with previous speakers and to congratulate Mr. Hammarskjöld on his re-election as Secretary-General of the United Nations. We extend to him our heartiest congratulations.

143. We are sure that, following his re-election, the Secretary-General will continue to be guided in his work by the principles of the United Nations Charter and to labour untiringly on behalf of this international Organization dedicated to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international co-operation.

144. All the countries on whose behalf I have the honour to speak assure the Secretary-General of their full and active support.

145. Mr. CASEY (Australia): I am very glad to join with many others in congratulating Mr. Hammarskjöld on his reappointment as Secretary-General of the United Nations for a further term of five years.

146. It is not necessary to speak at length about Mr. Hammarskjöld's distinguished performance as Secretary-General. His ability, his qualities and his personality speak for themselves. The unanimous vote in



the Security Council, of which Australia is at present a member, as well as in the General Assembly, is an earnest of the esteem in which Mr. Hammarskjöld is held by all of us. It is not an exaggeration to say that Mr. Hammarskjöld's integrity, personality and abilities have made the office of Secretary-General even more influential than the written provisions of the Charter would necessarily indicate.

147. Mr. Hammarskjöld is, not only in the technical sense but in the fullest sense, a world figure. In a more personal sense, I believe that every delegation in the General Assembly has had the experience of finding in Mr. Hammarskjöld a friend who is always ready with advice and help.

148. We were most happy last year to welcome Mr. Hammarskjöld to Australia, when we were able to demonstrate our friendship and regard for him. We hope that he was able to learn something of Australia and Australians at first hand. This was the first time that a Secretary-General had visited our country.

149. In conclusion, I should like to offer Mr. Hammarskjöld Australia's best wishes for a further successful term as Secretary-General, during which we shall make every effort to facilitate his work in whatever way we can.

150. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): On behalf of the Asian-African group, which consists of twenty-nine Members — that is, Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaya, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey and Yemen — I should like to extend to Mr. Hammarskjöld our heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of his re-election to the distinguished post he holds, and which he has filled with such striking distinction and diplomatic ability during his tenure of office.

151. The fact that the Security Council re-elected him as Secretary-General after a very short meeting this morning, and that the Security Council's decision was unanimously endorsed by the General Assembly this afternoon, is an eloquent testimony to the esteem in which he is held by all the Members of our Organization.

152. Mr. Hammarskjöld, our group as a whole, as well as its individual members, feels confident that you will continue to discharge your duties with the same statesmanship and impartiality as you have evinced in the past. At this juncture of world affairs, these qualities of yours are more than ever indispensable to the fulfilment of the great role which history has assigned to the United Nations.

153. Many Governments and peoples in Asia and Africa have experienced with gratitude the benefit of your efforts in bringing about peaceful adjustments of serious disputes which threaten the fabric of world peace. On issues such as the crisis in the Middle East, including the clearance of the Suez Canal, you have demonstrated your infinite patience and wisdom in the true spirit of the United Nations and have contributed immeasurably to the strengthening of this great world Organization. You have thereby laid the foundation for increasing its role in achieving the basic objectives of world peace and co-operation.

154. By honouring you, we do honour, I think, also to the high ideals of the United Nations. You may be

assured that the Asian-African group will continue to co-operate with you in the achievement of the common goals which animate all mankind.

155. In conclusion, may I express once again our warm felicitations and our fervent wish that God be with you in your difficult but ennobling task.

156. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (translated from French): It is not as Chairman of the French delegation that I come to this rostrum, since France, like the other countries of Western Europe, had asked the Danish representative to speak for it, but as a former colleague of Mr. Hammarskjöld. I wish to associate myself directly with the sincere congratulations that have just been addressed to Mr. Hammarskjöld on his splendid unanimous re-election and to express all my best wishes for his success in the new tasks awaiting him.

157. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): It is an honour and a privilege for me, on behalf of the delegation and Government of India, to congratulate the Security Council on the wise choice it has made in requesting Mr. Hammarskjöld to accept another term of office as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

158. In our opinion, the Assembly owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Hammarskjöld for accepting this position.

159. The position of Secretary-General has often been called a distinguished one, but it is also a very onerous one. While I would not say that there are not many people who would aspire to fill the position, very few people would find it comfortable.

160. We are also happy to express our gratitude and appreciation to Sweden, which has provided one of its nationals for this office. Sweden's record of peaceful existence for generations has made it possible for us to make this choice without difficulty.

161. So far as I remember, after Mr. Hammarskjöld was first chosen for this post and the decision was communicated to him, he informed the Assembly that the appointment had come to him as a surprise. I do not think that this time it came to him as a surprise, because all of us know that no better choice and no other choice could have been made.

162. I have some things in common with the Secretary-General. I do not always understand him, and he does not always understand me. But both of us go back afterwards and try to understand each other.

163. During the last year, with the developments in the Middle East — and, earlier, with the developments in the Far East — opportunities have presented themselves to the Government of India to be in close touch with the Secretary-General on very many administrative matters. We also had the privilege of welcoming him to our country and informing him — not through pamphlets, but through our ordinary people in the villages — that India had heard about the United Nations; in fact, he was asked what his salary was.

164. We take this opportunity of congratulating ourselves, as Members of the General Assembly, on our unanimous decision today. The Secretary-General now faces another five years of very strenuous and useful work. Speaking quite privately, however, I should like to tell Mr. Hammarskjöld that what I have just said does not mean that we shall make no criticisms during the five years to come. In other words, we should not be told: "For ever keep your peace."

165. This is a very happy occasion. The very fact that countries of different political views, of different geographical positions, countries from Asia and from Africa and from Europe and from America, have been able to agree unanimously on this choice, is something of which we may well be proud.

166. Finally, I wish to take this opportunity of con-

veying to you, Mr. Hammarskjöld, and to your Secretariat, all our good wishes. I feel sure that you would be the first person to say that without that Secretariat your great accomplishments would not have been so easy.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.