

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**1835th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 16 December 1969,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly (concluded).*
(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

1. The PRESIDENT: The recommendation of the Credentials Committee appears in paragraph 14 of its report [A/7634].
2. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Cambodia will abstain in the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee because we continue firmly to maintain that China and the Chinese people are not represented here in the United Nations or in any of the organs connected with it.
3. As far as Cambodia is concerned, the only lawful representatives of China and the Chinese people are those appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The individuals who have been unlawfully occupying China's seat in the United Nations for the past 20 years are merely the representatives of a régime rejected and driven out by the Chinese people; they are refugees living in the island of Taiwan, a province of China, under the military protection of a foreign Power.
4. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*translated from French*): We are being asked to take a decision on the report of the Credentials Committee which, in its draft resolution [A/7634, para. 12], accepts the credentials of all representatives to the present session of the General Assembly.
5. My delegation wishes to restate the position of the Socialist Republic of Romania on the question of the representation of China.
6. The basic rule with respect to representation in the United Nations and in all other intergovernmental organizations is to ensure at all times that the delegations taking part in the work of the Organization are in fact the true representatives of the lawful Governments of Member States.

* Resumed from the 1753rd meeting.

7. This rule is the very basis on which the proper functioning of any intergovernmental organization depends, for if a representative does not express the will of the Member State he purports to represent, it is as if the State concerned were absent from the organization and did not take part in its activities. This would have the effect of diminishing the organization's ability to fulfil its mission.

8. It is, of course, the task of the Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of every delegation and to ascertain whether they were actually issued by the Government of the Member State which the delegation concerned claims to represent. As for the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek, who unlawfully and improperly occupy the seat of China, a permanent member of the Security Council, it is obvious that they do not represent anyone, since they were evicted from power by the Chinese people over 20 years ago. The credentials of those purporting to represent China were not issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China, the only lawful Government in China, and are therefore spurious and should have been declared null and void by the Credentials Committee.

9. Since that was not done, the Romanian delegation will have to abstain in the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee.

10. Mr. JAZIĆ (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation will not oppose the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 14 of its report. However, my delegation would like to express its reservation on the part of the report concerning the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, and to reaffirm its constant position that only the representatives of the People's Republic of China can represent China in the United Nations.

11. Mr. AUNG MYAT KYAW (Burma): The delegation of Burma would like to place on record its reservations regarding the credentials of the representatives of China. To the Government of Burma, the legal Government of China is the Government of the People's Republic of China and, as such, only the representatives appointed by that Government can be the legal representatives of China in the Assembly. It is with this reservation that my Government will vote for the draft resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee.

12. Mr. ARYUBI (Afghanistan): My delegation would like to explain very briefly its position on the report of the Credentials Committee which is now before the Assembly. On behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan, I merely wish to place on record once again its reservation concerning the credentials of the representatives of China in the United Nations. In the view of the Afghan delegation, it is only the Government of the People's Republic of China which legitimately represents the Chinese people. It is with this reservation that my delegation will vote for the draft resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee.

13. Mr. PLAKA (Albania) (*translated from French*): The recommendation contained in the report of the Credentials Committee and presented to the General Assembly for adoption recognizes as valid the so-called credentials of

elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which represent no-one and which have illegally arrogated to themselves the title of representatives of China in the United Nations.

14. We strongly protest against this illicit act, this totally unfounded recognition by the Credentials Committee, which constitutes a crude attempt to have the great People's Republic of China represented here by a venal clique of individuals who were rejected by the Chinese people once and for all over 20 years ago and who have sold themselves to the United States imperialists.

15. The very fact that this absurd decision denies to the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the United Nations is an intolerable injustice with respect to the great Chinese people and constitutes a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter and of the accepted norms of international law. Hence, this decision is unacceptable to States which are anxious to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter. We categorically reject this arbitrary decision and regard it as null and void.

16. China is one and indivisible. There is in the world only one Chinese State, that is, the People's Republic of China. The only Government which is qualified with all the necessary attributes to represent the Chinese State and its people in international relations, including relations within the United Nations and all other international bodies, is the People's Republic of China and it alone.

17. The Chinese province of Taiwan is an integral part of the territory of China and its temporary occupation by the United States aggressors can in no way serve as a pretext for ratifying the untenable and hostile position of the United States of America with respect to China's representation, or position which seeks to maintain here illegally elements of a bandit clique installed on the island of Taiwan under the protection of United States bayonets.

18. The great Chinese people, more than 700 million strong, is unshakable in its determination to liberate without fail this part of its fatherland.

19. The continued denial of the lawful rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, a permanent and founding member of the Security Council, is the direct result of the pernicious manipulation of this Organization by the United States of America and its collaborators, and is prejudicial only to the United Nations itself, to its prestige and to the role which it should play in conformity with the Charter, since everyone knows that without the help of the greatest State in the world—the People's Republic of China—no just solutions can be found to the important problems of our time.

20. As we have emphasized on many occasions, those Members who are anxious to uphold this Organization are in duty bound to expel immediately the Chiang Kai-shek elements from this Organization and to reinstate China without delay in its lawful rights in the United Nations. This would do much to put this Organization back on the right path and to rid it of the evil influence of the United States of America and of the collusion of the two great Powers.

21. As for the People's Republic of China, which has just celebrated the glorious twentieth anniversary of its foundation with a brilliant series of splendid victories in all fields of socialist development, it is marching triumphantly towards even greater victories.

22. The great socialist China has become an impregnable and never-yielding bulwark in the struggle of peoples for liberty, independence and social rights against the domination and oppression of the imperialists, old and new, and against the colonialists; it has gained the sympathy and affection of all progressive men and enjoys enormous authority and prestige in international affairs.

23. As regards the credentials of the representatives of the racist régime of South Africa, the Albanian delegation fully supports the position of the African countries that those rights should not be recognized as valid.

24. For those reasons, the Albanian delegation will abstain in the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole.

25. Mr. RANA (Nepal): The views of my Government on the question of the proper representation of China in the United Nations are well known. It is our view that the Government of the People's Republic of China, which is in effective control of the mainland of China and enjoys the undivided support and respect of 700 million Chinese people, is the only Government entitled to represent China in the United Nations or elsewhere.

26. In that light, and because of other considerations, our affirmative vote on the report of the Credentials Committee will be subject to our view that the People's Republic of China, and not the so-called Republic of China, should represent the great Chinese Republic.

27. Mr. LIU (China): My delegation will naturally vote for the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee. As regards the credentials of my delegation, the Credentials Committee has found them to be in order and entirely in accord with the applicable rules of procedure. It is no surprise to us that a few delegations should feel called upon to place on record the kind of reservations they have been in the habit of making year after year. It is another matter, however, when they go beyond such reservations and dwell upon the substance of the so-called question of China's representation.

28. That is obviously out of order since the question of China's representation was extensively debated and decided upon by the General Assembly only a month ago. My delegation, at the same time, rejects emphatically all the slander and insinuations which some delegations, such as those of Cambodia, Romania and Albania, have seen fit to level against my Government.

29. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*translated from French*): While the delegations of Syria, Southern Yemen and Algeria have no objection to the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee, I should like, on behalf of these three countries, to express the following reservations.

30. First, we continue to maintain that only the representatives of the People's Republic of China represent the true

authority and people of China. In no circumstances can the representatives of Taiwan act on behalf of the People's Republic of China.

31. Secondly, the representatives of the Pretoria authorities cannot represent the South African people fighting for their freedom and independence.

32. I should not like to end my statement without adding that the representatives of the Zionist authorities of Tel Aviv cannot, in any circumstances, purport to take the place of the true representatives of Palestine fighting to regain their independence, dignity and freedom.

33. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): My delegation rejects most categorically the recognition of the credentials of the Pretoria régime. As has been indicated in this Assembly, the Manifesto on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity [A/7754] has envisaged the exclusion of the Government of South Africa from the United Nations because of its practice of the horrendous policy of *apartheid*. It cannot be accepted that that Government can be recognized in the ranks of civilized members of this Assembly. My delegation would, therefore, take this opportunity of expressing its serious reservations, and even objections, to the recognition of the credentials of the Pretoria régime.

34. Mr. WALDRON-RAMSEY (United Republic of Tanzania): Like our colleague the representative of Ghana, we should like to take this opportunity of placing on record our profound reservation regarding the report of the Credentials Committee, because we do not concede that the Pretoria régime even approximates a legitimate representation of the people of South Africa. The behaviour of that régime negates all civilized norms of cultivated nations, and we cannot therefore accept the report of the Credentials Committee in so far as that report attempts to indicate that the Pretoria régime represents the people of South Africa.

35. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): My delegation, too, would like to place on record its strong reservation concerning the credentials of three countries which have been approved by the Credentials Committee, whose report is before us. Those countries are China, South Africa and Israel.

36. Our position on this matter has been well known over the years. As to China, we believe that it is only the People's Republic of China which is entitled to represent the people of China in the United Nations.

37. As far as the representative of Pretoria is concerned, we also believe that a régime based on oppression and *apartheid* cannot ask for recognition by the Assembly and that its credentials cannot be accepted.

38. Finally, the representatives of Tel Aviv should be the last to claim recognition by the General Assembly for their credentials, because the representatives of a régime that is based on oppression, usurpation and occupation of lands that belong not to it but to other peoples, and also to other Members of the United Nations, cannot be recognized as the representatives of a legitimate régime, and should not be recognized as such.

39. Therefore, my delegation would like to put forward its strongest reservations concerning the credentials of the representatives of Taiwan, Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

40. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): In the view of the delegation of Israel the statement of the representative of Algeria and the curious observations which we have just heard from the representative of the Baghdad régime, in so far as they purported to relate to my delegation, were completely out of order and, more particularly, as far as the last statement was concerned, quite uncalled for.

41. The credentials of the delegation of Israel were duly issued and submitted in full conformity with the rules of procedure, as has been reported by the Credentials Committee. We categorically reject those statements and the right of the various representatives to have made them and to have introduced extraneous elements into the discussion of the report of the Credentials Committee.

42. The PRESIDENT: I wish to assure representatives that the reservations that they have expressed will appear in the verbatim record.

43. The Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 14 of its report [A/7634].

The draft resolution was adopted by 81 votes to none, with 21 abstentions [resolution 2589 (XXIV)].

44. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

45. Mr. GONSALVES (India): The delegation of India would like to state, in explanation of its vote in favour of the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee, that that vote does not derogate in any way from its well-known position concerning the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

46. Mr. CHAYET (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation would like briefly to review the reasons which caused it to abstain in the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee. The Committee, in paragraph 12 of its report, accepted the credentials of all representatives to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly and, consequently, the credentials of the representatives of China. The French delegation's position on this point was stated in the General Assembly on 7 November [1803rd meeting]. We cannot recognize as legitimate the credentials of those purporting to represent China. As far as the French delegation is concerned, only the People's Republic of China may lawfully issue credentials to those who are to represent China in this Assembly.

47. Mr. YUNUS (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan voted in favour of the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee but that affirmative vote is subject to the reservations which my delegation placed on record at the 1522nd meeting of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7895)

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*concluded*)*

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7896)

48. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Abdulla of Southern Yemen, to present in one intervention the reports of the Committee on agenda items 13 and 23.

49. Mr. ABDULLA (Southern Yemen), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration the reports of the Fourth Committee under agenda item 13 [A/7895] and agenda item 23 [A/7896].

50. In considering agenda item 13, the Fourth Committee noted that the chapter of the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four concerning Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 23, was also related to the present item.

51. The draft resolution which the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption is set out in paragraph 12 of the report [A/7895]. The draft resolution, which was adopted without a single negative vote, was the result of extensive consultations among a number of delegations and thus represents the Committee's sincere desire to seek the best and most realistic ways and means of implementing the Declaration fully and effectively with respect to these Territories. Members of the Committee were particularly gratified that the administering Power concerned felt able, despite certain reservations, to cast its affirmative vote on the proposal, especially with respect to the provision contained in paragraph 5.

52. A number of delegations, while noting the increasing role which indigenous inhabitants are playing in the legislative bodies in these Territories, nevertheless considered that progress towards the implementation of the Declaration continued to be slow. They accordingly urged the administering Power to take all necessary steps to enable these inhabitants to participate fully in the management of their own affairs. The administering Power was also urged to increase its efforts to localize public service and to accelerate the education and other training of the indigenous peoples in these Territories.

53. The second report [A/7896] concerns all the Territories covered by agenda item 23 which were not con-

* Resumed from the 1829th meeting.

sidered separately by the Fourth Committee. In that report the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt three draft resolutions which are set out in paragraph 27 and a consensus set out in paragraph 28.

54. Draft resolution I concerns Spanish Sahara. It was a matter of regret to many delegations that the consultations in connexion with the holding of a referendum in the Territory had not as yet taken place despite repeated decisions of the General Assembly since its twentieth session. The Fourth Committee has accordingly recommended that the General Assembly, reaffirming the inalienable right of the people in the Territory to self-determination in accordance with the Declaration, should once again call for the holding of a referendum in the Territory under United Nations auspices and spell out, in the terms set out in the draft resolution, the basis on which that referendum should take place.

55. Draft resolution II concerns 25 Territories. With respect to those Territories many members noted with regret the attitude of those administering Powers which continue to refuse access to United Nations visiting missions to the Territories under their administration. They felt it was vitally important to dispatch such visiting missions in order to secure adequate and firsthand information concerning the conditions in the Territories and the views and aspirations of the inhabitants. Accordingly, they strongly urged the administering Powers to reconsider their attitude towards the dispatch of visiting missions.

56. Draft resolution III concerns six Territories in the Caribbean area. Some delegations expressed the view that the draft resolution as at present worded might not represent the best solution to the question of those Territories. Nevertheless, the majority of the Committee considered that the Committee of Twenty-Four in the discharge of its mandate at its next session should examine the matter in depth with a view to the full implementation of the Declaration and that it should submit its views thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session.

57. The consensus contained in paragraph 28 relates to the Falkland Islands and was adopted by the Committee without objection.

58. The Fourth Committee also took two other decisions, as reflected in paragraphs 29 and 30 of the report. As regards the former Territory of Ifni, the Committee was informed by the Special Committee—as well as by the Governments concerned—that the retrocession of Ifni had been effected on 30 June 1969. Accordingly, the Committee suggests that the General Assembly take note of that development.

59. As regards the questions of French Somaliland and Gibraltar, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should postpone consideration of those questions until its twenty-fifth session. In submitting that recommendation, the Fourth Committee noted that, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion, the Committee of Twenty-Four intends to give consideration to these questions at its next session.

60. On behalf of the Fourth Committee I commend these two reports to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

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

61. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the General Assembly to take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 13 [A/7895]. The draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee is contained in paragraph 12 of that report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France, Portugal, Togo.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 112 votes to none, with 3 abstentions [resolution 2590 (XXIV)].**

62. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Fourth Committee under agenda item 23 [A/7896]. The three draft resolutions recommended by the Committee are contained in paragraph 27 of the report.

63. The Assembly will now proceed to vote on draft resolution I. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is to be found in document A/7898. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma,

* The delegation of Morocco subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, France, Portugal, Spain, United States of America.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 5 abstentions [resolution 2591 (XXIV)].**

64. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution II. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Uganda.**

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Guyana, Iceland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Nether-

* The delegation of Morocco subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

** The delegation of Uganda subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

lands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Portugal, Singapore, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 88 votes to 1, with 26 abstentions [resolution 2592 (XXIV)].****

65. The PRESIDENT: I now put draft resolution III to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Algeria, Australia, Burundi, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Portugal, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela.

*Draft resolution III was adopted by 90 votes to none, with 22 abstentions [resolution 2593 (XXIV)].*****

66. The PRESIDENT: I would request Members now to turn their attention to paragraph 28 of the report. The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a consensus regarding the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts this recommendation.

It was so decided.

67. The PRESIDENT: Let us turn now to the recommendation of the Fourth Committee contained in paragraph 29 regarding Ifni. If I hear no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly wishes to adopt this recommendation.

It was so decided.

*** The delegation of Morocco subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

**** The delegation of Morocco subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having abstained on the draft resolution.

68. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we turn to the last recommendation of the Fourth Committee contained in paragraph 30 regarding the questions of French Somaliland and Gibraltar. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt this recommendation.

It was so decided.

69. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom in explanation of vote.

70. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In abstaining on the vote on draft resolution II my delegation wishes to place on record its reservations concerning the inclusion in the title and in the first preambular paragraph of that draft resolution of references to the associated States of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

71. Since those States have attained a full measure of self-government within the terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, we cannot accept that their inclusion in the draft resolution is in any way appropriate. We also wish to state that had there been a separate vote on paragraph 5 of draft resolution II, we should have been obliged to vote against that paragraph.

72. I also take this opportunity of adding that for the same reason, and in view of our position concerning the competence of the Committee of Twenty-Four in relation to the six States, I did not participate in the vote on draft resolution III.

Mr. El-Farra (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 49

**Report of the United Nations High Commissioner
for Refugees**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7876)

AGENDA ITEM 53

**Creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner
for Human Rights**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7879)

AGENDA ITEM 54

Freedom of information:

- (a) **Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information;**
- (b) **Draft Convention on Freedom of Information**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7907)

AGENDA ITEM 61

**Respect for human rights in armed conflicts: report of the
Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7909)

AGENDA ITEM 50

**Housing, building and planning: report of the
Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7905)

AGENDA ITEM 52

Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance:

- (a) **Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance;**
- (b) **Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religious Belief**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7886)

AGENDA ITEM 100

Question of the elderly and the aged

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7911)

AGENDA ITEM 51

**Town twinning as a means of international co-operation:
report of the Economic and Social Council**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7906)

AGENDA ITEM 58

Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7908)

73. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Third Committee, Mr. Handl of Czechoslovakia, to present the Committee's reports in one intervention.

74. Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the Third Committee on items 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 61 and 100.

75. The first report of the Committee, relating to item 49 [A/7876], reproduces in paragraph 10 a draft resolution which sets up certain guidelines for further work aimed at the solution of refugee problems with particular reference to the refugee situation in the African continent.

76. The second report deals with item 53 [A/7889]. The question of the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has been before the General Assembly since the twentieth session. At the present session the Third Committee was able to give some preliminary consideration to the question. It provoked

much controversy and during the debate very divergent opinions were expressed. The draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly appears in paragraph 27 of the report, which also gives an outline of the background of this item and a summary of the debate in the Third Committee.

77. The third report before the Assembly relates to item 54 [A/7907]. Owing to the heavy programme of work at the current session the Committee was not in a position to discuss the item and consequently in paragraph 9 of the report recommends to the Assembly adoption of a draft resolution which would have the Assembly decide to give priority to the consideration of this item at its twenty-fifth session.

78. The next report deals with item 61 [A/7909]. In the draft resolution which is reproduced in paragraph 24 of the report the Third Committee recommends that the Secretary-General should be requested to continue the study initiated by resolution 2444 (XXIII), giving special attention to the need to protect the rights of civilians and combatants in conflicts which arise from the struggles of peoples under colonial and foreign rule for liberation and self-determination and to the better application of existing humanitarian conventions and rules in such conflicts.

79. The draft resolution further requests the Secretary-General to consult and co-operate closely with the International Committee of the Red Cross in regard to the studies being undertaken by that body on this question. States Members of the United Nations are also requested to extend all possible assistance to the Secretary-General. Under the draft resolution the report of the Secretary-General is to be transmitted to the Commission on Human Rights and to the Economic and Social Council for their comments to be submitted to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The Third Committee also recommends that the General Assembly should give the highest priority to this item at its twenty-fifth session. In the final paragraph of the draft resolution, the Secretary-General is invited to present a further report on this subject at the next session of the General Assembly.

80. In connexion with item 50, the Third Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt one draft resolution, which is contained in paragraph 6 of the Committee's report [A/7905].

81. The Committee could not, owing to lack of time, consider items 51 and 52 and it therefore decided to recommend to the General Assembly the deferment of those items to the twenty-fifth session. The Committee's recommendations in that connexion are contained in paragraphs 4 and 3 of documents A/7906 and A/7886 respectively.

82. In connexion with item 100, the Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly in paragraph 6 of its report [A/7911] the adoption of a draft resolution which proposes to decide to give priority and adequate consideration to the question at the twenty-fifth session.

83. As to item 58, the Third Committee recommends in paragraph 4 of its report [A/7908] that the General

Assembly should take note of the report of the Secretary-General relating to that matter and requests the submission to its twenty-fifth session of another report, which would be considered as a separate item.

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

84. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will consider first the report on agenda item 49 [A/7876].

85. As no representative wishes to explain his vote, if I hear no objection, I shall take it that the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 10 of its report is adopted unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2594 (XXIV)].

86. We shall now turn to the Third Committee's report on item 53 [A/7889].

87. I call on the representative of Costa Rica to explain her vote.

88. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): Now that we are about to vote in plenary meeting on the draft resolution contained in the Third Committee's report on agenda item 53 [A/7889, para. 27], my delegation feels compelled to reiterate the view it has maintained since 1965 that the Organization needs to be made more effective in the promotion of and respect for human rights, as defined in the Charter, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and various legal instruments, such as the International Covenants and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)], which recently entered into force.

89. We have studied the situation with regard to the possibility of the International Covenants entering into force and have found to our dismay that so far only four countries have ratified the Covenants and only two the Optional Protocol. This is even more compelling proof that an international office such as that of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would be the most appropriate means for the international community to ensure the effectiveness of these rights, which must be numbered among the reasons for the existence of the United Nations and constitute the very core of the work which the Organization and its various specialized agencies are doing.

90. As we have already said in the Third Committee, we believe that States have a collective responsibility to ensure that all human beings, under whatever flag and in whatever latitude they live, whatever their race, colour, sex, language or religion, can enjoy their rights. As we have said before, this will be accomplished only if the moral and legal principle is established that nations must co-operate to the best of their ability in order to set up an impartial body which represents the rights of human beings, is not affected by changing currents of opinion, events and political alignments and has sufficient prestige and moral authority

to promote the achievement of one of the most noble purposes of the Charter on which the Organization is founded.

91. With respect to human rights, it is worth repeating that no country can feel exempt from or alien to the problems posed by the realization and application of these rights, and I will again quote the masterly words in which U Thant stated this fact: "Countries and peoples increasingly recognize that no country, no people has a monopoly of truth, freedom and human dignity".

92. It is for all these reasons that my delegation has thought it necessary to propose some strengthening of the procedural draft resolution approved in the Third Committee, calling for thorough consideration of this item at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The second preambular paragraph of this draft resolution was considerably weakened by the adoption of an amendment which disregards what actually happened in the Third Committee. The word "noting" was replaced by the words "recalling also" and the reference was deleted to the actual purpose of Economic and Social Council resolution 1237 (XLII) in which the Council recommended to the General Assembly the establishment of a United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Human Rights. My delegation would, therefore, very respectfully ask the Assembly to accept an oral amendment for the replacement of the words "recalling also" at the beginning of the second preambular paragraph by the word "noting". This word will be found in paragraph 8 of the report containing the original text of our draft resolution. We also propose that the words "on the establishment of a United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Human Rights" should be inserted immediately after the reference to Economic and Social Council resolution 1237 (XLVII). This would restore some of the original wording of our proposal.

93. In paragraph 1 of the operative part, we would like a separate vote on the words "the possibility of", which we believe will merely provide an excuse for those opposed to substantive consideration of the item to side-step or otherwise avoid the issue.

94. We have repeatedly said that if the Office is to be successful, it must be supported by a large majority of the Assembly and that those who oppose its establishment should be able to study the idea thoroughly and to present all their arguments against it. It has often been said that the Assembly is the master of its own procedure. That is why we believe that there is no need to make a procedural resolution less effective by an operative paragraph which decides to give the highest priority to the consideration of an item and then goes on to say that the item will be considered if possible.

95. We warmly thank all those delegations which in the Third Committee expressed themselves in favour of giving the highest priority to the consideration of this item and we would respectfully ask them to help us maintain this highest priority. We shall therefore be particularly grateful to all those who may support us in our effort to strengthen the draft resolution approved by the Third Committee, so that the Assembly may have a clear and definite mandate and may then decide what action should be taken on

Economic and Social Council resolution 1238 (XLII) concerning the establishment of a United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Human Rights.

96. I would now ask for a recorded vote on the oral amendments and for a separate vote on the words "the possibility of" and on the draft resolution as a whole.

97. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 27 of its report [A/7889]. The representative of Costa Rica has proposed an oral amendment to the second paragraph of the preamble to that draft resolution. Under that amendment the words "*Recalling also*" would be replaced by the word "*Noting*" and the words "on the establishment of a United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Human Rights" would be inserted after the mention of "resolution 1237 (XLII) of 6 June 1967".

98. If there are no objections, I shall take it that that amendment is acceptable to the Members of the Assembly.

It was so decided.

99. The PRESIDENT: The next proposal of the representative of Costa Rica was for a separate vote on the words "the possibility of" in paragraph 1 of the draft resolution. I now put that proposal to the vote.

100. I call on the representative of Costa Rica in connexion with the voting.

101. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): I asked for a separate vote on these words with a view to their deletion. I should like it to be made clear that what is being voted on is the deletion of the words. Alternatively, the vote might be interpreted to mean that those who cast a favourable vote are for the retention of these words. But the Assembly must know exactly what it is voting on.

102. The PRESIDENT: I shall put to the vote the proposal of the representative of Costa Rica to delete the three words "the possibility of" in paragraph 1. I call on the representative of Cuba on a point of order.

103. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): The point of order which I wished to raise relates precisely to the manner in which we are voting. Voting had already begun and some delegations have proceeded to vote on the lines originally indicated by the President, i.e., on the words for which a separate vote had been requested. The question has now been put differently and we are being asked who is in favour of deleting the words. My proposal was merely that the voting should be started again from the beginning. But I see that the boards have been cleared, so that my point has been met.

104. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Costa Rica asked for a vote on the proposal to delete the words "the possibility of" in paragraph 1. As requested, a recorded vote will now be taken on that proposal.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Gabon, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mauritius, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: Algeria, Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Chad, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Abstaining: Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Laos, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Nepal, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago.

The proposal was rejected by 44 votes to 43, with 27 abstentions.

105. The PRESIDENT: A delegation has requested a separate vote on the words "the highest" in paragraph 1. I now put those words to the vote.

The words were adopted by 58 votes to 30, with 26 abstentions.

106. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia.

Against: Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mongolia, Poland, Romania,

Saudi Arabia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen.

Abstaining: Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Haiti, Indonesia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Peru, Portugal, Rwanda, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

*The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 73 votes to 23, with 20 abstentions [resolution 2595 (XXIV)].**

107. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the next report of the Third Committee, agenda item 54, [A/7907]. I now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee which is to be found in paragraph 9 of the report.

The draft resolution was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 10 abstentions [resolution 2596 (XXIV)].

108. The PRESIDENT: Let us now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 61 [A/7909]. We shall now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee which appears in paragraph 24 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution has been circulated in document A/7910.

The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to none, with 23 abstentions [resolution 2597 (XXIV)].

109. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 50 [A/7905]. The draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee appears in paragraph 6 of its report.

110. Since it was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee, if I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly also wishes to adopt it unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2598 (XXIV)].

111. The PRESIDENT: Let us now turn to the next report of the Third Committee, which deals with agenda item 52 [A/7886]. The Third Committee decided, owing to lack of time at the current session, to recommend to the General Assembly that consideration of the item should be deferred to the twenty-fifth session.

112. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation of the Third Committee, which appears in paragraph 3 of its report.

It was so decided.

113. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 100 [A/7911]. In

*The delegation of Morocco subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted against the draft resolution.

paragraph 6 of its report, the Third Committee recommends the adoption of a draft resolution postponing the consideration of that question to the twenty-fifth session.

114. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee.

The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2599 (XXIV)].

115. The PRESIDENT: Let us now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 51 [A/7906].

116. The Third Committee recommends in paragraph 4 that, owing to lack of time at the current session, consideration of the item should be deferred and that priority should be given to it at the twenty-fifth session.

117. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the Committee's recommendation.

It was so decided.

118. The PRESIDENT: Let us now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 58 [A/7908]. The Third Committee decided to recommend, in paragraph 4 of its report, that the General Assembly take note of the report of the Secretary-General on the status of the International Covenants and Protocol [A/7682 and Add.1] and request the submission to the twenty-fifth session of another report, which would be considered as a separate agenda item.

119. If there is no objection, I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation of the Third Committee.

It was so decided.

Miss Brooks (Liberia) resumed the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (continued)*

120. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider draft resolution A/L.570/Rev.1.

121. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to explain very briefly the position of the sponsors of the revised draft resolution contained in document A/L.570/Rev.1. I find it necessary to review very briefly the history of this troublesome and regrettable affair.

122. The group of Latin American countries which sponsored the original draft resolution thought that one of the most effective means of promoting universal public awareness of the full significance of 25 years' work, as embodied

in the resolution of the various United Nations organs, would be to make these documents available to the public in all countries. It therefore submitted a draft resolution proposing the publication of all resolutions adopted by the various organs during the first 25 years of the United Nations. This proposal was totally unrelated to the programmes coming within the purview of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, since it was an idea put forward separately with no attempt to encroach upon the sphere of competence of others or to detract from their prestige. But the matter was not viewed in that light.

123. The original proposal that this publication should be made available to those who needed it, that is to the smaller missions, those of States which joined the Organization late and do not possess the entire documentation in their archives, was not correctly understood; moreover, the Secretariat submitted an exaggerated and incorrect cost estimate. It will be remembered that I complained in the Assembly that the Secretariat had submitted an estimate under which the sum of \$1.5 million would be charged to the 1970 budget. This was not correct, because the cost of the proposal would have been spread over the budgets of several years, beginning in 1971. Nevertheless, in a spirit of compromise we agreed to cut down our original proposal and submitted a revised text [A/L.470/Rev.1], which is now before the Assembly. This text no longer provides for the publication of all resolutions of the various organs but only for the preparation of indexes. Despite that fact, an inflated cost estimate was submitted.

124. I have before me the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7739]. It contains the following clear statement: "the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, in an oral statement before the Fifth Committee, indicated that the Secretary-General had informed the Advisory Committee that the cost of indexing the resolutions was estimated to be of the order of \$600,000 to \$625,000"; that "a further amount of \$25,000 would be necessary to provide for the cost of printing of the indices", and that "the total financial implications of the draft resolution would be between \$625,000 and \$675,000 [*ibid.*, para. 2].

125. I would emphasize that the Advisory Committee itself pointed out to the General Committee "that the Secretary-General had not had sufficient time to study the question thoroughly enough to determine whether the objectives of the draft resolution might not be attained in a more economic manner" [*ibid.*, para. 3] and that the Advisory Committee "suggested... that it would be desirable that the Secretary-General be given additional time to consider the question in greater detail" [*ibid.*]. In other words there is no report of the Fifth Committee; what we have is merely an opinion that it would be desirable for the Secretariat to make further studies.

126. Lastly, the document from which I am reading concludes by saying: "The Fifth Committee decided to advise the General Assembly that, should the Assembly adopt draft resolution A/L.570/Rev.1, the financial implications could be"—I emphasize the conditional "could be"—"of the order of \$625,000 to \$675,000. At the same time, the Fifth Committee concurred in the observations of

* Resumed from the 1820th meeting.

the Advisory Committee and agreed that the Secretary-General should be given additional time to consider the question in greater detail” [ibid., para. 6].

127. After reading the report of the Fifth Committee, I should like to quote the relevant passage of rule 154 of the General Assembly’s rules of procedure:

“No resolution in respect of which expenditures are anticipated by the Secretary-General shall be voted by the General Assembly until the Administrative and Budgetary Committee has had an opportunity of stating the effect of the proposal on the budget estimates of the United Nations.”

128. The document of 31 October 1961 which I have just quoted [A/7739] does not contain an estimate of expenditures and therefore does not fulfil the requirements of rule 154. It merely says that studies should continue; the precise estimate of expenditures referred to in the rule has not been established.

129. To take a vote now would therefore be illegal; it would infringe rule 154 of the rules of procedure. The sponsors of the draft resolution accordingly decided not to press their proposal to the vote, since a vote now would be illegal. But the sponsors maintain that they did well in the first instance—and they will do so again when necessary—to submit a draft resolution which in no way affected the prestige or the wishes of any committee of this Assembly.

130. We shall take up this matter again when the reports required by the rules of procedure are available. For the present I merely wish to state for the record that the Secretariat has omitted to prepare the studies between 31 October and the present date precisely in order that this draft resolution may not be approved; it has had sufficient time to prepare them but has not done so.

131. The situation is in striking contrast with what happened a short time ago in the First Committee, where an agreement was reached, without all delegations being consulted, to publish a book on disarmament at a cost of about \$90,000. In that case the Secretariat submitted a cost estimate without any difficulty. In the present case, the Secretariat has not done its duty to submit an estimate in time. For this reason—because under rule 154 of the rules of procedure it would be illegal to take a vote—I would respectfully request you, Madam President, not to put the draft resolution to the vote.

132. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs.

133. Mr. STAVROPOULOS (Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs): It is not correct to state that, through some fault of the Secretariat, the Assembly does not have before it the financial implications. There is document A/7739 entitled “Administrative and financial implications of the recommendations contained in document A/L.570/Rev.1”. The rules of procedure do not require that the financial implications please everyone; they require that the financial implications be placed before the Assembly. The Secretariat agrees that this matter has not been studied enough and that it should be postponed until

a plan of work has been presented. Then we shall be in a position to know the exact financial implications. Therefore, there is no question but that the matter should not be voted upon this year. On the other hand, I maintain that the Assembly has before it document A/7739, which contains the financial implications. Whether they are exact or not is another question—that is for the Assembly to decide—but the financial implications are before Members.

134. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ecuador, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

135. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): To my great regret I have to state that I fail to understand how an official of the Secretariat can venture to suggest that the representative of a sovereign country does not know how to read or has misread the rules of procedure.

136. According to rule 154—and we are not dealing with Popes whose interpretation would be infallible as of right, nor could the Assembly interpret the rule infallibly—“no resolution in respect of which expenditures are anticipated by the Secretary-General shall be voted by the General Assembly until the Administrative and Budgetary Committee”—that is, the Fifth Committee—“has had an opportunity of stating the effect of the proposal upon the budget estimates of the United Nations”.

137. What the Secretariat document—which Mr. Stavropoulos apparently thinks I do not know how to read—says is this: “. . . it was the understanding of the Advisory Committee that the Secretary-General had not had sufficient time to study the question thoroughly enough to determine whether the objectives of the draft resolution might not be attained in a more economical manner” [A/7739, para. 3]. What do the words “had not had sufficient time to study” mean? They mean that he was not able to prepare the estimate of expenditures referred to in rule 154.

138. Lastly, paragraph 6 of the Fifth Committee’s report [A/7739] says: “. . . the Fifth Committee decided”—I repeat: “the Fifth Committee decided”—“to advise the General Assembly that, should the Assembly adopt draft resolution A/L.570/Rev.1”—note the conditional—“the financial implications could be of the order of \$625,000 to \$675,000”. At the same time, the Fifth Committee concurred—and I stress the words: “the Fifth Committee concurred”—“in the observations of the Advisory Committee and agreed that the Secretary-General should be given additional time to consider the question in greater detail”.

139. Since he has been given more time and no further text has been produced in the interval since 31 October, there is clearly no report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications, but only an estimate and a request for further study. There is no exact calculation of the expenditure and rule 154 has not been complied with.

140. I believe that I have explained the matter clearly. Moreover—and here I am speaking on behalf of the group of Latin American countries which has authorized me to withdraw our proposal—any sponsor may request that his text should not be put to the vote. This is a point on which the Legal Counsel is not competent to express any opinion.

141. The PRESIDENT: As President, I would propose that we revert to this matter this afternoon and proceed now to the next item. I understand that the representative of Ecuador is not pressing for a vote. I want to be sure that all representatives understand what is happening.

142. I give the floor to the representative of Barbados on a point of order.

143. Mr. JACKMAN (Barbados): Madam President, I have asked for the floor on a point of order in regard to what seems to be a ruling which you are about to make. Speaking as Chairman of the Latin American Group, I wish to state that the understanding of the Group is that this draft resolution will not be put to the vote during this session. I think that this does not inhibit you from dealing with the item in the normal way. The matter would be left open so that on a later occasion, when we have had time for consultations with the Secretariat and with other groups and particularly with the Committee responsible for preparing the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations, we should be in a position, perhaps during the next session, to present a more specific draft resolution. Therefore I think it would be quite proper for you to take note of the fact that we are asking that the draft resolution should not be put to the vote and to continue with the matter.

144. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The debate on this question will continue. If the draft resolution on the matter is not pressed to a vote the error may be compounded. The General Assembly will not have been able to express itself on the substance of the draft resolution. Therefore, in order to ensure that the General Assembly will not be turned into a rubber stamp and faced with a fait accompli, with your permission, Madam President, and after listening to my brother and colleague from Ghana, who I am sure will wish to participate in the debate, I shall present a draft resolution on behalf of my delegation. I would ask you to take note of this.

145. The PRESIDENT: I have taken note of the comments made by the representatives of Ecuador and Barbados. In connexion with the discussions held at the 1820th plenary meeting on 4 December 1969, the Secretary-General has issued a note [A/7888].

146. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): I did not take the floor immediately after my friend and elder brother, the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, spoke a few moments ago, because I had the impression he was referring to a different item or a subitem under the same item. I was not aware that he had consulted me on any draft resolution he was going to introduce on the Latin American draft resolution which was then under consideration. I believe he had his mind on some other subitem. With this correction, I will now proceed to make my statement.

147. On 4 December a debate ensued in the General Assembly following a statement made by the Vice-President concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2499 (XXIV) with particular reference to the commemorative stamps and medals envisaged for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. The result of that debate was neither conclusive nor clear and the matter was therefore postponed. It is with

a view to clearing the air and enabling the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations to carry out its mandate in the best possible manner and with the widest possible goodwill and confidence, that I now make this statement.

148. What is at issue here is not a question of whether or not resolution 2499 (XXIV) should be implemented or whether it should be implemented partially or fully. Everybody agrees that the resolution should be implemented. The difficulty has arisen because different interpretations and implications have been read, quite honestly and genuinely, by different delegations into certain paragraphs of that resolution. All the interpretations appear to me quite tenable.

149. I believe therefore that in accepting the arrangements already made by the Secretariat on the commemorative stamps and medals as recommended by the Preparatory Committee, there is no question of violating or deviating from resolution 2499 (XXIV). In fact, there will be full compliance with all provisions of the resolution, including paragraph 2, by which the General Assembly decided that the theme of the anniversary should be "Peace, justice and progress".

150. This general theme will be applicable to all programmes and activities of the United Nations. This is not inconsistent with the view, however, that under this general theme there could be, as recommended by the Preparatory Committee, a variety of motifs or sub-themes, as it were, consonant with the general theme of "Peace, justice and progress". For example, in the case of the World Youth Assembly, the particular theme or motif will be "Peace, progress and international understanding" as described in paragraph 38 of the report of the Preparatory Committee [A/7690]. In the case of the commemorative stamps the particular theme, as stated in paragraph 30, is "Peace and progress", while in the case of the commemorative medallions the particular words recommended in paragraph 31 are "Peace and progress".

151. The action which was initiated by the Secretariat was therefore properly taken and could be covered by paragraph 14 of resolution 2499 (XXIV) which actually called on the Secretary-General to provide the necessary facilities for implementing the recommendations contained in the report of the Preparatory Committee.

152. The only valid point which could be made and which has indeed been made is with regard to the procedure whereby the Secretariat should have so expeditiously taken action on a recommendation which had not yet become a decision of the General Assembly. I need not say that the Secretariat initiated the administrative action it took in all good faith, on the basis of a recommendation of the Preparatory Committee which was unanimous, and about which all Member States were informed by the Committee's Chairman as early as 4 March this year, and to which not a single Member State then raised any objection. Moreover, a similar precedent had been followed concerning the issue of stamps for the celebration of International Co-Operation Year in 1964, without objections ever being raised.

153. Those are the extenuating circumstances and I am sure no representative would wish to press this point *ad*

nauseam. The point has been made and is well taken. The problem now is what should be done.

154. The Secretary-General last Friday circulated a factual note [A/7888] giving the history surrounding the action taken in regard to the commemorative stamps and medals and describing the three alternatives now open to the Assembly as follows: first, the complete cancellation of the previous arrangements and preparations; second, following the first alternative, the preparation of new designs for medals and stamps with "Peace, justice and progress" rather than "Peace and progress"; or, third, adherence to the existing arrangements, it being fully understood that no circumvention of the Assembly's authority and decision on the theme of the anniversary is thereby involved in the circumstances just explained.

155. Those alternatives were fully discussed by the working group of the Preparatory Committee last week and, despite the desire to meet the wishes of those colleagues who wanted the use of the general theme "Peace, justice and progress" on the stamps and medals, it was the unanimous view of the working group that the best, most practical and least expensive alternative to recommend to the General Assembly would be to accept the existing arrangements. If the present arrangements regarding stamps and medals are kept, I am assured that the Secretariat will state, in covering sheets accompanying the stamps and medals, that the general theme for the twenty-fifth anniversary is "Peace, justice and progress".

156. I have since last week been consulting various interested delegations on the matter and it has appeared to me that there could be a slight change in the design of the medals, since these have not already been struck, which could bring in the additional word "justice", although this would produce a rather unattractive effect aesthetically, and there would be no guarantee of the legibility of the words since they would be small and overcrowded. In view of the strong feeling on the matter, however, it seems to me that this could be a generally acceptable compromise with regard to the medals.

157. The arrangements for the stamps are, however, so far advanced, involving even the issue of their stamps already by some Member States, that I would strongly recommend that the General Assembly decide to accept the present arrangements as they stand, it being understood, however, that Member States which have not already printed their stamps and which wish to do so are free to use the general theme of "Peace, justice and progress".

158. However, here again, in order to meet the strong feeling expressed in certain quarters for having the words "Peace, justice and progress" widely publicized, I have ascertained and been assured that the postal offices of the United Nations, both in New York and Geneva, will imprint on every envelope emanating from those offices the postal cancellation bearing the words "Peace, justice and progress" in addition to the use of the commemorative stamps as at present programmed.

159. I make this recommendation not because we are less dedicated to "justice" as such, but because we are realistic and have no wish to encumber the Organization with

unnecessary expense or to destroy the publicity already given to the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration, or to tarnish the philatelic reputation of the United Nations.

160. I trust that this compromise solution regarding the commemorative stamps and medals will recommend itself to all representatives. Otherwise, to pursue this matter further would be opening a Pandora's box of several different ideas on what would be the best design for the commemorative stamps and medals. The stamps and medals are doubtless important, but there are equally important, if not more important, issues facing the Preparatory Committee.

161. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Madam President, I apologize for the mistake I made in addressing my last statement to a resolution that I did not intend to deal with, but, having intended, rather, to deal with the question of the twenty-fifth anniversary in respect to stamps and medals.

162. Having heard my colleague and brother from Ghana, I wish to make the following remarks. I believe that our thanks should go to the representative of Ghana for having spent so much time on this question. Needless to say, on Friday last we met for over an hour and we came to a common understanding with regard to the medal, and I left the question of the stamps to be negotiated further with the authorities of the Secretariat. For my part, I had also spoken to those responsible in the Secretariat and was under the impression that a solution could be found by which everybody would be satisfied and without incurring losses, whether by the gap that would be caused through producing a new issue of stamps or by engraving new plates, which also would incur certain expenses.

163. Before coming to the meeting of the General Assembly to address myself to this question, I also spoke to the authorities responsible for the issuing of stamps. They told me that they would have no objections if I offered certain suggestions, and the General Assembly decided to adopt my suggestions.

164. I need hardly refer you, Madam President, to what I said on the subject during the last meeting [1820th meeting] that we devoted to a discussion of the question in full detail. However, I must say that the word "justice" humanizes both peace and progress, because peace could be amoral or sometimes immoral. Of course, one might say that these would be extreme cases. However, progress could also be apolitical and can be immoral. We should not be enamoured by technological progress if it dehumanizes man. Hence the word "justice" regardless of dialectics, is necessary to give significance to those two words "peace" and "progress" in the context of the United Nations Charter, as well as in the context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the covenants and conventions on human rights.

165. Now, I want to be a businessman for a little while. I am afraid that the staff of the Secretariat, with all due regard to them, are bureaucrats. I do not know about their business acumen; but those who had some business acumen understood me this morning and, in the light of the discussion I have had with them during the last few days, I

venture to make suggestions that I shall crystallize in a draft resolution.

166. I should like to take exception to the comment of the representative of Ghana when he said that we would open a Pandora's box if we were to change anything that had already been decided upon by the Preparatory Committee. I would assure him that I shall not open any Pandora's box with my suggestions. I hope that he will think about them and find a way not to object to them, because I am sure that they are feasible and will not incur any losses whatsoever.

167. I am going to surprise you. My suggestions will make at least \$300,000 more for the United Nations and I am speaking strictly from the financial point of view; nor will we tarnish our philatelic reputation, and indeed I will show how our philatelic reputation will be enhanced by my suggestion.

168. In order to summarize my statement, perhaps I had better read the draft resolution, which is simple and does not need any pondering because there is no philosophy in it, nor dialectics. There are facts which speak for themselves. This is the draft resolution which I am submitting to the consideration of representatives:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that a special issue of United Nations stamps has been decided upon by the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations with the words 'Peace and Progress' as the theme on the occasion of the anniversary,

"Taking into account resolution 2499 (XXIV) by which the General Assembly decided that the theme of the anniversary should be 'Peace, justice and progress',

"Bearing in mind that steps have been already taken for the issue of stamps with the theme 'Peace and progress',

"1. Decides that stamps with the theme 'Peace and progress' may be issued"

and this will satisfy the representative of Ghana and all those who said that we would incur losses were we to scrap the plates and the stamps with that theme. The last paragraph reads:

"2. Further decides that another set of stamps will be issued with the theme 'Peace, justice and progress' and directs the Secretariat to take the necessary steps towards that end."

169. Now, we shall begin with the issue for two or three months of stamps bearing the theme "Peace and progress" and, as has been suggested by the representative of Ghana, have an over-print, or rather a slogan, which will be printed on the envelopes here and in Geneva, with the words

"Peace, justice and progress". That will take care of those who have objected that the word "justice" had been dropped.

170. At the same time, the Secretariat will issue a circular to the philatelic outlets stating that many Members here in the United Nations were adamant about the inclusion of the word "justice". This is not a contrived or "phoney"—if I may use the American word—new issue with the word "justice": it is a legitimate issue because of what happened here in the United Nations. Some wanted the words "Peace and progress" and thought that was adequate and that justice was implied. Others wanted the word "justice" spelled out.

171. If we were all of the same opinion, we would have no debate. It is good not to be sheep in the United Nations, but to have minds of our own. There is nothing wrong in using the words "Peace and progress" if justice is implied, whether by slogans or without slogans. On the other hand, if others, like myself and many other representatives, would like to see the word "justice" spelled out, there is nothing wrong with that either. Therefore, I think that this is a compromise which will yield at least \$300,000—I calculate a minimum of that amount—for the coffers of the United Nations, which should not be decied. Thus, those estimates about losses in document A/7888 will no longer be valid.

172. I do request you, Madam President, to take note of the yearnings of many of our colleagues in this hall who feel that without justice, peace and progress would be meaningless. We have seen what injustice has done in the midst of progress. We have seen that peace may be the peace of compulsion under a foreign yoke; it is an apparent peace. Justice means a lot to us in the context of the Charter. Therefore, I appeal to you Madam President—you, the symbol of this Assembly, who have worked diligently in supervising our work and seeing to it that justice will be done unto many people in the world, without having to enumerate them, that you will see to it that this draft resolution is presented as the best solution and as a compromise, and without incurring any losses whatsoever in so far as the stamp issues are concerned.

173. With regard to the medal, I told representatives during my last statement that where there is a will there is a way, and I find that the medallists have, with ingenuity, found the means of including the word "justice". So this question of the medal is not under consideration. If a second issue is printed, there will be no losses whatsoever.

174. I must repeat this, because we are always thinking in terms of money instead of in terms of justice. Let there be peace, yes; let there be progress, yes; but without justice, to me and to many of my colleagues, they would be empty words. Under your aegis, Madam President, I hope that we shall find a quick solution to this problem at our afternoon meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.