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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 49

Question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi: report of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi (continued)*

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE
(PART II) (A/4929/ADD.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I wish to draw the attention of members to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5095] on the financial implications of draft resolution I submitted by the Fourth Committee [see A/4929/Add.1], and, in particular, to the recommendation in paragraph 5 (b) of that report.
2. Mr. HOUAISS (Brazil) (Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee) (translated from French): I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4929/Add.1] dealing with the question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi.
3. The Fourth Committee devoted no fewer than forty meetings to this question. It made the most attentive and careful study of the future of Ruanda-Urundi and, in submitting its report, it hopes that the two draft resolutions it adopted on the subject will win the virtually unanimous support of the Assembly, for, as I would venture to point out, there is no ideal solution and we are living in an age of compromise.
4. The report has been drawn up in chronological order, out of a desire for clarity and logic.
5. We hope that the efforts of the Fourth Committee will bear fruit and that the action taken by the United

Nations will be constructive and such as to meet the aspirations of Ruanda-Urundi.

6. It is with this hope that I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee on the future of Ruanda-Urundi.

In accordance with rule 68 of the Rules of Procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Pursuant to the decision that the Assembly has just taken, statements will be confined to explanations of vote.

8. I would draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that the Fourth Committee's report contains two draft resolutions: draft resolution I, which has financial implications concerning which we have before us a report by the Fifth Committee, and draft resolution II, on the question of the Mwami of Rwanda. It is my intention to submit to the Assembly first draft resolution I, then draft resolution II and, lastly, the recommendation which appears in the report of the Fifth Committee.

9. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly accepts this procedure.

It was so decided.

10. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now call on the speakers who have asked to be allowed to explain their votes in connexion with the draft resolutions of the Fourth Committee.

11. Mr. KYARUZI (Tanganyika): I should like to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolution II, contained in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4929/Add.1], which relates to the Mwami of Rwanda, because after the debate in the Fourth Committee, there was some suggestion that this was not an important question, and I felt that I should like to explain my vote on it, because I consider it to be vital to make the points which I am about to make.

12. Many representatives may be unaware of the question of Mwami, or chiefs, such as we have in Africa. To us the chiefs—the Kabaka in Uganda or the Mwami in Burundi—represent a vital issue connected with tradition, and therefore whoever says that it is a dead issue is not acquainted with the traditions of the country.

13. However, bearing in mind that the two parties have agreed to come together, our draft resolution has emerged as a compromise, so that when the Commission goes there it will be able to study the issue, conciliate the people and give thousands of persons—40,000 in Burundi and 10,000 in Tanganyika—the chance to go home and create confidence in the area. That is why the delegation of Tanganyika will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

14. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet Union

*Resumed from the 1041st meeting.

delegation considers it necessary to explain the reasons for its vote on the draft resolution submitted to us by the Fourth Committee.

15. The Soviet delegation had an opportunity to state its views on this question in detail in its statements in the Fourth Committee, where it firmly and consistently defended the fundamental principle that, in accordance with the wishes of the population, Ruanda-Urundi must be granted independence—and, at that, not false but true independence—that by the date on which the independence of Ruanda-Urundi is proclaimed not a single Belgian soldier must remain in its territory, and that if this requirement is not met it will not be possible to consider that Ruanda-Urundi has really—in fact and not just in words—become an independent and sovereign State. The Soviet delegation has also pointed out that the United Nations cannot take decisions the validity of which would extend to the period after the establishment of the independent sovereign State of Ruanda-Urundi, since the effect of such decisions would be to infringe the country's sovereignty after its accession to independence.

16. We continue as in the past to attach particular importance to these questions for very clear and definite reasons. The history of Ruanda-Urundi and the conduct of the Belgian colonialists as a whole have taught us not to believe statements made by the colonialists. Ruanda-Urundi has suffered sufficiently from the domination of the Belgian trustees. The flagrant Belgian abuses and the gross violations of the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter have resulted in the instability of the situation in the Trust Territory, which is something, unfortunately, to be expected by us all, in the repressive acts against patriotic parties and organizations that are being carried out on the pretext of maintaining so-called "peace and order", and, lastly, in the partition of the Trust Territory.

17. It is interesting to note in this connexion that more than a year ago, in January 1961, the Soviet Union delegation drew the attention of the United Nations to the fact that Belgium's colonialist policy towards both the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi was creating a threat to international peace and security. At that time, as you know, the question at issue was the aggressive acts of Belgium against the Republic of the Congo which were being committed by Belgian troops, including some based on the territory of Ruanda-Urundi. Even at that early date we demanded that Belgium should be deprived of trusteeship rights over Ruanda-Urundi, since its, Belgium's, actions were directly contrary to the requirements of the United Nations Charter and to the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement concerned.

18. Unfortunately, however, we have to note that at that time some delegations in the United Nations cherished certain illusions about Belgium's intentions and therefore did not properly evaluate the danger of that situation. The Soviet delegation is now more than ever before convinced of the profound justice of the position we took at that time. It is now even more obvious that in the course of the past year the Belgian colonialists have continued to do as they please in Ruanda-Urundi and have carried out their usual "divide and rule" policy. They have sought to achieve their aims by disuniting and weakening the country's national forces, setting one part of the territory against another, and creating dissension between different political parties and tribes and members of

different religions—Catholics and Moslems. In the period just past the Belgian colonialists have continued on an even wider scale their cruel persecution of the patriotic forces which fought for true freedom and independence for their country and for the speediest possible withdrawal of the foreign enslavers from Ruanda-Urundi. They have held elections there after their own, colonialist, fashion and have in fact transferred power in Rwanda to their puppets. With the connivance of the Belgian authorities the murder of Prince Rwagasore, the Prime Minister of the Burundi Government, was organized. All this was done by the Belgians with the sole aim of retaining their colonial base in the heart of Africa at all costs.

19. After confronting the General Assembly with accomplished facts, which were the result of all these actions in the Trust Territory, Belgium then made demagogic statements in the United Nations alleging that it was in favour of granting independence to Ruanda-Urundi, and indeed of doing so immediately. The reasons for such unusual activity are apparent to all. Belgium is anxious to liquidate as quickly as possible the existing means of control by the United Nations over its activities in Ruanda-Urundi. It is anxious to make permanent its partition of the country, to retain its dominant position in Rwanda and then to use this to recover its lost positions in Burundi. During the discussion in the United Nations of the question of Ruanda-Urundi, Belgium, relying on the overt and covert support of its NATO allies and exploiting the divergencies of view among certain Asian and African States, employed every means of political and other pressure in order to ensure a decision that would help it achieve its aims—aims that are utterly at variance with the true national interests of the population of Ruanda-Urundi.

20. In this connexion it must be noted first of all that as a result of the obvious intrigues and pressure by the colonialists the original draft resolution put forward in the Fourth Committee [see A/C.4/L.730] was substantially altered for the worse. Though, as the Soviet delegation in the Fourth Committee pointed out [1300th meeting], this original draft did not contain sufficient guarantees that would ensure the restoration of a normal atmosphere and the consolidation of the positions of the anti-colonialist patriotic forces in Ruanda-Urundi, it was based on the premise that Belgian armed forces must be withdrawn from the country before it was granted independence. We must emphasize most vehemently how important this key provision calling for the complete withdrawal of Belgian troops from the territory of Ruanda-Urundi is for the real implementation of the provisions in the draft resolution for the granting of independence to that country. The whole experience of the colonial peoples' struggle against their oppressors attests to the fact that the free expression of the people's will and real rather than formal independence can be achieved only if the colonialists are deprived of any possibility of intervening in the country's internal affairs and, above all, of any possibility of using their armed forces for such intervention.

21. However, as a result of the open pressure applied by the colonialists, provisions were included in the draft resolution now submitted by the Fourth Committee for consideration by the Assembly whereby Belgian troops may remain in the territory of Ruanda-Urundi even after the proclamation of independence. The provisos that were entered in the text of the draft

resolution do not, of course, alter the substance of the matter.

22. As is known, the USSR delegation in the Fourth Committee submitted amendments to the draft resolution [see A/4929/Add.1] in order to prevent it from being clearly changed for the worse. In particular, it submitted an amendment to the preamble of the draft resolution providing for recognition of the importance of withdrawing Belgian troops from the territory of Ruanda-Urundi before the granting of independence. It should be recalled that these amendments were supported by a large number of influential African-Asian States and it was only because of the opposition of Belgium's NATO allies that these amendments were not adopted.

23. It is quite obvious that the draft resolution submitted for our consideration does not guarantee the creation of a truly independent State of Ruanda-Urundi or the necessary protection for its sovereignty. It is highly significant that in this inferior form the draft resolution was supported in the Fourth Committee by all the colonialist countries and that even the representative of Belgium spoke vehemently in favour of its adoption.

24. In these circumstances the Soviet Union delegation deems it its duty to declare that it does not share the illusions entertained by a number of countries that are truly friendly to Ruanda-Urundi, countries which, though seeing the important defects of principle we have enumerated in the draft resolution under consideration, nevertheless consider it possible to support that text even in its present defective form. We deem it our duty to say this as frankly and openly as possible. In order not to foster useless illusions and expectations it is essential to take it as a premise that the rights of the colonial peoples, including the people of Ruanda-Urundi, can be effectively protected and secured in the United Nations only by resolutely overcoming all attempts by the Belgian colonialists, supported by their allies, to maintain their colonial domination in a new and disguised form.

25. Furthermore, we must express our regret that, as has recently become known, the United Nations Secretariat has the intention of recruiting the members of the United Nations military mission to Ruanda-Urundi from among the Belgian military personnel now operating in that country on instructions given them by the Belgian Government. It is obvious that this essentially would represent nothing other than an attempt to cloak with the United Nations flag the continued stay of Belgian military personnel in the territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

26. To this the Soviet Union cannot agree. As is known, the USSR, in similar circumstances in the past, has held that any actions connected with the furnishing of military assistance of any kind by the United Nations, being directly linked with the Organization's functions with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, can be carried out only with the approval of the Security Council, the only organ which under the Charter possesses the power to act in this field on behalf of the whole Organization. We therefore cannot accept as consistent with the Charter those provisions of the draft resolution which are aimed at by-passing the Security Council. It goes without saying, furthermore, that the Soviet Union cannot consider itself bound by such decisions, and this includes their financial implications.

27. At the same time the Soviet delegation would point out that the draft resolution contains some important positive elements. Among these are measures to give independence to Ruanda-Urundi, the carrying out of democratic reforms in Rwanda, the transfer of internal-autonomy rights to the Governments of Rwanda and Burundi, and a number of other provisions. Accordingly, despite the draft's very important defects, which do not permit us to support it, the Soviet delegation found it possible to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution in the Fourth Committee and not to vote against it. The Soviet delegation intends to abstain in the vote at this plenary meeting of the General Assembly also, for the same reason.

28. Basing itself on the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the Soviet delegation, as is well known, is in favour of the immediate granting of independence to colonial peoples, an independence which must be a true and not a false independence. The Soviet delegation is convinced that only a firm policy, a policy of principle, can lead to a real and just solution of the problems connected with the final liquidation of the colonial system. Concessions to the colonialists never lead to anything good; this is a lesson we can learn, in particular, from the sad experience of events in the Congo.

29. The Soviet delegation reserves the right, depending upon the course of events and the situation in Ruanda-Urundi, to determine its further position in this matter and if necessary to take certain measures in accordance with the United Nations Charter and existing procedure.

30. At the present time we consider it important to stress that one of the most vital tasks of the United Nations and its organs, and of the new commission for Ruanda-Urundi which is to be appointed pursuant to the draft resolution of the Fourth Committee, is to prevent the Belgian colonialists from consolidating their positions in the Trust Territory, to ensure the complete withdrawal of Belgian troops, to avert the possibility of any infringement of the sovereign rights of the future independent Ruanda-Urundi and to preserve the best national patriotic forces of the people of Ruanda-Urundi by preventing the Belgian colonialists from weakening and splitting their ranks.

31. To conclude this statement, we should like to express the hope that all true friends of the people of Ruanda-Urundi and all the African-Asian countries will keep vigilant watch on the fulfilment of these important tasks and, if the need arises, will take such measures as may be necessary to ensure true freedom and independence for the people of Ruanda-Urundi. The Soviet Union, as always, will fully support such measures.

32. Mr. SPAAK (Belgium) (translated from French): I had not expected to speak in the course of this debate, since I did not consider it necessary to justify and explain my vote. But the statement we have just heard does not allow me to remain silent.

33. During the debate in the Fourth Committee I voluntarily decided not to engage in polemics and I let pass a number of remarks which seemed to me to be contrary to the truth and which I should perhaps have taken up if I had been more sensitive. But the statement we have just heard is so full of offensive remarks and—if I may be allowed to say so—is so cynical that it is not possible for the representative of Belgium to listen to it without voicing a protest.

34. To see my country's policy in the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi judged and condemned by a country which was expelled from the League of Nations after being censured for aggression, by a country which has left its troops in free and independent countries for years, by a country, finally, which has systematically refused to apply all resolutions of the United Nations when it thought them contrary to its interests—that, truly, is a judgement that a small honourable and loyal country cannot accept.

35. All the accusations which have been made here by the Soviet Union representative were refuted by the representative of Belgium in the course of the many meetings we held in the Fourth Committee. The truth is that the Soviet Union cannot tolerate what is taking place. The Soviet Union cannot conceal its disappointment at the idea that a policy of mutual understanding, agreement, tolerance and loyalty has been elaborated not only without its participation but, indeed, against its advice and influence. It is quite clear, when we see the Soviet Union opposing a draft resolution [see A/4929/Add.1, draft resolution I] which was drafted and approved almost unanimously by the Fourth Committee, that it realizes that the only policy which can be favourable to it in Africa is that of creating chaos and that, to achieve this, it will do everything in its power.

36. Happily, this attitude has found no supporters. Happily, the Fourth Committee, over a period of six weeks, has set another example—the example of a desire for loyal understanding. That is the spirit of the United Nations. The spirit of the United Nations is not the spectacle we are witnessing for the moment, the spectacle of a great country launching into unjustified charges against another country and not hesitating to employ the grossest and most insulting abuse. For if that were the United Nations, we would never succeed in solving the problems with which we are faced. I would venture to say that, on the contrary, the example given us by the Fourth Committee has been extremely heartening and that if, in the months and years to come, it is this spirit of loyal understanding that prevails in the United Nations we shall probably have quickly forgotten any disappointments that the United Nations may have caused us and we shall all be able together to undertake the truly constructive task of settling the problems which arise between people of goodwill endeavouring to understand one another and to help one another when one is faced with a difficulty.

37. I accordingly wish to take this opportunity afforded me to thank the African-Asian countries for the effort they have made. I know that in order to arrive at the draft resolution they have had to give up some of their points of view; at least they have had to agree to a compromise—an honourable compromise. I can tell them that so far as Belgium is concerned this honourable compromise will be implemented with the utmost goodwill.

38. Whenever possible in the weeks and months ahead I shall endeavour to be faithful to the example which was set in the Fourth Committee. I hope that when we return here in June each of us will be able to see, from what has happened, where good faith is to be found and where bad faith and cynicism. The events of the coming weeks or months will be my best reply to the unjustified and insulting accusations of the Soviet representative.

39. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (translated from French): We shall soon be proceeding to vote on draft resolution I [see A/4929/Add.1] and then to elect the commission for which that draft resolution provides and which is to play such an important role in the solution of the problems of Ruanda-Urundi.

40. Although there are no official candidates for election to this commission, we have learned that certain difficulties arose among eminently respectable persons and countries who have all contributed to our discussions. As Frenchmen and Europeans we are disinterested in the matter of the elections to this commission. We are not candidates and that perhaps is why it is possible for us to make a suggestion, in the form of a minor amendment.

41. Since we do not wish there to be any difficulties, any conflicts even between individuals, when everything inclines us towards co-operation and when we expect much of this commission, we would suggest that, in paragraph 2 of draft resolution I, the number of commissioners should be increased from five to six. This would enable us to elect two African countries for which we have equal friendship and esteem. We are sure, in the light of the contribution they have made to the work of the Fourth Committee, that they will be able to assist greatly in achieving the aims we all seek together.

42. I therefore hope that this minor amendment will be adopted by the Assembly. I repeat: I formally propose that paragraph 2, instead of reading "... composed of five Commissioners, representing five Member States", should read "... composed of six Commissioners, representing six Member States".

43. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): If no other speaker wishes to explain his vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee, I shall put to the vote the amendment proposed by the representative of France to draft resolution I and then that draft resolution itself.

44. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): I wish simply to point out an error of substance which has crept into paragraph 1 of draft resolution I. This paragraph reads, *in fine*, as follows:

"aux dirigeants des partis politiques, aux représentants de l'Autorité administrante, qui ont tous coopéré efficacement avec les commissions".

This is not correct. The proper wording should be:

"aux dirigeants des partis politiques, aux représentants de l'Autorité administrante et à tous ceux qui ont coopéré efficacement avec les commissions".

This error had already been pointed out to the Rapporteur in the Fourth Committee. We regret that it should continue to appear in the text of the draft resolution and we bring it to the Committee's attention in the hope that the necessary correction will be made.

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Rapporteur has already mentioned this error to me and asked me to have it corrected. The necessary correction will be made.

46. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland): My delegation will abstain on the draft resolution before us, appearing in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4929/Add.1] as draft resolution I. My delegation would not have taken the floor to explain its vote had it not been for the remarks of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bel-

gium, who, in his rather sharp and vehement statement, brought in several other problems. My delegation decided that it had to explain its abstention in order not to be accused later of trying, as the Belgian representative said, to create chaos in Africa and going against African interests.

47. Were it not for the provisions of paragraph 3 (e) and of paragraph 6 (c) of draft resolution I, my delegation would vote for that draft resolution, but those two provisions that I have mentioned, which give the Belgian Government the right to maintain its troops on the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, make it impossible for my delegation to take the responsibility of supporting the draft resolution, and to take the responsibility for whatever might happen in connexion with the presence of the Belgian troops after the territory of Ruanda-Urundi has become independent.

48. In saying that, I should like to express my surprise that the Foreign Minister of Belgium, who, as everybody knows, is an experienced parliamentarian, known not only in Europe but also in our Organization, found it possible to use rather unparliamentary language in the General Assembly Hall. Although it is a perfect right and privilege of every delegation to disagree with others and even, if necessary, to engage in polemics—because, if it were not for the polemics, if it were not for the efforts of our delegations to explain our positions and, through parliamentary discussion, to reconcile them, for what would this Organization stand, for what would it have been created?—I think that that last injection of rather non-parliamentary language and non-parliamentary procedures is very much out of place in this Organization and I hope that it will not be repeated in this hall.

49. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now proceed with the voting. Before dealing with draft resolution I, the Assembly will vote on the amendment proposed by France to paragraph 2 of that draft, to replace the word "five", both times it occurs in that paragraph, by the word "six".

50. I call on the representative of Guinea on a point of order concerning the voting, which has just begun.

51. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): An important statement was made from this rostrum just a few minutes ago by the representative of France who orally submitted an amendment to draft resolution I.

52. We are all aware of the extremely careful work and fruitful negotiation which produced the delicately balanced text submitted today for approval by the General Assembly. Before we vote on the French amendment, my delegation considers it highly desirable that the delegations concerned, and more particularly the sponsors of this draft resolution, which received the virtually unanimous support of Member States, should have an opportunity to consult one another. We were in the process of holding these consultations but we have not had time to complete them.

53. Accordingly, despite the delay that this may cause in the Assembly's work my delegation considers it essential that the sponsors of the draft resolution should have an opportunity to consult one another. My delegation, therefore, without making a formal proposal unless it is compelled to do so, would like to suggest that the meeting should be suspended in order to permit the sponsors of the draft resolution to confer on the amendment submitted by France.

54. I should also like to make a minor correction. The last part of paragraph 1 of the draft resolution reads as follows: "*et à tous ceux qui ont coopéré efficacement avec les commissions*". At the beginning of the paragraph we refer to the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi, the Special Commission for the Amriesty, their staffs, the people of Ruanda-Urundi, the political leaders and the Administering Authority; we wished particularly to express our appreciation to those who did in fact co-operate with the United Nations Commissions. The concluding portion of the paragraph should therefore read: "*... de l'autorité administrante, à tous ceux qui ont coopéré efficacement avec les commissions*".

55. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before giving the floor to the representative of Guinea I had announced that we were proceeding to the vote. Under rule 90 of the Rules of Procedure, after the President has announced the beginning of voting, no representative may interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting. I shall therefore ask the representative of Guinea not to press his motion for the suspension of the meeting since the voting had already been announced.

56. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): The delegation of Guinea has no desire whatever to oppose a ruling by the Chair. However, the delegations worked for five whole weeks and everyone was surely aware, at the end of those five weeks of discussion, that each delegation had made sacrifices, to the point where to some this draft resolution is no longer recognizable. Right must prevail, to be sure, proper procedure has its merits, and my delegation does not wish to press its point, but we do believe, once again, that it is essential that, with regard to the composition of the proposed commission and to everything relating to that commission, which will be decisive for the resumption of the session next June, there should be unanimous agreement.

57. Under these circumstances, my delegation considers that it would not be wasting time to suspend the meeting in order to allow the sponsors of draft resolution I and all the delegations concerned to consult together; for if agreement is reached following these consultations, this will undoubtedly be beneficial not only for our present meeting but for the whole future of the proposed commission and for the results we hope to see next June.

58. I therefore do not press the point, if there really has been a ruling by the Chair, but I would repeat that in this particular case procedure should yield to the realities we have to face.

59. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the representative of Guinea very sincerely for not pressing his motion for the suspension of the meeting since the voting has begun. Nevertheless, in consideration of the very cogent arguments he has just advanced concerning the designation of the members of the proposed commission, I could suspend the meeting after the voting on the draft resolutions, before proceeding to elect the members of the commission, so as to permit any necessary consultations to be held on the subject.

60. Accordingly, as I previously announced, I submit to the Assembly the amendment proposed by the representative of France. I shall then put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole.

61. I call on the representative of Ghana on a point of order concerning the voting procedure.

62. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): What the representative of Guinea was trying to say here was that a surprise has been sprung upon us. It took us some time to agree on draft resolution I contained in the report [A/4929/Add.1] now before the Assembly and it took us some time to reach an agreement on the composition of the Commission; so that now, if in the course of an explanation of vote an amendment has been made, the Assembly is entitled to know whether the addition to this Commission would entail a further financial commitment for the United Nations, and what are the implications involved. In that sense, I think we owe it to the Organization that we should know, after the financial statement has been made on this draft, whether the addition of one member would entail a further expenditure. If there can be assurance from the Secretariat even now before the voting takes place, we should be in a position then to consider the amendment which has been made by the representative of France in the course of his explanation of vote.

63. If I may say so, this amendment was made at a time when it should not have been made, but in his wisdom the President allowed it to be made. However, my delegation does not jibe at the idea of having an addition, especially if it is going to allow an African member to be added to the Commission, but we want to have an assurance that this will not entail any more difficulties for the Assembly.

64. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

65. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In all cases, when examining any proposals submitted here, we long ago agreed—and this has become a tradition in the United Nations—to follow a certain procedure which is laid down in a document entitled Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly. From this point of view, without for the moment dealing with the substance of the matter raised in the statement by the representative of France, I must say that from the standpoint of the Rules of Procedure that statement and the request that was made here by the representative of France cannot be recognized as conforming to the rules and are out of order.

66. Indeed, at the very outset, Mr. President, you asked whether anyone wished to propose that we should hold a discussion here on the matter under consideration. No one made such a proposal and it was decided, and announced by you, that the Assembly would confine itself to explanations of vote, i.e. that anyone wishing to speak in the Assembly would confine himself to an explanation of his vote.

67. Since when, I should like to know—and I should also like to know how the French representative can justify this—can anyone speaking in explanation of vote submit amendments to a draft resolution? What kind of procedure is that? If today we depart from the established Rules of Procedure, then tomorrow, evidently, we shall go so far that it will be very difficult for us to return to a normal procedure which guarantees delegations the opportunity to discuss proposals and amendments submitted here to draft resolutions and thereby guarantees a normal democratic expression of will by the representatives of States who are present here and are settling the matters referred to them.

68. That is why we in the Soviet delegation fully understand the doubts and perplexity expressed by a number of delegations of African countries that have already spoken here on this question and, on the basis of the General Assembly's Rules of Procedure, I should like to raise a point of order, Mr. President, and ask you to rule on it. The motion is this: that a vote on the amendment submitted orally by the representative of France is impossible at the present time and that, in accordance with the rule of procedure, the French representative should have taken care to submit that proposal at the proper time, when, under the Rules of Procedure, it could have been put to the vote.

69. I would ask you, Mr. President, to consider this point of order and, in advance, I would express the hope that your experience in directing the proceedings of this complex body, the General Assembly, will help you find the correct decision. While awaiting your decision on this matter and depending on its nature, we reserve the right to speak again.

70. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of India on a point of order.

71. Mr. JHA (India): I come to speak on a point of order with some reluctance and with considerable misgiving. Actually, when the proceedings started, if I remember correctly, the President said that, in the absence of any speakers, the Assembly would proceed to hear explanations of vote. The explanation of vote itself is made under rule 90 of the Rules of Procedure. This rule is headed: "Conduct during voting". That is to say, when this rule comes into play, the voting has already started or, at any rate, the stage of voting has commenced. This rule states:

"After the President has announced the beginning of voting, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting. The President may permit Members to explain their votes, either before or after the voting, except when the vote is taken by secret ballot".

72. The President was good enough to permit Members to explain their votes before the voting. We are not aware that it has been the practice in the Assembly to introduce amendments to resolutions during the stage of explanations of vote, because that is not permitted under rule 90. Of course, the Assembly is master of its own procedure, and it can amend or even suspend a rule of procedure. On behalf of my delegation I do not want to say that I am opposed to raising the number from five to six, or even to seven or eight: the more the merrier, perhaps. But the point is that this is a financial matter. We have received the estimates of the Fifth Committee, and the total cost of a Commission of five members is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of \$342,000. If we add one more member, the cost would naturally go up. We in this Assembly have lately been rather concerned about the costs of this Organization and how to meet the greatly increased responsibilities of Members, many of which have limited financial resources. I count my own Government among those which have not too much to spare in the way of resources.

73. I therefore submit that, while I can understand the reasons—although he did not explain them very clearly—why the representative of France thought that six might be a better number, I feel, with all respect to him, that there was no occasion for an

amendment during the explanation of vote, and that it would be straining the Rules of Procedure to accept that amendment and to vote on it. Rule 154 of the Rules of Procedure states:

"No resolution involving expenditure shall be recommended by a committee for approval by the General Assembly unless it is accompanied by an estimate of expenditures prepared by the Secretary-General. No resolution in respect of which expenditures are anticipated by the Secretary-General shall be voted by the General Assembly until the Administrative and Budgetary Committee has had an opportunity of stating the effect of the proposal upon the budget estimates of the United Nations."

74. What is applicable to a resolution is equally applicable to an amendment. There is no separate rule concerning amendments. From the point of view of finances, there can be no differentiation between a resolution and an amendment.

75. Therefore, if it is seriously desired that this amendment should be considered—and I must say, speaking for my delegation, that this is certainly the first time that we have heard of a desire in any quarter to increase the number from five to six, or to seven, or whatever it may be—then I would suggest, for the consideration of the President that, if he thinks that that has to be done, then the only correct procedure would be to suspend the meeting for a little while and allow Members to come to an agreement.

76. Of course, if there is no objection at all, then naturally the Assembly, as master of its own rules, can have an amendment even at this stage of explanation of vote. But I submit that, if there is an objection, the President is expected to uphold the rules—and rule 90 is quite clear on the matter, as is also rule 154.

77. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Taking into consideration all the points of order that have been raised and before announcing the Chair's ruling on the formal proposal made by the representative of France, I should like to ask that representative whether he is pressing his last-minute amendment.

78. Mr. KOSZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (translated from French): This debate is not without its comic side. I must say that it is quite surprising to see certain delegations suddenly come forward as champions of financial orthodoxy. I must also say that if we wished to discuss the Rules of Procedure and points of order, we would, I think, have some excellent arguments to advance in reply to the representative of the Soviet Union and other representatives.

79. But that is not my intention and I do not wish to complicate the President's task or delay the proceedings of our Assembly. Our sole concern was, quite disinterestedly, to prevent anything in the nature not of dispute but of competition between delegations equally friendly to us; our sole concern was, basically, to promote co-operation and to make it possible for members of the Fourth Committee who have made a particularly useful contribution to our work to become members of the commission that is to play such an important role in Ruanda-Urundi.

80. I regret that our intention was not understood, although some of the sponsors of draft resolution I have told me that they approve of our proposal; in the circumstances, however, since we seem to be headed in the opposite direction from that which we intended and to be complicating matters instead of simplifying

them, I shall not press our amendment and I ask the President, although the voting has begun, to act accordingly.

81. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The amendment which was before the Assembly has been withdrawn. If there are no objections, we shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolutions.

82. I call on the Assembly to vote on draft resolutions I and II which appear in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4929/Add.1] and which that Committee recommends for adoption.

83. I put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 88 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

84. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I put to the vote draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 55 votes to none, with 46 abstentions.

85. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now call the Assembly's attention to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5095] concerning the financial implications of draft resolution I, which has just been adopted, and more especially to the recommendation in that report.

86. I call on the representative of Afghanistan who wishes to explain his vote.

87. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): I have requested permission to explain my vote on the financial implications of the action of the Assembly in accordance with the resolution that has just been adopted with respect to Ruanda-Urundi.

88. My delegation will abstain in the vote on the financial aspects of this question in the Assembly as it did in the Fifth Committee. As it explained in the Fifth Committee [912th meeting] the abstention of my delegation was based, and was only based, on further consideration by the Afghan Government of the financial implications of this action. I would like to state that the position of my delegation on this point remains unchanged. Our abstention in the vote is motivated by the careful consideration of the financial aspects only. I must make it clear that this includes both the so-called foreseen and also the unforeseen expenditures. In particular, I would like to stress most strongly the reservations of my Government on what has been termed in the report the unforeseen expenditures with respect to this matter.

89. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put to the vote the recommendation of the Fifth Committee which appears in paragraph 5 (b) of its report [A/5095].

The recommendation was adopted by 86 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

90. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have now finished dealing with the various draft resolutions on the question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi. However, under paragraph 2 of resolution I which it has just adopted, the General Assembly must establish a Commission for Ruanda-Urundi composed of five Commissioners, representing five Member States, to be elected by the General Assembly.

91. We shall now proceed to elect these five Commissioners and, in accordance with rules 96 and 98 of the Rules of Procedure, the voting will be by secret ballot.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Asambuja (Brazil) and Mr. Caimerom Measketh (Cambodia) acted as tellers.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	103
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	103
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	103
<i>Required majority:</i>	52
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Togo	93
Iran	88
Liberia	67
Haiti	66
Morocco	64
Ivory Coast	53
Brazil	19
Sweden	15
Mexico	6
United Arab Republic	6
Iraq	4
Guinea	2
Pakistan	2
Australia	1
Bolivia	1
Bulgaria	1
Cambodia	1
Chile	1
Congo (Brazzaville)	1
Ethiopia	1
Greece	1
India	1
Laos	1
Mali	1
Nigeria	1
Somalia	1
Tunisia	1

Togo, Iran, Liberia, Haiti and Morocco, having obtained the required majority, were elected.

AGENDA ITEM 39

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (concluded)*

(c) General questions relating to the transmission and examination of information

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4997/ADD.2)

92. Mr. HOUAISS (Brazil) (Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee) (translated from French): I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4997/Add.2] on agenda item 39 (c), consideration of which had not been completed during the first part of the sixteenth session. Pursuant to the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1087th meeting, that consideration was to be continued at the resumed session. The report accordingly deals with the following two questions: firstly, the question of British Guiana, on which the report follows on from paragraphs 2 to 12 of the Fourth Committee's previous report [A/4997/Add.1], and, secondly, the question of Southern Rhodesia, con-

sideration of which had also been deferred, pursuant to the decision of the General Assembly, to the resumed session and had been dealt with in part in paragraphs 13 and 14 of that report.

93. The part of the present report which deals with Southern Rhodesia contains [see para. 30] the text of the draft resolution adopted today by the Fourth Committee following a roll-call vote; that draft resolution is now submitted to the General Assembly.

94. In view of the inevitable haste in which this report was prepared, I ask the Assembly's indulgence to correct an error which has crept into the report and for which I am entirely responsible. In the original English text, the second sentence of paragraph 23 should read as follows:

"The United Kingdom was not prepared to give up an old but unused veto power without instituting other safeguards, so as not to abandon the African population".

The corresponding text in the other languages must therefore be corrected accordingly.

95. I hope that this report will win the General Assembly's approval and that the draft resolution it contains will be adopted without objection. In submitting a report for the last time at this session, I wish to thank the President for his inspired conduct of our affairs.

96. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The correction to which the Rapporteur has just referred will be taken into account. ^{1/}

In accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

97. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As no delegation has asked to be allowed to explain its vote, I now put to the vote the draft resolution which has been submitted by the Fourth Committee and which appears in its report [A/4997/Add.2]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus.

Against: Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada.

^{1/} The correction formed the subject of a document subsequently circulated under the symbol A/4997/Add.2/Corr.1.

*Resumed from the 1041st meeting.

Abstaining: Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Laos, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica.

The draft resolution was adopted by 57 votes to 21, with 24 abstentions.

Statement by the President

98. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Members of the Assembly will recall that it still remains for me to nominate the members of the United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa, in accordance with resolution 1702 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 19 December 1961. Not having completed my consultations on this matter, I am unable to do so at this meeting. I shall perform this task by means of a letter to the Secretary-General, which will be circulated as a United Nations document.^{2/}

Adjournment of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly

99. Mr. BORJA (Philippines): The Philippines delegation would like to voice its warm admiration for Mr. Mongi Slim, President of the General Assembly, for his energetic and skilful handling of international issues at the sixteenth session. I believe we all have to admit that few Presidents of the Assembly in recent years have been faced with problems as grave as those which confronted us at the sixteenth session, the second part of which is about to end. The world is clearly in transition, and it has been given to us, wisely or unwisely, to give shape and substance to the new world that is emerging. It is a task that summons in us all the resources of courage, firmness and resolution. It should gratify us that these virtues are present in a high degree in Mr. Slim. The sixteenth session has been an occasion for the display of high national passions, but Mr. Slim, through his innate tact and persuasiveness, has managed to channel debate towards constructive purposes, mindful always that moderation is an important key to the release of the world's tensions. This quality in his character, we may say, may well be considered a gift from the gods to the United Nations. We like to think that the international situation, while it has not been made less complex or less difficult of solution, has in some measure improved. In this, Mr. Slim had his contribution to make and he made it with conspicuous success.

100. Mr. HSUEH (China): I wish to express to the President our thanks and admiration for his leadership in the work of the General Assembly during this sixteenth session. The impartiality, tact, patience, and good sense which he has brought to the discharge of his duties in his high office are no doubt factors which have made this session a fruitful one. We remember the wish he expressed at the beginning of this session [1008th meeting], in September 1961 that this session of the Assembly would end under the sign of hope at last assured that concord and peace would reign over mankind, in freedom and justice. Those were his own words, and they are inspiring words. We know that to achieve that noble

goal it is necessary for us all to make constant, continuing and unrelenting efforts. It is obvious that much more is yet to be done, but if this Assembly has been able to make that sign of hope brighter and has contributed to the achievement of the goal, we owe this to Mr. Slim's able leadership and inspiring guidance.

101. Likewise on behalf of my delegation, I wish to take this opportunity to pay a high tribute to Mr. Cordier, Under-Secretary for General Assembly and Related Affairs, who is sitting in the usual place on the rostrum which has always been his since the beginning of our Organization. He has been better known to us as Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General. In all these sixteen years during which the United Nations has been in existence, Mr. Cordier has, with loyalty, devotion and efficiency, assisted the three Secretaries-General in leading the members of the Secretariat in splendid teamwork—let me quote his own words—"to save the world from war and to improve the welfare of mankind". He has indeed made a historic and monumental contribution to this Organization. We regret that he will now leave us shortly, after the end of this session. We shall miss him, but his excellent work will always be fondly and gratefully remembered.

102. In bidding him farewell, I wish to extend to him our best wishes for a very happy future and the very best of health.

103. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I sincerely thank the representative of the Philippines and the representative of China for the very kind words they have just spoken. I think, however, that the hour is late and that it would perhaps be appropriate to bring the proceedings of this part of the session to an end.

104. As has been noted, the General Assembly has completed consideration of all the items that had been deferred to the second part of the session. It only remains for me, therefore, to adjourn the session until the date when it will again be resumed, early in June, in accordance with the resolution that the General Assembly has just adopted, to consider exclusively the question of Ruanda-Urundi and the report of the Commission established and elected to deal with it.

105. May I be permitted, at this moment when we are about to separate, to express my gratitude once again to the Acting Secretary-General and to the entire Secretariat staff, in particular the interpreters and the general service personnel, for the assistance they have given us in our work with their customary devotion and patience.

106. I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without paying a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Andrew Cordier, Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, who has today attended for the last time a meeting of the General Assembly. For sixteen years he has at all times given his entire devoted assistance to all the successive Presidents of the General Assembly. The continual help he has given us at our various sessions to ensure the harmonious conduct and fruitful conclusion of our work deserves our whole-hearted gratitude. I am sure that in saying this I am speaking for all who would have wished to express to Mr. Cordier themselves, from the rostrum, their good wishes and admiration.

The representatives rose and applauded.

^{2/} Subsequently circulated as document A/5098.

107. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the members of the Assembly for this gracious expression of goodwill. Before closing the second part of this session I have great pleasure in expressing to all delegations my warm congratulations on the work that they have accomplished during this period and that they have carried through successfully. It is with real pleasure, also, that I thank them

most sincerely for the valuable co-operation they have given me in the performance of my duties as President.

108. I declare the sixteenth session of the General Assembly adjourned.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.