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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

Organization of work

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Special Political Committee is finishing its meeting at this moment and it has been requested, if there are no objections, that we should begin this evening by taking up agenda item 3. Accordingly, if I hear no objection, we shall commence with that item.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 3

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

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

2. Mr. BARNES (Liberia), Chairman of the Credentials Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report [A/5676/Rev.1] of the Credentials Committee for the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will note that the Committee stressed in its report the necessity of all Member States to comply with the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, which provides, inter alia, that the credentials of representatives shall be submitted to the Secretary-General if possible not less than one week before the date fixed for the opening of the session. It was further stressed that compliance with this rule was essential so that the Credentials Committee could convene shortly after the opening of the session to examine the credentials and report without delay to the General Assembly, as required by rule 28 of the rules of procedure.

*Resumed from the 1206th meeting.

3. The Assembly will further note that subject to the reservations made by certain Members, which are recorded in the report, the Committee found the credentials of all representatives in order.

4. The Credentials Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution contained in the report [A/5676/Rev.1, para. 20].

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The draft resolution recommended to the General Assembly by the Credentials Committee will be found in its report [A/5676/Rev.1, para. 20].

6. Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall give the floor to representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

7. Mr. Mahmoud RIAD (United Arab Republic): From this rostrum on 16 October 1963 [1243rd meeting], when the General Assembly was discussing the item entitled "The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", I had the honour of explaining the position of the Government of the United Arab Republic in connexion with the legitimate right of the Government in Peking to occupy its rightful place in the United Nations and its main organs. I made it clear then that the issue under consideration was one of representation and not of the admission of a new Member.

8. In connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation, in pursuance of that position, believes it is fitting to reiterate its attitude towards the validity of the credentials of China at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

9. As may be seen from the report, three Member States contested the validity of the credentials under consideration in view of the fact that those credentials were inconsistent with the provisions of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. We in the United Arab Republic uphold this view and firmly believe that, in accordance with any criteria known in either international law or international usage, the only true credentials which could be considered valid are those issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China, which enjoys full control on the mainland. Consequently, we believe that any other credentials issued contrary to this fact are in violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter and are inconsistent with rule 27.

10. We do not see that any useful purpose is served if the Assembly, through procedural motions, deprives almost 700 million people of the right to join this family of nations. The consequences of such an adamant attitude are already being felt in and outside this Organization. This attitude, if persisted in, cannot help in solving the various pending political, military and economic questions of paramount importance.

11. The Government of the United Arab Republic similarly agrees with the position of the representative of Algeria, the Soviet Union and Liberia with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Government of South Africa. In our view, the credentials of the South African delegation are not valid and will not be so long as the present Government of South Africa does not represent the true population of that country.

12. With those two reservations, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the Credentials Committee, as contained in the report [A/5676/Rev.1, para. 20] under discussion.

13. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation feels obliged to make the following observations in connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1] and the draft resolution contained therein, which recommends that the General Assembly approve the Committee's report.

14. First, as we stated in the Credentials Committee, and as we repeat now, we categorically oppose the approval of the credentials of people who, without any justification whatsoever, are trying to pose as the representatives of the Chinese people.

15. In fact, these persons represent the Chiang Kai-shek régime, which has long since been repudiated by the great Chinese people. These private individuals have for a long time had no rightful place in the United Nations.

16. It is an indisputable fact that the only legitimate Government of China is the Government of the People's Republic of China, that only it represents China on the international scene and that only representatives duly appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China can be regarded as the authorized representatives of China in the United Nations. The artificial and completely unjustified exclusion of the genuine representatives of the People's Republic of China from participation in our Organization's work is unlawful and completely intolerable. It does considerable harm to the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations and of its principal organs in the solution of the vitally important problems of today. It is finally time to re-establish justice and to allow the genuine representatives of the great Chinese people, appointed by its lawful Government, to take their seats in the General Assembly and in the other organs of the United Nations.

17. The credentials of persons who arbitrarily style themselves representatives of the Chinese Republic can in no way whatsoever be recognized as legitimate, since they are totally incompatible with the requirements of rule 27 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure.

18. In view of these considerations, the Soviet delegation is unable to support the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

19. Secondly, the Soviet delegation deems it essential that the General Assembly should consider the position of Indonesia, as set forth in the statement by Mr. Palar, the Indonesian representative, at the plenary meeting of 17 September 1963. Mr. Palar made the following statement:

"For very serious reasons, my Government has withheld recognition of the Federation of Malaysia" [1206th meeting, para. 12].

We fully understand this statement, and support the position of Indonesia.

20. Thirdly and lastly, the Soviet delegation supports the position of those delegations which stated, from this rostrum, that the racist régime existing in South Africa was unworthy to represent the people of that country in the United Nations. By depriving of their fundamental rights and freedoms the real owners of the country, who constitute four fifths of the population, the Verwoerd régime has turned the Republic of South Africa into a land of terror, concentration camps and reservations for 11 million Africans, Indians and Pakistanis.

21. It is well known that during the past seventeen years the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted more than thirty resolutions condemning the policy of apartheid and calling for an end to this shameful phenomenon. However, the appeals of world opinion and the numerous decisions of the United Nations have so far proved vain. Resolutely rejecting colonialism and racism, and proceeding from the unshakable principles which form the basis of the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy—the principles of humanism and the equality of all peoples—the Soviet delegation has already indicated that it is ready to support any measures which the United Nations might consider appropriate in order to put an end to the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, such measures to include consideration of the validity of the credentials of that Republic's representatives.

22. The Soviet delegation fully shares the opinion of those who consider that the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which is flagrantly violating the rights of millions upon millions of the indigenous inhabitants, does not in fact represent the people of that country.

23. Mr. Nur ELMI (Somalia): My delegation approves the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1] with the following reservations.

24. My Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China with whom we have the most cordial and friendly relations, as the only legitimate Government to represent the great people of China. Accordingly, my delegation approves the report of the Credentials Committee with the understanding that when we refer to China, we mean the Government of the People's Republic of China.

25. Mr. BALAO (Philippines): In taking note of the report of the Credentials Committee, which is now under consideration, my delegation would like to make the following reservations.

26. The admission of any State to membership in the United Nations does not signify formal recognition of that State by all other Member States of the United Nations. In the context of agenda item 3 (b), under which we are considering the report of the Credentials Committee, this reservation applies particularly in the case of the new Federation of Malaysia. It is the considered opinion of the Philippine Government that the new Federation of Malaysia is a new State.

27. Moreover, it is a new State which purports to embrace North Borneo or Sabah, to which the Philippine Government has a valid legal and juridical claim. It is not my intention at this stage to reopen the discussion of the substance of these two questions. The position of my delegation on both questions has been

placed on record in the various organs of the United Nations. Particularly apropos was the discussion of these two questions in the policy statement delivered from this rostrum by Mr. López, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines during the 1233rd plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 8 October 1963.

28. I wish to reaffirm for the record the continued firm adherence of the Philippine Government to the position set out in that policy statement. The question of the recognition of the new State of Malaysia and the question of adjustment of the Philippine claim to North Borneo are pending questions between the Republic of the Philippines and the new Federation of Malaysia. This being the case, the Philippine Government reserves fully all its rights in relation to these two pending questions.

29. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): First of all, the Guinean delegation would like to express its sincere regret that the Credentials Committee, perpetuating an old practice contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the relevant rules of procedure of the General Assembly has once again met only at the end of the current session. Therefore, we fully support all the suggestions already put forward in the Committee for a radical modification in future of this anomaly, which nothing can justify either de facto or de jure, so that, beginning with the nineteenth session, the General Assembly may consider the reports of the Credentials Committee at the beginning of each of its sessions and take any decisions which may be appropriate in due time.

30. As we have repeatedly observed here since 1958, we would once more declare that, in the opinion of the Guinean Government, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful Government of the great Chinese people. Therefore, only that Government whose absence is a grave injustice and can only do harm to the Organization and the Chinese people, should represent in all United Nations organs the great Chinese people, a founder Member of our Organization. In other words, if the Soviet Union draft resolution [see A/5676/Rev.1, para. 7], which was not accepted by the Credentials Committee, had been submitted to us, the Guinean delegation would have been glad to vote in favour of it.

31. Finally, the Guinean delegation, in complete unanimity and sympathy with all the African delegations, wishes to state once more that it cannot consider those who are seated behind the name-plate marked "South Africa" as the legitimate representatives of the South African people. We have said and we have repeated that the minority government of Pretoria, by its actions in constantly disregarding the principles of the Charter, in violating the repeated and unanimous resolutions both of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and worse still, in officially declaring itself the enemy of the United Nations—which it would like to see abolished—has of its own volition excluded itself from our Organization. In these circumstances, we cannot consider it as the regular and legitimate representative of the South African people.

32. The Guinean delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1], subject to the reservations which I have just expressed.

33. Mr. SZEWCZYK (Poland): The Polish delegation wishes to make some reservations with regard to the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1] submitted for our consideration. First of all, my

delegation would like to stress that it does not recognize as valid the credentials submitted by the persons who describe themselves as representatives of China.

34. My country indicated on many occasions that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek is the only proper solution of the problem facing this Organization. Once again we wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that every year and even every day of continued delay in the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations diminishes the prestige of this Organization, hinders universal co-operation among States, and prevents the settlement of urgent international problems.

35. My delegation also views with sympathetic understanding the opinions expressed during this session by the delegation of Indonesia with respect to the question of Malaysia. Due attention should be given to these opinions which are supported by my delegation.

36. Equally, we would like to lend our support to the views of African countries concerning the validity and legality of the credentials of the South African delegation, which represents but a small minority of the population of that country.

37. For all these reasons, the Polish delegation will abstain when the report of the Credentials Committee is put to the vote.

38. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): My delegation will vote for the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee, with the following reservations.

39. The first reservation concerns the credentials of the representatives of Malaysia. In the general debate we have made our position quite clear and we have not changed.

40. The second reservation concerns the representation of China. Our stand on this question is also well known and we have not changed at all.

41. The third reservation concerns the credentials of the representatives of South Africa. We fully support the position of our friends, the countries of Africa.

42. Finally, we should also like to make it quite clear that we support the position of the Philippines vis-à-vis the question of Sabah.

43. Mr. SONN (Cambodia) (translated from French): With regard to the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1], my delegation would like to state the following.

44. The Royal Government of Cambodia maintains diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. In the opinion of my Government, the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only one which lawfully represents the Chinese people. Subject to this reservation, my delegation approves the report of the Credentials Committee.

45. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan): My delegation is ready to vote for the report of the Credentials Committee with the following reservation.

46. The views of Afghanistan on the question of the representation of China and on the question of the credentials of China are well known to the Members of the Assembly, and there is no need for me to repeat them here once again. But on this occasion I want to state once again that my delegation recognizes

no other Government than the Central People's Republic of the Government of China, with whom we not only have a common border, but also close and cordial relations.

47. I hope that these views of my delegation will be put into the record of the Assembly. My delegation will be glad to vote for the report of the Credentials Committee.

48. Mr. NAÇO (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania wishes to make the following statement in explanation of its vote on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1].

49. Our delegation energetically protests against the attitude adopted by the Credentials Committee in recognizing, contrary to all logic and justice, the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which has been rejected once and for all by the Chinese people and which unlawfully occupies the seat of China in the Organization.

50. We have emphasized on several occasions that it is only the Government of the People's Republic of China which has the right to represent China in the United Nations and to assume and fulfil the obligations deriving from the Charter, and it is the only one which is qualified to do so. It is absurd and by no means to the credit of the United Nations that for fourteen years the United States of America has succeeded in imposing on the Organization, through automatic voting and other methods, the usurpation of China's seat in the United Nations by elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who represent nobody.

51. This abnormal situation created within our Organization by the absence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, which embraces a quarter of the world's population, must be ended without further delay. The restitution of the rights of the People's Republic of China within the United Nations is mainly in the interests of the Organization itself. It has become an imperative necessity for the United Nations. Without the participation of the People's Republic of China, the Organization is neither universal nor effective. Without the participation of the People's Republic of China, none of the great international problems of our time can be solved.

52. Today, very serious problems are confronting the peoples of the world and the United Nations itself. Everyone is aware that the People's Republic of China is playing a great and constructive role internationally, and is promoting peace, the freedom of peoples and the peaceful settlement of international disputes and problems.

53. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers it necessary to stress once more that it is high time to put an end to this extremely unjust and absurd situation and that it is high time to expel the Chiang Kai-shek régime, which has usurped China's seat here, and to invite the sole genuine representatives of the Chinese people, the Government of the People's Republic of China, to occupy their well-deserved and rightful place.

54. In view of this urgent necessity, the Credentials Committee should declare null and void the credentials of the agents of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

55. For these reasons, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania is unable to support the recom-

mendation of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1, para. 20].

56. Mr. MALHOTRA (Nepal): Nepal was a member of the Credentials Committee this year, and at the meeting of the Committee held on 12 December 1963 my delegation expressed its views with respect to the credentials of the representatives of China seated in the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. My delegation's position is recorded in summary in paragraph 11 of the Credentials Committee's report [A/5676/Rev.1]. However, in order that paragraph 19 of the report as formulated at present may not create any misunderstanding about our position, I should like to take this opportunity once again to express my delegation's reservations regarding the credentials of the representatives of China since my Government recognizes only the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Government of China.

57. Mr. JUARBE Y JUARBE (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): In connexion with the consideration of the Credentials Committee's report [A/5676/Rev.1], the delegation of Cuba wishes to make a reservation regarding the acceptance of credentials issued by a self-styled "Government of the Republic of China", because it holds that the only true Republic of China is the People's Republic of China, and that that State alone has the lawful right to appoint representatives to the United Nations.

58. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Burma's position on the question of the representation of China is well known. We recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only Government of China. Consequently, we consider that that Government—and that Government alone—is competent to issue credentials on behalf of the Chinese people. My delegation is therefore unable to approve that part of the recommendation of the Credentials Committee pertaining to the question of Chinese credentials. Our affirmative vote on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1] should therefore be regarded as subject to that reservation.

59. Mr. C. LIU (China): At this closing stage of the session of the General Assembly, which, under the President's firm and wise direction, has been able to conduct its business with unprecedented dispatch and an increasing sense of responsibility, I hesitate to delay the proceedings for a single moment by replying to the malicious slanders that have been cast about in connexion with my delegation's credentials.

60. It will suffice for me to say that the so-called question of China's representation has been thoroughly discussed in three sessions, and at each session—the last time, only a few weeks ago—the rightful status of my delegation was upheld by the majority of the Assembly.

61. It is no surprise that the Soviet Union should reopen this question in the Credentials Committee and again in the plenary. The Soviet Union must feel that the presence of my delegation in the United Nations constitutes an obvious frustration of its attempt to subvert the world Organization into an instrument of Soviet policy. It is the kind of routine performance that may be expected as a matter of course on the part of the Communist delegations.

62. It is difficult to understand, however, that some other delegations should feel themselves called upon to reiterate their positions in spite of the decision

taken by the General Assembly on the status of China's representation. They have already had occasion, during the consideration of item 80, to make clear their positions—and I should think that, in voting for the report of the Credentials Committee under rule 27 of our rules of procedure, they could not be regarded by friend or foe as having in any way changed their positions.

63. My delegation, of course, will vote for the report [A/5676/Rev.1]. In doing so, let me express my appreciation to the Chairman and to those members of the Credentials Committee who have upheld the provisions of the Charter and the procedures of the General Assembly in their consideration of the credentials.

64. Dato' ONG (Malaysia): In making this intervention, it is not my intention to explain my delegation's vote, which will, of course, be cast in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1] but rather to place on record the true constitutional position of Malaysia. This we deem it necessary to do in view of the reservations of the delegation of the USSR, as contained in paragraph 15 of the report, and the reservations expressed during the course of this meeting by the delegations of the Philippines, Poland and Indonesia.

65. Constitutionally, the Federation of Malaya, established in 1957 and admitted to membership of this Organization the same year, and Malaysia are one and the same international person. What has happened is that, by constitutional processes, the Federation has been enlarged by the addition of three more states, as permitted and provided for in article 2 of the Federation of Malaya Constitution, and that the name "Federation of Malaya" has been changed to "Malaysia". The constitutional position, therefore, is that no new State has come into being, but that the same State has continued in an enlarged form known as Malaysia. It is clear that the Federation of Malaya has merely enlarged its areas of jurisdiction and that its personality continues under a new name. There has been no severance of the continuity of the existence of the State, nor has it been brought to an end in any way. This is underlined by the fact that it is the same written constitution that continues to govern the entire nation of Malaysia.

66. Furthermore, there has been no change of government. Thus, the question of recognition does not arise. Nor does any question arise concerning Malaysia's continuing membership in the United Nations, still less of the credentials of its representatives.

67. With regard to the remarks of the representative of the Philippines, the position of my Government on this matter has been clearly set forth in my delegation's statement during the 1237th plenary meeting, on 10 October 1963 in reply to the statement by the Foreign Secretary of the Philippines.

68. Mr. BOZINOVIC (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1] with one reservation, namely, that the position of the Yugoslav delegation concerning the question of China's representation in the United Nations, which is already known, remains unchanged.

69. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The United States will vote in support of the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1, para. 20]. In the view of the United States, China is properly represented in the United Nations

by the delegation from the Government of the Republic of China, a founding Member of this Organization. Credentials submitted on their behalf have been found to be entirely in accord with the applicable rules of procedure and are not open to challenge.

70. On the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, this Assembly, at its 1248th meeting on 21 October 1963, concluded its debate by rejecting a draft resolution which called for the expulsion of representatives of the Government of the Republic of China in favour of those from Peiping. It is, in our view, entirely inappropriate at this time in any way to reopen a discussion of this matter on which this General Assembly less than two months ago took a clear decision.

71. Similarly, in our view no question arises as to the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Malaysia, which, through the exercise of due constitutional process, has succeeded the Federation of Malaya as a Member of the United Nations.

72. Mr. DICKO (Mali) (translated from French): My delegation has noted the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1]. In associating ourselves with those delegations who have congratulated that Committee on the valuable document it has prepared, we should like to express briefly our regret that it met so infrequently and so late. My delegation would also like to make clear at the outset that we associate ourselves with the statements made in the Committee by the representatives of Algeria and of the Soviet Union.

73. Indeed, as other representatives have reaffirmed here, membership of the United Nations does not imply *ipso facto* recognition by the other Members. Accordingly, the Government of the Republic of Mali, faithful to the revolutionary principles of its party, has never recognized and will never recognize the China of Chiang Kai-shek whose representative wrongfully occupies the seat of the People's Republic of China, the only Government which can speak for this great Asiatic people. They have suffered an injustice which must be rectified as soon as possible.

74. In common with the thirty-four African States, we refuse to recognize the reactionary and retrograde Government of South Africa, which continues to prevent those to whom that part of Africa really belongs from exercising their sovereignty. We consider that the seat allocated to "South Africa" is vacant and we await with impatience the triumphant entry into this hall of a genuine spokesman, democratically elected, for South Africa.

75. In associating itself with the views expressed regarding the recognition of Malaysia, to which it offers its best wishes for the consolidation of its unity, my delegation would like to state that, apart from these reservations, it supports the conclusions of the report of the Committee [A/5676/Rev.1, para. 25], and will vote in favour of them.

76. Mr. EL SANOUSI (Sudan): My delegation supports the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1] with the following reservations. My Government considers that the only lawful occupant of the seat of China is the People's Republic of China. As regards the credentials of the apartheid Government of South Africa, the position of my delegation is identical to the position taken by all the representatives who have challenged those credentials.

77. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): My delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5676/Rev.1], subject to the following reservation. My Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China and considers that that Government alone is entitled to represent China in the United Nations.

78. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): All those on the list to speak in explanation of vote have now spoken. We shall proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee which is to be found in that Committee's report [A/5676/Rev.1, para. 20].

The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

79. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of South Africa for an explanation of vote.

80. Mr. JOOSTE (South Africa): Mr. President, I thank you for giving me the opportunity of explaining the vote of my delegation. In doing so, of course, I have no intention of replying to the statements of views concerning my Government which were made by a number of previous speakers. I shall confine myself only to the principles involved.

81. Sir, a Credentials Committee was set up by you to determine whether or not the credentials of all delegations to this Assembly were in order. That is a normal and proper procedure. That Committee has presented a report, and according to that report the South African credentials are in order. In coming to that conclusion the Committee applied the criteria which have always been operative in the United Nations: namely, that the country concerned, in this case the Republic of South Africa, is a Member State of the Organization and that the credentials are in proper form and have been issued by the duly constituted authority in the country. Our credentials have been issued in the same form and by the same authority as in the past, and there has never been any reason to question their legality or acceptability, and the Assembly has now accepted that report.

82. If certain representatives cast doubts upon the credentials of the South African delegation, they did so by introducing new criteria—criteria which do not apply.

83. My delegation has no doubts that its credentials are in order. Therefore we have voted for the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee. Our vote does not, of course, imply concurrence with the views expressed by individual members of the Committee as contained in the report.

AGENDA ITEM 30

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and replies by Member States under General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII)

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (PART II) [A/5565/ADD.1]

84. Mrs. ACHARD (Dahomey), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee (translated from French):

As Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the final part of the report of that Committee on agenda item 30, dealing with the question of the policies of apartheid of the Republic of South Africa.

85. The Committee devoted twenty meetings to the examination of this question and it heard statements by seventy-five representatives. All the speakers who expressed their point of view were unanimous in condemning the policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa. At the end of its deliberations, the Committee adopted unanimously the two draft resolutions, A and B, the text of which appears in its report [see A/5565/Add.1, para. 16].

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political Committee.

86. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I now call upon the Secretary-General.

87. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have taken note of operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution B contained in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5565/Add.1, para. 16]. By this draft resolution, I am requested to seek ways and means of providing relief and assistance, through appropriate international agencies, to the families of all persons persecuted by the Government of the Republic of South Africa for their opposition to the policies of apartheid.

88. I am prepared to do everything within my power to assist in a humanitarian measure of this kind. In this connexion, I would understand the reference to "appropriate international agencies" as follows. If the families have left South Africa they might be considered refugees and I would plan to take up the matter with the High Commissioner for Refugees. With respect to the families within South Africa I would consult with the International Red Cross to determine what assistance might be rendered under its auspices. I would further understand that it is not envisaged that I should provide direct relief, since no funds have been made available for that purpose.

89. With respect to the question of which families are to be assisted, I would read the word "persecuted" to mean "imprisoned, interned, or subject to other restrictions" as referred to in General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) of 11 October 1963 and the Security Council resolution of 4 December 1963.^{1/}

90. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish) I give the floor, for an explanation of vote, to the representative of South Africa.

91. Mr. JOOSTE (South Africa): My present statement is intended to explain the manner in which my delegation will vote on the draft resolutions at present before the General Assembly [A/5565/Add.1, para. 16].

92. As far as draft resolution A is concerned, I need only point out that the matters raised therein relate to our domestic policies and, consequently, fall within the scope of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. We therefore hold this draft resolution, if it should be adopted, to be *ultra vires* the Charter. Our arguments on Article 2, paragraph 7, which we have adduced over a period of many years, stand on the record and we are satisfied that their validity remains

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1963, document S/5471.

intact. In the circumstances, we shall of course vote against this draft resolution.

93. Regarding draft resolution B, allow me to point out that it relates to an entirely new issue. It purports to deal with relief and other assistance to families of persons, who, to use the words of the draft resolution, are "persecuted by the Government of South Africa for their opposition to the policies of apartheid".

94. Let me first of all make it quite clear that persons in South Africa are not prosecuted, let alone persecuted, for their opposition to my Government's policy of separate development. When such persons, however, resort to subversive measures, judicial action is, of course, taken against them.

95. The Government of South Africa, like all other Governments, not only has the right, but, as we stated on a previous occasion, has a very clear duty to protect the security of its citizens against disorder and subversion. This is a fact of national life. And I would point out that if this matter, which is the subject matter of the draft resolution which I am now discussing, does not fall within the domestic jurisdiction of a Member State, then it is difficult to conceive of any matter which does. In fact, this draft resolution, if adopted, would constitute such a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, and so blatant an invasion of the sovereignty of a Member State that no form of rationalization could possibly justify its adoption.

96. Moreover, endeavours to present it as a humanitarian act, as was also done in the case of resolution 1881 (XVIII) of 11 October 1963, cannot be regarded as legitimate. My Government certainly rejects such a contention and regards this draft resolution as wholly unconstitutional, and indeed as constituting an absolute denial of the fundamental concept of law.

97. In connexion with this attempted humanitarian interpretation, it might interest the General Assembly to know that, under governmental instructions, arrangements already exist for granting, wherever necessary, assistance to dependants, in cases where the breadwinner of the family is being detained. Similarly, it might also interest the Assembly to know that the South African Minister of Justice some time ago extended an invitation to Dr. Hoffman, the delegate in South Africa of the International Red Cross, to visit any of the detainees in question at any time to satisfy himself in regard to conditions under which they are being held. Dr. Hoffman was given full facilities, for instance, to quote just one example, to inspect the conditions under which Mr. Sobukwe is being detained and was able to converse freely and privately with him. Dr. Hoffman's report, I may add, completely refutes all charges concerning his well-being.

98. Perhaps I should mention that the contents of Dr. Hoffman's report are being made public in an appropriate manner.

99. The actions of my Government in all these matters constitute clear proof of an administration of justice which is based on the highest standards prevailing anywhere in the world; and I submit that the facts which I have given cannot be ignored. To do so in the face of reports of what is taking place in certain other countries—and I have no intention of invading their domestic affairs—must necessarily constitute a further application of the double standard which has already gained so much ground in the United Nations.

100. It is known that there are, of course, a number of organizations in many parts of the world which, under the guise of humanitarianism, are constantly concerning themselves with our affairs. The manner in which some of them are doing so cannot but be regarded as promoting subversion in South Africa; and I am sure that the General Assembly would not wish this Organization to become a party to such actions—actions so completely contrary to its Charter and so damaging to its status and future; this, apart from being a gross injustice to a Member State.

101. Finally, this draft resolution, if it is accepted, will establish yet another precedent which in itself renders the adoption of the draft resolution most unwise. The precedent would be open to the widest possible abuses. For, make no mistake, if this unconstitutional act is perpetrated against South Africa, today by the adoption of the present draft resolution, it will beyond all doubt be perpetrated in future against others, large and small, with consequences for this Organization which must be evident to all honourable representatives. In any case, my delegation categorically denies the right of the Organization to adopt a draft resolution such as this one. And I should like you, Mr. President, to put both draft resolutions to the vote.

102. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote one by one on the two draft resolutions, A and B, recommended by the Special Political Committee in its report [A/5565/Add.1, para. 16]. We shall vote first on draft resolution A.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 100 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

103. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on draft resolution B. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 99 votes to 2.

104. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I shall now give the floor to those who have requested it in order to explain their votes after the voting.

105. Mr. ORDOÑEZ (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Colombia would like to speak in explanation of vote for the purpose of expressing a minor reservation which in no way affects the affirmative vote which it cast today, as on earlier occasions.

106. Among the reservations which the Colombian delegation expressed in the Special Political Committee was the doubt which it felt regarding the desirability of setting up parallel bodies to study simultaneously the problem of apartheid.

107. Secondly, the delegation of Colombia wishes to state that in this resolution it is associating itself—as it has done in the case of the twenty or twenty-one resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on this subject—with the other countries which have supported this resolution directed against South Africa's apartheid policies.

108. I wish to stress that the Latin American position, and especially the position of Colombia, is political in character, since Colombia and the Latin American countries as a whole have no economic relations with South Africa. We are entitled to feel that this most recently adopted resolution represents a more positive approach than we have seen heretofore. Year after year resolutions have been adopted on the policies of apartheid, but this is the first to be adopted unanimously.

109. The Latin American countries, which do not trade with South Africa, and which have cast a vote which one might describe as political and somewhat romantic in nature, hope that this step will be the final one in a series of resolutions which together represent a political judgement.

110. My delegation hopes that at the next session the resolutions which are adopted on this subject will not be simply recommendations for an arms ban but will provide for a stronger embargo affecting other areas of commercial activities.

111. I wish to declare that those Powers which continue to trade with South Africa are, through these trade relations, indirectly supporting the apartheid policies condemned by the whole world.

112. For the reasons, given, my delegation hopes that this action, which seems to mark the beginning of the end of apartheid, will be backed up next year by more effective resolutions in the economic field, thus increasing the pressure and hastening the total elimination of apartheid.

113. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): As the members of the Special Political Committee will recall, when the draft resolutions were put to the vote at the 423rd meeting of that Committee, held on Tuesday, 10 December 1963, I stated, in connexion with the first resolution, that my delegation, which rejected and had always rejected every form of racial discrimination, would vote in favour of the draft resolution in question as it had voted in favour of similar resolutions relating to South Africa's apartheid policies from the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to the seventeenth session.

114. With regard to the second draft resolution, I took the liberty of asking two questions: the purpose of the first was to know whether the Secretary-General considered that what was asked of him in operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution B was feasible, practicable and capable of implementation. The object of the second question—and this was a matter of interest to us—was to know whether the Secretary-General considered that he could do what was asked of him without in any way violating the principle of non-interference.

115. The only reply which it was apparently possible to give at that time to my delegation's questions—taking into account the fact that neither the Secretary-General nor his representative were present at the meeting—was that of a member of the Secretariat who had confined himself to saying that the Secretary-General had indicated—and I quote his words—that there was "no objection" ("absence d'objections") to the adoption of the draft resolution in question. Since this very laconic reply did not provide the information which my delegation considered necessary, we were obliged to abstain.

116. The clear and precise statement made today by the Secretary-General gives us full satisfaction and we have therefore been very happy to be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

117. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): In the first place, I should like to inform the Secretary-General that the delegations which took the initiative of formulating draft resolution B concerning relief and assistance for the persons persecuted by the Government of South Africa are highly satisfied and that the interpretation he has just given to the General Assembly corresponds in every detail with our basic idea.

118. I am glad that the representative of Mexico, in the light of the clear-cut explanation given, was able to change his attitude and join us in voting affirmatively on the draft resolution.

119. I should also like to express very briefly the sincere gratitude of the members of the Special Committee, appointed by the General Assembly to follow up the policy of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, for the great moral and political support which this Committee has just received from the members of the General Assembly by such a large majority. I am convinced that my colleagues and myself will be encouraged by this support to devote ourselves with renewed energy to our task, which we know to be so important for this Organization and for the African peoples.

120. Finally, with regard to the statement made a few moments ago by the representative of South Africa (or the individual who claims to be the representative of South Africa), I wish to say that my delegation considers that that statement does not call for any lengthy comment. Let it suffice for my delegation to note the important step which the eighteenth session of the General Assembly has taken in the struggle of the United Nations against apartheid.

121. Indeed, to our very great satisfaction, on 11 October 1963 (at its 1238th meeting) the General Assembly adopted unanimously—with the exception of South Africa—resolution 1881 (XVIII) condemning, for the first time, and by the unanimous vote of the General Assembly, the South African Government for its policy of apartheid.

122. What is more, on 4 December 1963 the Security Council adopted, also unanimously, the important resolution with which everyone is familiar and today, on two occasions, the General Assembly has clearly and unequivocally voiced its condemnation of this policy of apartheid. It is not at all surprising to the delegation of Guinea and to all the African representatives, that the representative of Portugal saw fit to vote with the representative of South Africa: birds of a feather flock together.

123. Since the eighteenth session, as regards the question of apartheid, is ending on a note of unanimity, my delegation would like to express its fervent hope concerning the attitude of the trading partners of South Africa and of the States which still maintain relations with that country. We have just adopted the thirty-first resolution of the Organization against the policy of

apartheid. There is no lack of resolutions; now everything depends on putting them into effect. That is why we hope that, taking advantage of the period between sessions, the delegations which maintain close relations with South Africa, which have carefully considered their attitude and which have voted with us, will take all necessary steps in the economic, financial and military fields to ensure that the South African Government finally complies with the unanimous will of the Assembly.

124. I wish to conclude by expressing the hope that the three almost unanimous decisions of the eighteenth session will indeed mark the beginning of the end of apartheid and the beginning of one of the greatest victories in its history for the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 10.55 p.m.