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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
(Afghanistan).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: As representatives will observe, the agenda for this morning does not include item 92: Strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, and of the right of peoples to self-determination. At my request, negotiations and consultations aimed at the submission of a compromise draft resolution on this item are still being held. In order to give time for those negotiations and consultations, which I understand are progressing in a good spirit, I have agreed to postpone further consideration of the item to a plenary meeting to be announced in due course. I am convinced that this postponement will in the long run save the time of the Assembly and, more than that, will have constructive results. With that last consideration in mind, we shall take up this morning those items considered by the Second Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 50

Programme of studies on multilateral food aid: report of
the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6519)

AGENDA ITEM 43

Decentralization of the economic and social activities of
the United Nations

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6517)

AGENDA ITEM 51

Review and reappraisal of the role and functions of the
Economic and Social Council: report of the Secretary-
General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6520)

2. Mr. REISCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: Item 50 of the agenda had its origin in resolution 2096 (XX), by which the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to examine, in co-operation with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and other interested international organizations, means and policies which would be required for large-scale international action of a multilateral character to combat hunger effectively and to suggest various alternative types of action. This study relates to the fundamental issues concerning food aid which were raised both by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in its recommendation on a world food aid programme,¹ and in a proposal by Argentina for the establishment of a world food fund [see resolution 2096 (XX)]. The study was also to take into consideration the proposals already made for adapting the techniques of food aid so as to benefit developing countries which are exporters or importers of foodstuffs.

3. As a first result, the Secretary-General presented to the forty-first session of the Economic and Social Council a report² containing a draft outline for an inter-agency study on multilateral food aid. This draft report, together with a draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council [A/6519, para. 4] for adoption by the Assembly, represented the main basis for the consideration of this subject in the Second Committee.

4. The debate in the Committee was opened with a statement by the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs underlining the importance and magnitude of the problem and giving a short outline of possible lines of action. Speakers in the debate supported those general considerations as well as the objectives of the draft resolution, which refers in its preambular paragraphs to the growing food shortage in developing countries and the need for international and concerted action with regard to the provision of food aid.

5. As food production in a number of developing countries does not keep pace with population growth, various

¹See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. 1, *Final Act and Report* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11), p. 32.

²Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 16, document E/4210 and Add.1.

delegations have called for increased attention to be given to efforts aiming at raising agricultural productivity in those countries. Existing and unutilized surpluses of certain agricultural commodities, such as bananas in developing countries, should be used in the framework of the world food programme.

6. Delegations further expressed their satisfaction with the preparatory work so far undertaken by the Secretariat. The draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council and adopted by the Second Committee [A/6519, para. 6] deals in its operative part with the further steps to be taken in this matter, and the Secretary-General is being requested, in co-operation with the Director General of FAO and in consultation with the other organizations and programmes concerned, to submit the final study requested in Assembly resolution 2096 (XX) as soon as possible and to submit a detailed preliminary report to the Economic and Social Council and its forty-third session and to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

7. The Committee approved the draft resolution by ninety votes to none with eight abstentions.

8. I now come to item 43: Decentralization of the economic and social activities of the United Nations. During the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, by resolution 1941 (XVIII), the Secretary-General was requested to submit as part of his activities during the International Co-operation Year and within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade, a comprehensive report on the question of decentralization for consideration by the Economic and Social Council and by the General Assembly at its twentieth session. Also, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions was requested to assess the results of decentralization in terms of its fundamental objectives and to submit its report to the Assembly.

9. Both these reports [A/6519 and A/6517] were before the twentieth session of the General Assembly, but the Second Committee was not able to give detailed consideration to these items. The subject was therefore postponed to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

10. The Second Committee dealt with this item in connexion with the related agenda items 51—Review and reappraisal of the role and functions of the Economic and Social Council—and 52—General review of the programmes and activities in the economic, social, technical co-operation and related fields. The Committee decided to recommend to the Assembly the adoption of the decision contained in paragraph 4 of the report [A/6517].

11. The third report [A/6520] deals with agenda item 51. At its thirty-eighth session on 26 March 1965, the Economic and Social Council initiated a review and reappraisal of its role and functions. On the basis of a report³ concerning the results achieved, the twentieth session of the General Assembly, by resolution 2097 (XX), requested the Secretary-General to submit detailed proposals on the ways in which the Council might adapt its procedures and working methods to enable it to fulfil its

role effectively. This report, which is now before the Assembly⁴ had been considered at the forty-first session of the Economic and Social Council, which adopted an important resolution on the matter [see A/6432, para. 4].

12. The Committee, as I have already stated, considered this item in connexion with items 43 and 52, and unanimously decided, as a result of its deliberations, to recommend to the Assembly the adoption of the decision contained in the report [A/6520, para. 4].

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Second Committee.

13. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to the consideration of agenda item 50: Programme of studies on multilateral food aid. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee, which appears in the Committee's report [A/6519, para. 6].

The draft resolution was adopted by 85 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

14. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ecuador who wishes to explain his vote.

15. Mr. POLIT ORTIZ (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): My presence at this plenary meeting of the General Assembly testifies to the concern felt by all responsible citizens of countries Members of the United Nations in connexion with what the highly respected newspaper *The New York Times* in an editorial on 14 October 1966 entitled "The Malthusian Specter". This editorial gave an account of and commented on the recent annual report of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which delineated the scope of the problem of hunger currently threatening a number of countries, most of which are in the early stages of economic development.

16. In the debate in the Second Committee [1056th meeting] on the problem of food, the representative of the United States very eloquently described the tragedy threatening us when he said that, in his personal opinion and in the opinion of his Government, of the many problems facing the world today, none has higher priority than the study of measures to be taken at the international level to meet the threat of hunger.

17. Similarly in his statement to the Second Committee [1055th meeting] at the beginning of our debate on this item, Mr. de Seynes, Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, told us that there were obvious reasons which explained the acute concern about the problem of food; he added that the immediate task is to find means of shipping food-stuffs to hungry peoples. Mr. de Seynes said that the planning of a world-wide strategy for multilateral food aid required time, but that there were several areas where Government could take effective action in the immediate future. First, said the Under-Secretary, the Governments of countries with food surpluses, when determining their own policies for food production, should consider the requirements of the developing countries. He

³Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 96, document A/6109.

⁴Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 4, document E/4216.

concluded with the statement that the \$159 million available to the World Food Programme for the next three years was almost entirely spent, with only \$32 million remaining.

18. It is not usual for a developing country, such as Ecuador, to have vast amounts of food which today are going to waste because our Government lacks the financial and technical resources to make this food available to groups of its own population, which continue to be underfed and still less to make this food available to the World Food Programme. But the truth is that our country each year produces millions of bunches of bananas that we can neither consume nor export because of lack of cold-storage space or of ships by which we could send these surplus bananas to any number of countries that could well use them.

19. Anyone who takes the trouble to study the many reports and books being written daily on the problem of food and the quality of the food that is consumed is well aware that the banana is a first class food. It is versatile and healthful and makes up for dietary deficiencies prevailing in most of the developing countries and the developed countries as well. The banana, however, is a perishable fruit requiring careful handling and even more careful refrigeration; modern refrigeration techniques have still not been found for preserving fruits such as the banana for extended periods, as is already being done with apples and other fruit, which can be refrigerated for months.

20. Bananas can be used at once in the programmes being carried out by both FAO and the World Food Programme and, with the help of financial institutions, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, studies might be undertaken of the best, cheapest and quickest way of making use of the millions of bunches of bananas that are now rotting in Ecuador because we lack the financial and technical resources to utilize them. Bananas can be made into flour, a first-class food for nursing mothers and for babies who do not receive enough nourishment from their mothers. Banana flour can also be used to make bread, biscuits and many other foods once a method is developed to combine it with the flour of grains, particularly wheat or barley; a perfect food would be achieved when a method is found to enrich it even more by adding the nutrients that nutrition experts are discovering every day.

21. If it is true that the world today is made uneasy by the spectre of Malthus, if it is true that the Governments of many highly developed and financially rich countries, such as the United States, seek a solution to this problem, if it is true that all the agencies of the United Nations should contribute to the solution of the problem of hunger, it then follows that a study of what can be done with the many millions of surplus bunches of bananas that we have in Ecuador—a problem brought by our Government before this Assembly, the Second Committee and all international bodies discussing matters of world interest—should be a part of the study requested of FAO in resolution 2096 (XX), a resolution co-sponsored by Ecuador and approved by the General Assembly on 20 December 1965. In accordance with the resolution we have now adopted, this study should be submitted as soon as possible, taking into

account the views of States Members of the United Nations. This study is to be submitted to the Economic and Social Council at its forty-third session and to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. Our delegation and our Government hope that FAO and all the international agencies mentioned in the Secretary-General's note [A/6425] submitted to the Assembly last September will co-operate in finding a solution to the serious problem that so valuable a food as the banana is today going to waste in quantities of millions of bunches on Ecuador's banana plantations, and its roads, in its packing plants and rivers and on its docks. Many, in fact most, of these bananas are not exported for lack of room in the ripeners, but a large quantity is not exported because the abundant supply of the fruit enables purchasers to set size standards that have no relation to the quality of the fruit or to its food value.

22. It is, I repeat, my country's hope that the World Food Programme will soon be the beneficiary of millions of pounds of banana flour to feed a world threatened by "The Malthusian Specter".

23. The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 50.

24. We return now to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 51 [A/6520]. The recommendation of the Second Committee appears in paragraph 4 of its report. Since the text of the decision proposed by the Second Committee was approved unanimously by the Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The text of the decision was adopted unanimously.

25. The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 51.

26. The last item for consideration this morning is agenda item 43. The recommendation of the Second Committee appears in paragraph 4 of its report on this item [A/6517]. Since the text of the decision proposed by the Second Committee was approved unanimously by the Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The text of the decision was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM 90

Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (continued)

27. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): In the conviction that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored, my delegation wishes to recall the reasons which have determined its position in the present debate. As I stated at the preceding session [1372nd meeting], these reasons are at once legal and political.

28. In the legal sphere, I shall content myself with stating again that China, a founding Member of the Organization, a permanent member of the Security Council, must in actual fact take part in the work of all the organs of the United Nations and especially in the decisions of the Council; in this regard it shares primary responsibility for international peace and security. These rights and that responsibility

were not conferred on a Government but on a State, regardless of its form, its régime, its internal policies, or its international activities. Obviously that State can be none other than the one that is really in a position to exercise such rights and to fulfil such obligations, namely, the People's Republic of China.

29. Moreover, the presence of its representatives is a political necessity. Here, as elsewhere, no important political matter can be discussed without reference being made to the real Chinese Power. Without it, is there not some degree of unreality in our work on disarmament and on all related subjects? Present events prove all too clearly that this applies as well to the search for peace in South-East Asia and to any settlement in that part of the world. In truth, no one disputes the weight which the People's Republic of China carries by reason of its size, its population, its civilization, its armed forces and, finally, its nuclear power.

30. Some people, however, wonder whether it would not be advisable, before taking any decision, to ascertain in advance that the People's Republic of China will take its seat in the United Nations. In our opinion, this question need not be raised: China has the right to sit in our midst and our only duty is to enable China to exercise that right. The manner in which it intends to do so is for China alone to decide.

31. In an attempt to cast doubt on the wisdom of a positive decision by the Assembly, reference is also made to statements by persons responsible for Chinese foreign policy relating to conditions for their arrival among us and to changes which they would like to make in the Organization. The French delegation is as well aware of these statements as any other, and cannot ignore them. It is, however, of the opinion that each State has the right to propose changes which it deems necessary and even to set some conditions for its participation. It is for the Members of the United Nations to accept or reject any proposal for change, to accept or reject any condition.

32. There are also those who hold the view that the very nature of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China should lead us to postpone still further its return to the Organization. These are opinions which each Government is at liberty to accept or to challenge. As a Member of the Organization, we are not required to sit in judgement on a State which in 1945 assumed the obligations imposed by the Charter.

33. Finally, there are some who favour what they describe as the theory of "two Chinas". To begin with, this theory is categorically rejected by the People's Republic of China as well as by the representatives who occupy its seat. But even discounting these positions, it is self-evident that the People's Republic of China can sit among us only in full possession of its rights and that the admission of any other entity to the United Nations can in any event take place only in accordance with the Charter and with the prescribed procedure.

34. Assuredly, it is possible that the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China in our work might give rise to some difficulties. If that should prove to be so, my delegation still prefers reality to

make-believe. In any case, we must learn to live with one another, and the United Nations was conceived in that spirit. Since agreement and disagreement are part of our world, the United Nations must, if it is to fulfil its mission, accurately reflect them.

35. We have examined the texts before us in the light of these considerations.

36. First of all, my delegation cannot favour the adoption of the draft resolution [A/L.494 and Add.1], which would have us decide that the question under discussion is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter and that a two-thirds majority is required. Restoration of the rights of China is not, in fact, an important question within the meaning of this article; as we proved last year, what is involved is neither the admission of a new State nor recognition of a Government, but merely the matter of determining who is entitled to represent China.

37. The second draft resolution [A/L.500] calls for having the question of the admission of China studied by an ad hoc committee. My delegation will merely recall that a similar procedure was adopted in 1950-1951, at our fifth session; we all know the results. After sixteen years of discussion, we do not believe it timely or realistic to propose the establishment of a body to "explore and study" this matter in order to suggest an "equitable and practical solution". The only solution possible is to restore to China its rightful place; in our opinion, it is discriminatory to subject China to a study procedure which, if it were used at all, could be used only for the admission of a new State.

38. As to the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Cambodia and ten other States [A/L.496 and Add.1], which is designed to restore all rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China in the United Nations, I should like to state at once that, despite the use of certain terms which we do not consider necessary, this text has our support and that we are convinced that, in voting for it, we hasten the time when our Organization will more accurately represent the state of the world.

39. Mr. MAJID (Afghanistan): The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations has been the subject of general debate for the past several years. In the view of the Afghan delegation, this is in itself a vivid proof and testimony of the importance of the question. The question of seating the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is not only of great significance for this Organization, but also vital for the enhancement of harmony and peace in the world at large.

Mr. Diop (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

40. Afghanistan has constantly expressed the view that the participation of the representative of the people of that land would prove of substantial advantage to the deliberations of this Organization. If we ask ourselves what are the objectives of this forum of nations, and what purposes it should serve, the answers should determine the domain and realm of the activities of the Organization. Those answers in turn define the width and scope of the membership of this

body of nations. The membership must be compatible with and conducive to the realization of those purposes.

41. If the United Nations is effectively to function and discharge its responsibilities for the peaceful resolution of conflict, as outlined in the Charter, and if it is to serve as a focal point for efforts to settle disputes, reduce tension, and eliminate the conditions which are conducive to war and insecurity, then its representation and ranks should be as wide as possible. In a constantly changing world and when the political atmosphere is hardly propitious, it is even more imperative to extend and widen the spectrum of beliefs and ideas in our midst.

42. We all know that the main and foremost mission of the United Nations is to serve the world, a world troubled by tensions and confrontations. In terms of functional requirements, therefore, it is important that the membership should include peoples of all shades of thoughts and aspirations, so that they can meet and exchange views in order to bring about harmony and concord in the world.

43. It is because of our earnest desire to see a peaceful world that we have stressed on previous occasions the vital necessity of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Furthermore, as has already been pointed out, the Government of the People's Republic of China has been recognized by many nations of the world, including my own, as the only legitimate Government of the Chinese people.

44. It is a well known fact that international co-operation and sincere understanding are more readily possible through fruitful and sincere dialogue among nations.

45. It is our belief that no substantial and meaningful result will be achieved if the Organization considers, without the maximum breadth of membership, the dangers that threaten and the challenges that confront the human race, the solution of which is of utmost importance to the peace and security of the world.

46. How true is the statement by U Thant, the Secretary-General, in his introduction to his annual report:

"It is impossible, moreover, to view some of these outstanding problems—whether it is the position of the United Nations with regard to the crisis in South-East Asia or the lack of progress in disarmament—without relating them to the fact that the United Nations has not yet attained the goal of universality of membership. In the long run the Organization cannot be expected to function to full effect if one fourth of the human race is not allowed to participate in its deliberations..." [A/6301/Add.1, p. 14.]

47. We are carrying on our debates in the General Assembly and in the various Committees in this community of nations in pursuance of a common interest and for agreements on such important problems as non-proliferation of nuclear weapons or general and complete disarmament. Yet, how effective and meaningful will the agreements and the outcome of the deliberations be if the voice of the Chinese people is not heard and if the Chinese people is not a party to them?

48. As I stated a while ago, the real effectiveness of the United Nations in solving the problems confronting the world today is largely determined by its composition and whether or not it is universal in character. Unfortunately, in spite of the admissions of three new States, which are welcome events, we are far from having attained the true state of universality.

49. Today, more than ever before, in view of recent developments in the field of atomic science and atomic weapons in mainland China, that State can fruitfully contribute towards the problem of general and complete disarmament. Furthermore, in view of the impact and repercussions caused by its absence from the international conferences held for the purposes of maintaining peace in the world, the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is an imperative.

50. We therefore view with regret the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. The effectiveness of the work of this great forum of nations and the cause of the peace in the world have suffered due to the absence of the People's Republic of China from this Organization.

51. The participation of that country in the activities and deliberation of our Organization, we are confident, would contribute enormously to the work and objectives of this great centre whose success or failure determines the destiny of mankind.

52. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): Once again, the General Assembly is called upon to consider the question of the admission of the Peking régime, although year after year it has taken an unequivocal position to the effect that within the United Nations it recognized only one State as legally representing the great Chinese people: the Republic of China, founding Member and signatory of the United Nations Charter.

53. For its part, my delegation has always approached these debates with complete objectivity but without ever deviating, regardless of temporary circumstances, from the great principles by which my country has always been guided in the six years since it decided to adhere to the Charter.

54. My delegation is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.494 and Add.1] recalling and confirming previous decisions of the General Assembly to the effect that the question of the representation of China is an important question requiring a two-thirds majority. I do not think it necessary to speak at length about a draft which in no way prejudges any decision on the substance of the question. The interest, I might say the passion, always aroused by consideration of this item of our agenda, is ample proof that we are not dealing here with one of those questions that can be settled after a superficial discussion and a hasty vote, but rather with a serious question which requires profound study going far beyond invective and ensuring that all points of view can be examined calmly and realistically. The final result, whatever it may be, must be stated clearly and supported by a solid and clear-cut majority. To take a decision that is so important, and so fraught with consequences, by a majority of only two or three votes, weakened even further by a substantial number

of abstentions, would be disastrous for the future of the Organization and, in any case, unworthy of it. The General Assembly owes it to itself to recognize this incontestable fact.

55. I now come to the substance of the question and once again wish to state that only our dogged determination to remain faithful to principles that we regard as immutable leads us to state that our position is unchanged. As a matter of fact, the substance of the problem also remains unchanged.

56. Nothing has occurred to lead us to believe that the great Chinese people, by a clear and incontestable action, has exercised its right to self-determination and has voluntarily adhered to the Peking régime. On the contrary, recent events can be interpreted to mean that the régime is obliged to seek support from forces external to the great masses of people. To cite but a single fact, it is difficult to consider the activities of the Red Guards as a spontaneous manifestation of the will of the people.

57. In Taiwan, on the other hand, a population of 12 million has voted on many occasions to express its support of the Republic of China and to affirm its desire to live in independence, order, prosperity and international harmony. Its actions in this Assembly provide eloquent testimony in this regard.

58. The Peking régime has not, in clear and precise language that we all have a right to expect, expressed its support of the principles of the Charter, its desire to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence and concord, its renunciation of acts of interference in the affairs of other countries that have caused so many States, some of which were previously favourably disposed towards Peking, either to break all relations with it or to curtail them drastically.

59. We think that we are entitled to ask this question: when and how has the Peking régime sought participation in the United Nations? If it has not done so, how then could we conceivably decide unilaterally to grant a seat here to any State whatsoever without its having explicitly so requested and in any event before it has given solemn assurance, as all of us have done, that it will respect the ideals of the Charter?

60. Like all delegations that have spoken before us, we wish to have the United Nations achieve universality, which would enhance its prestige and its strength. But facts are facts, and some States that could make a very valuable contribution to our work are not seated among us. I will only mention Germany, one of the greatest industrial Powers in the world, and Korea. Many African peoples are not represented here because they are still under colonial domination. But a contribution by all, without reservation and without ulterior motive, a harmonious co-ordination of our efforts, might bring us closer to the goal of universality. Let us not forget this.

61. To sum up, and deliberately brushing aside all considerations other than those deriving from the spirit of the Charter, my delegation is unable to vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.496 and Add.1. Although we recognize the lofty purposes which prompted its sponsors, my delegation also regrets its inability to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Belgium, Italy and four other countries proposing the establishment of a study committee. My delegation in fact feels that nothing new has occurred to alter its conviction that the decisions taken here in recent years are in accord both with the desire to ensure harmonious functioning of the United Nations and with respect for human values.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.