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 PLENARY MEETING**

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**NEW YORK**

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\*Resumed from the 1277th meeting.  
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ritories. In this report in paragraphs 2 and 3 is a list of the names of petitioners heard under this heading.

2. At the 1508th meeting the Committee heard Professor Leo de Sousa, Mr. Antonio da Fonseca, Mr. Remeo da Silva and Mr. Wolfgang Doss de Souza and decided to record in its report to the Assembly that these four petitioners had not contributed anything new in relation to the Territories under Portuguese administration and had in fact abused their privilege. At the 1507th meeting the Committee heard Mr. Henrique Galvão.

3. The report relating to the question of South West Africa [A/5605/Add.1], contains in paragraph 9 a draft resolution which condemns the Government of South Africa for its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and for its non-compliance with the General Assembly resolutions with regard to South West Africa and requests the Security Council to consider the critical situation prevailing in South West Africa.

4. I have the honour to recommend these reports to the General Assembly.

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

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the decision just adopted by the General Assembly, statements concerning agenda items 23 and 55 will be limited to explanations of vote.

6. I now call to the Assembly's attention part II of the Fourth Committee's report [A/5629/Add.1] on agenda item 23. If I hear no objection, I shall consider that the General Assembly takes note of the report.

*The General Assembly took note of the report.*

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The consideration of agenda item 23 is now concluded. We shall now take up agenda item 55. The draft resolution on this item, recommended to the General Assembly by the Fourth Committee, appears in part II of its report [A/5605/Add.1, para. 9]. I now call for a vote on this draft resolution on which a roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zea-

land, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa.

*Abstaining:* United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France, Spain,

*The draft resolution was adopted by 89 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions.*

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

9. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): I wish to explain why my delegation voted against the resolution just adopted. The two main elements of the resolution are, first, that the Government of the Republic of South Africa is condemned for "its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations" with regard to the future of the peoples of South West Africa, and the second, that the situation obtaining in the territory is disturbing international peace and security.

10. Now as the Assembly is aware, the South African delegation is precluded by the sub judice rule from participating fully in debates on the question of South West Africa in view of the case which is pending before the International Court at The Hague. It was not South Africa that took the matter to the Court, and we cannot therefore be held responsible for this position where we are debarred by a valid juridical consideration from dealing with the many allegations which are being made against us and upon which so much in these resolutions is based. We must abide by the sub judice rule.

11. I shall, however, deal with the two points I have referred to, insofar as I am permitted to do so by our position in the matter, in order to indicate why my delegation rejects both of them and voted against them.

12. Insofar as the first point is concerned, namely my Government's alleged lack of co-operation, I would like to remind the Assembly of my Government's legal position in connexion with the question of accountability regarding its administration of the territory. Our position is well known to all representatives. It is on record, and in view of the sub judice rule, I cannot deal with it any further.

13. I should, however, like to add that charges that South Africa has not in the past been prepared to co-operate voluntarily, without prejudice to its legal position, with the United Nations are not in accordance with the facts. In this connexion, I need only refer to the many discussions that have taken place since as far back as 1950 in which the South African Government, despite its legal position, co-operated in order to find a way out of the impasse which has existed with regard to this territory for so long a period of time. The South African Government even went so far as to invite, on two different occasions, again without prejudice to its legal position, certain persons connected with the United Nations to visit South Africa and to see for themselves what was taking place in South West Africa. I am, of course, referring to the Good Offices Committee, as well as the visit last year by the Chairman, Mr. Corpio, and the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Martinez de Alva, of the Special Committee on South West Africa.

14. There is perhaps one further point that I should mention, as it concerns the subject matter of the resolution. This point relates to the Odendaal Commission of Inquiry. The South African representative gave full information with regard to this matter when he spoke in the Fourth Committee on 25 October 1963 [1457th meeting]. I am, of course, aware that in doing so he indicated that he hoped that the report would be ready for consideration by our Government by 30 November 1963. This has, however, not proved possible, and the reason why it has unfortunately not been possible is given in our Foreign Minister's letter which we transmitted to the Secretary-General on 29 November 1963 [A/5634]. Reference is made to this document in the resolution.

15. In view of what I have said, the allegation regarding South Africa's unco-operative attitude in the past is therefore completely unwarranted. Anyone who still has any doubts in this matter needs only peruse the records of this Organization, which I am satisfied will bear out what I have said.

16. Now let me turn to the second main element of the resolution, namely the allegation that the situation in South West Africa is disturbing international peace and security. This matter has been dealt with on so many previous occasions that there is frankly very little that I need say with regard to it. I would point out that it was dealt with at the outset of the discussions this year in the Fourth Committee by the South African representative, and again in a comprehensive manner by me in that Committee on 7 November 1963. In addition, the charge was rebutted in the clearest language in the letter from our Foreign Minister, which we transmitted to the Secretary-General on 29 November 1963.

17. Now despite all this, we find that the charge is being repeated in the resolution, and I would state quite categorically that it is being repeated without any justification whatsoever. My Government rejects it and does so in the full knowledge of all the facts pertaining to the position in the territory.

18. I would urge the Assembly to accept the facts as they are, and not to accept as evidence allegations from unreliable sources, allegations inspired by political motives.

19. In view of all that I have said, my delegation voted against the resolution.

20. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Liberia who wishes to exercise her right of reply.

21. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): I would like very briefly to refer to one or two of the points made by the representative of South Africa in exercising the right of reply of my delegation. He referred to the co-operation of the South African Government in the past, and to support his statement he referred to the Good Offices Committee.

22. I should like to tell the Assembly that as far as the Good Offices Committee is concerned, under the influences of the South African Government that Committee reported a proposal to the effect that the mandate territory of South West Africa should be partitioned. This was against the Mandate Agreement and the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Therefore, the Assembly had the right to reject such a proposal.

23. I shall refer to the South West Africa Committee, which the representative of South Africa mentioned. It must be remembered that when the Assembly sent the South West Africa Committee to the territory of South West Africa, at that time the representative of Uruguay was the Chairman of the Committee and the South African Government threatened to arrest the members of that Committee if they entered the territory of South West Africa. A second representative from the Assembly on the South West African question went to Pretoria to talk with the South African Government on the question of a visit to the territory.

24. I would admit here that permission was granted to two of the representatives on the Special Committee for South West Africa to enter that territory, but what happened? The South African Government issued what it called a "joint communiqué" to present to the General Assembly. The South African Government always refers to this, but the members of the Special Committee denied being a party to that particular instrument, and it has not been presented to the United Nations to be passed on as such.

25. The representative of South Africa referred to certain invitations to persons who entered the territory of South West Africa. The United Nations cannot accept a unilateral appointment by the South African Government of any person. On the other hand, with regard to the proposal made to the United Nations that Presidents or former Presidents of the General Assembly enter the territory, the South African Government refused to accept that the appointment would be made on a non-racial basis, that is to say, that they would not choose people of just one race but that the Assembly would be free to elect such persons from the former Presidents of the General Assembly and would be able to appoint such persons as would carry out the work without bias. The South African Government refused.

26. I remember very well that at that time Mr. Mongi Slim, of Tunisia, was the President, and there was a former President, Mrs. Pandit of India. We asked whether these former Presidents would be acceptable to the South African Government, but they refused to give us a reply. It was not until after that particular session, I think it was the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, that the Foreign Minister of South Africa at the seventeenth session [1128th meeting] referred to the fact that it had been their intention to accept the visit of an African or an Asian former President of the General Assembly or any former President appointed by the then President of the General Assembly. The South African Government could not have expected that we would be able to determine what was in their minds when they refused at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly to answer a clear-cut question.

## AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council  
(chapter XIV) (continued)\*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5679)

\*Resumed from the 1276th meeting.

## AGENDA ITEM 61

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (concluded):\*

- (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (concluded)\*\*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5591/ADD.2)

## AGENDA ITEM 63

Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:

- (a) Earmarkings and contingency allocations from the Special Account of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance;  
(b) Earmarkings and allotments from the Special Fund

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5682)

## AGENDA ITEM 64

Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:

- (a) Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;  
(b) Inter-organizational machinery for matters of pay and personnel administration: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5683)

## AGENDA ITEM 65

Administrative and budgetary procedures of the United Nations:

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General on administrative and financial procedures to be followed by the General Assembly at the time peace-keeping operations are authorized;  
(b) Report of the Secretary-General on his consultations concerning the desirability and feasibility of establishing a peace fund

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5684)

## AGENDA ITEM 68

United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5685)

## AGENDA ITEM 19

United Nations Emergency Force:

- (b) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force<sup>1/</sup>

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5680)

\*Resumed from the 1276th meeting.

\*\*Resumed from the 1265th meeting.

<sup>1/</sup> For sub-item 19(a), see 1285th meeting, paras. 4 and 5.

## AGENDA ITEMS 22, 58 AND 60

Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: report of the Secretary-General

Budget estimates for the financial year 1964  
(continued)\*

Review of the pattern of conferences: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5681/AND ADD.1)

27. Mr. BOUDJAKDJI (Algeria), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have had the honour during this session to present a number of reports on behalf of the Fifth Committee. In all, the Committee held fifty-five meetings, and the reports which I am submitting today include two or three which go to the very heart of the Committee's work. I am referring, of course, to the reports on the budget estimates for 1964, on the cost estimates for the United Nations Emergency Force, and on the subject of administrative and budgetary co-ordination. These and a few of the other items on the agenda today took up some thirty-five meetings of the Committee.

28. It is my hope that the several reports before the General Assembly are self explanatory. It would, in any case, hardly be fitting to try the patience of the General Assembly by any lengthy commentary.

29. The findings and conclusions of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the Assembly are incorporated in the eight reports [A/5679, A/5591/Add.2, A/5682, A/5683, A/5684, A/5685, A/5680, A/5681 and Add.1] which I now have the honour to submit as a whole for the consideration of the General Assembly.

30. I believe that I do not need to apologize if I draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that two of these reports again make special reference to the heavy loss which the United Nations will suffer by reason of the retirement of Mr. Aghnides, whose wise counsel has guided us through so many difficulties and through so many perplexities.

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

31. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the decision just taken by the General Assembly, statements on the items under consideration will be limited to explanations of vote on the corresponding draft resolutions. I shall call the recommendations of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly's attention one by one. We shall begin with the recommendation concerning agenda item 12, which appears in the Committee's report [A/5679, para. 4]. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that report?

*The General Assembly took note of the report.*

32. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now take up agenda item 61 (a) on which the Fifth Committee has recommended to the General Assembly the draft resolution appearing in its report. If I hear no objections I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee [A/5591/Add.2, para. 5].

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

\*Resumed from the 1276th meeting.

33. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now turn to agenda item 63 on which the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly approve two draft resolutions, A and B, appearing in its report [A/5682, para. 5]. If I hear no objections, may I take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution A?

*Draft resolution A was adopted.*

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): May I take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution B?

*Draft resolution B was adopted.*

35. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now turn to agenda item 64, on which the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly approve two draft resolutions, A and B, appearing in its report [A/5683, para. 28].

36. The representative of the Soviet Union has the floor for an explanation of vote.

37. Mr. SHATSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation deems it necessary to state, for the purposes of the vote, that it does not support draft resolution B [A/5683, para. 28 [B] on the creation of an inter-organizational body to deal with pay and personnel problems, which has been submitted by the Fifth Committee for the consideration of the General Assembly and which provides for an International Civil Service Advisory Board with broad powers to advise on questions concerning:

(a) Methods of recruitment and the means by which appropriate standards of recruitment may be ensured in the United Nations and the specialized agencies;

(b) Aspects of personnel administration related to the recruitment, training and conduct of staff, and

(c) Any other matters of personal policy.

38. The Soviet delegation does not support the draft resolution on this question, for the following reasons. First, the establishment of such an Advisory Board is not in keeping with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, since the Board would be set up as a body independent of the United Nations, with an irremovable secretary who would not be responsible to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Organization's chief executive and administrative official.

39. The second reason why the Soviet delegation cannot vote for this resolution is the following. The object of giving the Advisory Board the function of advising on a wide range of questions concerning methods of recruitment and means of securing personnel, aspects of personnel administration and any other matters of personal policy is to weaken control by the Secretary-General and the United Nations as a whole over the position in the Secretariat regarding methods of recruitment, the securing of personnel and other questions.

40. The report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/5556] on the establishment of the International Civil Service Advisory Board states [para. 6] that the body it is proposed to set up should enjoy the following privileges:

"... such independence and weight of authority that it enjoyed the confidence of legislative bodies, executive heads and staff, and that the various organizations were consequently prepared to give effect to its recommendations."

41. The proposition I have quoted indicates that the intention is to create a body which would stand above the General Assembly and the Secretary-General and arrive at conclusions and recommendations on questions which would in effect be binding on the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the United Nations system. Weakening the control of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General over recruitment and matters connected with the personnel of the United Nations Secretariat is not in line with the interests of the United Nations and is designed to consolidate the present unsatisfactory situation regarding the recruitment and geographical distribution of Secretariat personnel. The basic idea behind the creation of the International Civil Service Advisory Board is to strengthen and expand the system of permanent contracts for United Nations staff members, which some Powers are strenuously upholding in order to preserve for themselves dominant positions in the United Nations Secretariat, without any regard for the over-all purposes of the Organization or its effectiveness. The practice of giving contracts for life has meant that the United Nations cannot dispense with the services of a given staff member even if, for a variety of reasons, it no longer requires his services. For example, it may no longer be dealing with a particular question, such as community development; and the staff member's qualifications are not suitable for new work. But the United Nations is still obliged to retain him. That is why the staff of the United Nations Secretariat has grown so large. Furthermore, life contracts lead to the creation of an international bureaucracy, which bars the entry into the Secretariat of new forces—particularly from the developing and socialist countries.

42. Thirdly, the Soviet delegation does not support this proposal, because it would lead to the establishment of yet another new United Nations body and would involve the United Nations in further supplementary expenses, which would be considerable because the draft resolution under consideration directs the Secretary-General to make available to the Board, for such periods as may be necessary, such experts, auxiliary staff and facilities as it requires for the discharge of its responsibilities. All this would involve considerable costs, amounting to \$37,000 for 1964 alone; in subsequent years these costs would rise still further.

43. The proposal for the International Civil Service Advisory Board conflicts with the Secretary-General's announced policy of consolidating and curbing United Nations expenditures, which has had the support of the majority of delegations at the present session of the General Assembly.

44. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation cannot support this proposal and will vote against the proposed draft resolution.

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now proceed to vote on draft resolutions A and B appearing in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5683, para. 28].

46. Draft resolution A was approved without objection in the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also approves it?

*Draft resolution A was adopted.*

*Draft resolution B was adopted by 83 votes to 10, with 1 abstention.*



47. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now turn to consideration of agenda item 65 on which we have the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5684]. In paragraph 7 of that report the Committee states that it decided without objection that the reports submitted by the Secretary-General in connexion with this item, as well as the record of the discussion in the Fifth Committee, should be referred to the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations, to be taken into account in the preparation of the report which the Working Group had been requested to make to the General Assembly in terms of General Assembly resolution 1880 (S-IV) of 27 June 1963.

48. The representative of the Soviet Union now has the floor for an explanation of vote.

49. Mr. SHATSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): With regard to the consideration of the report of the Secretary-General on his consultations concerning the desirability and feasibility of establishing a peace fund [A/5490], the Soviet delegation points out, as already indicated in its statement at the fourth special session of the General Assembly [1205th meeting, para. 80] and in the letter from the USSR Mission [A/5490, annex], that it does not support the view of some States on the establishment of a peace fund.

50. The adoption of such proposals on the establishment of a peace fund would lead to the creation of a sort of material basis wherewith to ease the position of those seeking to bypass the Security Council in the adoption of decisions relating to United Nations peace-keeping operations.

51. At the same time, we would point out that the adoption of decisions on questions such as the establishment of a peace fund is not in keeping with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Under the Charter, only the Security Council is authorized to decide questions connected with operations for the maintenance of peace and security; no other United Nations body is authorized to decide such questions.

52. The proposal for the establishment of a special fund for the maintenance of peace and security, which would enable this fund to be used without a direct decision on the matter by the Security Council, is aimed at facilitating the actions of those seeking to bypass the Security Council—the fundamental organ of the United Nations, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and which is empowered to act on behalf of all Members of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security. These provisions have never been cancelled, and any violation of the most important provisions of the Charter concerning the prerogatives of the Security Council could have the most adverse consequences for the cause of peace and international security, for co-operation among States in the United Nations and for the future of the Organization itself. This needs to be said plainly and honestly. And let those who support this proposal reflect upon the possible consequences if measures conflicting with the Charter of the United Nations are adopted.

53. It must be asked why some States are bringing up the question of establishment of a special fund for the maintenance of peace and security. This question is being raised as part of the attempts to pave the way for circumventing the procedure laid down in the

United Nations Charter for the solution of questions concerning the maintenance of peace and security and the material and financial requirements for all these operations.

54. The experience of United Nations operations in the Congo, which have been financed illegally and have disorganized the entire financial system of the United Nations, is a cautionary lesson in this respect. Very large amounts from the Organization's funds have been spent on the United Nations operations in the Congo without any decision to that effect by the Security Council, in violation of the most important provisions of the Charter.

55. The proposal to establish a peace fund is designed to perpetuate a system of this kind for the financing of United Nations operations. Such a procedure is bound to give rise to far-reaching adverse consequences. It would create a situation in which all questions concerning United Nations operations for the maintenance of peace and security would be decided not as provided for in the Charter but in such a way as to circumvent and violate it.

56. In conclusion, we would stress that the Soviet delegation has always been, and remains, opposed to attempts to undermine the Charter of the United Nations in the matter of strengthening peace and international security. We object to this, and give notice that we shall not participate in any financing of operations which involves bypassing and violating the United Nations Charter.

57. The Soviet delegation also considers that it is inappropriate and futile to undertake any further study of similar United Nations administrative and budgetary methods, which conflict with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. All this is clearly stated in the Charter—how these questions should be settled, especially questions concerning United Nations peace-keeping operations. Such questions should be dealt with by the Security Council.

58. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation cannot agree to the proposals contained in the document concerning reference of this question to the Working Group (of twenty-one countries), and we would like our position to be duly reflected in the records.

59. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The statement just made by the representative of the Soviet Union will appear in the record of the meeting. Now, if there are no objections, I shall consider that the General Assembly takes note of the Fifth Committee's report [A/5684].

*The General Assembly took note of the report.*

60. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): As members of the Assembly are aware, we are now going to hear the President of the United States of America. I accordingly propose to suspend the meeting at this time in order to go to receive the President.

*The meeting was suspended at 11.45 a.m. and resumed at 12 noon.*

61. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

Address by Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the  
United States of America

62. Mr. JOHNSON (President of the United States of America); Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates to the United Nations, ladies and gentlemen: We meet in a time of mourning, but in a moment of rededication. My nation has lost a great leader—this Organization has lost a great friend—world peace has lost a great champion.

63. But John F. Kennedy was the author of new hope for mankind—hope which was shared by a whole new generation of leaders, in every continent—and we must not let grief turn us away from that hope. He never quarrelled with the past—he always looked at the future—and our task now is to work for the kind of future in which he so strongly believed.

64. I have come here today to make it unmistakably clear that the assassin's bullet which took his life did not alter his nation's purpose. We are more than ever opposed to the doctrines of hate and violence, in our own land and around the world. We are more than ever committed to the rule of law, in our own land and around the world. We believe more than ever in the rights of man, all men of every colour—in our own land and around the world. And more than ever we support the United Nations as the best instrument yet devised to promote the peace of the world and to promote the well-being of mankind.

65. I can tell you today, as I told you in 1958, when I came as Majority Leader of the United States Senate to the First Committee of this great tribunal, that the full power and partnership of the United States is committed to our joint effort to eliminate war and the threat of war, aggression and the danger of violence, and to lift from all people everywhere the blight of disease, poverty and illiteracy.

66. Like all human institutions, the United Nations has not achieved the highest of hopes that some held at its birth. Our understanding of how to live with one another is still far behind our knowledge of how to destroy one another.

67. But as our problems have grown, this Organization has grown—in numbers, authority and prestige—and its Member nations have grown with it, in responsibility and in maturity. We have seen too much success to become obsessed with failure. The peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations has worked, in the Congo, in the Middle East and elsewhere. The great transition from colonial rule to independence has been largely accomplished. The Decade of Development has successfully begun. The world arms race has been slowed. The struggle for human rights has been gaining new force. And a start has been made in furthering mankind's common interest in outer space—in scientific exploration, in communications, in weather forecasting, in banning the stationing of nuclear weapons, and in establishing principles of law.

68. I know that vast problems remain: conflicts between great Powers; conflicts between small neighbours; disagreements over disarmament; persistence of ancient wrongs in the area of human rights; residual problems of colonialism; and all the rest. But men and nations, working apart, created these problems, and men and nations, working together, must solve them. They can solve them with the help of this Organization—when all Members make it a workshop for constructive action and not a forum for

abuse, when all Members seek its help in settling their own disputes as well as the disputes of others, when all Members meet their financial obligations to it, and when all Members recognize that no nation and no party and no single system can control the future of man.

69. When I entered the Congress of the United States twenty-seven years ago, it was my very great privilege to work closely with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. As a Member of Congress, I worked with him to bring about a profound but peaceful revolution. That peaceful revolution brought help and hope to the one-third of the nation that was then "ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished". We helped our working men and women obtain more jobs and we helped them obtain better wages. We helped our farmers to buy and improve their own land, conserve their soil and water, and electrify their farms. We harnessed the power of the great rivers, as in the Tennessee Valley and the Lower Colorado. We encouraged the growth of co-operatives and trade unions. We curbed the excesses of private speculation. We built homes in the place of city slums. And we extended the rights of freedom to all our citizens.

70. Now, on the world scale, the time has come, as it came to America thirty years ago, for a new era of hope—hope and progress for that one-third of mankind that is still beset by hunger, poverty and disease.

71. In my travels on behalf of my country and of President Kennedy, I have seen too much of misery and despair in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America. I have seen too often the ravages of hunger, tapeworm and tuberculosis—and the scabs and the scars on too many children who have too little health and no hope. I think that you and I and our countries and this Organization can—and must—do something about these conditions. I am not speaking here of a new way of life to be imposed by any single nation. I am speaking of a higher standard of living to be inspired by these United Nations. It will not be achieved through some hopeful resolution in this Assembly, but through a peaceful revolution in the world—through a recommitment of all our Members, rich and poor, strong and weak, whatever their location or their ideology, to the basic principles of human welfare and human dignity.

72. In this effort the United States will do its full share. In addition to bilateral aid, we have with great satisfaction assisted in recent years in the emergence and the improvement of international developmental institutions, both within and without this Organization. We favour the steady improvement of collective machinery for helping the less-developed nations build modern societies. We favour an international aid programme that is international in practice as well as in purpose. Every nation must do its share. All United Nations Members can do better—we can act more often together—we can build together a much better world.

73. The greatest of human problems—and the greatest of our common tasks—is to keep the peace and to save the future. All that we have built in the wealth of nations, and all that we plan to do toward a better life for all, will be in vain if our feet should slip, our vision falter, and our hopes end in another worldwide war.

74. If there is one commitment more than any other that I would like to leave with you today, it is my un-

swerving commitment to the keeping and the strengthening of the peace. Peace is a journey of a thousand miles, and it must be taken one step at a time.

75. We know what we want; the United States of America wants to see the cold war end. We want to see it end once and for all; the United States wants to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons to nations not now possessing them; the United States wants to press on with arms control and reduction; the United States wants to co-operate with all the Members of this Organization to conquer everywhere the ancient enemies of mankind—hunger and disease and ignorance; the United States wants sanity and security, and peace for all, and above all.

76. President Kennedy, I am sure, would regard as his best memorial the fact that in his three years as President the world became a little safer and the way ahead became a little brighter. To the protection and the enlargement of this new hope for peace I pledge my country and its Government.

77. My friends and fellow citizens of the world; soon you will return to your homelands. I hope you will take with you my gratitude for your generosity in

hearing me so late in the session. I hope you will convey to your countrymen the gratitude of all Americans for the companionship of sorrow which you shared with us in your messages of the last few weeks. And I hope you will tell them that the United States of America, sobered by tragedy, united in sorrow, renewed in spirit, faces the New Year determined that world peace, civil rights and human welfare become not an illusion but a reality.

78. Man's age-old hopes remain our goal—that this world, under God, can be safe for diversity; free from hostility, and a better place for our children and for all generations in the years to come. And therefore any man and any nation that seeks peace—and hates war—and is willing to fight the good fight against hunger and disease and ignorance and misery will find the United States of America by their side, willing to walk with them every step of the way.

79. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of the United States for the important statement he has just made.

*The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.*