

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1285th
 PLENARY MEETING**
 (Closing meeting)

Tuesday, 17 December 1963,
 at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page	Page
		<i>Agenda item 2:</i>
		<i>Minute of silent prayer or meditation</i>
		<i>Closure of the session</i>
<i>Agenda item 68:</i>		
<i>United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)</i>		27
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee</i>	1	27
<i>Agenda item 19:</i>		
<i>United Nations Emergency Force (concluded):</i>		
<i>(a) Report on the Force</i>	1	
<i>(b) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force (concluded):</i>		
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee</i>	2	
<i>Agenda items 22, 58 and 60:</i>		
<i>Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)</i>		
<i>Budget estimates for the financial year 1964 (concluded)</i>		
<i>Review of the pattern of conferences: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)</i>		
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee</i>	4	
<i>Agenda items 81, 82 and 12:</i>		
<i>Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly</i>		
<i>Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council</i>		
<i>Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter XIII, section VI) (continued)</i>		
<i>Report of the Special Political Committee.</i>	6	
<i>Agenda item 12:</i>		
<i>Report of the Economic and Social Council (continued)</i>		
<i>Report of the Second Committee</i>	17	
<i>Organization of the work of the Second Committee at future sessions of the General Assembly</i>		
<i>Report of the Second Committee</i>	18	
<i>Agenda item 12:</i>		
<i>Report of the Economic and Social Council [chapters XI (section I, except paragraphs 549 to 552), XII and XIII (sections I to V and X to XII)] (concluded).</i>	18	
<i>Agenda item 21:</i>		
<i>Report of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.</i>	18	
<i>Agenda item 10:</i>		
<i>Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.</i>	20	
<i>Statement by the President</i>	20	
<i>Completion of the work of the eighteenth session.</i>	21	

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 68

United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5685)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall first take up agenda items 68, 19, 22, 58 and 60, which were left over from this morning's meeting. The Assembly will then proceed to consider the items on the agenda for this afternoon's meeting.

2. We shall now take up item 68, concerning which the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution appearing in its report [A/5685, para. 8]. This draft resolution was unanimously approved by the Fifth Committee. May I assume that the General Assembly adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Fifth Committee also informs the Assembly [A/5685, para. 7] that it has agreed that the unspent balance of the grant for 1963 should be carried over to the 1964 financial year, for planning purposes. If there are no objections, I shall assume that the General Assembly agrees with this decision of the Fifth Committee.

The decision of the Fifth Committee was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 19

United Nations Emergency Force (concluded):
 (a) Report on the Force;

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now take up agenda item 19, on which we have a report by the Secretary-General [A/5494].

5. The only action required in connexion with subparagraph (a) of this item is that the Assembly should take note of the report. If there are no objections, I shall assume that the General Assembly takes note of the report.

The General Assembly took note of the report of the Secretary-General.

(b) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force
(concluded)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5680)

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): With regard to sub-paragraph (b) of item 19, the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution appearing in its report on the subject [A/5680, para. 22].
7. I give the floor to representatives wishing to explain their vote.
8. Mr. ULANCHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I should like to explain the reasons why the Soviet delegation will vote against the appropriations for the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. The Soviet Union's position of principle regarding the United Nations Emergency Force has been stated on several occasions and may be summed up as follows.
9. First, the establishment of the Emergency Force in 1956 in connexion with the armed attack against Egypt [resolution 1000 (ES-I)] took place in violation of the United Nations Charter, since it was effected in circumvention of the Security Council; under Chapter VII of the Charter, the creation and the use of United Nations armed forces fall exclusively within the competence of the Security Council.
10. The General Assembly, which was compelled to adopt a decision concerning the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force, is not empowered by the Charter of the United Nations to take any decisions regarding the creation and use of such forces. Although this armed force has been in existence for seven years, an illegal action continues to be illegal and time cannot possibly change that fact.
11. Secondly, inasmuch as the United Nations Emergency Force was set up in circumvention of the Security Council, in violation of the Charter, the financing of the Force cannot be regarded as an obligation for Members, since its operations are not being carried out in accordance with the requirements of the Charter.
12. Under the provisions of the Charter, only the Security Council is authorized to take decisions which are binding on Members of the Organization. The General Assembly can only make recommendations. Therefore, any decision which seeks, contrary to the Charter and by-passing the exclusive competence of the Security Council, to compel Member States to reimburse expenses connected with the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force cannot be regarded as legally binding on States Members of the United Nations.
13. Thirdly, the cost of maintaining the Force should be charged to the countries which carried out the attack against Egypt in 1956. Those are the countries which should bear both the political and the financial responsibility for the conflict and its consequences. Therefore, the only just and acceptable solution of the problem would be for the Powers responsible for the situation to assume the financial responsibility for the United Nations operations in the Middle East.
14. However, many attempts are being made to place the burden of the expenses arising from the conflict on the shoulders of all Members of the United Nations; this amounts to making the countries which did not take part in the conflict assume the financial and, consequently, the political responsibility.
15. As of 31 October 1963, forty-five countries were not participating in payments relating to the maintenance of UNEF. In our view, this is because it is difficult to convince States of the need to pay expenses connected with a conflict in which they took no part. Yet many attempts have been and still are being made to exert pressure on those countries which refuse to pay for the United Nations operations in the Middle East.
16. Our attitude towards the draft resolution [A/5680, para. 22] which has been submitted to the General Assembly for its approval is based on the position of principle that I have just outlined. This draft resolution, as well as all previous draft resolutions dealing with this question, is based—in violation of the United Nations Charter—on an irregular and illegal procedure for appropriating funds to meet the cost of United Nations actions connected with the maintenance of peace and security.
17. It is not a question of finding some compromise formula providing for an apportionment of assessments; the point is that both the operation itself and the principle of its financing are illegal. Nothing can justify the need to apportion the expenses for the maintenance of the Force among States not responsible for the conflict, or to present them with claims. Claims can be presented only to those countries which perpetrated the aggression.
18. In the light of these considerations, we shall vote against the draft resolution submitted; moreover, the Soviet Union will not consider itself bound by any recommendations made regarding the financing of the Emergency Force for 1964 and will not contribute towards meeting the cost of these operations.
19. Mr. QUIJANO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): As my delegation attaches great importance to this item, I shall give a brief explanation of our position with regard to the draft resolution under consideration [A/5680, para. 22].
20. The Argentine Government considers that the United Nations Emergency Force has done very effective work in maintaining peace in the Middle East and it wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General on the way in which he has handled the operation. My Government also wishes to thank the Member States which have provided military contingents for their efforts in the effective application of a collective system for the maintenance of peace and security. My Government, however, like the Secretary-General himself, understands that the United Nations Emergency Force was not established as a permanent institution and, in the light of the comments in the Secretary-General's report [A/5494, para. 5], it thinks that there should be a progressive movement towards the reduction of the operation to the point where it could become an observer mission or some other form of United Nations presence, which could be incorporated without great difficulty in the regular budget of the Organization.
21. On the basis of the study carried out and described in his report [A/C.5/1001], the Secretary-General states that the operation should retain its military character without major changes in its func-

tions, as established in 1956. We are disappointed to note these conclusions, although we recognise that nobody is in a better position than the Secretary-General to make a complete appraisal of the situation in the region where the Force is stationed. Having made those comments, therefore, we agree to the continuation of the Emergency Force during 1964, but we hope that the question of its size and functions will continue to be the subject of careful consideration.

22. We must also refer to the method of financing proposed for UNEF for the coming year. Together with all the developing countries, we have urged and we continue to urge that the criteria employed in apportioning United Nations expenditure for peace-keeping operations should be quite different from those utilized in working out the scale of assessments for the regular budget of the Organization. We do not want any reductions or benefits. What we want is a fair and equitable apportionment of expenditures that takes into account each Member State's capacity to pay, without any maximum or minimum limit, the political responsibilities defined by the United Nations Charter and the problems of economic development.

23. Resolution 1874 (S-IV) of 27 June 1963 is clear on this point. The memorandum^{1/} submitted by countries of the three developing continents to the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations is even clearer. The comments made previously with regard to the problem of financing the Emergency Force in particular, and United Nations peace-keeping operations in general, determine our position with respect to the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee.

24. First, we applaud the inclusion of the idea, set forth in the third paragraph of the preamble, that the Assembly should move towards a permanent solution of this problem, and we too hope that this *ad hoc* assessment will be the last to be presented. Secondly, we accept the financing formula proposed in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution as an immediate solution, on mutual concessions by the developed and developing countries, for this specific case.

25. It is true that much can be said both for and against this method of apportioning costs among Member States, and the proposed percentages may perhaps be described as arbitrary, but this is inevitable with the *ad hoc* procedures which have hitherto been employed to finance United Nations peace-keeping operations. We consider it essential that a special permanent scale should be established in order to avoid such arbitrary assessments.

26. To sum up, the Argentine delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. By this vote we reaffirm our belief in the collective responsibility of all States Members of the United Nations and our hope that the Assembly will soon be able to reach a general agreement on the financing of peace-keeping operations which will enable the United Nations to act effectively and rapidly whenever its presence is required in some crisis affecting international peace.

27. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended

to the General Assembly by the Fifth Committee, which appears in the Committee's report [A/5680, para. 22].

28. The delegation of Brazil has requested a separate vote on operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution. In accordance with the provisions of rule 91 of the rules of procedure, if I hear no objection I shall first put operative paragraph 3 to a separate vote, as has been requested. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Mexico, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sweden, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia.

Against: Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Zanzibar, Afghanistan, Algeria, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Ethiopia, France, Guinea, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Mali, Mauritania.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 61 votes to 11, with 34 abstentions.

29. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sweden, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil.

Against: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland,

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 7, document A/AC.113/18.

Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria.

Abstaining: Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Haiti, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Mali, Morocco, Panama, Peru, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Zanzibar, Algeria.

The draft resolution was adopted by 77 votes to 11, with 20 abstentions.

30. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call upon the representative of Panama for an explanation of vote.

31. Mr. QUINTERO (Panama) (translated from Spanish): As my delegation is one of the few which have abstained from voting on this draft resolution, I consider it my duty to reaffirm what, on the express instructions of my Government, the representative of Panama has already stated in the Fifth Committee: namely, that the Government of my country considers that the United Nations Emergency Force, as its name indicates, was created as an emergency measure, as an expedient of urgent necessity, in spite of which we have now been contributing to its support for seven long years. This leads my Government to apprehend the danger of this emergency measure being converted into a permanent arrangement, with the unfortunate consequences which, in the opinion of my delegation and of my Government, this would entail, not only from the economic standpoint but also from other angles.

32. The indefinite maintenance of these so-called emergency forces is a heavy burden on the limited budgets of small countries such as my own. The fact that contributions may in certain cases be reduced to a point where they no longer represent anything but symbolic contributions not only does not reduce the burden on our budget, but it places such countries in, as it were, an inferior position.

33. For these reasons, my Government considered that on this occasion the correct thing for our delegation to do was to abstain, since it does not consider it appropriate for us to come here to vote and to affect enthusiasm for a series of obligations which we are finding great difficulty in meeting.

34. In spite of all this, my country wishes and is prepared to carry out all the obligations it has already entered into and those which are being undertaken at this time, for this is our duty. It would point out, however, that if this tendency to convert these so-called emergency forces into an expedient and a new form of activity on the part of the United Nations is to continue—a course, moreover, which my Government considers that this Organization is not competent to undertake—my Government may perhaps find itself compelled in future to take a more intransigent line in voting on this question.

AGENDA ITEMS 22, 58 AND 60

Third International Conference, on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)

Budget estimates for the financial year 1964 (concluded)

Review of the pattern of conferences: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)

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

35. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now take up agenda items 22, 58 and 60, regarding which the Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/5681 and Add.1]. The first part of this report [A/5681] relates to the three items and five draft resolutions appear in it. The second part of the report [A/5681/Add.1] includes one draft resolution and deals with agenda item 58 only.

36. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union for an explanation of vote.

37. Mr. SOLODOVNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation will vote against the budget estimates of the United Nations for 1964, the draft resolution on the Working Capital Fund and that dealing with unforeseen and extraordinary expenses [A/5681, draft resolutions I-III]. I should like to explain briefly the reasons why my delegation will vote in this way.

38. The Soviet delegation considers that the situation in respect of the regular United Nations budget, by which the administrative expenses of the Organization are financed, cannot but give cause for serious concern.

39. First, the excessive expenditures of the Organization have led to an unjustified increase, year by year, in current expenses.

40. Secondly, the regular budget includes items in respect of measures carried out in violation of the Charter of our Organization.

41. Thirdly, the regular budget of the United Nations includes irregular and illegal provisions for the financing of United Nations technical assistance programmes in economic, social and other fields which can and should be financed only from extra-budgetary sources—that is, on a voluntary basis.

42. The excessive expenditures of the United Nations and, as a result, the constant growth in expenses have unfortunately become characteristic of our Organization's practice. In the past eight years alone—from 1956 to 1964—the sum total of expenses under the regular budget, the main element of which is administrative expenditure, has more than doubled; it has risen from \$50.5 million to almost \$102 million. In this process, despite the Secretariat's proclaimed policy of consolidation and containment—a very good policy—with respect to expenditures, the Organization's expenses under the regular budget have in 1964 increased by almost \$10 million as compared with the figure for 1963.

43. There has been a particularly large increase in respect of expenditure on staff, although such an increase is in no way necessary. Throughout most of 1963, there have been 172 unfilled vacancies; yet the Secretariat is proposing to increase the establishment for 1964 by sixty so-called temporary appointments. Unjustifiably large sums are also being spent in respect of missions and travel of Secretariat staff, information activities, the duplicating and printing—uncontrolled by any reasonable considerations—of documents and materials, and other measures. In this case, money is literally being thrown out of the window.

44. All these expenses can be reduced considerably if a policy of strict economy with respect to expenditure is followed. However, the Secretariat is pursuing the course of increasing the budget and expenses of the Organization from year to year, and gives little thought—or, more accurately, gives no thought at all—to improving the effectiveness of the machinery; it has no desire to count the cost, and therefore introduces no economies.

45. The inclusion in the United Nations regular budget of items to cover expenditures incurred in violation of the Charter makes the Organization's financial procedures even more unsatisfactory. In this connexion, attention must be drawn to the expenditure of considerable sums on the maintenance of various United Nations missions set up ten to fifteen years ago in violation of the Charter—missions which should have functioned only temporarily for the discharge of certain specific tasks, but which have in effect been converted into permanent bodies with constantly increasing staffs and expenditures. The uselessness of these bodies is obvious to all. Only the political motivations of certain States prevent these missions' activities from being terminated.

46. Contrary to the United Nations Charter, questions relating to such missions and their activities are not submitted to the Security Council, although it is the prerogative of the Council to decide on such matters. This is the situation which prevails in respect of questions relating to the activities of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine and other United Nations missions, as well as the Field Operations Service. Questions connected with the missions and the United Nations Field Operations Service are all illegally considered by the Fifth Committee, without any prior decision by the Security Council concerning the activities of these bodies.

47. The operations in the Congo and in the Middle East, conducted and financed in violation of the Charter, have resulted in expenditures amounting to more than \$500 million and have shaken the financial structure of the United Nations. These actions have led to a further illegal measure: the United Nations bond issue. The appropriations for the service and amortization of the bonds have also been unjustifiably and illegally included in the regular budget of our Organization.

48. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed the removal of all these items from the United Nations budget. However, owing to the selfish stand of certain Powers which are trying to make all the Members of the United Nations responsible for the expenses incurred by their own policies, these items are year after year included in the regular budget; and the Soviet Union cannot, of course, accept this situation.

49. The Soviet delegation accordingly states once more that, in 1964 as well, the Soviet Union will make no contribution towards covering the expenditures in question—namely, those relating to the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Korea, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, the so-called Field Operations Service, and the service and amortization of United Nations bonds; for none of these institutions and none of the expenditures for their maintenance are in line

with the interests of the United Nations—on the contrary, they undermine its foundations.

50. We cannot agree to the inclusion in the regular budget of expenses related to the financing of United Nations technical assistance programmes in the economic and social fields. Following the example of last year, the regular budget for 1964 includes the sum of \$6.4 million for the provision of technical assistance to developing countries.

51. We cannot accept the irregular and fundamentally unsound organization of technical assistance, under the regular programme of the United Nations, whereby obstacles are raised against participation by many Member States in that programme. Under such circumstances the assistance provided by the United Nations loses its universal and international character. Operations under that programme are carried out on a unilateral basis under the direction and control of a narrow circle of Western Powers. The socialist countries are virtually excluded from the implementation of the regular programme of technical assistance, despite the fact that their combined contribution to the regular budget is very substantial and amounts to more than 21 per cent of the Organization's total income.

52. The Soviet Union is participating and is prepared to continue participating in the United Nations programmes of technical assistance to developing countries on a voluntary basis—that is, by providing those countries with Soviet specialists, equipment, materials and so forth. But the Soviet Union does not intend to pay for supplies and experts sent to the developing countries by the Western Powers. We are against such a course. In this connexion, we should like to state that in 1964, as in 1963, the Soviet Union will pay its share of the \$6.4 million in respect of technical assistance in Soviet, not in foreign, currency.

53. This will make it possible to correct the abnormal situation which has arisen over the provision of this assistance, and the developing countries will thus be able to employ Soviet experts and to order necessary equipment and supplies in the Soviet Union.

54. These are the views of the Soviet delegation regarding the regular budget of the United Nations.

55. The Soviet delegation will vote against draft resolution III for the maintenance of the Working Capital Fund at \$40 million in 1964. In 1963 the Fund was unjustifiably increased by \$15 million: we consider that its increase from \$25 million to \$40 million is unwarranted and not dictated by the real needs of the Organization.

56. The Soviet delegation will also vote against draft resolution II concerning unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1964, under which the Secretariat is authorized to spend up to \$10 million on measures for the maintenance of peace and security.

57. Our delegation considers that neither the Secretary-General of the United Nations nor the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions has the right to take decisions on questions relating to the financing of United Nations measures for the maintenance of peace and security. Under the United Nations Charter, this right belongs solely to the Security Council: no other organ of the United Nations can deprive the Security Council of that right, without violating the Charter.

58. These are the views of the Soviet delegation on the questions under consideration; and it will accordingly vote against the draft resolutions concerning the budget for the financial year 1964, the maintenance of the Working Capital Fund at \$40 million, and unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1964.

59. Furthermore, the Soviet delegation cannot vote for the unexpected proposal, brought up at the last minute, to extend the time-limit for the purchase of United Nations bonds [A/5681/Add.1].

60. The Soviet delegation cannot vote in favour of this proposal, for two reasons.

61. First, this is a separate question which, in accordance with United Nations procedure, should have been thoroughly discussed; the General Assembly ought first to have decided to include the question in the agenda of its eighteenth session, and then to have discussed it. However, as is known, this was not done; the question of the bond issue was artificially tacked on to the question of the budget estimates for 1964, with which it has no connexion. This, therefore, is an obvious violation of the usual procedure followed by the United Nations with regard to the consideration of items.

62. Secondly, as we have stated more than once, the Soviet delegation regards as illegal and contrary to the United Nations Charter the procedure of issuing United Nations bonds whose proceeds are used to finance the Organization's military operations in the Congo and the Middle East, carried out in violation of the basic provisions of the Charter and in circumvention of the Security Council. This represents an attempt to make all Member States responsible for the cost of operations which are executed in the interests of a certain group of States and which have nothing to do with the real aims of the maintenance of international peace and security.

63. In view of these considerations, the Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution concerning the extension to the end of 1964 of the time-limit for the purchase of United Nations bonds [*ibid.*, para. 8].

64. In conclusion, we consider it necessary to emphasize that the entire responsibility for the imposition on the General Assembly of decisions which conflict with the United Nations Charter and therefore undermine the foundations of our Organization rests with the countries that are advocating these illegal measures.

65. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the five draft resolutions I to V which appear in the first part of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5681, para. 106].

66. We shall vote first on draft resolutions I to III.

Part A of draft resolution I was adopted by 96 votes to 10, with 3 abstentions.

Part B of draft resolution I was adopted by 109 votes to none.

Part C of draft resolution I was adopted by 97 votes to 11, with 1 abstention.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 100 votes to 11.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 98 votes to 11, with 1 abstention.

67. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now take up draft resolution IV. The Fifth Committee approved this draft resolution unanimously and, if there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly too adopts it unanimously.

Draft resolution IV was adopted unanimously.

68. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on draft resolution V.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 98 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

69. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I invite the General Assembly to vote on the draft resolution which appears in the second part of the report of the Fifth Committee (A/5681/Add.1, para. 8).

The draft resolution was adopted by 88 votes to 12, with 5 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEMS 81, 82 AND 12

Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly

Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter XIII, section VI) (*continued*)

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/5675)

70. Mrs. ACHARD (Dahomey), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee (translated from French): For the last time during this session I am about to perform a task which has become as familiar to me as it is pleasant, that of introducing the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5675]. This report is concerned with the examination of agenda items 81, 82 and 12.

71. The first two items, entitled respectively "Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly" and "Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council", were the subject of various draft resolutions that were put to the vote at the 429th meeting of the Committee.

72. Before the votes were taken, the chairmen of the Afro-Asian and African groups stated, in their capacity as chairmen of those groups, that the new distribution of seats in the Security Council, as set forth in the draft resolution submitted on this subject [A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1], should be understood in the following way as far as the five Afro-Asian seats were concerned: three would be for Africa and two for Asia. They also made it clear that, for the nineteenth session, their groups would abide by the status quo for the Latin Americans with respect to the distribution of the existing seats, if by that time the Secretariat had not received the ratifications allowing of the new distribution.

73. A first Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2] on the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly was put to the vote and adopted by 109 votes to none. The draft resolutions concerning the two Councils [A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105] were then put to the vote. The Committee adopted them both by a large majority.

74. The Special Political Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the three draft resolutions I, II A, and II B, [A/5675, para. 21], which will settle a controversial question of long standing.

75. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the decision which the General Assembly has just taken, statements with regard to these items will be limited to explanations of vote. I accordingly call on the representatives who wish to explain their vote.

76. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly has before it the Report of the Special Political Committee [A/5675] on its consideration of the question of equitable representation on the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the General Committee.

77. The inclusion of this question, put forward by a large group of African and Asian countries [A/5519 and A/5520], in the agenda of the General Assembly's eighteenth session was due to the legitimate efforts of the young independent States of Africa and Asia to assert and consolidate their equality and sovereignty by securing an equal voice not only in the United Nations itself, but also in its main organs.

78. True to its principle of showing solidarity with peoples which are struggling for national independence or for the consolidation of State sovereignty which they have already gained, the Soviet Union, as is well known to all, has given and continues to give extensive and effective support to the national liberation movement on all the most decisive fronts.

79. The Soviet Union's consistent position has always been, and continues to be, based on the contention that the United Nations is one of the main instruments and channels through which struggling peoples and young States should be helped to gain what is lawfully theirs, and that in its work the United Nations should faithfully bear in mind, and reflect, the interests of the groups of States which really exist in the world today, rather than allow itself to become a conservative body divorced from reality.

80. Precisely for this reason the Soviet Union, at the General Assembly's fifteenth session, not only initiated the adoption^{2/} of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], which has played a truly historic role, but also advocated a radical reconstruction of the organs of the United Nations and proposed that the three groups of States—the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, and the countries belonging to the Western military blocs—should have equal representation in those organs. The implementation of this proposal would effectively secure for Africa and Asia the place to which they are entitled in all the organs of the United Nations.

81. The sympathies of the Soviet Union and its people are completely on the side of the young independent States. It is our unshakable belief that there can be nothing but justification for a decision ensuring that the African and Asian States which have become Members of the Organization in recent years and now constitute more than half its membership are suitably

represented in the appropriate organs of the United Nations.

82. The Soviet Union has no intention of defending the unjust distribution of power which now exists in the main organs of the United Nations. It is clear to all that if the young independent States do not at present have due voice in these organs, it is not because the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries occupy a predominant position in them. It is no secret that such predominance in United Nations organs is at the present time held by the Western Powers and is used against both the young States of Africa and Asia and the socialist countries.

83. Let me adduce some proofs of this. It is well known that a completely abnormal position has developed, for example, with regard to the representation of East European countries on the Security Council. The right of countries from that part of the world to occupy proportionate places as non-permanent members of the Security Council is being undermined without the slightest justification. Furthermore, the place of those countries on the Security Council has been usurped for half the period of eighteen years during which the United Nations has existed. It is very significant that, throughout this time, the place reserved for a West European non-permanent member of the Security Council has remained inviolate.

84. In another connexion, can it possibly be considered a normal state of affairs when, of all the Professional posts in the United Nations Secretariat which are subject to geographical distribution, 68 per cent are occupied by citizens of Western countries and their allies, while citizens of the socialist countries occupy only 12 per cent of such posts and the citizens of the non-aligned countries only 20 per cent? Such a position can only be described as quite intolerable.

85. Finally, no less significant is the question of the election of the President of the General Assembly. It seems incredible that, through the efforts of the Western Powers, no representative of a socialist country has been elected to this position during the whole eighteen years of the United Nations existence. It is impossible not to regard this as evidence of the most obvious and absolutely intolerable discrimination.

86. These facts, to which I could easily add, are striking proof that, when it is a question of ensuring equitable representation in United Nations organs, the basic interests of the socialist countries and of the non-aligned States coincide. An end must be put to the dominating position of the Western countries in United Nations organs, just as an end must be put to the discrimination in United Nations organs against the non-aligned States and the socialist countries, which is a complementary aspect of this abnormal situation. It is only in this way that the United Nations can be strengthened, that it can be enabled to carry out effectively the great tasks before it, and that the peace and security of nations can be ensured.

87. It is therefore a matter for satisfaction that, as a result of consideration of this question in the Special Political Committee, an important step has finally been taken towards the achievement of equitable representation in a United Nations organ such as the General Committee of the General Assembly. The countries of Africa and Asia, which have for long been seeking equitable representation in this body,

^{2/}Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, documents A/4501 and A/4502.

will now have an adequate voice in its affairs. According to the draft resolution on this matter [A/5675] unanimously approved by the Special Political Committee and recommended by it to the General Assembly, the countries of Africa and Asia are to have half the number of seats on the General Committee remaining after subtraction of those belonging to the five permanent members of the Security Council.

88. Another feature of undoubted value is that, in its present form, the draft resolution on the composition of the General Committee which is being recommended for adoption by the General Assembly is of universal applicability and extends the principle of equitable representation to all aspects of that Committee's work, including the position of President of the General Assembly, who is also Chairman of the General Committee. This draft will make impossible any recurrence of the abnormal situation of the past, whereby in the elections for the position of President of the General Assembly all eyes were studiously lowered as soon as any representative of the East European area came into view. It is now acknowledged that discrimination in this respect must end, and in this draft resolution Eastern Europe has taken its rightful place among the other geographical areas whose representatives may be elected to the position of President of the General Assembly.

89. The Soviet delegation will vote for this draft resolution on the composition of the General Committee, considering it to be a draft which correctly reflects the principle of equitable representation in United Nations organs.

90. The solution of the question of the composition of the General Committee, proposed in this draft resolution which we are sure will be adopted by the General Assembly, emphasizes the need for unswerving observance of the principle of equitable representation for geographical areas in the search for solutions to other similar questions regarding the composition of United Nations organs.

91. The Soviet Union, as we have repeatedly pointed out, has consistently advocated that the countries of Asia and Africa be granted their due representation not only in the General Committee, but also in such main organs of the United Nations as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. As is known, the proposals put forward in this matter by the Soviet Government provide, in particular, that the Afro-Asian countries should be granted not less than half of the places on the Security Council reserved for non-permanent members.

92. We would also specially stress that, in advocating due representation for the countries of Africa and Asia on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, the Soviet Union in no way excludes, but indeed contemplates, the possibility that the membership of these main United Nations bodies may be increased for this purpose. Allow me to recall that this position of the Soviet Union is a logical premise and a natural consequence of the proposal regarding the need for structural reorganization of the controlling organs of the United Nations which was made by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, as long ago as the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [869th meeting, paras. 273-285; 882nd meeting, paras. 2-54].

93. In its advocacy of changes in the composition of the principal organs of the United Nations, the Soviet

Union has always laid special stress on the desirability of increasing the membership of that main organ of the United Nations which bears responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security—the Security Council.

94. The fundamental desirability of a change in the composition of the Security Council along these lines has been indicated by the Head of the Soviet Government in his speeches, including that delivered at a meeting of Moscow workers on 20 October 1960 regarding the work of the Soviet delegation to the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The fundamental position of the Soviet Union in this matter is thus perfectly clear.

95. We all know, however, that if the membership of such main organs of the United Nations as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council is to be increased, appropriate amendments must be made to the Charter of the United Nations. We also know that, under the provisions of the Charter itself, the amendment of any part of the Charter would be invalid and unlawful unless approved by all five permanent members of the Security Council. Since the Western Powers persist in their policy of refusing to restore the lawful rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, which is a permanent member of the Security Council, the solution of this problem, solely because of the attitude of those Powers, remains impossible.

96. This problem, may I point out, is not a new one; it has a whole history behind it. China's attitude to it has long been well known. The People's Republic of China has expressed very definite views on the substance of this matter at various times in the past. Thus in an editorial entitled "We resolutely oppose new United States plots" and printed in the 22 September 1961 issue of the newspaper *Renmin Ribao*, which is the official organ of the People's Republic of China, it was stressed that "without the participation of the People's Republic of China, which is one of the permanent members of the Security Council, any amendment of the United Nations Charter is illegal". Allow me to repeat those last few words: "any amendment of the United Nations Charter is illegal".

97. In view of the efforts of the independent countries of Asia and Africa to find a solution to the problem of enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, the Soviet Government, as the Soviet delegation stated in the Special Political Committee on 10 and 14 December [423rd and 427th meetings], approached the Government of the People's Republic of China in order to secure clarification of the latter's position on the question under discussion.

98. The Soviet Government received a reply from the Government of the People's Republic of China—the only lawful representative of China, and a permanent member of the Security Council. The Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China gave to the USSR Ambassador in Peking the following answer: "We do not approve of the solving of this problem through an increase in the membership of United Nations organs; we favour its solution through equitable distribution of the existing seats in those organs."

99. It is also well known that the People's Republic of China, in its statement of 12 December 1963, declared that the method based on the redistribution of existing seats in the Security Council and the Eco-

nomic and Social Council was "much simpler and easier to operate in existing conditions" than the method entailing amendment of the relevant articles of the United Nations Charter, which, it was pointed out in the statement, "involves questions which are highly complicated and are connected with extremely complicated procedures". Thus the statement of 12 December 1963 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China—I speak of its essence and not of its actual wording—once again confirms that at present, when the People's Republic of China is not participating in the work of the United Nations, its Government favours, not the amendment of the United Nations Charter, but the redistribution of existing seats in the main organs of the United Nations within the limits of the present number of seats in those organs.

100. The Soviet Government views with understanding the position of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the question of enlarging the membership of the main organs of the United Nations, and steadfastly supports the demand of the People's Republic of China for the restoration of its lawful rights in the Organization. To take any action in the matter of amending the United Nations Charter without the agreement of the People's Republic of China would be, not only to violate the Charter itself, but to play into the hands of those who are concerned to create the notorious "two-China situation".

101. The Soviet delegation would emphasize that, as the voting in the Special Political Committee on 16 December 1963 [429th meeting] showed, not one of the permanent members of the Security Council supported the draft resolutions, regarding the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, which called for amendment of the United Nations Charter. In the circumstances, the Soviet delegation considers it essential once more to draw the attention of all States Members of the United Nations to the need for the holding of further consultations on this matter.

102. There can hardly be any need to prove in detail the desirability of the method of negotiation and consultation as a means of achieving understanding and agreement. It is clear to all that our task is neither to create new difficulties nor to allow matters to become still more complicated. It is our profound conviction that only through consultation can a solution acceptable to all be found.

103. May I point out that the difference of opinion, in essence, does not at present turn on the question whether we should meet the request of the African and Asian countries in regard to their fairer representation in the main organs of the United Nations. On that point the Soviet Union is in complete agreement with those countries; it advocates, as it always has done, that that problem be solved as speedily as possible. The question we are discussing is a different one. It is this: how we are to proceed to a solution of this problem without violating the Charter of the United Nations. The Soviet Union is convinced that such a solution can be found.

104. Given all these considerations, the Soviet delegation appeals to the General Assembly not to permit unjustified haste, but to display good sense and to postpone the voting on the draft resolutions regarding the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council until such time as a universally acceptable solution to this problem has been found.

105. If, however, these draft resolutions calling for amendments to the Charter are nevertheless put to the vote, the Soviet delegation, in the circumstances which have developed, will have no choice and will be compelled to vote against them.

106. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): Now that we are about to proceed to the vote, my delegation considers it necessary to recall once again that, on two occasions in the Special Political Committee [427th and 429th meetings], it expressed, as clearly as it could, the opinion that a decision at this stage, which would not receive the unanimous support of the Members, would not hasten the day when, as we hope and as we have affirmed, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council could be enlarged in such a way as to give satisfaction to the new Members and to respect the delicate equilibrium on which the Charter was established.

107. In the circumstances, my delegation considers that the Assembly would demonstrate great wisdom and political sense if it postponed its decision on draft resolutions II A and II B concerning the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, which were approved last night by the Special Political Committee, until a decision acceptable to all has been reached.

108. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call upon the representative of Syria, on a point of order.

109. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): In view of the proposals that have just been made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and France, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to make the following proposal. The question that we are considering is a serious one. It involves amendment of the United Nations Charter, which presupposes an element of responsibility. It also raises problems of a political and legal nature.

110. In the circumstances and in view of the appeal made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and France, I propose to the President and to the General Assembly, not that the meeting should be suspended, but that discussion on this question should be adjourned for the time being. The Assembly could now take up the items appearing on its agenda after this one, and revert to the present item later. That would enable the parties concerned to come to some agreement among themselves and to consider the position they might adopt with regard to the appeal made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and France. If the Assembly accepted my proposal, the parties concerned in the question of the enlargement of the two Councils could confer together and come to some agreement while the Assembly was examining the subsequent items.

111. I appeal to the representatives here present to recognize that the question is sufficiently serious to require additional consultations. Under my proposal, the decision on the question of enlarging the membership of the Councils would not in any case be postponed until tomorrow; but it would be taken at the end of today's meeting.

112. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): the General Assembly has just heard the proposal made by the representative of Syria. I call on the representative of Ethiopia on a point of order.

113. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I do not know whether I should in fact be speaking on a point of order, because I do not think that the representative of Syria made a concrete proposal. If I am mistaken, I am sure the President will correct me.

114. I am bound to say that the preparation of the two draft resolutions [A/5675, para. 21] now before the Assembly has taken a long time. I think it is no secret that the thirty-two African States have had a great deal to do with the preparation of these two draft resolutions. Furthermore, the Assembly knows very well the positions of the Government of France and the Government of the Soviet Union.

115. I would stress that it was in the clear light of day that we requested that these items should be considered and that we spent so much time and energy in negotiating with the various groups. We have now arrived at a certain stage and I must beg you, Mr. President, to let us proceed with the vote so that those of us who have been under-represented ever since the beginning of this Organization will at least be able to register our feeling and our position. This is a serious matter for us. We should like to see how the Assembly votes on these draft resolutions. We have some indication from the votes in Committee yesterday, but we should still like to see how the Assembly will vote now.

116. Now, after having voted, if there should be any adjustment or negotiation to be done, then, of course, it can be. But we must register our position. It is not easy for us to spend over six weeks negotiating with various groups and then to come here and be told that the vote must be postponed.

117. Therefore, I must appeal to and beg the representative of Syria to let us proceed to the vote right away on this subject.

118. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before calling on the other speakers who have asked to be heard, I wish to explain the procedural situation in which we find ourselves.

119. The proposal made by the representative of Syria is that we should adjourn the debate on agenda items 81 and 82 until the discussion of the other points on the agenda is completed. This would mean a mere adjournment of the debate, which would be resumed as soon as our consideration of the remaining items before us is completed. In any case, we have a motion for the adjournment of the debate, presented by the representative of Syria. Such a motion falls under rule 76 of the rules of procedure. In accordance with this rule, two representatives may speak in favour of the motion and two against it, after which it will be put to the vote.

120. The representative of Ethiopia has already spoken against the adjournment. Accordingly one other representative may speak against the motion and two may speak in its favour.

121. I give the floor to the representative of Albania.

122. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The Albanian delegation opposes the proposal made by the representative of Syria and supports the proposal of the representative of Ethiopia.

123. In view of the capital importance of this question, I should like to give some very important particulars in connexion with the statement that the representative of the Soviet Union made a little while

ago. I believe that my explanation will enlighten the Assembly on the important question that we are now discussing.

124. Today the representative of the Soviet Union has repeated in the General Assembly certain allegations that he had made in the Special Political Committee on 10 and 14 December [423rd and 427th meetings] with regard to the attitude of the People's Republic of China to the question of the representation of African and Asian countries on the principal organs of the United Nations. In view of the statement he made yesterday in the Special Political Committee [429th meeting] and with the truth clear for all to see, it might have been expected that he would retract unfounded allegations and abandon tendentious manoeuvres designed to make the Government of the People's Republic of China say something that it has never said. The fact that the representative of the Soviet Union has repeated his previous allegations shows that this is not the case; it also shows that, when the Special Political Committee yesterday adopted, by an overwhelming majority, draft resolutions satisfying the just claims of the African and Asian countries, the lesson was lost upon him.

125. The representative of the Soviet Union said at the meetings of the Special Political Committee on 10 and 14 December, and repeated here just now, that the Government of the People's Republic of China had informed the Government of the Soviet Union that it was opposed to the enlargement of the membership of the two principal organs of the United Nations, namely the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, and that it was in favour of an equitable distribution of the present number of seats in these two organs.

126. Naturally, none of us here was present at the conversations that took place between the representatives of the Chinese and Soviet Union Governments. But we, and many representatives here, are well aware of the high-principled and reputable policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China and of the statements made by that Government on many occasions concerning the activities of the United Nations. Consequently, it is difficult for us and for all those who are acquainted with the situation to believe what the representative of the Soviet Union insists is the position of the People's Republic of China on the question of the equitable representation of Afro-Asian countries on the principal organs of the United Nations.

127. Better still—and fortunately for us—the statement made on 12 December 1963 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China gives the lie to the assertions that the representative of the Soviet Union has made here on this question. It is clear from the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China that the representative of the Soviet Union not only has misinformed the General Assembly but has completely distorted the position of the People's Republic of China on the question under discussion.

128. This same statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China was quoted here a little while ago by the representative of the Soviet Union himself. The quotation he gave us confirms that what he said earlier in the Special Political Committee does not correspond with what the Government of the People's Republic of China

said. The representative of the Soviet Union recited to us certain opinions on details of procedure.

129. In order to be more specific, and to help the General Assembly to know the true facts, I shall venture to quote a few extracts from a very interesting report issued by the Chinese news agency Hsinhua in Peking on 12 December 1963. I shall quote the text in English. After an allusion to the statement made in the Special Political Committee on 10 December 1963 by the representative of the Soviet Union [423rd meeting], the report states:

[The speaker continued in English.]

"Announcing this on Tuesday in the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet delegate, for ulterior motives, distorted the stand of the Chinese Government on the question. In his speech he tried to confound the public and sow dissension between China and the other Asian and African countries.

"Fedorenko's speech was reported to have drawn angry reaction from Asian and African delegates who requested the publication by the United Nations of the full text of his speech and the adjournment of the debate for a careful study of the text.

"The Special Political Committee is now discussing the expansion of the principal bodies of the United Nations. Fifty-three African-Asian countries introduced a resolution on Monday calling for the expansion of African-Asian representation in the General Assembly's Steering Committee.

"The joint resolution of the African-Asian nations reflects the legitimate desire of the Asian and African countries to have a broader representation of the United Nations.

"The present distribution of seats at the United Nations bodies is most unreasonable, as many new independent countries have emerged in Asia and Africa since the Second World War in the course of the rapid growth of the national independence movement in the colonies and semi-colonies there, and increasing numbers of Asian and African countries have become United Nations Member States. Of the 111 United Nations Member States today, fifty-six are in Asia and Africa, accounting for more than half of the total. But these countries are not equally represented at the United Nations as a result of the domination and manipulations by imperialist Powers headed by the United States.

"In his speech the Soviet representative, Mr. Fedorenko, while voicing his Government's 'sympathy' with the desire of the African and Asian countries for more extensive representation in the principal United Nations bodies, tied this question to that of restoring to China her legitimate rights in the United Nations. He tried painstakingly to create the erroneous impression that the Chinese Government refused to support the above-mentioned demand of the Asian and African countries before China's legitimate rights in the United Nations were restored."

[The speaker resumed in French.]

I should like to draw your particular attention to this part of the quotation:

[The speaker continued in English.]

"He, furthermore, used this as the pretext for his Government's refusal to support the representatives of the Asian and African nations in pressing their legitimate demand.

"According to a Tass report, Fedorenko said that in view of the fact that the independent countries in Asia and Africa are working for a solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, the Soviet Government inquired of the Chinese Government about its position on the question now under debate and had received a reply from it.

"But in elaborating on the Chinese reply, he alleged that China opposed an expansion of the membership of the United Nations bodies, whereas China's position is that she will undertake no commitment in connexion with any United Nations action so long as she is apart from the United Nations. He declared that the Soviet delegation could not vote for the proposals to introduce amendments to the United Nations Charter."

[The speaker resumed in French.]

130. Such is the position of the People's Republic of China on the question. The Chinese Government did not say that it was opposed to the enlargement of the membership of the two organs. It only said that it could not undertake any commitment in this connexion, which is more than just since the People's Republic of China is deprived of its lawful right to occupy its seat in the United Nations.

131. Moreover, according to the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on 12 December 1963, the Chinese Government considers that the question of the equitable representation of the African and Asian countries on the principal organs of the United Nations is completely separate from that of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

132. Why therefore seek at all costs to accuse, even in a somewhat veiled manner, the People's Republic of China? Is it China's fault if it is not present at our deliberations to make its valuable contribution to the efforts of the peace-loving countries to settle the problems under consideration by the United Nations? Can it be reproached in any way if it refuses to assume responsibility for the activities of the United Nations, when it is not allowed to participate in those activities because such is the will of the United States, which pursues a hostile and aggressive policy towards it? Is it not enough that China has already suffered a grave injustice by being deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations? Must we add injustice to injustice and accuse if of not assuming its responsibilities with regard to the question that we are now examining and trying to settle? If certain States lack the courage to speak out frankly here because they wish to find some pretext for their opposition to the just claims of the new countries of Africa and Asia, they should none the less refrain from bringing the People's Republic of China into it.

133. The position of the People's Republic of China with regard to the work and activities of the United Nations—in which it is not allowed to participate—has been clearly stated many times by its Government. The Chinese Government has stated publicly on several occasions that it does not consider itself in any way bound by international agreements which

it had no part in formulating and which do not bear its signature. With regard to the activities of the United Nations, it has also stated that it will not recognize any decision or any step taken by the United Nations as long as its rightful place within the Organization continues to be usurped by the puppets of Chiang Kai-shek.

134. Such an attitude is just and beyond reproach and it is consistent with the interests and the dignity of any independent sovereign State. Let us therefore abandon unworthy manoeuvres, which any sensible man can see are inadmissible, and let us not use the pretext of China to hide our own position. Let us leave the People's Republic of China in peace and let each country have the courage to shoulder its own responsibilities and, once it has examined the basic facts of the problem, to take a clear stand and say whether it is in favour of the just claims of the African and Asian countries that desire an increase in the number of seats in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council and an equitable distribution of those seats. Those who proclaim here that they are in favour of these demands should confirm their words by deeds and take a definite position when the time comes to vote. Those who are opposed to this adjustment, which has become necessary because of the great changes in the composition of our Organization, should say so clearly. Their attitude will certainly correspond to the wishes of the imperialists, who desire at all costs to prevent the full recognition in the United Nations of the rights of the new countries of Africa and Asia, which play a very important role in preventing the aims of the imperialists from being realized and in preventing the United Nations from being used for ends contrary to the Charter and in ways contrary to the Charter.

135. The representative of the Soviet Union has said in this Assembly that those who accept changes in the Charter, those who accept the legitimate demands and proposals of the African and Asian countries for an increase in the number of seats in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council are guilty of a violation of the Charter and, furthermore, recognize the existence of two Chinas. The General Assembly knows perfectly well that the Albanian delegation has taken a stand favouring the demands of the African and Asian countries for an increase in the number of seats in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council and for an equitable distribution of those seats in accordance with the legitimate wishes of the Afro-Asian countries. I must therefore reply to the allegations of the USSR representative. The Albanian Government has never questioned the fact that there is but one China. Our position on the question is well known and we have always maintained—and did so again during the present session of the General Assembly, when we took the initiative in proposing the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly [A/5498] of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China—that there is only one China in the world, the People's Republic of China, and that its Government is the only Government which represents China. Everyone knows that our position on that question is unyielding. But we feel compelled to point out on this occasion that it is the Government of the Soviet Union which, together with the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, voted in favour of several decisions of the Security Council, including the decision to send troops to the Congo, and that the Soviet Union Government

has even recognized the signature of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on the Moscow Treaty for the partial banning of nuclear tests. It is thus the Soviet Union that recognizes two Chinas.

136. Our position on the just demand of the countries of Africa and Asia is explained solely by our Government's policy, which is designed to thwart the plans of the imperialists and their accomplices to prevent the newly independent Afro-Asian countries from enjoying their full and lawful rights in the United Nations, including the equitable representation of those countries on the two great organs of the Organization.

137. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I have to announce to the Assembly that at this stage of the proceedings the representative of Syria has informed me that he is withdrawing the motion for adjournment which he had proposed in accordance with rule 76 of the rules of procedure. We shall accordingly continue the explanations of vote, from the point we had reached when Syria proposed the motion in question.

138. Mr. TALLARIGO (Italy): The Italian delegation, confirming its vote of last night in the Special Political Committee, will vote in favour of draft resolution I of the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5675, para. 21] concerning the composition of the General Committee, and will equally vote in favour of the two draft resolutions, draft resolution II A, relating to composition of the Security Council and draft resolution II B, relating to composition of the Economic and Social Council, as they appear in that report.

139. This attitude is consistent with the policy constantly pursued by the Italian delegation in order to provide, through the enlargement of the principal bodies of our Organization a more equitable representation for African and Asian countries in those bodies. This necessity was forcefully and very clearly stressed by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Piccioni, at the very beginning of the seventeenth session [1136th meeting]. These same views were also stressed by the representative of Italy, speaking last summer to the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. Our favourable vote was cast notwithstanding the fact that this resolution entails certain sacrifices for the geographic group to which my country belongs, in relation to the position reserved to other groups. We were, however, happy to support these resolutions as a contribution toward the attainment of the goal which we all strive to achieve. We trust that the same spirit will guide all delegations and that, pending the necessary ratifications, no initiative will be taken which could destroy the present atmosphere of co-operation between groups. This very co-operation will in fact be required if the new balance, so laboriously achieved, is to become a reality.

140. It is with this understanding that my delegation will vote in favour of the three draft resolutions.

141. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): We should like to explain why the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which in the Special Political Committee voted against draft resolutions A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105, that is to say, against Parts A and B of draft resolution II in the report submitted to us [A/5675, para. 21], cannot now vote differently in the General Assembly.

142. Before presenting my remarks on this subject, however, I should like to express the heartiest congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the delegations of Kenya and Zanzibar on the occasion of their countries' attainment of independence and their admission to membership of the United Nations. The Bulgarian people and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have always given their unstinting support to the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial oppression. We are particularly happy to note that the United Nations membership is growing as the historic process of decolonization gathers momentum.

143. The newly liberated countries now admitted to membership of the United Nations have been making intensive and constructive efforts towards the fulfilment of the purposes of our Organization, namely, the maintenance of peace, economic, social and cultural development and the establishment of fruitful co-operation among all peoples and States.

144. It has been found, however, that these constructive efforts are handicapped by the fact that these countries have not hitherto been able to participate adequately in the work of all the principal organs of the United Nations. Having actively contributed to the efforts aimed at the liberation of the colonial peoples, our people share the idea that such participation in the principal organs of the United Nations should be made available to these countries.

145. Accordingly, in the discussions which took place in the Special Political Committee and in the voting, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria supported the draft resolution [A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2] under which the membership of the General Committee would be increased.

146. We cannot, however, support draft resolutions II A and II B concerning an increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council because those draft resolutions could not be adopted and put into effect without a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The enlargement of the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council is a question which is governed directly by the provisions of the Charter and not, as in the case of the General Committee, by the rules of procedure.

147. Now, any revision or amendment of the United Nations Charter requires, under Articles 108 and 109 of the Charter itself, to be ratified by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. At the present time, however, there are only four permanent members seated in the Security Council, the fifth being absent owing to the fact that the People's Republic of China is not represented in the United Nations.

148. This state of affairs, resulting from the manoeuvres of certain Powers who oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, makes it impossible for us at present to take up the question of any revision or amendment of the Charter. If we want to undertake such changes, all the conditions for the proper functioning of the United Nations must be fulfilled. That is even more necessary in a matter of such importance as amending the text of the Charter, which is the Fundamental Law and Constitution of our Organization.

149. The question of a revision of the Charter of the United Nations was first mooted a long time ago, but it has proved impossible without the participation of China. It now seems that despite the reservations of the representatives of the western Powers in their statements in the Special Political Committee and despite the abstention of some of them in the voting, those Powers are endeavouring in particular to prepare public opinion for an amendment of the Charter in the absence and without the participation of the People's Republic of China. In this way, they are trying also to postpone indefinitely the restoration of that country's lawful rights in the United Nations.

150. The representatives of the western Powers had already indicated in their statements in the Special Political Committee that despite their abstention they would be inclined to reconsider their present position and to seek some way of bringing about the proposed amendments. It is to be anticipated that when the time comes all the western Powers, and in particular those who have abstained, will make it their duty to ratify the amendments provided for in the resolutions concerned, not only to justify the attitude they have taken in regard to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, but also to try to preserve the status quo in the United Nations.

151. At the same time, we are sure that a very large number of countries which voted in favour of draft resolutions A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105 are perfectly convinced that it is not possible to amend the Charter of the United Nations without the participation of China, that is to say, the People's Republic of China.

152. Their representatives have nevertheless supported these draft resolutions by way of expressing their ardent desire that the new countries should be given equitable and adequate representation in the principal organs of the United Nations. That desire, which we share, can only be fulfilled when the People's Republic of China is restored to its rightful place in the United Nations, and the sooner that happens, the better it will be. Consequently, no effort should be spared to bring that about.

153. Meanwhile, a temporary solution, that we think might be considered in order to achieve a fairer representation of Member States in the principal organs, would be to redistribute the existing seats. In the absence of anything better, that would certainly be the best and most practical solution, and it could be adopted without violating the Charter of the United Nations.

154. At the same time, in order to avoid any new complications and difficulties that might be raised in the way of a just and equitable representation of Member States in the principal organs of the United Nations, it would be preferable not to press the draft resolutions in question to a vote at this stage. In this way, talks could be started immediately between the various groups and the States concerned with a view to finding a solution to the problem as soon as possible. That, we think, would be the quickest, shortest and most effective way of achieving positive results satisfactory to all concerned.

155. We think, too, that the declaration by the spokesman of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, which was read out to us in the

course of a statement on a motion for the adjournment of the debate, fully confirms our point of view.

156. Mr. C. M. CHANG (China): I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to make a brief explanation of vote. My delegation has always been in favour of enlarging the principal organs of the United Nations so that the growing importance of Africa and Asia may be faithfully and adequately reflected in the composition of those Councils. In the Special Political Committee yesterday my delegation did not participate in the voting on draft resolution II B [A/5675] concerning the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council. We felt that the phrase "without prejudice to the present distribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council" in operative paragraph 3 of that draft resolution, as interpreted by the representative of Ghana, is prejudicial to the interests of my country. So long as this phrase is not sufficiently clarified, my delegation is not in a position to support it. In the view of my delegation, the phrase I have just read cannot be interpreted so as to imply the exclusion of any particular countries belonging to any particular categories in the distribution of seats on the Economic and Social Council. It can only imply, can only mean, that the patterns that have been traditionally in existence until this time will be taken into account in the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council.

157. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic): The United Arab Republic delegation, a co-sponsor of the draft resolutions before us [A/5675], will of course vote for these draft resolutions. We have heard the appeals made in this Assembly this afternoon. We wish to repeat here what we said in the Special Political Committee yesterday; we wish indeed to restate our consistent position on this question.

158. We wish to expand the major Councils of the United Nations. We wish therefore to amend the Charter and we wish to ratify such amendment in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. We have appealed to all Members to proceed now, immediately and resolutely, to vote for these draft resolutions. The negotiations or contacts to create conditions agreeable to all the Members here are important, indeed essential. But they should, in the opinion of the United Arab Republic delegation, be carried on after we express our wish and our will by passing these draft resolutions here and now. Such contacts should be made after the vote in order to create the conditions which are favourable for the ratification of the proposed amendments by the two thirds of the United Nations Members, including the permanent members of the Security Council.

159. We hope that first the vote will be taken, now, and that the United Nations, all the nations represented here, will unanimously, or with the greatest possible majority, vote for the expansion of the Councils. After such vote, when the wish and the will of the world community is known, such contacts as suggested by some delegations will certainly be essential to create the situation necessary for ratification of the amendments.

160. Mr. QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana): My delegation has listened to the appeals made here by the representatives of the Soviet Union and France. But we have gone too far already in the direction of expressing our determination to go forward, and it is very difficult for us to retreat at this time. We therefore exhort all the great Powers to make it possible for

the two draft resolutions which were passed by the Special Political Committee and which are today before the General Assembly [A/5675], to be ratified. We also appeal to all of them to make our position easier.

161. May I now refer to the statement, just made by the representative of China in regard to draft resolution II B.

162. When I spoke yesterday in regard to the operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution II B, I made it very clear that the phrase "without prejudice to the present distribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council" did refer to the present distribution, and in fact what the representative of China has just said is quite in accord with my thinking on this matter, that no particular country from any particular region or in any particular category will be excluded. Therefore I wanted to clarify the position of Ghana on this matter. I quite agree with the interpretation which the representative of China has given to operative paragraph 3 in draft resolution II B.

163. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the two draft resolutions I and II recommended by the Special Political Committee in its report (A/5675, para. 21) for adoption by the General Assembly. We shall first vote on draft resolution I, on which a roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, 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 States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, 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, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa.

Against: None.

Abstaining: None.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 111 votes to none.

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now take up draft resolution II. This draft resolution consists of two parts, A and B. I shall put part A to the vote first and then part B. A roll-call vote has been requested for both parts.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mongolia.

Abstaining: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Part A of draft resolution II was adopted by 97 votes to 11, with 4 abstentions.

165. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on part B of draft resolution II.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Congo (Leopoldville), having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville).

Against: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Abstaining: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, China.

Part B of draft resolution II was adopted by 96 votes to 11, with 5 abstentions.

166. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Indonesia, for an explanation of vote.

167. Mr. SOSROWARDOJO (Indonesia): My delegation has long been an active supporter of moves to render both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council more representative of the many new nations that have taken their places as Members of the United Nations since 1945. Accordingly, we believe that the amendments of the Charter to that end have become essential.

168. However, my delegation cannot entirely close its eyes to the existence of the very real problem of securing ratification of amendments to the Charter in the absence of one of the permanent members of the Security Council, namely the People's Republic of China. My Government has always supported the immediate restoration of this country's lawful rights as a Member of the United Nations. We therefore have to concede that there is some justice in the argument that it would be unlawful to amend the Charter unless the Government of the People's Republic of China is also in a position to ratify these amendments.

169. On the other hand, it seems to us clear that the actual question of the enlargement of the Councils and the question of Chinese representation are two matters of a different nature, and we are particular pleased to note that this view is apparently shared by the Peking Government itself. I quote from the communication sent by that Government to the Governments of some Asian and African countries in September 1963:

"The Chinese Government wishes to point out that the question of revising Charter Articles concerning the total number of seats in the principal United Nations organs and the question of restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations are two matters of an entirely different nature. They should not and need not be bundled together."

170. Nevertheless, the problem of the ratification of the appropriate Charter amendments remains. It cannot be simply washed away and ignored altogether. But there is nothing at all illegal in the General Assembly adopting the present draft resolutions at once. Indeed, their adoption would *ipso facto*, in our view, be a beginning to tackling both the problem of legal ratification and the problem of Chinese representation. My delegation has already stated elsewhere in the Assembly its opinion that the basic facts of the current disarmament situation are now conspiring to make the membership of the People's Republic of China a necessity within the near future. The problem of the legal ratification of the Charter amendments we are now considering will equally require China's membership.

171. The two resolutions as recommended by the Special Political Committee, which we have already adopted, call upon all Members to ratify the proposed amendments by September 1965. Since these resolutions have been adopted, they automatically set ratification procedure in motion. It is our hope that by 1965, the time-limit set in the resolution, China will in fact be in a position to ratify these amendments as a Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council.

172. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of India, for an explanation of vote.

173. Mr. MISHRA (India): My delegation was very happy to take part, indeed an active part, in the de-

liberations and negotiations leading to the adoption of the three draft resolutions on the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly, the expansion of the non-permanent membership of the Security Council and the expansion of the membership of the Economic and Social Council. We co-sponsored various draft resolutions and amendments to them, and are gratified at the result.

174. The resolution on the composition of the General Committee has been approved unanimously. The overwhelming majority which voted for the adoption of the draft resolutions on the expansion of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council is beyond expectations. At the beginning of this session it was difficult to imagine the way in which things would move, and there were cynics among us who until even a few days ago thought that we were engaged in fruitless discussions and negotiations. The negotiations have been successful because the African-Asian delegations were solid on this question. Their solidarity did not come out of any desire, to use a colloquialism, to gang up against other delegations in the Assembly. The solidarity was born out of the belief of the African-Asian delegations that their cause was just and that the time was ripe to remedy the situation arising out of inequitable and unbalanced representation in the principal Councils of the United Nations, and their proposals were fair and equitable to all groups.

175. All our proposals were motivated by the desire to correct the imbalance by justice and fair play rather than by taking away seats from particular groups of States. Thus, in our proposal for the distribution of the non-permanent seats in the Security Council, due regard was paid to the capacity, contribution and willingness of various groups of States with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security and the other purposes of the Organization. At the same time, the need for equitable geographical distribution was taken into account. It was because of this that the African-Asian delegations were able to obtain the support of all the Latin Americans and also of the West Europeans, with a few exceptions. Our thanks are due to these delegations, and particularly to those of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, which facilitated the negotiations. My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the delegations of Ghana and Syria, and specifically Mr. Quaison-Sackey and Mr. Tarazi, for the magnificent contribution which they made to the success of the resolutions.

176. The General Assembly, having passed the two resolutions on the expansion of the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, has expressed its wishes and done its duty. Now, the second and final step in the adoption of the amendments in question has to be taken. The ratification of these amendments is bedevilled by political and legal problems which, in the opinion of one permanent member of the Security Council, need to be solved before ratification could be legally valid. While giving full respect to the point of view expressed by the Soviet Union, my delegation does not feel that the absence of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should inhibit us from ratifying the amendments.

177. On the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China, we have no apologies to offer. We recognize that it is unjust to prevent the

People's Republic of China from occupying its proper place in the United Nations. From the very beginning, my delegation has initiated or supported all moves designed to bring the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. Despite the violence committed on our frontiers, we have continued to vote in favour of the proposals to this effect.

178. However, we believe that one injustice should not be perpetrated in an effort to correct another. There will be time enough now carefully to examine the technical and legal aspects of the ratification, but our preliminary view is that this should not present any insuperable obstacles. It is our hope, therefore, that all States Members of the United Nations will respect the wishes of the General Assembly expressed by such an overwhelming majority. For years we have been trying to get the General Assembly to approve amendments to the Charter in order to give equitable representation to the African-Asian countries on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Now that the Assembly has expressed its wishes, we hope that they will not be lightly brushed aside.

179. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of the Soviet Union, to exercise the right of reply.

180. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Despite the Soviet delegation's appeal for the postponement of the voting on the draft resolutions regarding the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, these drafts were put to the vote and adopted by the General Assembly.

181. The Soviet delegation would once more draw attention to the fact that, on this occasion also, not one of the permanent members of the Security Council, without whose agreement no amendment of the United Nations Charter is possible, voted for these resolutions.

182. The Soviet Union, as we have more than once stated, supports the legitimate efforts of the countries of Asia and Africa to win proper representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. We advocate equitable representation for the African and Asian countries on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, if necessary through the enlargement of these important bodies.

183. However, in present circumstances, it is impossible, for the reasons we have already set forth, to give effect to the resolutions which have just been adopted.

184. Allow me to point out that the data and facts contained in the statements of the Soviet delegation, including those relating to the consultations between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the People's Republic of China, are based on documentary sources; nobody's effort, and certainly no deliberate effort to distort the truth, can create any doubt on that score, or a *fortiori* disprove their trustworthiness.

185. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would emphasize that, despite the formal adoption of these resolutions, it is essential to continue consultations regarding the granting to the African and Asian countries of suitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, with the aim of finding for this problem a solution acceptable to

all. The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to take part in such consultations.

186. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Albania, to exercise the right of reply.

187. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): I shall be very brief in order not to take up the Assembly's time at this late hour. The USSR representative has once again tried to cast doubt on what I said concerning the position of the People's Republic of China in the matter which we have just examined and brought to a happy conclusion. What I said, what I felt it my duty to say, was the truth. I considered that the truth about the position of the People's Republic of China in this matter was of great interest to the General Assembly. I quoted from documents received, I quote the Hsinhua news agency, which is fully conversant with the position of the Chinese Government on the subject. I thought it necessary to repeat that what I said was the truth about the position of the People's Republic of China in the matter which we brought to a successful conclusion when we adopted the resolutions by an overwhelming majority.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/5653/ADD.1) (continued)

188. Mr. APPIAH (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I am honoured to be called upon to present for the last time a report of the Second Committee, [A/5653/Add.1]. I have already had occasion to make some remarks to this Assembly [1276th meeting] on a previous report of the Second Committee [A/5651]. Consequently, I shall not say anything about that report today.

189. The Second Committee delayed its discussion of the question of the enlargement of the Economic, Social and Co-ordination Committees of the Economic and Social Council in order that representatives in that Committee might be able to co-ordinate their decision on this subject with whatever action the Special Political Committee took on the large question of expanding the major organs of the United Nations. During the discussion, the Second Committee showed unanimous sympathy and support for more equitable representation in all organs for African and Asian Members of this world organization. The temporary nature of the action taken by the Second Committee on this question of enlarging the three sectional Committees of the Economic and Social Council is underlined not only in the draft resolution recommended to the General Assembly for adoption [A/5653/Add.1, para. 144], but also in the very useful statements made by all delegations which participated in the debate.

190. The draft resolution was adopted in the Second Committee without a dissenting vote. It is our hope in Africa and Asia that soon the major organs of the United Nations will be expanded so as to enable our voice to be heard, particularly on matters which touch us.

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

191. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of the Soviet Union, for an explanation of vote.

192. Mr. SOLODOVNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation asked the President of the General Assembly to put to a separate vote the second preambular paragraph and the first operative paragraph of draft resolution XIV [A/5653/Add.1]. May I now briefly explain the reasons for the way in which we will vote on this draft resolution.

193. The Soviet delegation will vote against the second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution on the enlargement of the Economic, Social and Co-ordination Committees of the Economic and Social Council, as this paragraph proposes "noting with satisfaction" Economic and Social Council resolution 974 C (XXXVI) on the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council, which was adopted at the Council's 36th session and is unacceptable to us.

194. There is obviously no need for us to restate our basic position on this matter at this moment, as our position was set forth in detail in the Special Political Committee and in the Second Committee of the General Assembly, and you have just heard, during the present plenary meeting of the Assembly, the Soviet representative's statement in connexion with the Report of the Special Political Committee [A/5675].

195. We would stress that these are the only reasons for our attitude in regard to the whole of the draft resolution. We shall abstain from voting on the draft resolution as a whole.

196. The Soviet delegation's position on the resolution as a whole must not be interpreted to mean that we are against an enlargement of the sessional committees of the Council—the Economic, Social and Co-ordination Committees. Accordingly, when the operative paragraph of the draft resolution is put to the vote, we shall vote for that paragraph.

197. We supported in the Second Committee, and continue to support, the enlargement of these and of other organs of the Economic and Social Council provided that such enlargement is not associated with unlawful revision of the United Nations Charter and comes within the competence of the Council itself. We also support the enlargement of the sessional committees of the Economic and Social Council on the indispensable condition that, in the election of countries to occupy the additional seats, due account is taken of the interests of the socialist countries.

198. In these circumstances the Soviet delegation will, at the resumed thirty-sixth session of the Economic and Social Council, strive for a positive solution of the question of enlarging the committees of the Council in line with the conditions I have mentioned, so that the membership of these committees may reflect more accurately and completely the changes in the composition of the United Nations itself and may show due regard for the interests of all countries, including more especially the developing and the socialist countries.

199. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in its report [A/5653/Add.1].

200. The representative of the Soviet Union has requested separate votes on the second preambular

paragraph and the operative paragraph of draft resolution XIV.

201. In accordance with the provisions of rule 91 of the rules of procedure, if there is no objection I shall first put to the vote the second preambular paragraph and then the operative paragraph of this draft resolution.

202. I accordingly put to the vote the second preambular paragraph of draft resolution XIV.^{3/}

The second preambular paragraph was adopted by 94 votes to 10.

203. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the operative paragraph of draft resolution XIV.

The operative paragraph was adopted by 99 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

204. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on draft resolution XIV as a whole, appearing in the report of the Second Committee [A/5653/Add.1]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mongolia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 96 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

205. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of France, for an explanation of vote.

206. Mr. DELEAU (France) (translated from French): After the voting that has just taken place on the draft resolution concerning the enlargement of the Committees of the Economic and Social Council, the French delegation wishes to explain its vote.

207. We abstained on the draft resolution as a whole and on the operative part because, as we stated in

the Second Committee [952nd meeting], we consider that it is both untimely and dangerous to try to resolve by provisional expedients a problem which requires a global and non-controversial solution. The enlargement of the Committees of the Council may seriously impair the effectiveness of that organ without solving the real problem, which is the enlargement of the Council itself.

208. It is because we favour such enlargement as the only way to give the new States that have appeared on the international scene in the last few years the representation to which they aspire, without at the same time impairing the functional character of the Council, that we voted in favour of the second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution submitted to us.

Organization of the Second Committee's work at future sessions of the General Assembly

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/5651)

209. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before concluding our consideration of the activities of the Second Committee, I should like to draw the attention of delegations to this Committee's report [A/5651], which may be regarded as an annex to agenda item 25 dealing with the improvement of the methods of work of the General Assembly.

210. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the Chairman of the Second Committee for the constructive suggestions he has made concerning the organization of that Committee's work.

211. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly takes note of this report and desires the Secretary-General to bring it to the attention of the Chairman of the Second Committee at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly took note of the report of the Second Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council [chapters XI (section I, except paragraphs 549 to 552), XII and XIII (sections I to V and X to XII)] (concluded)

212. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): This item, which is the only one remaining for consideration in the plenary meeting in connexion with the report of the Economic and Social Council, covers chapter XI (section I, except paragraphs 549 to 552), and chapters XII and XIII (sections I to V and X to XII). These sections of the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/5503] deal primarily with questions of co-ordination and relations with the specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations and constitutional and organizational questions.

213. If there are no objections, I shall assume that the General Assembly takes note of these sections of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

The General Assembly took note of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

AGENDA ITEM 21

Report of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter

214. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): At the session of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the

^{3/} For the results of the votes on draft resolutions I to XIII, see the 1276th meeting, paras. 94 to 111.

purpose of reviewing the Charter, in August 1963 there was general agreement, as shown in the report [A/5487], that while the merits of holding such a conference after the Organization has functioned for more than seventeen years were recognized, international circumstances at the present time appeared still not to be propitious for the holding of a general conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.

215. The Committee further recommended that it be kept in being to discharge the functions entrusted to it by General Assembly resolution 992 (X), and that it be invited to report with recommendations to the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

216. We believe that these considerations are justified, I therefore have the honour to submit on behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Costa Rica and Austria a procedural draft resolution [A/L.446]. The draft resolution recalls similar previous resolutions of the General Assembly. It would keep in being the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter and invite it to report, with recommendations, to the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

217. Finally, the draft resolution would provide that the work envisaged in operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 992 (X), namely the issue of supplements as appropriate to the "Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs" entrusted to the Secretary-General, should be continued.

218. The draft resolution submitted thus reflects the general agreement reached in the Committee of all Member States on 30 August 1963, and the sponsors therefore recommend the draft resolution for adoption.

219. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): When the question of Charter review was first seriously discussed in the Assembly—which was about two years in advance of the actual session specified in Article 109 for consideration of the question of holding a general conference for this purpose—the main emphasis of concern on the part of the Members was primarily upon the wielding of the veto. But, between the eighth and the twelfth sessions, due to the admission of so many new Members to the United Nations, the emphasis shifted to the problem of enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, with the object of achieving more adequate representation for the new nations. And this is where the emphasis remains today.

220. The shift of emphasis to the specific issue of Council enlargement is understandable enough in the present circumstances. Yet, because of the ratification provisions stipulated in Articles 108 and 109, in reality we have no choice but to consider this issue as part of the context of the larger question of overall Charter revision. Despite the fact that the two resolutions just adopted, on the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, each received an overwhelming majority vote, we still have no guarantee that these measures will be ratified by the five Powers having the veto, as required for the enactment of Charter amendments. Moreover, in general terms it seems evident, at least to my delegation, that until Articles 108 and 109 are themselves amended, the Charter can hardly be regarded as an instrument that is sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of a changing world.

221. Since the first step towards Charter revision is the holding of a general conference, my delegation is pleased to note that, notwithstanding the negative conclusion contained in the Committee's report, there are signs that some representatives may be changing their minds about the feasibility of convening such a conference in the near future. Indications of the kind were apparent, for example, in the tenor of many of the statements made during the general debate at the outset of this session.

222. My delegation is, of course, aware that a great majority of Members agree as to the desirability of a Charter review. Indeed, this was established as far back as the tenth session, when the Assembly adopted the second preambular paragraph of resolution 992 (X). We know that what has prevented them from deciding to hold a Charter conference up till now has largely been the East-West quarrel on the question of Chinese representation, coupled with the Soviet stand on the illegality of amending or revising the Charter without the presence of the People's Republic of China. And we, too, acknowledge that this situation does not really constitute the most propitious circumstances for reviewing the Charter. However, what I should now like to suggest is that a new element has entered the situation, which does in fact render the circumstances propitious for holding a general conference as soon as possible. This element is the recognized need to bring China to the disarmament negotiating table within the near future.

223. I have already had occasion to quote here from a report in The New York Times of 16 October 1963 of a statement which was made on this point by the late President Kennedy in 1963. Because of its importance, I should like to quote it again:

"President Kennedy has said that 'in a year or two' it will no longer be possible to negotiate a disarmament treaty without the participation of Communist China."

But can we envisage China's agreeing to participate in disarmament talks while still being excluded from the United Nations?

224. I think we can safely anticipate that China will exact United Nations membership as the reasonable price for its necessary co-operation in disarmament matters. In that case, it follows that we can also safely assume that the Peking Government will represent China in our Organization in the not too distant future, thus removing the legal obstacles now standing in the way of Charter amendment or revision.

225. Why, then, does my delegation continue to press for a Charter review conference as soon as possible? Why do I not recommend waiting for the two years or so until the Peking régime represents China? In answering this question, I should like to put the following considerations of timing before the Assembly.

226. To begin with, it should be borne in mind that, even after the Assembly's adoption of amendments or revisions of the Charter, these amendments still have to go through a process of national ratification. The process is bound to be a slow one. It could take two or even three years, or more, to receive the number of national ratifications sufficient to attain the requisite majority.

227. Secondly, as I mentioned very briefly in my statement in the general debate on 27 September 1963 [1219th meeting], I am convinced that, in order

to achieve an effective revision of the Charter, we will have to think in terms of general sessions of the General Assembly and perhaps two or more general conferences. In my opinion, it is unlikely that we will be able to reach any concrete decision at a single Assembly session. The first general conference would therefore be most realistically viewed as an opportunity chiefly for the initial exchange of ideas and opinions. It is this conference which the Charter Review Committee should be empowered by the Assembly to arrange at the earliest possible date.

228. The general conference would undoubtedly receive maximum publicity. World-wide public interest would be aroused, which would in turn tend to create effective pressure groups within individual countries. Thus, when the report of the general conference comes to be considered by the following session of the General Assembly, we could expect the public voice to exercise a beneficial influence on the proceedings and demand a decision to hold a second general conference for the purpose of taking action on at least some of the revisions discussed at the first conference. Now, it would probably be just around the time of this second general conference that we might expect China to be on the verge of becoming a Member of the United Nations.

229. In bringing these considerations to the attention of the Assembly, I would like to remind Members that Article 109, paragraph 1, contains no stipulation that the general conference on Charter review has to result in actual recommendations for specific revisions. So that there are thus no legal grounds to prevent us from convening a general conference primarily for the purpose of verbal review and discussion. This verbal review and discussion is desperately required. Moreover, it is quite clear from the wording of paragraph 3 of Article 109 that the founding Members themselves envisaged the necessity of a Charter review conference in ten years. We are now eight years overdue, and throughout the eighteen years of the United Nations existence Members have had no opportunity whatsoever even to examine any of the issues that might require a revision of the Charter.

230. As everyone appreciates, the Charter was of necessity framed in terms of the world political pattern prevailing at the time. And so thoroughly did the founding Members commit themselves to the principle of unanimity among the great Powers that they introduced it into the very procedure for amending the Charter, with the result that our Charter has remained as static as if no provision for its revision had ever been included, and our most important organ, the Security Council, has remained a body sealed off from change in a world where change is of the essence. An international organization that is not properly geared to the demands of the new emerging forces of the times will either erupt into disorder as these new forces make themselves felt with increasing urgency, or else it will simply die, because the new forces turn away from it in frustration.

231. My President has long been alive to the dangers confronting our Organization. When he came to address the Assembly in 1960 [880th meeting] he expressed his fears in unequivocal terms. He said then that the Charter must be revised and that its revision was urgent. He also said that "no narrow legalistic thinking should prevent this being done at once", for he clearly foresaw, to use his own words, that "it

may be a matter of life or death for the United Nations". That was three years ago. By now it should be evident to all of us here that he was scarcely exaggerating the point.

232. Turning now to the three-Power draft resolution [A/L.446], my delegation will vote for it with the understanding that the Charter review committee will at any time be in a position, if it so desires, to report earlier to the General Assembly, for instance not at the twentieth but at the nineteenth session. In fact, my delegation expects that international developments will persuade the committee to report to the nineteenth General Assembly.

233. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Secretary-General has asked me to inform the General Assembly that if the draft resolution now before us is adopted, its financial implications for 1964 can be met out of existing allocations and no further appropriations will be required.

234. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution submitted by Afghanistan, Austria and Costa Rica [A/L.446].

The draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 10

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization

235. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): There is still one agenda item pending which does not call for any specific action by the Assembly. I refer to item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization". This document [A/5501] and the introduction to the Report of the Secretary-General [A/5501/Add.1] have been submitted to the Assembly as Supplement No. 1 and Add.1 of the official records. In order to finish the agenda, I draw this report to the attention of the Assembly and, if there are no objections, I propose that the Assembly should take note of it, thus concluding our consideration of this item.

The General Assembly took note of the Report of the Secretary-General.

Statement by the President

236. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before completing our work, I should like to refer to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on agenda items 71 and 78.

237. Item 71 concerns the consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Item 78 concerns the question of Oman. In operative paragraph 1 of the resolution adopted on item 71 [resolution 1966 (XVIII)], the Assembly decided to establish a Special Committee of Member States to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly. In operative paragraph 1 of the resolution on Oman [resolution 1948 (XVII)] the General Assembly decided to establish an Ad Hoc Committee composed of five Member States appointed by the President.

238. I had hoped to be able to announce the composition of both these Committees before the formal closing of the session, but lack of time prevented me from completing all the indispensable consultations with Member States which are necessary if a

satisfactory composition of these two Committees is to be achieved. In view of this fact, and much to my regret, I am obliged to follow the precedent established at previous sessions and defer the announcement of the composition of these two Committees until after the closure of the session. If there are no objections, I propose to announce the composition of these two Committees through the Secretary-General, in January 1964.

239. If the Assembly agrees I shall follow this procedure.

It was so decided.

Completion of the work of the eighteenth session

240. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We have completed consideration of all the items on the agenda for the eighteenth session, except for the item which appears in the agenda for today's meeting under the title "Organization of the Second Committee's work at future sessions of the General Assembly".

241. I now give the floor to representatives who have expressed a wish to speak before the closure of the eighteenth session.

242. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): Mr. President, I cannot let this session of the General Assembly pass into history without expressing the appreciation of the members of my delegation for your tireless and effective guidance of this eighteenth session, with its important and lengthy agenda. Your courtesy, your dignity and your skilful handling of the many questions before the Assembly have contributed immeasurably, I am sure, to their satisfactory solution and have enhanced the universal respect for this great Organization.

243. I wish also, Sir, to acknowledge the contribution you have made to the timely completion of our work by your determination to carry on the policy of your predecessor, Mr. Zafrulla Khan, in starting our meetings punctually, even though there may have been mornings when you felt a little lonely in this great hall.

244. Nor can I let this occasion pass without paying our tribute to the members of the Secretariat who have worked so conscientiously and so efficiently to assist us in our labours. Together with the Chairmen and the officers of the Committees, they have made possible the completion of our work well within the allotted time, and we are deeply grateful to them all.

245. Finally, Mr. President, the fair and efficient conduct of our business which has earned for you our gratitude and respect has also brought great honour to your country, Venezuela, which has, through its free elections, recently proved again its devotion to the principles of representative democracy upon which the United Nations is based.

246. Thank you, Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General and Mr. Narasimhan. I wish you and all my fellow delegates a merry Christmas and the United Nations a happy New Year.

247. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The eighteenth session of the General Assembly is drawing to a close. We have worked under your guidance, Mr. President, day after day for three months in order to be able to complete our considerations of the questions on the agenda. That we have

been able at this session to achieve some comparatively satisfactory, though still very modest, results on a number of questions, in an atmosphere of moderate relaxation and mutual understanding, is certainly due in large part to the way in which the work of the session was organized—a matter in which you, Mr. President, have played an active part.

248. Throughout the session all delegations have admired the way in which you managed to guide our work without upsetting the atmosphere of confidence in the United Nations.

249. On behalf of a number of delegations of socialist countries, I wish to express to you, Mr. President, our appreciation of the calm and confident manner in which you have co-operated with all delegations in the conduct of the work of the General Assembly throughout this session. You have admittedly been assisted in your efforts by the atmosphere of reduced tension in international relations following the successful conclusion last summer of a treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States of America for the partial discontinuance of nuclear tests.^{4/}

250. This session has been notable, too, for the results obtained in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, thanks to the co-operation that has been established between the principal Powers concerned.

251. While hoping that future presidents and future sessions may enjoy conditions as favourable as, or even more favourable than, those that have prevailed throughout the present session, as also the benefits of the experience acquired, I should like once again to express our appreciation, Mr. President, of the efforts you have made in organizing our work.

252. I should like at the same time to express to the Secretary-General and the members of the Secretariat our appreciation of their unsparing efforts to enable us to complete our work on time. I should like also to thank all the staff who have helped to facilitate the work of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

253. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): Mr. President, on behalf of the African group—that is, on behalf of Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta and Zanzibar—on behalf of these States of Africa, now numbering thirty-four, I wish to pay tribute to you for the able manner in which you have guided the affairs of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

254. All delegations have drawn inspiration from your hard work, tact and patience which have contributed in no small measure to the successful conclusion of our work three days ahead of schedule. This is an eloquent testimony of the quality of your leadership and a shining example which succeeding Presidents will do well to emulate. Certainly, the President from Africa who will succeed you next year will be guided by the precedents set by you and your predecessor, Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan.

^{4/}Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

255. You, Sir, brought to this exalted office great wisdom and a wealth of experience as a scholar, jurist and diplomat. Coming from Latin America, a region whose noble traditions of liberty and respect for human rights have been inspired by the great Simón Bolívar, you have carved a niche for yourself in the annals of this Organization.

256. The eighteenth session of the General Assembly may well be described as a session of solid achievement. We from Africa are happy that your tenure of office has witnessed the admission of two new African States, Kenya and Zanzibar. Africa is firmly establishing its place in the comity of nations and I am sure that you, and all Members of the Assembly, will share our aspirations that the whole of Africa will soon be liberated from colonial domination.

257. Momentous decisions have been taken at this session which, I am confident, will strengthen the Organization in whose future you have displayed such great faith. I refer to the decisions of the Assembly on disarmament; the banning of destructive weapons in outer space; the decisions regarding the Trade Conference which will be held next year; the declaration against all forms of racial discrimination; the fact that South Africa now remains isolated; the fact that Portugal has been told in no uncertain terms that self-determination as interpreted by this Organization should be applied to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea; the fact that the entire Assembly, with the exception of the great Powers, has decided without any equivocation that there should be expansion in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

258. I must say that the dominant feature of the eighteenth session is the atmosphere of relaxation which has characterized its work, and I can say that your suave and conciliatory approach has been an important factor in maintaining this spirit to the end.

259. Permit me to express on behalf of Africa appreciation to the Secretary-General, to Mr. Narasimhan and to all those officials of the Secretariat, working behind the scenes, who have contributed admirably to the success of the work of this session.

260. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland): On behalf of the delegations of the countries of Western Europe, which have asked me to speak in their name, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our sincere thanks for the eminent services which you have rendered to the United Nations as President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, and, at the same time, to convey to you a tribute of our profound respect and admiration for the manner in which you have discharged the duties of your exalted office.

261. When you became President of the Assembly last September, all your colleagues, all those of us who had come to know over the years the admirable personal qualities which distinguish you, felt the fullest confidence that, as our President, it would be your constant aim and ambition to discharge honourably the responsibilities imposed upon you and to fulfil faithfully the obligations of objectivity and impartiality which would be incumbent upon you in your high office. Sir, you have amply justified and rewarded the confidence reposed in you. You have done more. You have been an eminently just and patient arbiter of our debates, by the judicious exercise of your presidential authority, by the wisdom and fairness of your decisions, and by the clarity of

the guidance which you have constantly given us in the Chair, you have made an invaluable personal contribution to the efficient dispatch of the work of the present session.

262. As we are all aware, however, the task of the President is not confined to presiding over our debates here in this hall. Even when he is not in the Chair the President has responsibilities which require him to be constantly available for consultation with individual delegations and to be continually available to promote constructive solutions of difficulties which may hamper the smooth progress of the General Assembly's work. Your devoted and successful efforts in this field too, Mr. President, have served to enhance and strengthen further the feelings of admiration and esteem with which your conduct of the Presidency has inspired us.

263. The General Assembly of the United Nations is something quite unique among the deliberative assemblies of the world. It is in this Assembly, more than in any other forum in the world, that the great political and social forces which are shaping the future of mankind find their most comprehensive, their most authoritative and sometimes their most dramatic, expression. To preside over such a body is a great honour. It can also entail great anxieties, great vexations and great responsibilities. We believe, Mr. President, that you are entitled to the satisfaction of knowing that, by the manner in which you have met all the demands made upon you, you have won the regard and esteem of the Assembly as a whole and that, by so doing, you have added fresh lustre to the prestige and renown of your country. That is certainly the unanimous opinion of the delegations for which I am honoured to speak, and we welcome this opportunity of expressing to you, together with our congratulations and our sincere thanks, our best wishes for your personal happiness and welfare in the future.

264. Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): Mr. President, I have the honour and privilege to speak here on behalf of my own and thirteen other delegations, namely those of Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Yugoslavia.

265. These delegations have done me the honour to pay on their behalf, as I also do on behalf of my own delegation, our sincere congratulations to you upon the successful completion of the work of the eighteenth General Assembly ahead of the scheduled date of closure. It is not only the efficiency of the work for which we commend you, but also for your personal charm and amiable personality which have endeared you in the hearts of your colleagues. Coming as you do from one of the smaller and developing countries of Latin America, you have in your heart the same feelings as do the representatives of developing nations, be they in Latin America, Africa, Asia or in Europe. You are aware of the problems of a developing nation, as well as its aspirations, and thus have been a common denominator of most of us. You have further established, Sir, that wisdom, intelligence and integrity are not limited within any specific geographical boundaries. You have not only maintained the merits of punctuality of your immediate predecessor, an illustrious son of Asia, Mr. Zafrulla Khan, but also garnished it with the merit of preciseness. The precision of your approach and your impartial judgement on the merits of the issues have made

you one of those personalities who, as President of the Assembly, left their own individual stamp.

266. This session, Sir, will be remembered not only for its businesslike efficiency under your able guidance, but also for the substantive work that has been achieved during this session. These accomplishments have been achieved quietly and in an undramatic fashion, but they are solid in substance. The resolutions on the question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, for example, are unique in that it is for the first time that a positive decision on this vital question has been adopted by the overwhelming majority of the Member States. And yet this far-reaching result, although only the first step, has been achieved with little fanfare. We sincerely hope that this step will be finally translated into effective action by the date set in the resolutions, namely 1 September 1965, so that in that year, which has been already designated as the International Co-operation Year, the legitimate rights of equitable representation in the organs of the United Nations will be finally given to the majority of its Members.

267. Other important resolutions adopted by this Assembly relate to the comprehensive banning of nuclear tests in all environments, disarmament, the peaceful uses of outer space, the economic and social development of developing countries, including the joint declaration with regard to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the Declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and finally, the resolutions relating to the questions of apartheid and the ending of colonialism in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Much progress has been made in the latter task, namely in the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

268. As proof of solid achievement in this respect, we have had the honour of welcoming amongst us yesterday [1282nd meeting] the delegations of Zanzibar and Kenya as the 112th and 113th Members of this Organization. Their admission to the membership of the United Nations has marked yet another milestone in this Organization's march towards universality.

269. Sir, the steady progress made by our Organization in all these directions during the eighteenth Assembly has been the most gratifying achievement and the credit for the orderly and quiet manner in which this has been achieved is due to your own tact, wisdom and leadership.

270. Before I conclude, I should like to pay again on behalf of my own delegation and the thirteen other delegations our tribute to the Secretary-General, to the Under-Secretary of General Assembly affairs and to the members of the Secretariat whose unfailing co-operation made our work so satisfactory.

271. Mr. TREMBLAY (Canada): Mr. President, I speak this evening on behalf of the delegations of Australia, India and New Zealand, as well as for my own.

272. Earlier today I reread the wise and thoughtful statement which you, Mr. President, made before this body on 17 September 1963 on the occasion of your election [1206th meeting]. I reflected with the

greatest satisfaction how well you have succeeded in all the difficult tasks and goals which you set yourself.

273. Your most obvious success is the fact that the eighteenth session is ending tonight, and this in spite of tragic and unforeseen developments. This conforms with the hope you expressed that we shall be able to bring our work to a successful conclusion within the normal time-limit set for these sessions. The success of your predecessor, Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, created a precedent; your success has, I hope, confirmed a pattern which will continue to prevail.

274. No matter how effortless you have made your achievements seem, Mr. President, I know that it has been gained through continuous, careful consultation with all delegations, a process in which you have had the faithful assistance of all the members of the Secretariat.

275. In your opening statement, you asked for the co-operation of all delegations. You made it easy for us to extend that co-operation by preparing the ground in advance, anticipating problems, consulting all interested delegations, and generally maintaining contact with every shade of opinion in our Assembly. You never denied us an opportunity to speak when we felt we had to, but you reminded us sometimes that silence would best serve the common good which we all seek.

276. You have helped us all to realize, as you said yourself, that we share ideals and aspirations which constitute an invaluable common denominator for permitting us to smooth out our differences and helping us to achieve acceptable solutions.

277. I believe there is general agreement that the eighteenth session has been one of the most productive sessions in the short history of our Organization.

278. As you yourself noted, our session began under auspicious circumstances. Under your wise guidance, we have turned our backs on the barren ground and concentrated our attention on the fruitful fields.

279. You may take pride, Mr. President, in the undoubted fact, as you so graciously put it, that our debates this year have helped to clear the ground for the solution of the serious problems facing the world today. The eighteenth session of the General Assembly, over which you have presided with such accomplishment, has justified the trust placed by the peoples of the world in the United Nations. For your part in this constructive achievement, may I express the thanks and the gratitude of my delegation and of the other delegations for which I speak. You have brought honour to yourself, to your nation, to your continent and to our Organization.

280. Mr. ZEA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): I have the great honour of representing the Latin American countries on this occasion.

281. This is a particularly gratifying task for me, Mr. President, not only because I represent a Latin American country, but also because your country and mine achieved independence at the same time and have always maintained the closest and most fraternal relations of friendship.

282. Colombia admires Venezuela and has followed it in all its historic moments, particularly in that political crisis which it has now overcome and which has led it to continue resolutely in the democratic and constitutional way of life. I should like to add

that your actions have filled the Latin American representatives in this Assembly with satisfaction and pride.

283. You have fully justified the confidence we placed in you when we enthusiastically chose you as a candidate for the lofty position you have occupied with so much distinction. Your sensitive guidance, Mr. President, has exalted the name of Latin America and, as preceding speakers have already pointed out, you have had the good fortune to preside over one of the most important sessions in the entire history of the United Nations.

284. This session began in the atmosphere of cordiality produced by the signing of the Moscow Treaty prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons, an atmosphere that was further encouraged by the admirable speech made here by the great and much lamented leader of democracy, President Kennedy. This atmosphere of cordiality has prevailed throughout all our meetings and the resolutions adopted here were nothing more than an expression of the understanding, comprehension and rapprochement between peoples which has of late emerged as the greatest and most wonderful hope for mankind.

285. We adopted these resolutions with fervour, and I am happy to affirm here that the fact that a Latin American President presided over the General Assembly when they were adopted indicates that this was the best contribution our continent could make to the cause of peace and the welfare of mankind for which the United Nations was specifically created.

286. On behalf of my delegation and the delegations I represent, I must therefore thank you and congratulate you on your Presidency. Furthermore, we wish you the greatest personal good fortune in the future. We also extend our congratulations and thanks to the Secretariat staff, who have made such an efficient contribution to the success of our work.

287. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): On behalf of the Arab delegations, including my own, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our unanimous appreciation of the qualities that you have shown and the elegant and courteous manner in which you have presided over our debates.

288. The eighteenth session of the General Assembly opened under favourable auspices and continued in an atmosphere of peace and mutual comprehension. I must say, in this connexion, that in all the circumstances in which we have found ourselves at one time or another during this session, you have been equal to your task. With your easy mastery of procedure and your thorough knowledge of the questions of substance, you have brought us to the end of our work in an atmosphere of serenity and the feeling of duty well done.

289. It is to be hoped that the spirit which has presided over our work—and to which you, Mr. President, have largely contributed—will remain and will develop, in the interest of a lasting and solid peace. Once this objective is attained, the United Nations will then be able to devote itself to the accomplishment of the tasks for which it was essentially created. Allow me to congratulate you most warmly on this splendid achievement, which does honour to you and to the country which sent you to the United Nations.

290. Our thanks and good wishes go also to our distinguished Secretary-General, whose wisdom and

lucidity have been of unfailing assistance, and to Mr. Narasimhan, the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, and all members of the Secretariat for the zeal with which they have always worked.

291. Mr. Taieb SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): On behalf of the Tunisian delegation, I have both the duty and pleasure of associating myself with the previous speakers in paying a sincere tribute to the wisdom and authority with which you, Mr. President, have presided over our debates throughout this session. Those who have spoken before me have dwelt upon your outstanding qualities, your culture and your experience. I cannot improve on what they have said, but I should like, if I may, to take advantage of the traditional friendship which binds our two countries together and of my own high regard for you in order to lay particular stress on the effective part you have played in a matter to which my delegation attached special importance.

292. As you may remember, our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was particularly interested in improving the methods of work of the General Assembly. Mr. Zafrulla Khan, your eminent predecessor, was successful in initiating some measures which enabled the Assembly to conclude the work of its seventeenth session on 21 December 1962. To you, however, fell the more difficult task of establishing this new trend, which had not yet been officially accepted, as a matter of tradition. I can assure you without fear of exaggeration that you have fully succeeded in your task. You were able to do so without upsetting the usual standards of procedure and without unduly rushing the debates of the General Assembly and the Committees. With a remarkable spirit of orderliness and co-operation, you were able to carry out the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Improvement of the Methods of Work of the General Assembly and thus to perform the exceptional feat of bringing the work of this session to a close before the end of the third week of December. The Tunisian delegation would like to be allowed to offer you the tribute that you richly deserve.

293. I should like to pay a similar tribute to all the members of the Secretariat whose devotion and competence have greatly contributed to this success. To all of them—both those whom we see and know and those who work day and night in the seclusion of their offices to help us—we address our most sincere thanks for their contribution to this improvement in our work and the early closure of this session.

294. Finally, I should like to welcome the two sister nations of Africa—Kenya and Zanzibar. Apart from the important contribution that these two States will certainly make to the work of our Organization, their presence, I am sure, cannot fail to strengthen African action and influence in the United Nations.

295. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Mr. President, as we come to the end of our work, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, to associate myself with previous speakers in offering you our congratulations and our thanks for the effective manner in which you have presided over our debates during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

296. We have greatly appreciated the wisdom, diplomatic skill and authority with which you have led our discussions and so contributed in large measure to the normal progress of our work during a session

that was overshadowed by very complex problems and a tense international situation.

297. The Albanian delegation would like also to extend its congratulations to the Secretary-General, who has skilfully assisted the Assembly in its work, to his assistants and all his staff for the competent performance of their duties and the valuable assistance they have given us.

298. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): At the conclusion of this session, my delegation wishes to express its deepest appreciation of the effective guidance and wise leadership that you, Mr. President, have given to this Assembly. An Assembly that stands out as one of exemplary co-operation and understanding in all the debates is truly reflective of the serenity of your disposition and of your rare character, which in turn is reflective of the spirit of Latin America.

299. A particular tribute is due to the objective, tactful and effective way in which you have conducted the debates of the Assembly and the whole of the work of the United Nations during the present Assembly. The fact that we have concluded our work three days ahead of time, without causing any pressure or inconvenience, is proof of a genius in leadership from which the Assembly has fully benefitted. May we express here, Mr. President, our profound sense of gratitude for your great contribution to the United Nations.

300. On this occasion we also wish to say a few words of tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and his able staff for the very competent and efficient way in which the entire proceedings of the General Assembly and the Committee were arranged and facilitated, and more especially for the inspired leadership by U Thant of the Executive, setting the example of the ideal impartiality of the international civil servant which has so immensely strengthened the United Nations.

301. During the opening debate of the present session [1235th meeting] I ventured to call this Assembly the Assembly of transition. Following upon the test-ban Treaty and the spirit of "détente" that that Treaty had created, it was felt that an opportunity and a promise were opening up for this Assembly. We cannot say that the opportunity was seized or the promise fulfilled. Indeed, for substantial achievements in the direction of peace and international co-operation there must first be the adjustment to higher standards in international conduct that the growing threats of the nuclear age compellingly demand. To this end, a transition is needed—a period of transition from the concept of dictatorship based on force to that of co-operation based on reason, a period of transition from the arbitrariness of international anarchy to the rule of law and international order. It may well be said that this Assembly has opened the chapter of transition—and this in itself is no little achievement.

302. We have seen how the "détente" has brought about an entirely new picture in the debates in the present Assembly. Basic differences are there, perhaps as unremovable as before, but mutual invective has been replaced by mutual interest. Persistent and invariable antagonism on all issues has been replaced by a common effort for agreement. Thus we have had unanimous resolutions endorsed by acclamation following such agreements. The most important is the resolution [1884 (XVIII)] prohibiting the orbiting

of nuclear weapons in space and also the resolution [1962 (XVIII)] embodying the agreement on the legal principles in the use of outer space. These were indeed significant steps forward. On other items there has also been agreement and even joint resolutions by the United States and the Soviet Union, but, we must admit, with very little substance in the body of the resolution, so that it might have appeared that the relaxation in tension has brought also a relaxation in effort. On the whole, however, these resolutions were definitely a move forward.

303. I would place in this category the resolution [1910 (XVIII)] on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, the resolution [1908 (XVIII)] on disarmament as well as the resolution [1931 (XVIII)] for the peaceful uses of resources released from disarmament. In these three resolutions we did not have what should have been contained in them. And in the debates on these items there was a completely new situation. Instead of the traditional controversy between the nuclear Powers we witnessed a controversy between the nuclear Powers together on the one side, and the small non-aligned nations on the other; the controversy being that the small countries tried to put more substance in the resolution in order to effect progress towards peace, while the nuclear Powers took an attitude more conservative in these respects.

304. This situation came out more emphatically and characteristically on the issue of the enlargement of the main organs of the United Nations in consequence of the increasing membership of the Organization—which we had yesterday and today. In all cases, however, a unanimous or near-unanimous resolution resulted. And this has brought out the solidarity among the small nations and how effective the small countries can be when they act together as a moral force in the United Nations.

305. Another important achievement of this Assembly which should not be forgotten is the declaration against discrimination [resolution 1904 (XVIII)], a declaration unanimously or nearly unanimously adopted, which will prove historic in its influence and effect around the world. Another important resolution [1966 (XVIII)] which did not start with agreement between the big Powers at the beginning, but really with a little bit of controversy in the Sixth Committee, was that on the development of international law based on the four basic principles of the Charter, which are: the principles of refraining from the threat or use of force; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention; and the sovereign equality of States. In spite of the controversy there was more effort in this resolution and we had a very constructive result with a resolution that will bring out the codification of these principles, and also in another respect a resolution [1967 (XVIII)] which will prepare the way for the fact-finding centre which is so important to have in order to prevent the deterioration of anomalous situations threatening world peace. We have seen how effective the United Nations has proved by the intervention of fact-finding groups or teams on several occasions recently. Therefore, this field of action by the United Nations should be further explored.

306. On the whole, we believe that this Assembly has been particularly effective in promoting a spirit of co-operation and preparing the way through gradual

transition for more effective resolutions, continued in the same spirit but with more substance in them.

307. We have had in this Assembly the sad experience of the death of President Kennedy. It was something that shook the United Nations and the whole world to the very core. It brought about a unity in sorrow, which meant a unity in purpose, to promote and further to enhance the influence of the late President Kennedy in the progress towards the objectives which he had set in his life: those of international co-operation and peace with justice in our world.

308. Today we heard with immense satisfaction in this hall the address of President Johnson, who pledged to continue the policies of the late President Kennedy and, what is more important, to take a further step by demanding an end to the cold war. Thus, there is not only a continuity, but further progress, as a reaction to the enormity of the crime in Dallas. We hope that the peoples of the world, together with the American people, will begin to take bold steps in this transition from force and arbitrariness to reason and law. What we have experienced today in listening to the speech of President Johnson is most significant, because there was the genuineness of intention, beyond the words, which was characterized in his expression and in his inner desire for peace and progress in the world.

309. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): First of all, from the bottom of my heart I wish to thank the speakers who tonight, on behalf of their own delegations and the other delegations they were representing, have expressed in such moving words their appreciation of my work as President of the eighteenth session. I feel that their generous opinions may to a large extent be explained by the friendship that binds me to them after several years of joint work in this Organization. Nevertheless, I shall in any case cherish their words as a precious reward that will enable me to feel the satisfaction of having done my duty to the best of my ability.

310. We have completed our consideration of the agenda of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly and in a few moments it will be my duty to declare this session closed. Before doing so, I am glad to note two things: first, we have completed our work within the normal time-limit set for regular sessions; secondly, our discussions have taken place in the atmosphere of harmony, understanding and mutual respect which is essential to their success.

311. Both of these things have been possible because, throughout this session, we have succeeded in keeping alive—despite the sometimes heated and difficult discussions which inevitably occur—the desire to maintain intact, or rather to increase, the improvement in relations between peoples and the reduction in international tension. We have not achieved spectacular results, but we have helped to prepare the ground for the future solution of the serious problems facing the world today.

312. The work of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly was carried out within the framework of the three great political imperatives of our time: the maintenance of peace, the abolition of colonialism and racial segregation, and the improvement of economic and social conditions in the developing countries.

313. in the field of disarmament, one of the achievements of this eighteenth session is the resolution [1884 (XVIII)] calling upon all States to refrain from placing in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, together with the resolutions laying down rules for the peaceful use of outer space, all of which were adopted unanimously.

314. In the field of decolonization, important steps have been taken during this session and resolutions adopted almost unanimously have marked a further advance towards the total disappearance of the colonial system.

315. In economic and social matters, this session has to its credit intensive preparatory work for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is so important for the developing countries, and the Declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination [resolution 1904 (XVIII)], which represents a new milestone in the noble historical process that will ultimately ensure the respect of human dignity by all peoples and all nations.

316. I therefore feel that in concluding our work at this eighteenth session we can congratulate ourselves on having made some progress towards the better application throughout the world of the principles and ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

317. Another important step taken by the Assembly has been the resolution [1991 (XVIII)] recommending an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council in order to ensure that representation in those bodies shall be more in keeping with the present composition of the General Assembly.

318. Mention must also be made of the adoption of the resolution [1898 (XVIII)] on the improvement of the methods of work of the General Assembly, which has already been applied during this session, with the happy result of enabling us to complete our work in the thirteen-week period recommended by the Committee which drafted this resolution.

319. Lastly, during this session we have had the immense satisfaction of admitting to the United Nations two newly independent African States, Kenya and Zanzibar.

320. It has been to me a source of satisfaction and pride to preside over the debates of this Assembly. In declaring the session closed, I wish once again to express my profound gratitude not only for the great honour done to me and the confidence shown in me when I was elected to this high office, but also for the generous co-operation accorded to me at all times during this session, which has enabled me to face these great responsibilities with composure and optimism.

321. I am particularly grateful for the splendid co-operation I have always received from the Chairmen of the Main Committees, the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, the Secretary-General and the Secretariat staff—especially the personnel assigned to the Assembly—without whose devotion and spirit of self-sacrifice we should never have been able to complete the entire agenda of this session within the allotted time. A further proof of the sense of responsibility

and dedication with which the Secretariat is imbued is the fact that I have just been handed the text of all the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the eighteenth session.

322. Lastly, together with my renewed thanks, I should like to offer you my most sincere wishes for a very happy Christmas and a most prosperous New Year.

323. Now allow me to say this prayer: may Divine Providence shed its grace on this august Assembly, so that the United Nations, truly united, may ensure the existence of a world at peace, freed from poverty, ignorance and hunger, in which men, without distinction as to race, colour or creed, may freely shape their destiny in their search for true happiness. Thank you.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

324. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

Closure of the session

325. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I declare the eighteenth session of the General Assembly closed.

The meeting rose at 9 p.m.