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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEMS 23 AND 71

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

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

Special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration: reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6209)

AGENDA ITEMS 68 AND 72

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations:

- (a) Reports of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6210)

AGENDA ITEM 13

Reports of the Trusteeship Council

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6211)

1. Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration the three remaining reports of the Fourth Committee, which were adopted by the Committee at its closing meeting yesterday morning.

2. The first report [A/6209] concerns Territories under Portuguese administration. The two draft resolutions adopted by the Fourth Committee under agenda items 23 and 71 are contained in paragraph 20.

3. The second report [A/6210] concerns Non-Self-Governing Territories. The two draft resolutions adopted by the Fourth Committee, under agenda items 68 and 72, are contained in its paragraph 11.

4. The third report [A/6211] concerns the reports of the Trusteeship Council. The two draft resolutions adopted by the Fourth Committee, under agenda item 13, are contained in its paragraph 11.

5. These reports are factual, and I submit them for the consideration of the General Assembly.

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

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I would remind representatives that in virtue of the decision just taken by the General Assembly, statements must be confined to explanations of vote.

7. We shall first of all consider agenda items 23 and 71, concerning which the Fourth Committee has submitted two draft resolutions, numbered I and II [A/6209, para. 20].

8. Mr. CARRANCO AVILA (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The Mexican delegation deplores the fact that in the Fourth Committee, when a separate vote was requested on several paragraphs of draft resolution I contained in paragraph 20 of its report [A/6209] and now under consideration, through sheer weight of numbers a motion for a single outright vote carried the day, though it was completely at variance with the spirit of rule 130 of the Assembly's rules of procedure.

9. Had there been a separate vote on the paragraphs in question, the Mexican delegation would have voted against operative paragraph 7 and we would have abstained on the eighth paragraph of the preamble and on operative paragraph 6. Our vote on the draft as a whole would have depended on the outcome of the voting on the paragraphs in question.

10. The Mexican delegation considers that by urging Member States individually or collectively to take the measures indicated in operative paragraph 7 (a) and (e) of draft resolution I, the General Assembly is taking upon itself a function that belongs to the Security Council. We are all familiar with Article 41 of the Charter, and paragraph 7 of the draft resolution offers us, in reverse, the very measures which the Security Council alone can decide to apply. The General Assembly, because it is constitutionally incompetent to enforce its recommendations as the Security Council can in the case of its decisions, frequently falls into the easy trap of adopting resolutions which we know in advance are scarcely viable, and all that is achieved is a moral sanction that remains ineffective.

11. With regard to the other preambular paragraphs and the operative part, very delicate matters are touched upon with which the delegation of Mexico is not entirely in agreement. This explanation of vote applies equally to the consideration of draft resolu-

*Resumed from 1405th meeting.

tion I as a whole, as recommended by the Fourth Committee.

12. Although it would appear that the efforts of the General Assembly over the years it has spent dealing with the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration have been fruitless, we venture to hope that this is only apparently so and that actually, sooner or later, the Government of Portugal will finally pay heed to the appeals of the Organization and revise its policy so as to bring it into line with the obligations inherent in the Charter and in the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

13. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): May I ask the representative of Mexico if he is now requesting a separate vote on draft resolution I?

14. Mr. CARRANCO AVILA (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): No sir.

15. Mr. PAYSSE REYES (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Uruguay wishes to make its position clear on this highly important item because the votes cast will represent a conceptual, political and legal commitment of an epoch-making kind.

16. The representative of Mexico who has just spoken referred to the manner in which the Fourth Committee handled this subject, and mentioned the vote in that Committee rejecting a separate vote on certain paragraphs of both the preamble and the operative part of resolution I under consideration, as given in paragraph 20 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/6209].

17. This being so, the votes we are about to cast might suggest that on the subject of colonialism the country for which I have the honour to speak has not taken a clear stand. We have the honour to be a member of the Security Council, and in that body we stated the position of the Republic of Uruguay with respect to colonialism and to the present situation of the Portuguese colonies. Obviously it is inadmissible for a delegation to be two-faced, expressing one view in the Assembly and adopting a different view in the Security Council.

18. To our way of thinking, the countries which are members of the Security Council must take exactly the same position in the General Assembly, since through their vote they are in a position in the Council to vindicate their stand. We say this because, if Uruguay helped the Security Council to establish a principle which is now a rule of law in the United Nations, it would be senseless, both politically and legally, after adopting a stand in the Security Council, to take a different one in the Assembly within a month, before the Security Council resolution was implemented. In this matter the Security Council has worked with a strong sense of responsibility. Its debates went on for more than a month. Uruguay condemned the phenomenon of colonialism in the Security Council without any reservation, and in regard to the question of Portugal, it censured the fact that the Government of that country with which we have friendly relations had not complied strictly with the Assembly's recommendations or implemented the resolutions of the Security Council.

19. Our statement in the Security Council was as follows:

"The Government of Portugal, a Member of the United Nations, is in duty bound to comply with relevant resolutions of the Organization's principal organs. The interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter may be controversial, as may also the executive force of declarations by the Assembly, but the resolution of the Security Council are not open to question. The Council is the nerve centre for the Organization—its master key, as we said a short time ago. If the Council's authority is ever repudiated the entire Organization will be placed in jeopardy. The Council adopted two resolutions, in July and December 1963, about whose interpretation there can be no room for doubt. We do not propose now to judge how Portugal is exercising its administration in African territories, because to do so we would want to have direct knowledge of the facts, and so we would favour acceptance of the suggestion made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal that an investigating commission would be appointed. But we do say in all sincerity that Portugal is harming its own case if it does not comply with what this Council decides. That is the problem facing us today.

"We would therefore be in favour of reminding Portugal—a land which has noble and glorious civilizing traditions to live up to and which is a Member of the United Nations—that it must comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and we would be in favour of requesting the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to that end."^{1/}

20. The Security Council considered a draft resolution^{2/} submitted by the delegations of the Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Sierra Leone and Tunisia. This draft resolution was not favourably received in the Security Council. It was the intervention of the representative of Uruguay, presenting amendments to the text^{2/} that enabled the Security Council to adopt an affirmative and constructive resolution. Had it not been for the amendments submitted by my delegation, the Security Council would not have adopted an appropriate resolution in its November meetings on the question of the Portuguese colonies. We make this statement so that no one can argue that there has been any vacillation in our attitude with respect to the condemnation of colonialism and in our criticism of the behaviour of Portugal. But we do want to be practical.

21. On 23 November the Security Council adopted resolution 218 (1965) after adopting the amendments—and indeed with the affirmative vote of the United States delegation; it adopted the resolution as a whole by seven votes in favour, the abstentions being France (which did not abstain on the resolution as such but in respect of the subject-matter, in accordance with its policy, since it had refrained from taking part in the discussion), the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States.

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, 1265th meeting.

^{2/} Ibid., Supplement for October, November and December 1965, S/6953 and Add.1, S/6965.

But the resolution is valid, since seven votes were cast in its favour [1268th meeting].

22. What does the Assembly want today? Does it wish to consolidate the position of the Security Council, to strengthen the Council? Or is the Assembly today, in wishing to censure Portugal, thereby censuring the Security Council? If we join issue with Portugal so as to enhance the prestige of the Security Council, it does not seem to us appropriate that within the United Nations itself the General Assembly should be the one to come forward and criticize and censure the Security Council.

23. This draft resolution, in its present form and whatever may be said about it, censures the Security Council for the resolution it has adopted. This no one can deny. As representative of a member of the Security Council, I wish to do my duty in this capacity by upholding resolution 218 (1965). It is not a resolution of long standing; it dates only from 23 November 1965. It has to be implemented; but before that, and before the Secretariat receives communications from the Members concerning the manner in which they are implementing the resolution, the General Assembly will want to discuss the value of the resolution with a view to sanctioning a more severe one. At times, when we try to be utterly drastic, all that we succeed in doing is to close our eyes to reality, and no sanction is applied.

24. I should like respectfully to suggest to the Assembly that what is needed, what would be useful and constructive, is a unanimous vote in support of the resolution adopted by the Security Council. As the representative of Mexico just said, the resolution recommended to the Assembly implied the application of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. What is sought by insisting in this way? Is the idea that in the Security Council some of the great Powers will exercise their legitimate juridical competence and apply the veto? Would we have taken a constructive step by giving the Government of Portugal, which is not complying with Security Council resolutions, the satisfaction of seeing the Assembly complicate the whole situation by raising the issue of the application of Chapter VII of the Charter?

25. For these reasons we venture to urge that the Assembly ratify and support the attitude of the Security Council, in the conviction that if the United Nations, through its 116 Members, applies to Portugal the measures prescribed in resolution 218 (1965), it will have taken a constructive and fundamental step. On the other hand, if instead a minority resolution is adopted or if the voting is the same as in the Fourth Committee, this draft resolution will not muster the support of 51 per cent of the countries in the Assembly, and the Government of Portugal will be able to boast that if it did not obtain a vote of absolution, at any rate the majority in the Assembly had a more acquiescent attitude to Portugal's policy towards its Territories.

26. In view of all this, and since the Committee has decided by a majority vote not to allow the separate vote asked for, we feel compelled, in accordance with our stand in the Security Council, to point out that we shall vote against the draft resolution as a whole.

27. Mr. BHUIYAN (Pakistan): Year after year Pakistan has added its voice to those of all the justice-loving States in the world in opposing Portuguese colonialism in Africa and elsewhere. We have opposed this particular example of colonial rule as we have opposed all others. We have opposed it in this Assembly and outside it. We have opposed it before audiences sympathetic to our viewpoint—as I believe my audience now is; we have also opposed it even when the audience has not been so sympathetic. We have opposed it in public and in private. We have opposed it in tones of persuasion when we have thought persuasion would do more good; but we have never hesitated to speak our minds clearly, sharply and sternly when we have thought that this could produce more results. In short, we have opposed Portuguese colonialism with the rest of our fellow Asians, Africans and Latin Americans as a matter of principle.

28. I am here to oppose it again. We consider that Portuguese colonial rule is oppression for the African population. We oppose it because it denies the right of self-determination to a large number of civilized human beings. Our opposition to Portuguese colonialism is based on solid principles. We in Pakistan adhere to principles at all times. We have a record of not yielding when it comes to a matter of principle. We will not yield here because, as we look at it, it is simply a case of self-determination.

29. As the President of Pakistan put it forcefully in his address before the General Assembly on 13 December:

"The movement for self-determination is universal. It is now in full flood. As President Wilson warned the world, self-determination is an imperative principle of action that statesmen will ignore at their own peril. Whether the question relates to the continent of Asia or of Africa . . . that warning holds equally true today." [1393rd meeting, para. 20.]

30. I shall repeat what he asserted with characteristic forthrightness. The right of self-determination can never be suppressed. It must ultimately triumph. It is our profound conviction that the people—those precious sons of the soil of Africa—who have not yet achieved their freedom will achieve it very soon. The only question in our mind is: how soon?

31. We have sought to convince our Portuguese colleagues that it is even in their larger interest to recognize the great movements of history and to march side by side with them. We have told them that the stragglers here do not have a chance. Portugal can still make a contribution by changing its attitude. History has many lessons to teach us. One of the most important is that mere intransigence does not pay. Obstinacy hurts the obstinate party more than its victim. We have sought to draw Portugal's attention to other examples where States were obstinate and intransigent when they should not have been.

32. There is a lesson for the Portuguese in the fate which befell other intransigent States which did not accept the principle of self-determination. Some of those States were highly respected at one stage. They had international prestige. They could call themselves the leaders of the world. What happened to those

States when misled by transient advantages? They forsook their dedication to the principle of self-determination. What happened to them? They lost their face; they lost their prestige; they lost their leadership. Rather than accept the principle of self-determination and be honoured in the assembly of other States, these States chose to cling to territories and be ostracized for their delinquent conduct.

33. The essence of wisdom is to learn from the experience of others. It is our earnest hope that wisdom will prevail. We know how difficult it is to kill the hen that lays the golden egg. But human beings and their rights come first. One denies human dignity by denying the right of self-determination. Let the historians of the future not say that Portugal did not adhere to the norms of human dignity, even after long exposure to the moral influence of this world Organization.

34. It is on the basis of those principles that we shall support the draft resolution before the Assembly.

35. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on the two draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee [A/6209, para. 20].

36. I put to the vote draft resolution I, on which a vote by roll-call has been requested.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore.

Against: South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal.

Abstaining: Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Chile, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Laos, Norway, Philippines.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 66 votes to 26, with 15 abstentions.

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

Draft resolution II was adopted by 100 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions.

38. Mr. MIRANDA (Portugal): My delegation voted against both draft resolutions contained in paragraph 20 of document A/6209.

39. My delegation commented on both drafts in the 1590th meeting of the Fourth Committee, and we therefore do not think that it is necessary now to go into a lengthy explanation of our position. We would, however, wish to refer to the two main trends of thought running through the statement we made in the Fourth Committee. We demonstrated on that occasion, with particular reference to the first of the two drafts to which I have referred, that it is deeply rooted in falsehood and that it is vitiated by basic illegalities. We wish to stress these points again.

40. We also wish to draw the attention of this Assembly to the following: if this draft is designed adversely to affect Portugal, its immediate victims are truth and legality. Truly, in the entire history of this Organization, one could hardly find a document that is more manifestly unjust. Certainly, no recommendation of the General Assembly is more glaringly derogative of the Charter.

41. Ever since we joined this Organization, my delegation has not ceased to point out the illegalities committed in the name of novel interpretations of the Charter. Today, not even this thin pretence is advanced. The illegal recommendation just made amounts to this: the majority has substituted its own will for the Charter of the United Nations. This is a sombre fact, which must give pause to all those who wish to see the United Nations keep within the bounds of its own fundamental law. The alternative to legality is a tyranny of the majority and ultimate chaos.

42. I submit that this matter transcends the interests of Portugal alone. Let it not be thought that we are defending some narrow self-interest. Let it not be thought that we are merely pleading for ourselves. Let it not be thought that we are using the Charter as a subterfuge. Whether one likes it or not, the Charter exists, and it is the fundamental law of this Organization. That law must be respected in all circumstances, because it is the bedrock on which the fabric of this Organization was constructed and without which it cannot survive.

43. For all these reasons, my delegation wishes to place on record its strongest and most formal reservations in regard to the draft resolutions contained in document A/6209.

44. Mr. MULIKITA (Zambia): My delegation wishes to explain its vote on the draft resolution regarding the question of Territories under Portuguese administration [A/6209, para. 20, draft res. I].

45. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, although there are certain aspects of it which are not relevant to us as a land-locked country. In voting in favour of the resolution we are prompted by a genuine desire to see all colonial territories granted political independence so that they can fully enjoy the fruits of self-determination. Our commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations is unshakable, and on matters relating to human rights our policy cannot falter or waver, for we are dedicated to the maintenance of

international peace and security. We who have enjoyed the fruits of independence and are fully aware of the human dignity that accompanies self-determination and mutual respect between former colonial Powers and their former colonies will always lend our support to the process of decolonization, through which mankind can live in peace.

46. Zambia will work for friendship with its neighbours as long as this is compatible with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. We shall accept political refugees in conformity with the principles of international law as well as in conformity with our own policy of good-neighbourliness. When, recently, events in Mozambique forced 3,000 refugees to enter Zambia we were obliged to give them shelter, food and the essentials to keep them alive. We did so within the framework of our policy which I have just outlined. Make no mistake: we shall always remain an inveterate foe of colonialism, because we believe it is an evil which must be relegated to the limbo of forgotten things.

47. Zambia bears no malice towards any nation. We have assured our neighbours of our good will towards them, and this assurance still stands and will continue. We shall always reciprocate good gestures from all nations.

48. Mr. GEIGER (Chile) (translated from Spanish): As my delegation pointed out in explaining its vote on draft resolution I contained in paragraph 20 of the Committee's report [A/6209] concerning the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration, that draft resolution placed us in a difficult position.

49. While the draft embodies provisions with which we have repeatedly indicated our agreement, by voting in favour of draft resolutions either in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four or in the General Assembly, on the other hand it contains paragraphs to which we have been unable to give our support. What is more, there is one particularly important operative paragraph with the contents of which my delegation is in definite disagreement. For this reason we felt obliged to abstain on the draft resolution as a whole, instead of voting in favour, as we should have liked to do in view of our strong anti-colonialist views.

50. As we said in the Fourth Committee, we hardly think it necessary to explain why the delegation of Chile would have voted in favour of the first, second, third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble, and of operative paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 8 (a), 10, 11 and 12. These contain points we have approved or affirmed on various occasions.

51. We would have abstained on the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth paragraphs of the preamble on the grounds that no evidence has been brought to the notice of my delegation which would justify fully and unequivocally the statements contained in them. For the same reasons we would have had to abstain on operative paragraph 5. As regards operative paragraph 6, our position was explained when the question arose in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. The Chilean delegation abstained from the approval of the report of Sub-Committee I on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in those Territories [A/6000/Rev.1, chapter V, annex]. Operative para-

graph 8 (b) and (c) appeared to us to be too broad in their wording to warrant our voting in favour of them.

52. We would have voted against operative paragraph 7, because in the opinion of my delegation the recommendations it contains are a matter for the Security Council in virtue of the powers exclusively vested in it under Chapter VII of the Charter. And it would be a dangerous precedent for the General Assembly to try to arrogate powers to itself in this connexion. In any event my Government will not consider itself bound by the recommendations contained in that paragraph.

53. In the light of the varying votes we would have cast on the various preambular and operative paragraphs of the resolution, as I have just explained, the Chilean delegation felt that the only consistent attitude it could take in respect to the text as a whole was to abstain.

54. However, we wish to place it on record, and we reiterate from this rostrum, that we are strong advocates of the cause of liberation of the peoples still under colonial régimes.

55. Mr. GASCHIGNARD (France) (translated from French): I should like briefly to explain the abstention of the French delegation on draft resolution I.

56. There is no hiding the fact that the colonial policy of Portugal—a country with which, by the way, France has had friendly relations for a very long time—is based on principles which we cannot endorse. The French Government trusts that the inhabitants of the Territories in question will, as soon as possible, be given the opportunity to exercise in complete freedom their right to self-determination and to accede to independence or any other status they choose and deem appropriate.

57. However, my delegation felt that it could not subscribe to the views expressed in several of the paragraphs of the resolution just adopted. It would therefore have voted against those paragraphs if the Assembly had taken separate votes.

58. With regard to the eighth preambular paragraph, we find it difficult to agree, in the present state of affairs, that the circumstances obtaining in the Portuguese Territories are such as to create a situation threatening international peace and security. In any event, the French delegation seriously doubts that it is for the General Assembly to take a decision on a matter which in its opinion comes within the purview of the Security Council.

59. I now come to operative paragraph 6, and I must say that its strictures on the activities of foreign financial interests in the Territories hardly seem acceptable to the French delegation.

60. Finally, paragraphs 7 and 8 amount in fact to the imposition of sanctions, and the French delegation cannot approve them. We think it is the Security Council rather than the General Assembly that should take measures of that kind.

61. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Our delegation has already indicated the main reasons which have prevented us from voting in favour of the resolution on the Portuguese Territories as recommended in the report of

the Fourth Committee [A/6209, para. 20, draft res. I]. Many other speakers belonging to different groups have also stated that this resolution, especially some of its provisions—for instance, those contained in operative paragraphs 7 and 8 (a), (b) and (c)—amounts to a request addressed to Member States separately and collectively to apply political and economic sanctions against Portugal.

62. Although time is short, I should like very briefly to express the point of view of the Italian delegation and once more to call the attention of our fellow representatives to the fact that the General Assembly is not entitled by the Charter to address such a request to Member States, since the application of sanctions and the definition of a situation constituting a threat to international peace and security, referred to in the last paragraph of the preamble of the resolution, fall within the primary competence of the Security Council.

63. We appreciate and sympathize with the sense of frustration of those Members of this Organization still in the slow process of decolonization in some areas of the African continent. The Italian delegation has sincerely supported the decolonization process since its inception and will continue to do so until the end, which, we hope, will be soon.

64. We submit, however, that it is not by resorting to a very disputable application of the Charter that self-determination and independence will be granted to the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea. We have all signed the Charter of the United Nations and we are sincerely loyal to a document that defines clearly and beyond a doubt the attributes and the competence of the two major bodies of the Organization. We feel that respect for the Charter is in the interests of everyone concerned, especially of those peoples still under colonial rule whose hopes lie in the United Nations and in the vitality and efficiency of our Organization. To upset the rules that govern the functions of the General Assembly and the Security Council respectively, to bring a disruptive element into the legal and political structure of the Charter of the United Nations by conferring powers on a body that does not possess such powers—except in a well-defined case—cannot in the long run but wreck the efficiency of the United Nations as a whole, thus defeating the very purpose for which we are striving now, namely, the liberation of colonial peoples and countries. This would amount to introducing an element of confusion, and perhaps even disorder, into our Organization; and it would be wise to bear in mind that once disorder is put into a house, its future becomes far from bright. Many assemblies have collapsed in the history of nations as a result of such an unfortunate occurrence.

65. Let me add in any event that we find it very disconcerting that certain delegations which in other Committees strenuously defend the prerogatives of the Security Council should have no difficulty in supporting the provisions contained in the resolution which has just been adopted which run counter to the principles which the same delegations uphold when debating, for example, peace-keeping operations. This is a very contradictory attitude which inevitably

suggests that those positions are not after all prompted by legalistic motives.

66. We wish also to comment very briefly on an episode which occurred in the Fourth Committee during the vote on the resolution in question. I refer to the refusal by the majority of the Committee to permit a separate vote on a number of paragraphs. This matter transcends the problem of Portuguese colonies and involves the rights of each Member State. Since we do not speak here as individuals, but as representatives of sovereign States, it becomes even more imperative to allow everyone to express his own individual point of view on each question, not only through speeches, but also through voting procedures.

67. We know that it is the right of delegations to oppose a vote by division. I submit, however, that if respect for the majority rule is essential in a democratic system, it is a vital practice to give the minority the opportunity to express its views. Disregard of this practice has already shown how easy it is to move from denying a separate vote to denying a vote on any single item, and from there to denying a delegation the right to speak if its opinions are not to the liking of the majority. What would then become of our Organization?

68. This twentieth session of the General Assembly has been remarkable for the good work accomplished, for the results achieved, and for the spirit of understanding and co-operation which has prevailed throughout the three months of activity—including, if I may add, in the field of decolonization. We may all be slightly tired now. We are confident, however, that the spirit of understanding, co-operation and respect for the rights of each Member State will once again prevail in the closing hours of this successful twentieth session of the General Assembly. This spirit will not fail on our side, and our African friends can rest assured that, despite occasional differences as to methods and divergencies with regard to procedural matters, they can count on our warm support in the fulfilment of the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

69. Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Venezuela greatly regrets that for the first time since the United Nations began it has felt obliged to vote against a draft resolution dealing with the Portuguese colonies. Our vote does not in any way, however—and my delegation wishes to make this perfectly clear—imply support for the colonial policy of Portugal.

70. No one can cast doubt on the anti-colonial attitude of Venezuela, particularly in regard to the Portuguese colonies. We have demonstrated this not only by voting in favour of all the draft resolutions concerning these Territories submitted in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, in the Security Council, and in the General Assembly itself, but also by our attitude in practice. I need only recall the testimony of the inhabitants of Mozambique, Angola and the other Portuguese possessions themselves.

71. The fact that we voted against draft resolution I contained in paragraph 20 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/6209] was the result not of any change

in our attitude, which remains constant and firm, but of reasons we have already had occasion to explain in part in other circumstances.

72. We have stated time and time again that the moral value and force of a General Assembly resolution depends not merely on the number of affirmative votes, but on the fact that the substance and the form prescribed by the Charter are respected therein.

73. My delegation could not in any circumstances, as we said yesterday, vote in favour of paragraphs of the draft resolution which have nothing whatever to do with colonialism; nor could we vote in favour of paragraphs such as operative paragraph 7, which unwittingly or deliberately ignore the clear and pertinent provisions of the Charter, where such powers are vested exclusively in the Security Council and not in the General Assembly.

74. If there had been a separate vote on the different paragraphs of the draft, we should have abstained on many of them, and we would in any case have voted against operative paragraphs 6 and 7.

75. The delegation of Venezuela in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four raised serious objections to the report of Sub-Committee I regarding the activities of foreign capital in the Portuguese colonies. The report of that Sub-Committee, which was taken over as a report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four [see A/6000/Rev.1, chapter V, annex], did not receive the consideration it should have received in the Fourth Committee, nor was it discussed in the Assembly. My delegation could not accept the conclusions of such a report without discussion.

76. Finally, my delegation once again wishes to make it clear that the fact that we felt obliged to vote against the draft resolution did not signify any change of attitude in regard to the Portuguese colonies in Africa; it was due simply to reasons such as we have explained now and have indicated on other occasions.

77. Mr. LEITNER (Austria): My delegation voted against resolution I [A/6209, para. 20]. My delegation would have abstained in the vote on the resolution as a whole if it had been enabled to express its objections to operative paragraph 7 in a separate vote. My delegation would have voted against this paragraph because it does not share the view that the measures enumerated in this paragraph—especially the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Portugal—would serve the purposes which the resolution seeks to attain.

78. My delegation abstained in the Committee vote on the draft as a whole, hoping that a separate vote in the plenary would permit it to express this attitude. As this was not the case, my delegation was obliged to cast a negative vote on the resolution as a whole.

79. Mr. REDONDO GOMEZ (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): My delegation, like many other Latin American delegations, deeply regretted being obliged to vote against draft resolution I contained in paragraph 20 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/6209] on the grounds that it contained provisions which violated categorical clauses in the United Nations Charter such as those defining the competence of the Security Council.

80. My delegation expressed the hope that the sponsors of the draft resolution would bring its contents into line with the provisions of the Charter and thus make it possible for us to go along with them in the struggle against colonialism, in particular so as to convince the Government of Portugal of the error of its ways in stubbornly opposing the desire of the peoples in the African colonies for freedom. Unfortunately, this did not occur; the sponsors remained inflexible and dug in their heels, so that we were unable to give them our vote. For the same reason we also found ourselves obliged to vote against the draft resolution as a whole when it came up in the Assembly.

81. The anti-colonialist tradition of the Latin American countries in general, and of Costa Rica in particular, is well known. So too is our fidelity to the provisions of the Charter, our respect for the competence of each of the organs and agencies of the United Nations, and our reiterated insistence that it is only by faithfully abiding by the provisions of the Charter that the United Nations can be steered along its proper path and its Purposes and Principles can be achieved in practice.

82. Finally, my delegation finds it reprehensible that Portugal stubbornly refuses to grant independence to its Territories, thus placing the United Nations in a position bordering on anarchy.

83. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): I wish to explain that, if there had been a separate vote on paragraph 7 of the resolution just adopted, my delegation would have voted against it. As other representatives have said this paragraph deals with economic sanctions. Indeed, the language used simply spells out under separate headings most of the various kinds of measure detailed in the second sentence of Article 41 of the Charter. But Article 41 of the Charter forms part of Chapter VII, and no one disputes that the provisions of that Chapter come within the exclusive competence of the Security Council.

84. Apart from this important aspect of the matter, my delegation believes that the Assembly should not adopt resolutions which seek to impose economic sanctions in the absence of assurance of support for such measures from States whose co-operation would be of vital importance for their success. We feel, indeed, that an attempt to impose sanctions which would not be effective could only lead to further confusion and disarray within the United Nations.

85. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now turn to items 68 and 72, concerning which the Fourth Committee has submitted two draft resolutions [A/6210, para. 10]. Since both the draft resolutions were adopted without objection in the Fourth Committee, in the absence of objection I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts them in the same manner.

Draft resolutions I and II were adopted.

86. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now pass on to item 13 of the agenda, concerning which the Fourth Committee has submitted two draft resolutions [A/6211, para. 11]. Since draft resolution I was adopted without opposition by the Fourth Committee, in the absence of objection I shall take it that the General Assembly likewise adopts it.

87. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): The draft resolution [A/6211, para. 11, draft res. I] was not adopted without objection. It is true it was adopted—and I speak from memory—without one contrary vote, but there were a number of abstaining votes, including my own, which I explained. Apart from the other considerations involved, it had to be an abstaining vote on a matter of principle, since it is not for me to make recommendations or to call upon my own Government, which is the Government involved in this matter. I would therefore be grateful, Mr. President, if you would put these draft resolutions to the vote.

88. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The representative of Australia has asked for a vote on draft resolution I.

89. Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India): Apparently there seems to be some confusion. It is quite clear from paragraph 9 of the report [A/6211] that I submitted to the General Assembly a few minutes ago, that the draft resolution concerning the Trust Territory of Nauru, as revised, was adopted by 61 votes to none, with 19 abstentions. The representative of Australia has now asked for the draft resolution to be voted upon. I think the Assembly already has a formal proposal before it, and I submit that a roll-call vote should be taken.

90. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put draft resolution I to the vote. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal.

Against: None.

Abstaining: New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 84 votes to none, with 25 abstentions.

91. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put draft resolution II to the vote. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

Against: None.

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

Draft resolution II was adopted by 86 votes to none, with 22 abstentions.

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have completed the examination of the last of our agenda items involving reports of the Fourth Committee. I should like to congratulate the officers and members of the Fourth Committee on the way in which they have carried out their task.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the General Assembly (concluded)*

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

93. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has before it the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6208] and a thirty-five-Power amendment [A/L.481] to the draft resolution submitted by that Committee [A/6208, para. 28].

94. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): As we are about to approve the report on the credentials of representatives to the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the General Assembly my delegation would like, on behalf of thirty-odd co-sponsors, to put forward an amendment which we should like to see added to the draft resolution appearing in the latter part of the report.

*Resumed from the 1332nd meeting.

95. The reasons which have led us to make this recommendation are sufficiently clear in the light of the debates which have taken place in this Assembly and in some of its Committees concerning the question of apartheid, and in particular the judgement of the majority of the Assembly as to the representative character of the delegation which claims to represent the so-called Republic of South Africa in the United Nations.

96. We have often had the occasion to state here that as far as we are concerned, the present authorities at Pretoria are illegal and unlawful authorities, representing usurpers who have set up a régime of slavery in South Africa for the purpose of oppressing the 14 million coloured inhabitants of that unhappy country. Consequently, there can be no question on the part of our delegations of recognizing the representatives sitting here among us in the name of the so-called Republic of South Africa as lawfully representing that country.

97. There were two ways of showing our disapproval of the presence of that delegation here among us: first, by making an effort, on the basis of the legal principles of the Organization, to expel the usurpers from the United Nations; and secondly, by declining to approve their credentials when we came to examine the report. For the time being, we have preferred the second way; in other words, we cannot remain silent, since that would have been tantamount to approving the credentials of this gang of usurpers. Hence, we felt that the Assembly in its entirety should declare, in accordance with the proposed amendment, that it would take no decision concerning the credentials of the so-called South African delegation, for the simple reason that if we took a decision approving them we would be recognizing the delegation in question as having a representative character it does not possess.

98. Hence, without prejudice to the recommendations contained in the report, my delegation would like to submit on behalf of its co-sponsors the draft amendment [A/L.481] which has been distributed to all delegations.

99. I should like at the same time to renew an appeal made already to the Assembly and its executive organs on several occasions, namely that the reports of the Credentials Committee be presented to the Assembly at the very beginning of the session. If we continue what has become the regular practice and examine the report only at the end of the session, we really cannot see what point there is in challenging the credentials of any delegation whatever. If a majority in the Assembly decided to oppose the admission of a delegation as not being representative, it could not do so during the session and would have to wait until the end of the session. We hope that this appeal will be borne in mind in the future—assuming that the credentials of all delegations have been presented in time—and that the report of the Credentials Committee will be presented to the Assembly for action as far as possible at the very beginning of the session, so that we may have a clear picture of the character, representative or otherwise, of the delegations participating in our work and hence taking part in the voting procedure, even if for one reason or another they have to be declared illegal or undesirable.

100. Incidentally, the proposal we are making is not without precedent. We know, and the Assembly knows, that there have been precedents.

101. What we are asking is the strict minimum; the Assembly cannot with a clear conscience give its approval to credentials delivered by illegal and unlawful authorities to a delegation which represents a minority of usurpers holding power.

102. U TUN SHEIN (Burma): I have asked for the floor to explain my vote in connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6208].

103. Ever since the Central Government of the People's Republic of China was established, my delegation has consistently supported every move to seat the representatives of that Government as the lawful representatives of China. We are thus unable to recognize as valid the credentials which come from any source other than the Central Government of the People's Republic of China.

104. It is subject to this reservation that my delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee.

105. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): My delegation cannot accept the recommendation of the report of the Credentials Committee in regard to the representation of China.

106. The position of Cambodia in this matter is well known. I have more than once had occasion to state our views at length, both in the general discussion and during the debates on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. My delegation considers that only the Government of the People's Republic of China legitimately and genuinely represents the people and the territory of China. Taiwan is an integral part of the territory of China; it is a Chinese province occupied by foreign forces, and it must be restored to the Government of the People's Republic of China. That Government alone is qualified to represent China in the United Nations. It is the People's Republic of China that is a founding Member of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council.

107. It is therefore inadmissible that the Credentials Committee should recommend the General Assembly to accept the credentials of the representatives of a pseudo-Government installed by American imperialist forces in a part of the territory of China.

108. The credentials of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek do not emanate from a legitimate representative Government of the Chinese people; they are therefore not in keeping with rule 27 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure and must be considered null and void. My delegation denies any validity to credentials communicated to the Secretary-General by a pseudo-Government which arbitrarily and illegally claims to represent China in the United Nations.

109. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation would like to lend its support to the amendment presented by my able friend the representative of Guinea [A/L.481], on behalf of the co-sponsors. After the most able presentation by Mr.

Achkar, there remains very little for my delegation to add.

110. This amendment is motivated by the constantly negative attitude that the aggressive minority in South Africa has taken towards the majority of the African people of South Africa, and also the negative attitude that the racist minority of South Africa has shown towards this Organization. Ever since 1910, this racist minority has systematically reduced the freedom of our fellow Africans in South Africa so that their status now is a most abominable form of slavery. World public opinion, on the other hand, has consistently condemned the practices of the racist minority of South Africa. My delegation indeed has always wondered why such an intransigent régime as that of South Africa should continue to be a Member of a world Organization like the United Nations, the resolutions of which it has always flouted with impunity. We in Africa feel very strongly about this. We cannot comprehend the continued membership of the racist régime of South Africa when that régime in actual fact continues to flout every resolution that is passed by this Organization.

111. My delegation therefore supports this amendment fully aware of all its implications.

112. We appeal to all those forces that are against the doctrine of apartheid to support this amendment. The time has come indeed when the racist régime of South Africa has to be told that it cannot continue to flout United Nations resolutions and hope to enjoy its membership.

113. Lastly, we want to appeal to all Members in this Assembly to allow this draft resolution to be voted upon as soon as possible. Once again, we want to appeal to all representatives present to support the amendment. Indeed, in doing so, we will be showing the African people of South Africa that we are with them in their fight against the apartheid régime.

114. Lastly, but by no means least, my delegation will also give its support to the suggestion made by the representative of Guinea that it might be wise for the Assembly always to decide on the question of credentials at the beginning of the session rather than at the end. With these few words, we want to issue an appeal that the draft resolution be voted upon as soon as possible.

115. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, the Soviet delegation will not vote in favour of adopting the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6208] for the reasons which were stated in detail by the representative of the Soviet Union at the meeting of that Committee during the present session of the General Assembly and also in view of the considerations set out in the statement by the Soviet delegation in the plenary meeting of the Assembly on 8 November, when the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was discussed.

116. I would therefore ask you to put the report of the Credentials Committee to the vote. For the reasons just stated, we shall abstain in the vote on the report as a whole.

117. In the Credentials Committee, the Soviet delegation, together with the delegations of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Madagascar, objected to recognizing the credentials submitted on behalf of the racist régime at Pretoria. We still maintain that position and shall accordingly vote for the amendment [A/L.481] submitted by the delegations of thirty-five countries.

118. Mr. WAZIRI (Afghanistan) (translated from French): My Government recognizes the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Government of the Chinese people; and every year we have requested that the lawful representatives of China be given the seat belonging to that country in the United Nations. We therefore give our approval to the report of the Credentials Committee subject to a reservation. I simply wish to state that our approval should not be interpreted as implying any change in our well-known position on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China.

119. Mr. HASEGANU (Romania) (translated from French): In considering the report of the Credentials Committee, the Romanian delegation would like to restate the position of the Socialist Republic of Romania in regard to the representation of the Chinese people in the United Nations. Its position was fully explained during the recent discussion of the item concerning the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

120. The Government of Romania considers that the only legitimate representative of the Chinese people is the Government of the People's Republic of China, which should therefore occupy the seat usurped by the representative of Chiang Kai-shek. In this connexion, it is significant that at the present session of the General Assembly the opposition to allowing the People's Republic of China to occupy the seat which belongs to it in the Organization did not even attain a simple majority—which demonstrates once again the unlawfulness of the presence in the United Nations of the individuals we have just mentioned.

121. The Romanian delegation is firmly opposed to recognizing the validity of the credentials presented by the Chiang Kai-shek representatives.

122. My delegation associates itself with the reservations expressed concerning the validity of the credentials presented by the delegation of South Africa and will vote in favour of the amendment submitted by thirty-five African countries. Thus the abstention of the Romanian delegation must be construed as determined by these reservations.

123. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): I shall confine my remarks to the item before us and not address myself to extraneous issues such as the baseless charges levelled against my Government, except to reject them in their entirety.

124. The criteria which have determined the acceptability of a delegation's credentials in the past have simply been the following: first, that the country represented by the delegation be a Member State of the Organization and secondly, that the credentials have been issued by the appropriate constitutional authority. The report of the Credentials Committee

for the twentieth session, which we have before us, shows that the Committee again applied these criteria and rejected attempts to introduce new criteria which are inapplicable in the examination of credentials.

125. South Africa is a Member State of the United Nations. In fact, it is one of the original Members described in Article 3 of the Charter, which provides that original Members of the United Nations shall be those States which, having participated in the San Francisco Conference, signed the Charter and ratified it in accordance with Article 110. Article 110 stipulates that the ratification of the Charter shall be effected in accordance with the constitutional processes of the signatory States, and that the ratifications shall be deposited with the United States Government.

126. South Africa participated in the San Francisco Conference. It signed the Charter at the conclusion of that Conference. It ratified the Charter in accordance with its constitutional processes, and it deposited its instrument of ratification with the United States Government on 7 November 1945, thereby becoming the thirty-seventh original Member of the United Nations. South Africa has therefore fully complied with the first criterion which determines the acceptability of a delegation's credentials.

127. As far as the second criterion is concerned, namely, that the credentials should be issued by the appropriate constitutional authority, I wish to state that this requirement was also met. The credentials of the South African delegation to the twentieth session of the General Assembly, as well as to the nineteenth session, were issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa who, in terms of South Africa's constitutional practice, was empowered to do so by the State President in Council. Both criteria have therefore been fully met.

128. The credentials of the South African delegation have been drawn up in precisely the same form and were issued by precisely the same Government which issued the South African credentials for previous sessions of the General Assembly, credentials which previously have been accepted—and correctly so accepted.

129. The proposal to take no decision on the South African credentials is clearly a move to deny, whenever or wherever possible, South Africa's rights as a Member State of the United Nations and is obviously part of a campaign conceived in hostility and conducted in a manner which is contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter. This move to question the credentials in this manner is in effect an instrument to intrude upon the sovereignty of South Africa and is a form of criticism of South Africa's domestic affairs. Such action is not only the most glaring case of injustice but if endorsed by the Assembly will be creating a precedent which is bound to have far-reaching consequences for the future of the United Nations. If this injustice is perpetrated now in the case of South Africa, it will also be applied in future to others whenever a sufficient majority can be rallied to permit prosecution of a political vendetta against a Member State or Member States.

130. Such an action would not only amount to a negation of the rule of law and a violation of the principles of the Charter, but would also be a blatant example of the practice of applying the double standard. May I, in this connexion, remind the Assembly of Article 2, paragraph 1, of our Charter which records that this Organization is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its Members.

131. With regard to the assertion that the South African Government does not represent the majority of the population of South Africa, an assertion which I reject, may I pose the question as to where this kind of argument would lead us? How many countries represented in this Organization would meet the requirement that their credentials should be the credentials of Governments representing the majority of the population? And in what manner is this Organization to determine whether such a requirement is met? A completely new machinery would have to be established to make such a determination and even then, I submit, the determination would not be conclusive.

132. In view of all that I have said, I wish to state most emphatically that the credentials of the South African delegation are indeed in order and the proposal that no decision be taken on them should be rejected. If it were to be entertained, this Assembly will have taken a completely illegal step which would undoubtedly be viewed in a very serious light by the South African Government.

133. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The Credentials Committee has once again presented at this session of the General Assembly a report in which it recognizes as valid the so-called credentials submitted by individuals who represent no one and who illegally usurp the title of representatives of China in the United Nations. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania therefore protests most vehemently against this totally baseless recognition by the Credentials Committee as a flagrant violation of the Charter and the rules of procedure, as well as of the accepted rules of international law.

134. The illegality of this attitude on the part of the Credentials Committee and the extraordinary situation that results for the Organization is palpably evident, and is recognized by the majority of Member States as well as by world public opinion.

135. Everyone realizes the absurdity of pretending that the great nation of China is represented here by a clique of traitors who were rejected long ago by the Chinese people and have taken refuge in Taiwan under the protection of United States armed forces occupying that island belonging to China.

136. It is evident to all that there is not and cannot be more than one China and one only in the world—and that is the great People's Republic of China, which represents the people of China. Taiwan is undeniably an integral part of China. The temporary occupation by force of that island by the United States and the establishment of the Chiang Kai-shek puppets there can in no way change the situation nor create the slightest illusion in that respect.

137. We have said time and time again in the past, and also at the present session, and we reiterate it once more today, that the denial of the legitimate

rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is prejudicial to this Organization and to the cause it should serve under the Charter.

138. Without great socialist China, the United Nations is incapable of solving the major problems of our time that have come before it ever since it was founded. As to the People's Republic of China—that great world Power of 700 million people whose vital role for the benefit of the peoples of the world and in opposition to the imperialist policies of oppression and aggression is constantly growing—nothing can prevent it from prospering and surging ahead rapidly and confidently.

139. We have said, and we again reaffirm, that if the Member States which cherish the causes which the United Nations should serve—the cause of peace, the cause of freedom and international co-operation—fail to act promptly to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it may one day find that it is too late.

140. The Albanian delegation firmly rejects the approval given by the Credentials Committee to the so-called credentials of a venal clique of individuals who are nothing but puppets in the hands of the United States, whose policy of aggression and war they serve against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people.

141. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania wishes to make it known here and now that it shares the views of the delegations of the African countries in regard to the validity of the credentials of the representative of the South African régime.

142. In our opinion, the tiny majority of racists now in power in South Africa and carrying out a policy of cruel discrimination and terror, in utter contempt for the scores of United Nations resolutions on the subject, cannot be regarded as the lawful representative of the South African people. That is why we support the thirty-five Power amendment [A/L.481].

143. In view of the foregoing arguments, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania will abstain from the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole.

144. Mr. KANE (Senegal) (translated from French): As you may have noted, Senegal is not among the sponsors of the amendments [A/L.481] to the draft resolution concerning the report of the Credentials Committee. But my delegation has noted the Committee's report [A/6208] with great interest.

145. It is not my intention to start a juridical discussion of rules 27, 28 and 29 of the rules of procedure, relating to the credentials of representatives to sessions of the General Assembly. What I do want to say is that we must not stop at the letter of these texts; on the contrary, we must concentrate on their spirit. The role of the Credentials Committee, set up under rule 28 of the rules of procedure, must not be merely to draw up the list of delegations appointed either by Heads of State or by Foreign Ministers. While rule 28 asks the Committee to examine the credentials of representatives and to report without delay, we believe that the Committee is compe-

tent to examine the substance of the problem of representation.

146. In that connexion, our position in regard to the representative character of the delegation of South Africa is well known. This is not the first time that the Assembly has debated the question. Nor is it any longer the question of apartheid we are discussing. But so long as South Africa persists in carrying out that policy and in denying the most elementary rights to the indigenous inhabitants, who make up four fifths of the population of that Territory, my delegation will continue to challenge the representative character of the delegation of South Africa. We should of course have preferred to see South Africa expelled from the Organization under Article 6 of the Charter; in fact, the Foreign Minister of Senegal submitted a proposal to that effect at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly in September 1961 [see 1012th meeting, para. 41]. I need hardly point out that the majority of the specialized agencies of the United Nations have adopted a decision on those lines.

147. Failing expulsion, my delegation would have no compunction in voting in favour of a provision similar to that introduced in the Credentials Committee by the United Arab Republic, Madagascar and Syria, reading as follows:

"Decides not to recognize as valid the credentials of the representatives of the present Government of South Africa" [A/6028, para. 21].

148. But if today the Assembly is not in a position to take such a decision and must simply vote on a motion such as that contained in the amendment proposed, my delegation will have no hesitation in voting in its favour.

149. In the light of that explanation and in a spirit of compromise, my delegation will support the thirty-five Power amendment [A/L.481] just introduced by the representative of Guinea.

150. Mr. Amjad ALI (Pakistan): My delegation would like to make clear its position on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6208].

151. The Government of Pakistan recognized the People's Republic of China in 1950 and since then has enjoyed diplomatic relations with that great country. We therefore recognize the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations. That is our position, and we therefore cannot recognize any credentials except those issued by the Central Government of the People's Republic of China.

152. With regard to the amendment [A/L.481], the Government, people and delegation of Pakistan stand for the equality of men. We abhor any distinction between men due to colour, race or religion. We therefore are against the policies that have been followed by the Government of South Africa in spite of various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Those resolutions have been flouted for years and years by the Government of South Africa. In view of the fact that the Government of South Africa has not taken heed of the opinion that has been expressed—sometimes unanimously—by this Assembly

and the Security Council, my delegation will vote in favour of the amendment.

153. Mr. NACHABE (Syria) (translated from French): My delegation wishes to confirm the stand it took in the Credentials Committee in contesting the validity of the credentials of the Chinese and South African delegations to the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the General Assembly. My Government regards the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful Government representative of the Chinese people and consequently as the only authority from which credentials for the representation of that great people can emanate. Similarly, my Government cannot recognize the validity of the credentials of the South African delegation so long as the South African Government fails to represent the real population of the country.

154. Subject to those reservations my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in the report [A/6208] of the Credentials Committee with the relevant amendment [A/L.481].

155. Mr. EL-KONY (United Arab Republic): When the General Assembly was discussing the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", I had the honour of explaining the position of the Government of the United Arab Republic in connexion with the legitimate right of the Government in Peking to occupy its rightful place in the United Nations and its main organs. I made it clear at that time that the issue under consideration was one of representation and not of admission of a new Member.

156. In connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation, in pursuance of that position, believes it is fitting to reiterate its attitude toward the validity of the credentials of China at the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the General Assembly. As may be seen from the report, three Member States contested the validity of the credentials under consideration in view of the fact that those credentials were inconsistent with the provisions of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. We in the United Arab Republic uphold that view and firmly believe that, in accordance with any criteria known either in international law or in international usage, the only true credentials which should be considered valid are those issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China, which enjoys full control on the mainland. Consequently, we believe that any other credentials issued contrary to this fact are in violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter and are inconsistent with rule 27.

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

158. The Government of the United Arab Republic similarly agrees with the position of the repre-

sentatives of Madagascar, the Soviet Union and Syria with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Government of South Africa. In our view, the credentials of the South African delegation are not valid and will not be valid so long as the present Government of South Africa does not represent the true population of that country.

159. With those two reservations, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the Credentials Committee [A/6208, para. 28].

160. In this connexion, the delegation of the United Arab Republic has co-sponsored, with the other African delegations, an amendment [A/L.481] to the draft resolution submitted by the Credentials Committee.

161. Mr. PRUSA (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation avails itself of this opportunity to stress once again that the only lawful representative of China in the United Nations is the Government of the People's Republic of China and that the so-called credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek group possess no legal force whatsoever. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the activities of the United Nations is in direct contrast with the fundamental principles of the United Nations and undermines the authority of the United Nations. It also constitutes a grave obstacle to the efforts of peoples in the direction of improving international co-operation and safeguarding security and peace in the world. The absence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations prevents the Organization from fully developing its activities and is a serious obstacle in the way of the solution of urgent international problems, such as general and complete disarmament, the economic advancement of developing countries, and so on. That is why our delegation is convinced that the time has come to put an end to this abnormal and unsound situation and that it is an imperative and urgent necessity to expel the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

162. The Czechoslovak delegation associates itself with the proposal of thirty-five Member States [A/L.481] on the question of the credentials of the representatives of the Government of South Africa. The Government of the Republic of South Africa continuously and grossly violates its obligations emanating from the Charter and it ignores all appeals and recommendations by the General Assembly and the Security Council and refuses to abandon the policy of apartheid which it carries on against the indigenous population. Our delegation considers that the representatives of South Africa cannot legitimately represent the people of South Africa in the United Nations. It is therefore desirable that no decision be taken on the credentials presented on behalf of the representatives of South Africa.

163. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The United States will support the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee [A/6208, para. 28]. As opposed to the view expressed here by several representatives, the United States regards China as properly represented in the United Nations

by the delegation of the Government of the Republic of China. Its credentials are in complete accord with the provisions of rule 27 of the rules of procedure. The so-called question of the representation of China in the United Nations was thoroughly debated in this session of the General Assembly, and a decision was taken upholding the right of the Government of the Republic of China, a founding Member of this Organization, to represent China in the United Nations. There cannot therefore be, on grounds either of procedure or of substance, any question about the validity of the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China in the United Nations.

164. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia): The delegation of Yugoslavia will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6208] but wishes to place on record the following reservation. Our vote in favour of the report does not mean, and cannot be interpreted in any way to mean, a change in the attitude of the Yugoslav delegation with regard to the representation of China in the United Nations. The well-known position of the Yugoslav delegation with respect to this question remains unchanged. The delegation of Yugoslavia will also give its support to the amendment proposed by thirty-five delegations and contained in document A/L.481.

165. Mr. LIU (China): In these closing hours of this session of the General Assembly, I do not intend to delay the proceedings even for a moment by making an extended reply to some of the observations in connexion with my delegation's credentials, which have already been examined and approved by the Credentials Committee.

166. The rightful position of my delegation in the United Nations cannot be challenged as a mere matter of credentials. The General Assembly, after lengthy debate, has already decided that the representation of China, far from being a matter of credentials, is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. Any attempt to challenge the validity of the credentials of my delegation at this stage of the proceedings must be ruled out of order. The debate on the so-called question of China's representation is behind us. The decision taken by the General Assembly stands valid. It is difficult to understand that some delegations should feel themselves called upon to reiterate their positions.

167. My delegation will, of course, vote for the report of the Credentials Committee. In doing so, I wish to express my appreciation to the Chairman and those members of the Committee who have upheld the provisions of the Charter and the procedure of the General Assembly in their consideration of my delegation's credentials.

168. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (translated from French): The first thing I would like to say about the report of the Credentials Committee on behalf of the delegation of Algeria is that we do not recognize the validity of the credentials of the representatives of Formosa. This is in keeping with the attitude we have stated clearly in this Assembly. The Government of Algeria recognizes only one legitimate Government—that of the People's Republic of China. Hence my delegation would like to have its reservations concerning the

validity of the credentials in question included in the summary record of this meeting.

169. Furthermore, we support the thirty-five-Power amendment [A/L.481] presented just now by the delegation of Guinea concerning the validity of the credentials of those who claim to be the representatives of South Africa. Indeed we cannot conceive how these credentials can be valid when they emanate from a tiny racist minority which imposes its will by force and oppression on the entire South African people.

170. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): In the report of the Credentials Committee which has been submitted to the General Assembly [A/6208] there are two points regarding which the Polish delegation considers it necessary to express its position.

171. For sixteen years now, the Government of the Chinese People's Republic has been deprived of its representation in the United Nations. Thus, due to the manoeuvres to which the United States delegation has resorted over those years, an intolerable situation continues to exist in which a group of persons representing no one claims to speak in the Assembly on behalf of the great Chinese people. The decision adopted by the Credentials Committee, against the votes of a significant part of its membership, to recognize the "credentials" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique is invalid under rule 27 of the Assembly's rules of procedure and, therefore, rejected by my delegation.

172. We likewise consider that the credentials presented by the delegation of the South African Republic are not in order. The white minority régime which issued them cannot represent the population of South Africa, which has long suffered from colonial oppression based on an inhuman policy of apartheid. The United Nations, which has unequivocally condemned racial discrimination in all its forms, has, along with the peoples of the world, passed its judgement on that Government based on the rule of a racial minority and suppression of the will of the majority.

173. Those are the reasons why the Polish delegation cannot support the recommendations contained in the report of the Credentials Committee when it is put to the vote and will vote in favour of the amendment submitted by the African States.

174. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now vote, beginning with the thirty-five Power amendment to the text of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6208, para. 28]. The amendment would add the following phrase to the text "subject to part B of the resolution", plus part B itself, which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the report of the Credentials Committee on the status of credentials of representatives to the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the General Assembly,

"Decides to take no decision on the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of South Africa".

Thus if the amendment is adopted, the draft resolution will consist of two parts, A and B.

175. I put the amendment to the vote. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq.

Against: Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland.

Abstaining: Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Nepal, Thailand, Burma, Haiti, Iran.

The amendment was adopted by 53 votes to 42, with 9 abstentions.

176. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on parts A and B of the draft resolution. Separate votes have been requested on part A and part B.

177. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, I should like to make quite certain what we are voting on. It seems to me that resolution A and resolution B are two separate and independent resolutions and that we therefore cannot vote on the two documents together. Such a procedure would make no sense.

178. We have just adopted resolution B, and that question has been disposed of. There is no need to take a second vote on the same text. However, we have not taken a decision on resolution A, which is contained in the draft submitted by the Credentials Committee. Therefore, with your permission, I would suggest that we proceed as follows. We should now vote on resolution A; the results of the vote on that resolution should, as a matter of course, dispose of the entire problem before us.

179. If I am right and if this is what you intended to do before I took the floor, I apologize for the waste of time.

180. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As you have just heard, the representative of the Soviet

Union proposes a separate vote on part A, and if it is adopted, he considers that there would be no need to adopt part B since we have already done so in the form of an amendment. Moreover, in view of the wording of the final phrase of part A, namely "in the light of part B of this resolution", it is clear that if we adopt part A, then part B would be automatically adopted subject to this, I think I have correctly understood the representative of the Soviet Union.

181. This being so, I put paragraph A of the draft resolution to the vote.

Part A of the draft resolution was adopted by 45 votes to 1, with 58 abstentions.

182. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As I have already indicated, part B of the draft resolution has already been adopted, and since part A just adopted makes mention of part B, the whole of the draft resolution—parts A and B—is therefore adopted.

183. I shall now call in turn on those representatives who have expressed a wish to explain their votes following the ballot.

184. Sir Roger JACKLING (United Kingdom): My delegation abstained from voting on part A of the resolution just adopted because, by the amendment contained in document A/L.481, and with the addition of the words "subject to part B of the present resolution", it incorporated part B.

185. This abstention is not to be construed as casting any doubt on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee, since my delegation believes that the recommendation should have been adopted by the Assembly as presented in paragraph 28 of the Committee's report [A/6208]. My delegation accordingly voted against the amendment to the Report and, since it was adopted by inclusion of the words, "subject to part B of the present resolution", found it impossible to vote in favour of the Report as so amended.

186. In the view of my delegation, the sole question is whether or not credentials are accepted as documents in order. The consideration of credentials is a technical and legal matter, and my delegation knows no grounds, therefore, on which the credentials of the Republic of South Africa could validly be withheld.

187. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) (translated from French): My delegation abstained in the vote on the amendment [A/L.481] on technical and legal grounds. However, it wishes to make it clear to the Assembly that this in no way alters our basic attitude regarding the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa.

188. This attitude has been pointed out on several occasions by the representatives of Kuwait, both in the Assembly and in the Special Political Committee. Furthermore, my Government has scrupulously complied, and will continue to comply, with all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling either for an economic and trade blockade of South Africa or for severance of diplomatic and political relations with that country. My Government has never had diplomatic, trade or economic relations with the Republic of South Africa, and it has declared that it will never have them as long

as South Africa continues to practise the policy of apartheid.

189. Another reason why we abstained was because of my Government's very serious reservations in respect of the credentials of the representation of the State of Israel, which it does not recognize and considers to be a usurping Power illegally occupying by force, aggression and violence the Arab part of Palestine, whose inhabitants today have the status of refugees and are obliged to live on international charity.

190. Mr. SHAW (Australia): In brief explanation of vote, I would point out that the Australian delegation was a member of the Credentials Committee, which examined the credentials of all Members. As a member of that Committee, we voted against a proposal of the USSR that the Committee should not recognize as valid the credentials of South Africa. We did so because we were satisfied that those credentials were in order, under rule 27: that is, they were issued by the responsible South African Minister.

191. In casting our votes in the Credentials Committee and in this Assembly, we have confined ourselves to the criteria laid down in the rules of procedure. The arguments which were advanced by the USSR in committee in support of this motion were irrelevant to the question before the Credentials Committee.

192. In voting that the credentials of 117 Member States were in order, the Australian delegation did not wish to imply that it agreed with all the policies of all these Member States, nor that it was satisfied that all these Governments were freely elected by all their peoples. We so voted because we were satisfied that the credentials of all representatives were formally in order, in accordance with the rules of procedure. This continues to be our view.

193. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): In spite of the fact that the amendment which I had the honour to present on behalf of thirty-five African countries was adopted, my delegation has had to abstain from voting on the draft as a whole, for the simple reason that the recommendation contained in the report of the Credentials Committee asked that we approve the report in toto. But since Guinea considers that the delegation of Taiwan cannot represent the People's Republic of China legally and lawfully in this Assembly, we were not able to vote in favour of this recommendation and we have therefore been obliged to abstain.

194. I should like to take this opportunity to say that we were greatly surprised at the insinuations made here to the effect that we had introduced a new procedure. I have to say that our amendment did not constitute a precedent; any precedent there is was created by those who have opposed our amendments today. They are the same delegations which from 1957 to 1962—and I hope the Hungarian delegation will excuse me—voted in favour of the United States motion which read:

"Decides to take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary".*

*Read out in English by the speaker.

195. These self-same delegations today take exception to the fact that we have used exactly the same wording to contest a power much more open to criticism than the one established in Hungary, and they tell us that we are creating a precedent and violating the Charter. If we are violating the Charter it is they that have led the way; we are merely following in their footsteps. But we must be consistent and not indulge in legal quibbling when for five years we have allowed ourselves to be led in this direction, so that today, in regard to South Africa, we are no longer willing to approve what we approved in the past. It was because of the cold war that the delegations in question had no hesitation in refusing to approve Hungary's credentials. But we are just as ready to engage in a cold war with South Africa, and we count on our friends to join with us in waging that war. For if there is no cold war, there will inevitably be a shooting war in the south of the African continent. There is no use taking refuge in untenable legal arguments. These are the very delegations which yesterday scoffed at the same arguments and voted against Hungary. All we ask of them today is to be consistent.

196. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): My delegation, being a member of the Credentials Committee, deems it its duty to make one point absolutely clear and put it on record.

197. My delegation voted in favour, and made two reservations regarding the representation of the Government of China and the Government of South Africa.

198. In the first place, we stated that the only Government representing China is the Government of the People's Republic of China. In the case of the Union of South Africa, we said that this Government is not fully representative. But since my delegation is a member of the Credentials Committee, as I just stated, it should be made absolutely clear that in the case of the so-called State of Israel my Government does not recognize in any way or under any form such a Government as the so-called Government of Israel.

199. This is a fascist-nazi régime which has been established against the will of the population, the majority of which has been deprived of the right of self-determination. If there is a clear case of apartheid, it is that which is applied against the Arabs of Palestine, just as it is applied by the Government of South Africa. It was certainly no mere coincidence that, during the vote, the so-called Israel delegation, led by a South African colonel, was absent.

200. I wish it to appear on the record again that the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic does not recognize in any way the so-called State of Israel, and that is why it did not deem it fit to make a reservation at the beginning.

AGENDA ITEM 19

Appointment of the members of the Peace Observation Commission

201. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Peace Observation Commission was set up by the General Assembly on 3 November 1963 under resolution 377 (V)—the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. The

fourteen present members of the Commission had their terms of office renewed by the General Assembly for 1963 and 1964 at the 1200th plenary meeting on 20 December 1962. The list of members is as follows: China, Czechoslovakia, France, Honduras, India, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, and Uruguay.

202. The term of office of the present members of the Observation Commission expired on 31 December 1964, and the General Assembly did not examine the question at its nineteenth session. I would therefore suggest that this Assembly should now decide to renew the term of office of the present members of the Peace Observation Commission for the years 1966 and 1967.

203. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the term of office of the present members of the Peace Observation Commission is renewed for the years 1966 and 1967.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Installation of mechanical means of voting

204. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly has before it a report by the Secretary-General [A/6177] on item 25 of the agenda.

205. The Members of the Assembly will no doubt consider that the use of this means of voting on an experimental basis has proved that it is easy, accurate and speedy. In view of this experiment, the Secretary-General recommends that the use of the mechanical device in the General Assembly Hall be approved for a trial period of a year.

206. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts this recommendation and asks the Secretary-General to report back to the twenty-first session on the results of the experiment and on the possible extension of the system to other committee rooms.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 26

Report of the Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter

207. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The report of the Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter contains a draft resolution [A/5987 and Corr.1]. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted.

208. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, as regards the report of the Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter and the decision that has just been taken, the Soviet delegation feels obliged to state, as it has already done before, that there is no need for convening a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter of our Organization. The Charter of our

Organization has stood the test of time and still provides the necessary basis for concerted action by States in the interest of peace and international co-operation.

209. The amendments made to the Charter in 1965, increasing the representation of the Asian and African countries in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, are a right and proper reflection of the changes that have taken place since the signing of the Charter. These changes correspond to the increase in the membership of the United Nations from 51 to 117, largely as a result of the admission of several dozen new States from Africa and Asia, which have achieved national independence in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

210. The Soviet Union, as is well known, was the first permanent member of the Security Council to ratify these amendments to the Charter. The adoption of these amendments will undoubtedly have the specific effect of increasing the role of the African and Asian States in the work of such an important organ as the Security Council, which, under the Charter of our Organization, has been given the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

211. We consider it necessary to emphasize that continual attempts to change or undermine or, in one way or another, to circumvent the provisions of the Charter have nothing in common with the task of effectively maintaining and strengthening world peace.

212. Our task consists, not in altering the Charter, but in strictly respecting it and in implementing its provisions, particularly those relating to the maintenance of international peace and security.

AGENDA ITEM 108

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (concluded)*

213. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Secretary-General has submitted an interim report [A/6174] indicating the measures taken up to the present to encourage co-operation between the two bodies.

214. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly takes note of the report.

It was so decided.

215. Mr. BENSID (Algeria) (translated from French): By adopting the Secretary-General's report on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, Members have once again given proof of their desire to establish close and fruitful co-operation between the two Organizations. It is therefore a pleasure for me, on behalf of the African States, to thank first of all the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who has spared no effort to achieve a positive result; and secondly, all the delegations here present, which have unanimously recognized the need for this co-operation. I should like to assure them that the Organization of African Unity is anxious to strengthen its ties with the United Nations with a view to full co-operation.

*Resumed from the 1356th meeting.

216. In a number of matters of concern to the United Nations, OAU is striving for solutions within a framework which is in keeping with the aspirations of our peoples. Thus, recently, in the tragic Southern Rhodesian question, the Security Council invited OAU to take measures designed to supplement those taken by the United Nations [see resolution 217 (1965) of the Security Council]. The Organization of African Unity has not been remiss in this matter. At the same time, the African States hope that the present relations between the United Nations and OAU which have enabled the latter to act in the same spirit will develop rapidly and enable the organization of all the African States to take more comprehensive action to achieve a just solution in keeping with the wishes of the Zimbabwe peoples.

217. The Organization of African Unity also hopes that the Secretary-General of the United Nations will pursue his efforts in respect of technical co-operation with a view to strengthening mutual assistance in the training and exchange of professional personnel, conference and general service officers and other staff.

218. The Organization of African Unity is a young organization and is anxious to take advantage of the experience of the United Nations. This is why we ask the Secretary-General to pursue his efforts in that direction. We have no doubt that he will do his best to develop this co-operation to the highest possible level.

219. I should like to give the assurance at the same time that on its side, the Organization of African Unity will try to give the United Nations the benefit of its own experience—recent, admittedly, but full of promise and sound wisdom. That is how we conceive of this co-operation and assistance; it must be reciprocal, and we shall act to make it so.

220. On behalf of the African States, I once again sincerely thank the Secretary-General for his laudable efforts, which are greatly appreciated by all the peoples of Africa and their Governments.

221. I also wish to express our gratitude to all those States which unhesitatingly endorsed and approved the report on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

222. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): My delegation wishes to draw the attention of Member States to paragraph 5 of the Secretary-General's report [A/6174]. The paragraph refers to Security Council resolution 199 (1964) of 30 December 1964 concerning the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In that connexion, the report mentions the collaboration established between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

223. My delegation would like to point out that the problem of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which was of course at the time on the agenda of the Organization of African Unity, especially at the Accra Conference,^{3/} was removed from the agenda on a decision by the Heads of State. Indeed, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

made it a condition of its participation in the OAU Conference that the item should be deleted from the agenda. It felt that the political changes which had just taken place in the Congo, particularly as a result of the elections, did not justify examination of the question by the Organization of African Unity.

224. What is certain, however, is that the problem of the Democratic Republic of the Congo gave rise to differences of opinion within the Organization of African Unity and that at a time when certain difficulties might well come to the surface among the States members of the Organization, it did not seem wise to discuss a problem which could lead to or aggravate differences.

225. My delegation merely wished to make these observations; but it hopes—and all the members of the OAU likewise hope—that co-operation between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations will develop to the benefit of the two Organizations.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Reports of the Economic and Social Council (concluded)*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6176)

AGENDA ITEM 21

United Nations Emergency Force:

- (a) Reports on the Force;
- (b) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6217)

AGENDA ITEM 78

Pattern of conferences: reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6214)

AGENDA ITEM 79

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (con- cluded):**

- (b) Committee on Contributions;
- (e) United Nations Staff Pension Committee

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6183, A/6065)

AGENDA ITEM 80

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: reports of the Committee on Contributions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6202)

^{3/} Second session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held on 21 to 25 October 1965.

*Resumed from the 1404th meeting.

**Resumed from the 1393rd meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 81

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

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6218)

AGENDA ITEM 82

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

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6216 AND CORR.1)

AGENDA ITEM 84

Personnel questions:

- (a) Composition of the Secretariat: reports of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Other personnel questions: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6215)

AGENDA ITEM 85

Reports of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6203)

AGENDA ITEM 86

United Nations International School; report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6204)

226. Mr. PRUSA (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present thirteen reports of the Fifth Committee. At this stage of the proceedings, I think it would be a disservice to the General Assembly if I were to take up time in commenting on these reports. There is, however, one report to which I should draw the Assembly's special attention. I am referring to document A/6217, concerning the cost estimates for the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force. Because of the pressure of time, the Fifth Committee agreed that, as a departure from its normal practice, its report on this subject would be of a purely procedural character and that no attempt would be made to summarize the various points of view of representatives. These are, of course, set forth at some length in the relevant summary records.

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

227. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): May I remind representatives that in virtue of the decision just taken by the Assembly, statements must be confined to explanations of vote.

228. With regard to item 12 of the agenda, the Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/6176] on chapters XI (section VI) and XIV of the report of the Economic and Social Council to the nineteenth session of the Assembly [A/5803]^{4/} and on chapters XVII (section V) and XVIII of the report of the Council to the twentieth session of the Assembly [A/6003 and Add. 1].

229. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the General Assembly takes note of the Fifth Committee's report.

It was so decided.

230. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly also has before it chapters X (sections III, VI and X), XI (sections I-V and VII-X), XII and XIII of the report of the Economic and Social Council to the nineteenth session of the Assembly, and chapters XV, XVI and XVII (with the exception of section V) of the Council's report to the twentieth session of the Assembly.

231. If there is no objection, I shall assume that the General Assembly takes note of these chapters.

It was so decided.

232. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): With regard to item 21 (a) of the agenda, the Assembly has before it the reports of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force [A/5736]^{5/} and [A/5919]. The only decision required of the Assembly in this connexion is to take note of these reports.

233. In the absence of any objection, I shall consider that the Assembly takes note of the report.

It was so decided.

234. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In connexion with agenda item 21 (b), the Assembly has before it a report of the Fifth Committee containing a draft resolution [A/6127, para. 6].

235. Mr. MAKEEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, allow me to explain the reasons why the Soviet delegation will vote against the resolution on cost estimates for the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force [A/6217, para. 6]. The Soviet Union's position of principle on this question has been stated repeatedly by the Soviet delegation and remains unchanged. Briefly, it amounts to this.

236. In deciding to establish the United Nations Emergency Force, the General Assembly exceeded its powers, since only the Security Council has the right to adopt decisions concerning the use of armed force by the United Nations. Although the Emergency Force has been in existence for nine years, an unlawful action remains unlawful, and time cannot alter the fact.

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

^{5/} *Ibid.*, Annexes, annex 6.

237. As all these operations are being conducted in contravention of the requirements of the United Nations Charter, and as the expenses entailed by them are not expenses of the type referred to in Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, no decision concerning the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force can be regarded as binding on the Members of the Organization. We still consider that the countries which attacked Egypt in 1956 should bear both the political and the material responsibility for the conflict and its consequences, and that, in consequence, they should shoulder the burden of financing the United Nations Emergency Force, which was established as a direct result of that aggression.

238. In view of these considerations, the Soviet delegation will, as hitherto, vote against any appropriations for the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force, and the Soviet Union will not contribute towards the financing of the Force.

239. The Soviet delegation would also like to make some comments concerning the Secretary-General's report on the survey of the United Nations Emergency Force; I am referring to document A/C.5/1049 of 13 December 1965.

240. This report, as we know, deals with important political questions and sets out specific conclusions and recommendations concerning the maintenance of peace and security. We fully share the views of the delegations which consider that this report should not have been issued as a Fifth Committee document.

241. According to the United Nations Charter, the only organ competent to take decisions on questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security is the Security Council, to which this report by the Secretary-General should have been submitted. The Soviet delegation repudiates this attempt to circumvent the Security Council and to make use, for this purpose, of the Fifth Committee, which has no right to discuss, and even less to take decisions on, questions that come within the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

242. The Soviet delegation feels obliged to point out in this connexion that the draft resolution submitted on this question is based, as were the previous resolutions, on an improper and unlawful procedure for the allocation and expenditure of funds for the execution of United Nations measures connected with the maintenance of peace and security—a procedure which is contrary to the United Nations Charter. This new resolution, like those adopted in the past, cannot, of course, be binding on the Members of the United Nations.

243. The Soviet delegation can only express its deep regret that a number of delegations have seen fit to make a proposal which conflicts with the interests of our Organization. The Soviet delegation will vote against this resolution.

244. Mr. QUIJANO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Since the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6217] on item 21 (b) of the agenda, "Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force", does no more on this point than reflect the decision taken, without commenting on the debate that took place in

the Committee, the Argentine delegation would like briefly to explain its position with regard to the draft resolution (para. 6 of the report) on which we are about to vote.

245. In our opinion, the draft before us offers only a partial solution to the problem of financing the United Nations Emergency Force, and furthermore, that partial solution creates more difficulties than it offers advantages.

246. In the first place, it says nothing with regard to the future of the Force or the concern felt by many Member States at the prolongation of the United Nations operation in the Middle East, which has now been going on for ten years at a cost of more than \$200 million.

247. The Secretary-General has submitted a detailed study [A/C.5/1049] on the financing of the Force, but for various reasons much of the report has not been considered by any of the competent organs of the United Nations. The Argentine delegation hopes that this important matter will be given attention by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session, but on the understanding that it will be examined outside the Fifth Committee, in view of the clearly political aspects it entails.

248. Our second objection relates to the manner of financing the cost of the Force in 1965 and 1966, as recommended in the draft under consideration. In the wake of the crisis through which the Assembly passed at its nineteenth session, we find it difficult to accept a method of financing which meets with resistance on the part of a large number of delegations and which has in the past given rise to both economic and political difficulties for the United Nations.

249. In present circumstances, following the consensus achieved on 1 September 1965, we do not consider it a sound idea to assess contributions for all Member States in the same manner as in the case of the expenses for the Force in 1964 and previous years. We would have preferred a statement to the effect that contributions would be voluntary in character until some formula was arrived at that met with general acceptance. This was the view that prevailed in the Special Political Committee in connection with agenda item 101, "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects", and in that connexion I should like to read out the first preambular paragraph of resolution 2053 B (XX) adopted by the Assembly on Wednesday last, 15 December:

"The General Assembly,

"Desirous that the consideration in the United Nations organs of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects should continue in an atmosphere of harmony and co-operation...".

250. The Emergency Force is part of the problem of peace-keeping operations, but in our opinion the spirit of harmony and co-operation is not reflected in the draft resolution submitted to us by the Fifth Committee; and the proof of this is to be found in the statements made by many delegations during the debates which led up to the adoption of the resolution. The result of the voting at that time—38 votes in

favour, 14 against, and 37 abstentions—confirms the impression of lack of harmony.

251. The draft resolution, as we have stated, is not a satisfactory answer to the problem before us. We trust that the Assembly will take up this question next year, devoting an adequate amount of time to it and taking account of all its facets. Because of the reservations mentioned, the attitude of my delegation in the vote we are about to take will have to be negative.

252. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) (translated from French): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the United Nations Emergency Force in the Fifth Committee, and will do likewise in the Assembly.

253. In casting its affirmative vote, my delegation followed the stand it holds in principle regarding the establishment, operation and financing of peace-keeping operations, a stand we have already expounded in a note transmitted to the Secretary-General [A/6026, annex I] and likewise defined clearly in the General Assembly during the general discussion and in the debate in the Special Political Committee on peace-keeping operations as a whole [486th meeting].

254. In virtue of this stand, I should like to stress that in the opinion of my Government, the organization, financing and establishment of the peace-keeping forces constitute a collective responsibility for the entire Organization and are therefore the collective responsibility of all Member States.

255. However, my delegation, while voting in favour, would like to explain its basic attitude in regard to the situation that led to the establishment of the peace-keeping operation—for such is the United Nations Emergency Force. Our position on this is clear and well-defined. Only yesterday we declared that our fundamental position on the question of Palestine remains unchanged. Furthermore, in section II, paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, as well as in section III, paragraph 4, a number of States appear as developed countries to which an appeal might be made for substantial contributions to the budget of the United Nations Emergency Force. It is laid down clearly in both paragraphs that the General Assembly "decides that, for the purpose of the present resolution, the term 'economically less developed' Member States shall mean all Member States except..." (i.e., the developed States I have just mentioned).

256. My delegation wishes to make a formal reservation with regard to the list of these States and to make it clear that in our opinion—and I hope this view is shared by the Committee which recommended the adoption of the draft resolution, and will likewise be the view of the General Assembly—the list in question is only valid specifically and exclusively in respect of this draft resolution.

257. Mr. DELEAU (France) (translated from French): The delegation of France has followed with special attention the debate in the Fifth Committee on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. We attach great importance, as is well known, to all matters concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

258. Let me first and foremost recall the attitude of France in regard to the Force as set up in 1956 by the United Nations. From the outset, despite the fundamental misgivings we had in regard to the procedure that led up to its establishment, we associated ourselves with the financing of the Force because we believed—and our view has not changed subsequently—that the operation in the Middle East had peculiar merits for the maintenance of peace in that part of the world.

259. We therefore voluntarily contributed to the special account for the Emergency Force and we have continued to do so even after making it clear by abstaining from the vote on General Assembly resolution 1733 (XVI), which fixed the arrangements for financing the Force in 1962, that we considered the changes introduced by that resolution in the scale of assessments to be arbitrary. Since then we have invariably abstained, for the same reason, in subsequent votes regarding the financing of the Force. But we indicated,^{6/} in the course of the Fourth Special Session of the General Assembly on 24 June 1963, that we were in no way blind to the difficulties which the steadily growing burden of expenditure of the Organization entailed for the developing countries.

260. We stated that in spite of our disapproval in regard to the special scale of assessments, which as it seemed to us was established on an arbitrary basis, France would continue to pay its share of the expenses of the Force. Furthermore, in October 1964 we tried, by making a voluntary contribution, to emphasize our concern to avoid imposing an excessively heavy burden on the developing countries.

261. Turning to the draft resolution before the General Assembly, I would say that by adopting a new formula the Fifth Committee no doubt wished to provide the Secretary-General with a more stable source of financing, and at the same time, by amending the original text, to recall the importance of the work to be done by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. We appreciate that effort, but we feel that the adoption of a proposal that would change the present system would be inappropriate, for the following reasons.

262. First of all, we feel that at a time when we have by no means reconciled points of view that are very wide apart it is not appropriate to institute new rules for financing, even on a provisional basis. Secondly, the time for introducing such changes seems to us to be ill-chosen. It is the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations that should propose to the General Assembly new ways and means and new regulations that would govern the question of financing operations of that kind in a manner acceptable to all.

263. If, as we hope, the Committee of Thirty-three completes its task before the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, it would seem obvious that the conclusion it reaches will have repercussions on the ways and means of financing the Emergency Force. At the same time, the Ad Hoc Committee^{7/} set up at

^{6/} Ibid., Fourth Special Session, Fifth Committee, 1003rd meeting.

^{7/} Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

this session on the initiative of France is, or soon will be we hope, in a position to provide a proper clarification of the strictly financial aspects of this difficult question. Why then for so short a period change the arrangements for financing the Force made during 1964? Admittedly, the arrangements are by no means satisfactory to a number of delegations, among them the French delegation. But it would be somewhat inconsistent and illogical to entrust the study of a problem to particular organs, and then before they had even begun their work, to find a provisional solution which in present circumstances is unwarranted and could only complicate an already difficult issue.

264. For this reason, and because the method of allocation of funds it proposes perpetuates, to say the least, the arbitrary nature of dealing with the expenses of the Force, the French delegation will once again abstain from the vote, and will not support the draft resolution this year. If there was a separate vote, my delegation would vote in favour of section I of the draft fixing the over-all amount of the appropriation for 1965 and 1966, thereby indicating both the importance it attaches to enabling the Force to continue to carry out with all the necessary effectiveness the functions entrusted to it, and its intention to continue to participate voluntarily in the financing.

265. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to the efforts made by several delegations, and also by the Secretariat, to try to reduce the cost of the Force in 1966. My delegation regards this as a trend which we are sure could help to bring about the final settlement of this question.

266. Mr. RICHARDSON (Jamaica): The Jamaica delegation considers it necessary to speak at this point because, for reasons which the Rapporteur has explained, the report in document A/6217 is a condensed report. In paragraph 3 of this report we are told that the Fifth Committee's discussion on this item is reflected in the summary records of the meeting. And paragraph 5 of the report makes it appear that by a roll-call vote of 38 to 14, with 37 abstentions, the amended draft resolution was adopted. In this condensed form it was impracticable to reflect the reservations which many delegations had concerning particular portions of the draft resolution. The Jamaica delegation in particular had reservations concerning certain of the operative paragraphs in sections II and III of the draft resolution.

267. It would be an unwarrantable imposition on the patience of our colleagues to ask for separate votes on particular sections of this draft resolution at this time. We should like to make it clear, however, that the Jamaica delegation wishes to dissociate itself from operative paragraph 1 (a) of section II of the draft resolution. We do so because Jamaica's voluntary contribution was made unconditionally, but in response to the consensus at the nineteenth session that the financial difficulties of the Organization should be solved through voluntary contributions. In the view of the Jamaica delegation, it does not assist in solving the financial difficulties of the Organization to begin by applying part of these voluntary contributions to current expenditure.

268. We wish also to dissociate ourselves from operative paragraph 1 (b) of section II of that draft resolution and similarly from operative paragraph 1 (a) of section III. In our opinion, the amount which is to be apportioned amongst the States described as "economically less developed" is too low. In our view, the scale of assessments for the regular budget already gives an adequate measure of relief to less developed States. The expenditure for the United Nations Emergency Force is not a heavy one. Fifteen million dollars in one year is not a heavy expenditure, and there is no need for further relief to economically less developed States. The amount to be apportioned among such States could quite properly have been made sufficiently large to require them to contribute at the same rate as to the regular budget. According to the figures, it appears that States whose aggregate percentage is approximately 17 per cent of the total are being asked to contribute only to the extent of 5.3 per cent of the expenditure on the Emergency Force.

269. The Jamaica delegation would have voted against operative paragraph 5 of section II of this draft resolution because we consider it entirely improper that the Assembly should propose to permit those Member States which have made voluntary contributions in order to restore the solvency of the United Nations to ask to have these contributions applied to the amounts apportioned against them for the current year.

270. We consider that this particular provision will effectively discourage those Member States which have not yet made voluntary contributions from making such contributions. However, the Jamaica delegation, despite these reservations, and although we would have voted against operative paragraph 5, will vote for the resolution as we did in the Committee; we shall vote for it for three reasons.

271. We consider it important that the Emergency Force should continue its operations. We realize that unless it is supported financially, the Force will be unable to continue to discharge its functions. That is our first consideration.

272. Secondly, we consider it important to emphasize and to establish that peace-keeping expenditure is the collective responsibility of all the Member States of the United Nations.

273. Thirdly, we wish to leave no doubt about the competence of the General Assembly to make assessments upon all Member States in order to defray the expenses of peace-keeping operations.

274. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee [A/6217, para. 6]. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Somalia, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma,

Cameroon, Canada, China, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Haiti, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kuwait.

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

Abstaining: Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, United Arab Republic, United States of America, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Belgium, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Guatemala, Guinea, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon.

The draft resolution was adopted by 44 votes to 14, with 45 abstentions.

275. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The continuation of the United Nations Emergency Force in operation called for careful and lengthy discussion by the General Assembly, the more so since the Assembly has been particularly concerned about the composition and aims that the Force should have. Yet the twentieth session of the General Assembly has examined the matter in the Fifth Committee only. There has been no analysis of the political aspects of the Force, nor has the Assembly had an opportunity to express its views on the actual substance of the question.

276. In spite of that, the draft resolution contained in paragraph 6 of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6217] imposes on Member States heavy financial burdens whose constitutionality is thus open to serious question.

277. Like other delegations, the delegation of Mexico believes it essential that decisions of principle be taken on the nature and scope of peace-keeping operations in general before financial burdens consequent on one particular operation carried out by the United Nations are imposed. For that reason my delegation voted against the draft resolution.

278. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution on item 78 [A/6214, para. 13] which it decided unanimously to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly. In the absence of objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted.

279. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Let us turn to item 79 of the agenda. The report of the Fifth Committee on item 79 (b) concerns the appointment to fill the vacancy in the membership of the Committee on Contributions. In the absence of objection, I take it that the General Assembly confirms the appointment recommended by the Fifth Committee and adopted the draft resolution submitted by the Committee on that subject [A/6183, para. 5].

The draft resolution was adopted.

280. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The report of the Fifth Committee on item 79 (e) relates to appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves the appointments recommended by the Fifth Committee and adopts the draft resolution submitted by it [A/6065, para. 7].

The draft resolution was adopted.

281. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution on item 80 of the agenda [A/6202] which it recommends for adoption by the General Assembly. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted by 98 votes to none, with two abstentions.

282. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee has submitted four draft resolutions: A, B, C, D [A/6218, para. 2] referring to item 81 of the agenda. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolutions.

Draft resolutions A, B, C and D were adopted.

283. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): With regard to agenda item 82 (a), the Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6216, para. 6], which it decided without opposition to recommend the Assembly to adopt. In the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted.

284. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On the subject of item 34 of the agenda, the Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6215, para. 11] which it recommends to the General Assembly for adoption. I put the draft resolution to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

285. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution relating to agenda item 85 [A/6203, para. 5] which it recommends to the Assembly for adoption. In the absence of objection, I shall assume that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution without opposition.

The draft resolution was adopted.

286. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Under agenda item 86 the Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6204, para. 5] which it adopted unanimously. In the absence of objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts it in the same way.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

287. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I am very glad that the Assembly has just adopted unanimously this resolution on the United Nations International School. On this occasion, I should like to express my gratitude to the Governments which have given such strong support to this project; to the members of the Board of Trustees who have given unstintingly of their time; to the officials of the City of New York, and to the Foundations and individuals whose generous contributions have made it possible for us to be within

reach of the realization of our plans for a new, adequate and properly equipped school building.

288. As many of you know, this School was established at Lake Success in response to the urgent demand of parents for facilities to give a truly international education to their children. The School has steadily grown over the years in its capacity to serve the United Nations and to serve the cause of internationalism in education. The school, even in its highly inadequate present building, is serving 600 children of sixty-six nationalities.

289. I have personally attached a great deal of importance to providing adequate facilities for this School. I believe it helps considerably in the recruitment of qualified personnel for the United Nations Secretariat. At the same time I know it performs a meaningful service to the delegates whose children have to face the problem involved in changing from one school system to another. The existence of the International School makes it possible for such a change to provide opportunities for making new friends in a truly international milieu.

290. In addition to the annual support which it has given to this School from the beginning through a small subsidy and through the education grant, in 1959 the General Assembly took the important step of giving a five-year guarantee to support the budget of the School in order to make it possible to do the necessary long-range planning and to launch an appeal for funds. The Assembly at that time also suggested that the School should be located in the immediate vicinity of the United Nations.

291. Over the past three years, three sites have been proposed. The first property purchased at 89th Street and York Avenue proved to be inadequate. Last year I proposed that the School be built at the north end of the United Nations site and while this met with favour in some quarters, it also attracted some opposition. During this year, the City of New York made a renewed effort to help us solve the site problem; and as I have stated in my report to the Assembly, the City produced the imaginative solution that the School

should be built on new land at 25th Street and the East River. The New York City Board of Estimate has approved this long-term lease to the United Nations and the resolution you have adopted just now authorizes me to accept this offer. It would not have been financially feasible to accept the offer if it were not for the generous offer of Mr. Laurence Rockefeller and the Rockefeller Brothers to contribute \$1 million which will pay for a substantial part of the cost of preparing the new site.

292. I should like to make it clear that the project would not have come to fruition at this time had it not been for the more than generous offer of the Ford Foundation, in September 1964, to pay the entire cost of building and equipping the new School, provided the question of the site could be settled and a Development Fund of \$3 million could be raised to ensure the financial viability of the School in the future.

293. I have emphasized in my report [A/6079], and the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly stresses, that the task of raising the Development Fund is still unfinished. I should like to underline our commitment based on earlier Assembly resolutions to raise a Development Fund promptly. I trust that at this advanced stage in the preparation of plans for the School, all of you will urge your Governments to make a voluntary contribution to the Fund at the earliest possible date.

294. I feel sure that all of the Governments, as well as all of the private donors who have contributed to this project, will rejoice in the new building which will make it possible for the teachers and the pupils, who are partners in this great educational enterprise, to work in conditions fitting the responsibilities of the United Nations for the next generation.

295. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I should like to thank the Secretary-General, and I think that the Assembly would wish to associate itself with the expression of gratitude to all those who have assisted in furthering the plans for the new United Nations International School.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.