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SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 14 December 1963, at 4 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. HASEGAMI

(Romania)

1. Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly [81] (continued)
2. Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council [82] (continued)
3. Report of the Economic and Social Council [Chapter XIII (section VI)] [12] (continued)

AGENDA ITEMS 81, 82, 12

QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(A/5519; A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1, L.106, L.107) [81] (continued)

QUESTION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (A/5520; A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1, L.105) [82] (continued)

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL [CHAPTER XIII (SECTION VI)] (A/5503) [12]
(continued)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): We shall now continue with
and, I hope, complete our consideration of the three items on our agenda. In view
of the fact that time is of the essence, I should like to appeal to the members of
the Committee to limit the length of their statements as much as they possibly can.

Mr. WYZNER (Poland): At this stage of our discussion, I shall limit
myself to the draft resolution on the composition of the General Committee of the
General Assembly, contained in document A/SPC/L.101. My delegation has studied
the 54-Power proposal with keen interest, and we find that basically it constitutes
one of those realistic proposals which do follow a correct direction and are aimed
at a satisfactory solution of the problem before us. We have felt, however, that
the resolution in question should also give due attention to the geographical regions
from which future Presidents of the General Assembly are to be elected. In order
to assure just and equitable representation in the General Committee, it seemed
to us indispensable to add a paragraph to the annex of the draft resolution in
document A/SPC/L.101, to the effect that the Presidency of the General Assembly
shall rotate every year among representatives of different regions.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

The amendment to this effect sponsored by the Czechoslovak delegation and my delegation has been very ably introduced by my distinguished co-sponsor. The reasons which prompted us to do so were quite simple. Indeed, it would seem paradoxical and deprived of logic if, while being concerned with the geographical distribution of almost the entire membership of the General Committee, we were to set aside one of the most important of its components, the President of the Assembly. It would amount to the petrification of the existing discriminatory practice against the countries and regions which have not yet been given equal opportunities in the election of Presidents of our Assembly.

Is it not startling that among all the organs of the United Nations the Presidency of the General Assembly remains the only oasis where the principle of just geographical representation has not so far been applied? To be more specific, only one out of twenty Presidents of the General Assembly elected so far came from an African State, and -- what constitutes an unprecedented injustice -- not a single President representing socialist countries of Eastern Europe has ever been elected.

That is why we feel it mandatory for our Committee to apply to the Presidency of the General Assembly the principle of just rotation, and that is why we cannot share the view, expressed during the course of the discussion, that the existing practice has worked well during the eighteen years of this Organization.

We have joined our friends of Czechoslovakia to sponsor the amendment in the firm belief that its acceptance by the Committee might help to provide for just geographical representation in this important post of our Organization. Therefore, while drafting our amendment, we did not intend to impose any strict order of geographical regions according to which priority should be given in this, so to speak, Presidency-rotation system, and, as members of this Committee have undoubtedly observed, the six principal geographical regions in the proposed paragraph 1 of the annex to the fifty-four-Power joint draft resolution are listed in their alphabetical order. We did not establish any rigid order of those regions, putting the main stress on the principle of representation itself.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

In the course of our morning meeting, such words as "high qualities", "competence", "experience" and "integrity" were used many times by some of the representatives. We are second to none in demanding that these should be the features of the Presidents of the General Assembly. But we hardly see this as justifying opposition to our amendment and the omission of African and East European representatives during the many years of the existence of the United Nations. I do not believe that anyone here would maintain that there are no representatives of those regions who would meet the above-mentioned demands. On the other hand, we might add, as a very important example, that the Chairmen of the main Committees also, who, in our opinion, should not be second in the line of high qualifications -- integrity, intelligence, and all those important features -- are, according to the draft resolution already presented by our Afro-Asian friends, to be distributed in accordance with the principle of just geographical representation.

The representative of Nigeria, at our previous meeting, proposed, as we understand, in the name of the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101, that a new formula be inserted in the annex of the draft in place of the one contained in paragraph 2 of our amendment. This formula reads as follows:

"In the election of the President of the General Assembly, regard shall be had to equitable geographical rotation of this office among the different regions mentioned in paragraph 3." (427th meeting, page 72)

The Czechoslovak and Polish delegations were approached by the members of practically all the groups, who expressed themselves in favour of the Nigerian formula. Under those circumstances, although we would naturally prefer our original amendment, I wish to state that, after consultation with my Czechoslovak co-sponsor, we are willing to accept the Nigerian formula on the understanding that it will be included by the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 in their original text, with the former implications contained in paragraphs 1 and 3 of our amendment.

I wish to express, also in behalf of my Czechoslovak friends, our sincere gratitude to the representative of Nigeria for bringing forward this formula and for giving thought to a solution which, we believe, could be acceptable to everybody

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

in this Committee. We hope that this will allow us to reach a unanimous decision on this question, to which we attach particular importance, as do many other delegations around this table.

We wish also, in behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft amendment, to express our sincere gratitude to the representatives who supported our amendment, among them the representatives of Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, and others. We wish also to thank the representative of Ghana for very valuable suggestions made by him in the course of our previous discussion.

Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (interpretation from French): My delegation is taking the floor in order to support the draft resolutions in documents A/SPC/L.109 and A/SPC/L.110, which have been introduced so eloquently by the representative of Ghana. Africans are unanimous in supporting those two draft resolutions and they feel some bitterness about the difficulties which the draft resolutions are encountering. Everyone recognizes how well justified our claims are; everyone feels that they are just and that we are merely requesting our right; but, nevertheless, it seems that there is bargaining for these rights and this bargaining is scarcely concealed in some instances.

For some, the only solution is redistribution, unless all the Africans together agree to allow Communist China into the United Nations. On that condition, by an amendment of the Charter, our rights would be granted. If by any chance we did not wish to bargain, then a veto would be passed.

For others, there is no question of any redistribution. Only an enlargement by an amendment of the Charter is possible, and of course there is a condition here also; the condition that we do not exceed the number that some would like to dictate to us. They say, "Take it or leave it. If you do not want to compromise, a veto will be cast."

So, whether there is a veto on the one hand or three vetoes on the other hand, the result is the same: Africa and Asia must continue to wait. However, my delegation is among those which refuse to believe that systematic obstruction will be maintained against the wishes of Africa or Asia. The draft resolutions that we have introduced have to some extent given rise to a dispute about figures. While some say "thirteen", we say "fifteen". While some say "twenty-four" for the Economic and Social Council, we say "twenty-seven".

My delegation wishes to state once again that the figure does not matter very much as far as we are concerned. We are concerned only with achieving an equitable distribution of seats. We have already mentioned in our first intervention that we could even accept the figure of eleven members if it were shown that that figure would make possible an equitable and acceptable reallocation of seats. However, after a thorough study of the figures proposed to us, it appears that the figure thirteen would not be a good choice. True,

(Mr. Usher, Ivory Coast)

it is not a question of superstition -- although some people think the figure thirteen is unlucky, and I believe that the Security Council, a body called upon to resolve problems among all States, should take into account the views of those who do not like the figure thirteen. It will be noted that, with eleven members on the Security Council, it would appear that Africa is represented in that body by two representatives, and everyone recognizes that such a situation is not equitable. However, if there were thirteen, the number of seats allotted to Africa would still be two, and apparently the inequitable character of the Council would persist, and, if Africa were to demand better representation, it would seem that Asia would be wronged. However, with the figure fifteen, it would be possible to have an equitable solution. It would then be possible to distribute the seats between Africa and Asia without thereby taking away the privileges and the essence itself of the Security Council. Of course the great Powers would always remain masters of the situation and be able to control the debates and the trend and the decisions of the Security Council by means of the veto.

With regard to the Economic and Social Council, there is no doubt that the work of this body is turning increasingly to the search for solutions for the problems of the economically under-developed countries. Therefore we need the complete co-operation of the under-developed countries as well as that of the developed countries. An increase in the number of under-developed countries would be for the better, as indeed has been recognized by the Economic and Social Council itself in the report which we have been asked to examine.

It seems to me that all these arguments favour our draft resolutions and that delegations might exercise some charity in regard to the draft resolutions that have been presented.

With regard to the draft resolution concerning the General Committee, my delegation is gratified to see that there is unanimity regarding this draft and that no one continues to link it with other draft resolutions. Therefore we should be able to come rapidly to a vote on that draft resolution.

(Mr. Usher, Ivory Coast)

My delegation considers also that the Presidency should as far as possible be on a basis of rotation, but we feel, with the same degree of conviction, that that should not be set down as a rigid rule. The unfortunate experience through which we are passing shows us that if, at the time when the previous gentleman's agreement was arrived at, the ambassadors had codified the arrangement, Africa and Asia would have been forgotten and we should not have had the eminent African and Asian Presidents who have presided over the General Assembly.

(Mr. Usher, Ivory Coast)

My delegation would not wish to conclude these observations of a general nature without offering its sincere thanks to the delegations of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, which have responded to our appeal by withdrawing their amendment. My delegation had the painful duty of speaking to this amendment in the course of our first statement in the Committee, and we are happy to note and to be able to state that the mere withdrawal of this amendment by these three friendly delegations actually constitutes an effective contribution to facilitating the regrouping of African States. Thus it is an act for which we must be grateful.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to say that the same arguments which were developed against the Canadian amendment -- namely, geographical distribution -- and were set forth so eloquently and in much better terms than I could present by the representative of Iraq, lead us to state for the record a reservation with regard to the statement made this morning by the representative of Iraq concerning a seat which he wished to be called an Arab seat. My delegation considers that the Arabs of Africa -- and this I do not need to tell the Committee -- are Africans. There is no need to adduce any special evidence in proof of this. It is only under that heading and in that capacity that this point should be considered.

For this reason my delegation would state for the record that it will recognize the access of that delegation to the posts reserved for Africa.

Mr. ZABIGAILO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The Special Political Committee has before it the question of equitable distribution of membership in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the General Committee of the General Assembly. As is well known, this question was taken up in a somewhat different way at previous sessions.

The Ukrainian SSR delegation has always considered, and will continue to consider, that discussion of proposals to change the composition of the principal organs of the United Nations -- the Security Council and ECOSOC -- should be based primarily on the matter of maintaining international peace and security, the universality of our Organization and the development of friendly relations among States regardless of their social and political structures. It must be acknowledged that in this sense the United Nations

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Charter meets such requirements. It contains provisions which lay down the basic tasks of the Organization as well as the rights and principles of its main organs.

To ensure the most important and noble principle, namely the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council was established. This was in 1945 when the Charter of our Organization was prepared by those who had won victory over the fiercest enemy of mankind: fascism. The San Francisco Conference acted wisely then in setting up the Security Council, composed of eleven members, and the Economic and Social Council, composed of eighteen members.

Since that time different regroupings of the forces in the international arena have taken place because of changes of historic importance.

The Ukrainian delegation, in expressing its position of principle on the question of changes in the structure of the principal organs of the United Nations, pointed out as early as the fifteenth session that in view of the new international relations in the world and the new tasks facing the United Nations, the time had come when this question required a solution. My delegation continues to support the proposals for changes in the structure of the United Nations, especially in the Security Council and ECOSOC in accordance with the principle of the genuine representation of all three basic groups of States which exist in the contemporary world, namely, the Socialists, the neutral countries and the States of the Western military bloc.

Facts require the elimination of the dominant position of representatives of the Western military bloc within the organs of the United Nations, such domination being detrimental to the interests of the neutral and socialist countries. For these reasons, the Ukrainian delegation accepts in full understanding the legitimate requirements and demands of the young countries of Asia and Africa concerning their representation in the United Nations organs, including their right to decide questions of international peace and security. These requirements call for our particular sympathy because of the intolerable discrimination which exists within the Security Council.

There is no need to adduce examples to show that the Western countries fail to observe this right, thus retaining their numerical privilege in the Security Council as well as in other organs so that decisions may be taken in their own interests in disregard of the fundamental principles of the

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sovereign equality of States, universality and peaceful co-existence as laid down in the Charter.

The absence of proper representation of African and Asian countries in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council particularly increases this numerical advantage of the Western countries in the principal organs of the United Nations. Accordingly, the wishes of the African and Asian countries to be duly represented in these organs have not only our understanding but our unswerving support. There are real possibilities of realizing these desires. With a true desire on the part of all Member States of the United Nations, they can be put into effect. The major international changes have gone beyond the conditions which in 1946 were taken into account in coming to an agreement on the question of how the seats of the non-permanent members of the Security Council should be distributed. The well-known agreement of 1946 no longer corresponds to Article 23 of the United Nations Charter, which requires that in elections of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, among others, due attention should be paid to the fact of equitable geographical distribution.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, therefore, considers it expedient to alter the agreement of 1946 and to replace it with a new agreement on the distribution of seats of the non-permanent members of the Security Council. We support, in this respect, the proposal that, as a result of such redistribution, each of the six fundamental geographical regions of the world -- Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Latin America and the Middle East -- should occupy one of the six seats of the non-permanent members of the Security Council.

On the same basis, a decision should be sought for the question of the redistribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council. We cannot fail to share the concern of those delegations of the Afro-Asian countries in respect of the expansion of the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations, since they wish to have adequate representation in these organs. But the question of the improvement of the structure of the United Nations is one which involves several indispensable changes in the United Nations structure. In this sense, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR once again would like to stress, as it has done

at previous sessions, the close inseparable links which, with the improvement of the United Nations structure, would be brought about by the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in its organs, and primarily in the Security Council. Leaving aside the political aspects of this connexion, which are very well known to everyone, we shall only point out its juridical aspects.

Under Article 108 of the Charter, any amendment of the Charter, as was mentioned this morning, should inter alia be ratified by all the permanent members of the Security Council, and this includes the Government of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, any attempt to bring about any changes in the Charter in the absence and in disregard of the People's Republic of China would be purposeless from the very outset.

It is essential to eliminate flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter in respect of the Chinese People's Republic and to restore its legitimate rights in the United Nations. Otherwise, there are no conditions for coming to an agreement on the question of changes in the United Nations Charter. Any review of the United Nations Charter in the absence of the Chinese People's Republic could only lead to a precedent of the recognition of the notorious theory of two Chinas, which is incompatible with international law and with historical realities.

This irrefutable fact should be remembered particularly by those representatives who so often and insisently talk of discrimination against their countries, which are Members of the United Nations and which quite rightly demand more active participation and representation, but which at the same time forget that this precise injustice and discrimination exists in respect of a great country, the Chinese People's Republic and has existed for a very long time, which, in our view, is without precedent in the annals of international relations. It is primarily these representatives who should agree with those delegations that are

trying to obtain the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations. It is clear that only in these conditions will the broad highway be opened for the expansion of the primary organs of the United Nations, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, for the proper representation in these organs of the Afro-Asian countries. Until the rights of the People's Republic of China are restored in the United Nations, the only realistic method of increasing representation of the Afro-Asian countries in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council is, as we pointed out, a redistribution of the existing seats in these organs.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers it proper to come to an agreement about equitable distribution in the General Committee particularly because the proposal is not linked with a review of the United Nations Charter, and accordingly it can be put into effect at the present session of the General Assembly. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/SPC/L.101, submitted by fifty-four Afro-Asian countries. It would be fully logical to apply this proposal not only to the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and the Chairmen of the seven main Committees, but also to the office of President of the General Assembly. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the amendment of the delegations of Czechoslovakia and Poland. This would create the conditions for a favourable solution in the United Nations of international problems, which, in turn, would without any doubt create the conditions for the strengthening of peace, mutual understanding and to the putting of international relations on a sounder footing.

Mr. FUKUSHIMA (Japan): In order to clarify the position of the Government of Japan on the item now before this Committee, and in order to be brief, may I be permitted to explain our attitude on the various draft resolutions and amendments when they come to the vote?

Firstly, with regard to the question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, we all know what is the situation. The countries of Africa and Asia are shamefully under-represented in these organs of the United Nations. We all know that the best answer would be the enlargement of the Councils. There are two sets of draft resolutions now before the Committee, one submitted by the Latin American countries and the other by our brother countries of Africa and Asia. Even though the name of Japan is not to be found among the co-sponsors of the Afro-Asian draft resolution, we consider ourselves as virtually a co-sponsor because we are ready to become one. Certain circumstances caused us to wait, and we might even try to have our name inscribed among the ranks of the co-sponsors. Certainly we shall vote, in the question of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, as though we were already one of the co-sponsors of the Afro-Asian draft resolution which proposes that there be fifteen seats on the Security Council and twenty-seven seats on the Economic and Social Council.

Secondly, on the question of the composition of the General Committee, we are one of the co-sponsors of the 54-Power draft resolution, and, naturally, we do not have to explain our attitude on it. However, an amendment has been proposed to this draft resolution, the amendment proposed by Czechoslovakia and Poland, and on this I would like to make a comment.

We would have voted against this amendment had it been left as it was originally drafted. In this regard, I express our sincere gratitude for the good offices of the representative of Nigeria, who undertook to invite a revision of the amendment. We shall not oppose this amendment as now revised, and we shall act accordingly.

Mr. BUDO (Albania) (interpretation from French): For some days now the Special Political Committee has been studying the very important issue of the equitable representation of Member States on the principal organs of the United Nations. This is a problem which has emerged from the growth of the Organization, a growth which in turn is a direct consequence of the great changes that have taken place in the international picture. Mankind has, in fact, witnessed in the course of recent years a historic victory over colonialism by the powerful national liberation movement of peoples. The wave of revolutionary struggle for liberation which developed during the years following the end of the Second World War has shaken the very foundations of the imperialist and colonial domination, which is now breaking up and coming closer to its inevitable end. Thus, numerous countries of Africa and Asia have won their independence.

The people of Albania and its Government have always firmly supported the legitimate rights of peoples for their freedom and independence. We have been solidly behind these people in their heroic struggle for national liberation, and we have wholeheartedly applauded the victories won by those nations which have acceded to independence.

The political changes which have been brought about in the continents which until recently were hotbeds of colonialism are reflected in the composition of the General Assembly following the admission to the United Nations of the newly independent States. At the present time the number of nations in the United Nations is more than double the membership of 1945. The Albanian delegation wholeheartedly welcomed the admission to our Organization of the newly independent countries and it has repeatedly stressed its deep appreciation of the active role being played by these new Members in the work carried out by our Organization to defend the principles of the Charter, the rights of peoples to self-determination and their right to freedom and independence.

The Albanian delegation considers that the changes that have occurred in the map of the world and the increase in the number of Members of the United Nations, in particular of the African and Asian Members, should be reflected in the structure and the activities of the Organization. We consider that the claims of

the countries of Africa and Asia to equitable representation in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council are fully justified. The demands of these countries with regard to the two bodies in question could have been satisfied long ago by an equitable distribution of the existing seats, taking into account the changes we have just mentioned, if all the States had been inspired by principles of equality and equity. But such a settlement of this justified request has not been possible because of the unjustified refusal, advanced without any good reason, of the Western Powers who insist, in particular, on pretending that the gentleman's agreement of 1946 should be considered as having definitely settled the question of representation on the Security Council.

The States of Africa and Asia have submitted a request for an enlargement of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council, and they have pressed for a new distribution of the added seats so that their countries could be more equitably represented in the two bodies in order to make it possible for these bodies to discharge their functions more efficiently. This request of the Afro-Asian countries is also in accordance with one of the fundamental principles of the Charter, the principle of the equality of Member States.

(Mr. Budo, Albania)

My delegation supports the request of the countries of Africa and Asia for an increase in the number of seats on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and for a new distribution of the seats thus added on an equitable basis which would be in accordance with the new conditions in our Organization.

We regard it as our most important task to support the just claims of the newly independent nations which are fighting for full recognition of their rights and for the consolidation of their independence and sovereignty, just as we have supported very firmly, and shall continue to support, the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence.

The delegation of Albania considers it necessary to state that the question of an equitable representation of the countries of Africa and Asia in the principal organs of the United Nations is different in character from the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. We have always stated and we repeat that the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique represent nothing and have no place in the United Nations, and they should be expelled from the Organization without delay. This is required by the interests of the strengthening of our Organization and the settlement of the great problems of our age.

It is important to emphasize, in particular, that it is obvious that so long as the seat of China in the United Nations is occupied by the representatives of the venal Chiang Kai-shek clique, the People's Republic of China cannot assume any responsibility for any activities of the United Nations, including those relating to amendments to the Charter. This position of the People's Republic of China, which has been clearly expounded on many occasions by its Government, is in accordance with the principle of the sovereignty and equality of States. It is the direct consequence of the failure to recognize the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization. This position of the People's Republic of China has been affirmed once again in the statement made on 12 December 1963 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that country.

(Mr. Budo, Albania)

We do not think, furthermore, that it is fair for a Member State to invoke here the People's Republic of China to justify its own position on the question under discussion. Why seek to make the People's Republic of China assume a responsibility which it does not have, in view of the fact that it is not allowed to participate in our work?

Moreover, if the Government of the People's Republic of China were to give, from Peking, its official consent and to assume responsibility for one solution or another to the question under discussion, when the puppet Chiang Kai-shekists could state their views here -- these persons who illegally occupy China's place in the United Nations -- that would conform with the fallacious imperialist theory about two Chinas. Such a situation is inadmissible for the People's Republic of China, for there is only one China, the People's Republic of China, and its Government is the only Government which represents China.

As regards the attitude of the People's Republic of China towards the struggle of peoples for national liberation and the consolidation of their independence, there can be no doubt at all. Everyone is aware of the unshakable support given and the immense role played by this great socialist Power in favour of the movement for the national liberation and independence of countries. For our part, we consider that each Member State must base its position on the matter on the facts of the question, without involving the People's Republic of China, when, under the pressure of the United States, the People's Republic of China is deprived of its right to occupy its legitimate place in the United Nations and to participate in our work. Each country must assume its own responsibilities, must judge and decide whether this question should be solved by taking favourable action on the just claims of the countries of Asia and Africa, or whether there must be still further delays, on some pretext or other, thus playing the game of the imperialists, who are trying by various methods, including obstruction of the admission of the People's Republic of China to its legitimate seat in the United Nations, to prevent the new Member States of Africa and Asia from enjoying their full rights in the United Nations.

Those were the few comments that the delegation of Albania considered it necessary to make on the second item of the agenda at this stage.

(Mr. Budo, Albania)

In conclusion, I should like to state once again that the delegation of Albania, in the light of the considerations that I have just advanced, will support all appropriate arrangements likely to satisfy, by an increase in the number of seats in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and by an equitable distribution of the added seats, the just claims of the Member States of Africa and Asia.

Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): I should like to set forth my delegation's position on the last three items on the agenda of the Special Political Committee, the first relating to the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly, and the two others relating to the problem of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Although there is a difference of substance between the first question and the other two, it is nevertheless true that all three reflect the changes which have occurred in the world since the establishment of the United Nations. The heroic struggle of a large number of oppressed peoples against imperialism has been crowned with success, and many countries have acceded to independence. Having become Members of the United Nations, these countries which have been freed from colonial servitude have exerted a great influence on the policy and activities of our Organization. In the light of the role which those countries play in the United Nations, we have always greeted with sympathy the legitimate demands of the new Members of the United Nations -- and particularly the African and Asian States -- for just and equitable representation in the various organs of the United Nations.

The delegation of Bulgaria has carefully studied the draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101) submitted by a large number of African and Asian States in connexion with the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly. The composition of the General Committee is a question of internal rules, the rules of procedure, and the General Assembly is free to make the necessary amendments and additions to those rules. As is known, amendments to the composition of the General Committee were made at the eighth, eleventh and twelfth sessions of the General Assembly. Since then, there have been important changes in our Organization. The number of Member States has increased from eighty-two to 111,

(Mr. Karasimeonov, Bulgaria)

and that of African and Asian States, from twenty-nine to fifty-six. We regard as legitimate the request of the countries of Africa and Asia for better representation in the General Committee which would be in conformity with the role they play in our Organization.

While supporting in principle the draft resolution that has been submitted, we believe that the question of the adequate representation of countries also closely affects the question of the Presidency of the Assembly. It is quite natural, when attempts are being made to bring the General Committee of the Assembly into conformity with reality, that a way of naming the President should be found which would ensure the equitable representation of all the large regions of the world.

In our view the system of annual rotation of the post of President is the most appropriate. The amendment proposed by Czechoslovakia and Poland (A/SPC/L/107) to draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 felicitously completes the question of the application of the principle of just and equitable representation of all Members of the United Nations, which is the principle of the basis of this draft. Therefore, we expect that this amendment will be supported by all delegations who have favoured the implementation of this principle and its application to the General Committee of the General Assembly. At the same time we consider, together with the co-sponsors of the draft resolution, that the formula submitted by the delegation of Nigeria in this matter corresponds to the spirit of the amendment and we are ready to support a similar wording.

I should also like to set forth the position of my delegation on two other items on the agenda of our Committee. The position of the Socialist countries, including my own country, on this problem has always been clear-cut and unambiguous. We have welcomed and we shall continue to welcome with the greatest sympathy the demands of the new Members of the United Nations to be better represented in the primary organs of the Organization. If this equitable representation is to be brought about through an expansion in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, it should involve an amendment to the Charter. It is well known that this amendment can be brought about as a result of the ratification of this amendment by the permanent Members of the Security Council, including the People's Republic of China.

Unfortunately, for years now, we have been faced by the grim reality that a group of States continues to obstruct the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China to sit in the United Nations. Once it is recognized that there exists a legitimate right of China to sit in the United Nations, since at the present time there is no representative of the People's Republic of China in our Organization, the question of amending the Charter will come to be viewed in another light. We consider that equitable representation in the principal organs should be one extra reason for eliminating once and for all this flagrant injustice which has been tolerated within our Organization.

(Mr. Karassimeonov, Bulgaria)

There is no doubt, let me state so, that the Afro-Asian countries can in this matter play an increasingly important role. Indeed, how can one think of the composition of the principal organs of our Organization and the accession to independence of the former colonial peoples, and at the same time ignore one of the most marked events of our time, that is, the victory of the Chinese People over the forces of imperialism. We are of the opinion that as long as the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China are not recognized in the United Nations, any amendment to the Charter is impossible and consequently a provisional solution should be sought. A solution which in our view would ensure equitable representation under present circumstances would be the redistribution of the non-permanent seats in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council, since such a measure could be brought about without any amendment to the Charter and would therefore have practical and immediate results. Regardless of this position of principle of my delegation, we associate ourselves with the appeal made to the sponsors of the draft resolution, concerning the composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, not to press for a vote on this draft resolution. This would, at the present time, be the most appropriate solution, because an equitable distribution should in our view be based upon the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (interpretation from French): Our Committee is at the present time confronted with draft resolutions on items 81 and 82 of the agenda of the eighteenth session, and I had expressed my delegation's views on each of these drafts and on the amendments relating to these texts.

When the draft resolution contained in A/SPC/L.101 was introduced -- my delegation, of course, is a co-sponsor of this text -- I already expressed the arguments and gave the feelings that had guided us in drafting the operative part of this text. My statement on this text therefore will relate now to the amendments to our text. In this connexion, I should like to renew our thanks to the delegations of Australia, Canada and New Zealand for the understanding and spirit of understanding that they have displayed in withdrawing their amendment. That amendment was really not justified and its maintenance would have created a situation that we would not have wished to see developed owing to the consequences that it would have entailed.

(Mr. Coulibaly, Mali)

With respect to the amendment introduced by Czechoslovakia and Poland (A/SPC/L.107), my delegation shares the view that all States are equal in this Organization, and we also believe in the equality of all regional groups. My delegation is therefore convinced that the countries of Eastern Europe should be able to have access to all posts of responsibility in our Organization. But the present wording of this amendment gives rise to some reservations on the part of my delegation, and in this connexion I share the comments and the suggestions made this morning by my friend, the representative of Ghana, who is the present Chairman of the African group. As a matter of fact, the concept of the introduction of the idea of the Middle East as a geographical area in this text does not meet with my delegation's satisfaction. And just as my delegation has spoken out against the concept of the Commonwealth, in the same way my delegation does not approve of the introduction of the Middle East as a geographical zone for the purposes of the distribution of seats in the various bodies of the United Nations.

With respect to the draft amendment introduced by the Latin American countries, my delegation is awaiting the clarification to be given following upon the consultations now in process on this amendment, and my delegation will give its views on this amendment in due course.

With respect to draft resolution A/SPC/L.109 and A/SPC/L.110 my delegation fully shares everything that has been said by the representative of Ghana who introduced these two draft resolutions on our behalf. However, I should like to add, since reference has been made to the position of the People's Republic of China in connexion with comments made on these two draft resolutions, that my Government's position on the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China as a founding Member has not changed in any way. My delegation remains convinced that the People's Republic of China should be restored to its rights as a founding Member and we consider that that country alone represents the people of China.

(Mr. Coulibaly, Mali)

But, as I have had occasion to state at other times, the search for solutions permitting us to redress an injustice to the People's Republic of China should not contribute to perpetuating an equally serious injustice committed against the peoples of Africa and Asia; for in fact if the People's Republic of China has been unjustly kept out of our Organization, it remains equally true that the peoples of Africa and Asia are also deprived of their representation, as a continent, in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council.

The different comments that have been made this afternoon and this morning concerning the provisions of our draft resolution relating to the two Councils have not upset my delegation's deep-rooted convictions in this matter, and therefore my delegation is still convinced that the two draft resolutions (A/SFC/L.109 and A/EPC/L.110) should be submitted to the vote in this Committee, and it should be done this very afternoon.

Obviously, this morning we heard statements by groups or delegations which expressed -- and this for different reasons -- their opposition to our two draft resolutions. But my delegation has a great deal of difficulty in believing that those delegations will continue to remain insensitive to the weight of our arguments and the justice of our claims.

Mr. DEALLO Telli (Guinea) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, the representative of Guinea has informed you, through the Secretariat, that he was not in a position to make his statement at the present time because of the decision just made to hold a meeting of the African group at this time; and secondly, because of information about the Latin American group which is still meeting. I would therefore like to ask your forgiveness, but I cannot make my statement before receiving information from the African group and, secondly, from the Latin American group.

Mr. LEKIC (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation has followed the question of equitable representation in the organs of the United Nations with careful attention and interest since it first appeared on the agenda of our Organization at the

(Mr. Lekic, Yugoslavia)

eleventh session. From that time up to the present, this problem has become more and more urgent and an adequate solution for it has become a prerequisite for further effective and successful work, not only of the organs concerned but also of our Organization as a whole. A confirmation of this in fact is the importance and place which has been attributed to the problem of representation in the main organs, namely, in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, at previous sessions of the General Assembly, as well as by the Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter.

In addition, this problem has been considered by the Bandung Conference, as well as by two other important and historical international conferences: the Belgrade Conference of the Heads of State of the Non-Aligned Countries in 1961, and the Conference of the Heads of State of the African Countries in Addis Ababa in 1963. In this connexion, the participants of the Belgrade Conference stated the following in their Declaration:

"The participating countries consider it essential that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, through the revision of the Charter, find a solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council in order to bring the composition and work of these two most important organs of the General Assembly into harmony with the needs of the Organization and with the expanded membership of the United Nations."

The Addis Ababa Conference itself passed a resolution demanding a just and equitable representation of Africa in the principal organs of the United Nations.

In keeping with these conclusions, the elaboration of which the Yugoslav Government either participated in, or supported, my delegation is striving for the best possible and speediest solution to the problem of enlarging the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the General Committee, as it has done at previous sessions which dealt with this problem. Following with special interest the development of this problem at this year's session, and in our Committee as well, the Yugoslav delegation is pleased to note the fact that the justified request for a solution to the problem has met not only with general recognition but also with the readiness to

(Mr. Lekic, Yugoslavia)

solve it as soon as possible and, if feasible, by the end of the present session. The maximum efforts being exerted to this end, are the best guarantee that a final solution will be arrived at. Thereby a serious injustice to the newly-independent countries who through no fault of their own were absent when our Organization was being formed, will have been rectified. The fulfilment of their right to be more adequately represented in the United Nations organs will equalize their duties with their high responsibilities. This will assuredly contribute towards more effective work by our Organization, to strengthening its prestige and consolidating the foundations upon which it rests.

For all these reasons, and guided by its long-standing attitude to this problem, the Yugoslav delegation co-sponsored the draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101), and will vote in favour of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/SPC/L.109 and A/SPC/L.110. At the same time my delegation will vote in favour of the amendments contained in documents A/SPC/L.107 and A/SPC/L.108.

We are firmly convinced that all these resolutions will represent an important result of the efforts made so far to find a definitive and lasting solution to an important and very vital problem for our Organization.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The next speaker on my list is Mr. Chang, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. CHANG (China): Mr. Chairman, as the presiding officer of the Committee, you are under obligation to address me as the representative of China. I deplore the discourtesy you have shown.

I should like to make the position of my delegation clear in regard to the various proposals that are before the Committee. Let me say at the very outset that my delegation has for years stressed the necessity and urgency of giving adequate representation to new Member States on the principal organs of the United Nations. In our view, the growing importance of Asia and Africa should and must be adequately reflected in the composition and membership of such important organs as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

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44-45

(Mr. Chang, China)

So long as the international situation continues to be unfavourable for a general Charter review, the only solution to this problem is by Charter amendment as provided for under Article 108.

(Mr. Chang, China)

The Soviet Union has persistently been opposed to this. This opposition has been reiterated this morning by the Soviet delegation. Once again an irrelevant issue has been brought in to support the untenable Soviet position. We should not let a group of people outside the United Nations dictate what we should or should not do here. The fact is that the Soviet Union is not interested in giving the new Member States what is obviously their due. It is only concerned with the interests of the Soviet bloc. Instead of favouring enlargement of the Councils, the Soviet representative continues to harp on the theme of redistributing existing seats. My delegation believes that altogether too much time has already been wasted on persuading the Soviet Union to change its mind. We are of the opinion that if the Committee really wants to amend the Charter, it should proceed to do so without further delay. Let us adopt the necessary amendments first and worry about ratification later. It is gratifying to note that an increasing number of delegations now share this view.

We have before us two sets of draft resolutions, one set submitted by the Latin-American Powers in regard to the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and another set submitted by the Afro-Asian Powers. There are also various amendments to the draft resolutions. It seems quite clear that the major geographic groups are in full agreement so far as enlargement of the Councils is concerned. There is considerable difference, however, in regard to the size of the enlargement, and the manner in which the seats should be distributed after the enlargement is made. In these last hours of the present session of the General Assembly, it is unlikely that a satisfactory agreement could be reached between the various groups. Hasty action may do more harm than good. My delegation is inclined to believe that it is the better part of wisdom for the sponsors of the various resolutions not to press for a vote on their drafts at the present time. We believe that time is needed to work out a satisfactory solution for all parties. My delegation favours and continues to favour speedy action. But the speedy action should not be achieved at the expense of good judgement and mature consideration.

(Mr. Chang, China)

The fifty-four-Power draft resolution in regard to the question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly has the support of my delegation. We believe that the allocation of seats contemplated by the draft is, on the whole, well considered and equitable. We cannot, however, give our support to the amendment submitted by Czechoslovakia and Poland. To make the election of the President subject to geographic distribution in so rigid a manner is to destroy the impartiality and disinterestedness associated with the office of the President. This would tend to affect adversely the prestige and authority of the Presidential office.

Mr. PRANDLER (Hungary): Ever since the Hungarian People's Republic has become a Member of the United Nations, my delegation has consistently advocated those ideas and organizational measures which help the newly independent countries just emerging from colonial and imperialist domination to get their due representation and greater say in conducting the activities and life of this Organization.

My delegation is fully aware of the fact that the rapid increase in the membership and essential changes in international relations would certainly necessitate a more equitable representation in a number of organs of the United Nations.

While we resolutely do our best to promote and foster the aims and goals of the newly independent and developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, we are also bound to safeguard the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter. It means that we cannot proceed to solve this grave problem of under-representation unless the respective provisions of the Charter are duly honoured. That is why we have joined those delegations which upheld their determined opposition to any revision of the Charter without the consent of one of the permanent members of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China.

There is no doubt that the blame for the delay and filibustering of this long-overdue revision lies with those who do not want to take into account the judgement and opinion of the People's Republic of China, which is a permanent member of the Security Council, and who do their utmost to bar the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations.

(Mr. Prandler, Hungary)

The Committee will certainly recall that my delegation, together with many others, has always tried to find a workable solution for equitable representation in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council. We did so because our region, Eastern Europe, itself is under-represented in several organs of the United Nations, and it is even often denied its lawful seat in the Security Council. It is no wonder, therefore, that proposals have been advanced to settle the matter on a temporary basis by reaching agreement on a new distribution of the seats of non-permanent members of the Security Council and of seats in the Economic and Social Council. That is why the Hungarian delegation supports the position explained by the representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Fedorenko in his statement of 10 December 1963 and in the statement made today, giving a realistic appraisal of the situation, that there is no choice but to redistribute the given non-permanent seats of the Security Council and the seats in the Economic and Social Council. This stand is based on the desire to help the emerging nations of Africa and Asia to have more equitable representation on the one hand, and to observe strictly the spirit and letter of the Charter on the other.

In spite of the fact that the Hungarian delegation would also be pleased if the enlargement of the United Nations organs could take place in strict observance of the Charter provisions, we are of the opinion that the above-mentioned proposal constitutes the only realistic approach at present.

(Mr. Prandler, Hungary)

It is an undeniable fact that the rapid increase in membership would necessitate an increase in the seats of the organs in question. But, as is well known, this increase would involve a revision of the Charter in accordance with the provisions of Article 108 of the Charter. And then the question inevitably arises: who would ratify this amendment? Here we are again confronted with a question of the greatest significance. Should it perhaps be the Kuomintang clique of Taiwan that will ratify the amendment? There is no doubt any such so-called ratification would be null and void. On the other hand, recognition of such ratification would only mean the abandonment of our incessant fight for the rightful representation of the People's Republic of China. Furthermore, such recognition would advance the cause of those who are in favour of the false conception of the two Chinas. That is why it is not the act of representation which is linked to the restoration of the rightful place of the Chinese People's Republic, but it is the very procedure of ratification of any amendment which should necessitate the solution of the rightful representation of all the permanent members of the Security Council.

If we were to act contrary to the provisions of the Charter, it would further weaken the United Nations -- which, I am sure, is not the intention of those who submitted the draft resolutions calling for the enlargement of these two important organs of the United Nations.

As for these draft resolutions, my delegation will vote against them, taking into account the above-mentioned considerations.

It is our firm belief that the best way to eliminate the inevitable impasse would be to withdraw these drafts and to allow time for further consultations. That would be the only realistic assessment of the situation at present.

As far as the draft resolution contained in document A/SPC/L.101 is concerned, on the composition of the General Committee, the Hungarian delegation will vote for it in order to increase the membership of that body without delay. In that connexion, the Hungarian delegation warmly supports the amendment by Poland and Czechoslovakia in its final wording.

Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (interpretation from French): I wish to make a brief statement in order to clarify the position of my delegation on the draft resolutions and amendments which have been submitted.

As regards the draft resolutions relating to the question of equitable representation on the Security Council and on the Economic and Social Council, documents A/SPC/L.109 and A/SPC/L.110, my delegation would like to support everything that has been said by the representative of Iraq. Indeed, the representative of Iraq established the position of my delegation, particularly concerning the fact that the Arab countries should have a seat of their own in the Security Council.

Still on the subject of these draft resolutions, for which my delegation will vote, I should like to point out that, since my Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of China in the United Nations, and since the rights of that Government should be restored in the United Nations, my delegation enters the most express reservations concerning a ratification by China which would not emanate from the Government of the People's Republic of China. In view of this fact, and with this reservation, my delegation, as I have said, will vote in favour of the aforementioned draft resolutions.

As for the draft resolution on the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly, my delegation will naturally vote in favour of it, since it is a co-sponsor of the draft. However, we also accept the idea expressed in the amendment submitted by the delegations of Poland and Czechoslovakia in document A/SPC/L.107; we consider that all regions named in that amendment should be considered as having an interest in offering a President to the General Assembly. My delegation will vote in favour of this amendment in its final form.

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My delegation has always felt that it was necessary to expand the main organs of the United Nations in order to comply with the requirement of equitable representation in these organs, both from the point of view of the expansion of the membership of the General Assembly and from the point of view of equitable geographical distribution. However, there is also another aspect, which is equally important -- that of bringing into these main organs of the United Nations the new spirit which a great number of newly independent countries have brought to the United Nations and which has been reflected in the General Assembly. That enlivening new spirit of the new countries should be equally reflected in those main organs of the United Nations -- the Security Council, the General Committee, and the Economic and Social Council. That is why my delegation has joined with the other Afro-Asian countries in sponsoring the three draft resolutions contained in documents A/SFC/L.101, A/SFC/L.109 and A/SFC/L.110. Obviously, as a co-sponsor, we support these draft resolutions.

Now, with regard to the amendments: As to the amendment by the Latin American countries, contained in document A/SFC/L.108, it is our understanding that this matter has been considered, and I reserve my right to speak about it later. As regards the amendment contained in document A/SFC/L.107, touching upon the election of the President of the General Assembly, we are very happy to see the Nigerian sub-amendment to that amendment, which makes it clear that the election of the President will not be decided mainly by the geographic consideration, but that other aspects which are so important in the function of the Presidency should be considered. It has been very pertinently pointed out by the representative of the United States that the functions of the President of the General Assembly are particularly international in their character and should be so in order that these functions may be carried out in the sense of the Charter. That is why, in the Charter and in the rules of procedure, there is no mention of any representative distribution in connexion with the functions of the President of the General Assembly. Of course, all other considerations being equal, great regard should be paid to equitable geographic representation in the taking over of these important functions.

This, in a few words, is our position on the various drafts. I will take up no more of the time of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The representative of Canada has asked for the floor on a point of order.

Mr. CHAPDELAIN (Canada): In view of the importance of the discussion which this Committee held this morning, I should like to propose that the proceedings of this morning's session be reproduced and circulated verbatim in the same manner as is generally done for the first Committee. My proposal would, consequently, imply a revision of the request made this morning by the representative of the United Arab Republic regarding the circulation of the statements made by the permanent members of the Security Council.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The representative from Canada has asked that the discussion which took place this morning be reproduced in full in the verbatim records of our meeting. Is there any objection to this?

Mr. BUDO (Albania) (interpretation from French): I have no objection, Mr. Chairman, to the request just made by the representative of Canada. But it would perhaps be fairer to publish in extenso all the statements made both this morning and this afternoon. I understand the importance of the statements made by the permanent members, but there were other statements made this morning, and why should we draw any distinction between those made this morning and those made this afternoon? I believe it would only be fair, if the Committee agrees, of course, to decide to publish in extenso all of the statements made today.

Mr. CHAPDELAIN (Canada) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, I whole-heartedly support the request of our colleague from Albania.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The representatives of Canada and Albania have proposed that all of today's discussions should be reproduced verbatim in the records of our Committee. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that this proposal has the approval of the Committee.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I now give the floor to the representative of Iraq in exercise of his right of reply.

Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): My colleague the Ambassador of the Ivory Coast seems to have misunderstood some remarks I made this morning. I expressed some doubts about the advisability of having a special mention in any resolution of a non-geographical group, such as that of the Commonwealth. I said that in practice there can be no doubt that at least one Commonwealth country would be represented on the General Committee. I want the same thing to be understood with regard to the representation of the Arab States on the Security Council. I did not advocate that there should be a specific mention of the Arab States in the draft resolution proposing the enlargement of the Security Council, in document A/SPC/L.109. Had I done so, then perhaps I could have been accused of being inconsistent with what I had said regarding the Commonwealth -- though I happen to believe that, unlike the Commonwealth, the Arab States form a distinct geographical unit, homogeneous, bound together by formal legal and political ties, as well as deep-rooted historical and cultural ties, that cannot be dissolved. As I said, I did not ask for a specific mention of the Arab States in the draft resolution regarding the Security Council; but I expressed the hope -- indeed the conviction -- that at least one Arab State, whether from Africa or from Asia, will be on the Security Council and will have one of the five seats envisaged for the countries of Asia and Africa on that Council.

It is true that the Arab States happen to be situated in both Asia and Africa. But that is not a barrier at all. They have existed in those two continents from time immemorial. And besides, the fact that there is a specific mention of this or that continent in the United Nations does not in any way create or impose a barrier against one people.

But there is another reason why we feel justified in asking that at least one of the seats allocated to the continents of Asia and Africa be allocated to an Arab State. It should be noted that in resolution A/SPC/L.109, the "gentlemen's agreement" reached in 1946 in respect of the seats to be allocated

(Mr. Pachachi, Iraq)

to Eastern Europe, to Latin America, to Western Europe, and to the Commonwealth -- in this instance referred to as "other States" -- that "gentlemen's agreement" of 1946 regarding the number of seats to be given to these regions has been kept intact and, in fact, reaffirmed in the resolution contained in document A/SPC/L.109. And what was the agreement that was reached in 1946? The agreement was that there should be two non-permanent seats for Latin America, one seat for Eastern Europe, one seat for Western Europe, one seat for the Commonwealth, and one seat for the Middle East. But now we are entitled to ask why it is that the seats that were the subject of the "gentlemen's agreement" in 1946 with regard to Eastern Europe, Latin America, Western Europe and the Commonwealth -- which is referred to here as "other States" -- are reaffirmed, but the seat of the Middle East was somehow lost and not reaffirmed. I think we would be justified in asking that the seat to which the Middle East was entitled in 1946 should be treated in the same way as the other seats that were allocated to the various regions in 1946. But we have not asked that. We have not asked that in order to maintain the solidarity of the Asian and African States. We agreed that, instead of a specific mention of the Middle East seat, it should be counted among the five seats to be given to Africa and Asia.

But is it too much to ask -- not in a formal resolution, but in a statement made on behalf of seven Arab States of the Middle East, that do not happen to be sponsors of this draft resolution -- is it too much to ask that these seven States should make a formal declaration to the effect that at least one seat from among the five given to the countries of Asia and Africa should be given to an Arab country?

(Mr. Pachachi, Iraq)

In view of the fact that the practice accepted in 1946 and reaffirmed here should also be reaffirmed in respect of the Middle East seat, in view of the fact that the number of the Arab States entitles them to at least one seat on the Security Council, in view of the fact that here we have a group of States which are geographically contiguous and which are bound by strong political, historical and cultural ties, wanting to be assured of one seat on the Security Council but not going to the length of insisting on a specific mention either of their region or of themselves as Arab States but making a declaration expressing the hope and the conviction that among the five seats one will be reserved for the Arab States -- I think that nobody can quarrel with that request, which I think is based on unassailable legal, political and historical grounds.

Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): It has only become necessary for my delegation to state its position clearly on the issues before this Committee. In doing so, I need not speak about the well-known injustice prevailing for too long concerning the representation of Member States on the organs of the United Nations, for nobody denies this injustice any more. In this connexion, I wish to emphasize only the injustice done to the countries of Asia and Africa in the United Nations.

Since the best answer to the situation of the under-representation of Asia and Africa consists of steps to be taken for increasing the number of seats, my delegation naturally supports fully the draft resolutions submitted by the countries of Asia and Africa. As far as the substance of these draft resolutions is concerned, we associate ourselves fully with it. We have taken full part in the discussions and the agreement which has resulted in submitting them to the Committee, as is known to all the countries of Asia and Africa, particularly the sponsors of these draft resolutions; and our understanding of them is the same as that of the sponsors as presented when they introduced the draft resolutions.

As far as the sponsorship of these draft resolutions is concerned, my delegation had a certain consideration which is fully understood by the sponsors, as we explained it to them -- which consideration, however, does not in any way mean any lack of support on our part for the draft resolutions.

This particular consideration meant our full support for the draft resolutions in any case but also with due regard to the possibility of reaching an agreement acceptable to all geographical groups in the United Nations by means of a more acceptable approach to the way of dealing with the question. By this we meant the possibility of further negotiations approved by all sections in the United Nations on the basis of the Asian-African draft resolutions, taking into account all other proposals and points of view submitted to the Committee at this session, in the form of a negotiating body formally appointed by the General Assembly at this session in the event that no effective decision is taken at this session.

Having clarified our position on those draft resolutions, I do not need to do the same about the draft resolution~~s~~ in document A/SPC/L.101, which we have sponsored. However, some amendments to this draft resolution have been submitted. Our position in connexion with these amendments is as follows.

We express our satisfaction that the sponsors of the amendment in document A/SPC/L.106 have decided to withdraw their amendment and thus we are relieved of any commitment -- I repeat, of any commitment -- to the Commonwealth countries as such. We consider the termination of the desire of the Commonwealth countries to demand this privilege further as another step in the direction of the elimination of the injustice represented by the enjoyment of privileges on the part of the Commonwealth countries and also on the part of the other Members of the United Nations. For their understanding of the situation, we extend to the sponsors of this amendment our feeling of deep appreciation.

With regard to the amendment in document A/SPC/L.108, my delegation has no objection to its adoption. Therefore, if it is put to a vote, we shall support it.

As for the amendment in document A/SPC/L.107, we prefer to vote for the amended form suggested by Nigeria this morning, because there are good reasons behind the sub-amendment of Nigeria, but in any case we shall not oppose it even in its present form.

As for the two draft resolutions submitted by the countries of Latin America, my delegation will state its position at a later stage.

Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): Agenda items 12 and 82, which are now before us, are indeed very unfortunate items. They have been before this body since the eleventh session. They are intended to find ways and means which would help in achieving adequate representation in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council.

We need not press the point that the United Nations today is reaching universality. Whereas the Members of the United Nations, when the Charter was drafted and when what is known as the London "gentleman's agreement" was reached, did not exceed fifty-one in number, today we have one hundred and eleven Members, with two additional Members to be admitted next week.

(Mr. El-Farra, Jordan)

We all seem to be in complete agreement that the new Members are under-represented in the two Councils. The disagreement among the Members, however, is as to how to remedy such a defect. We have heard Members call for redistribution of seats in a manner which would reflect the Membership of the United Nations as it is and would meet the provision calling for equitable geographic representation as stipulated in the Charter.

Many Members insist that we should not consider the idea of redistribution, but should give careful attention to the idea of enlargement -- which needs revision of the Charter and which is, they maintain, the only practical and reasonable solution. Other Members, the Soviet Union in particular, refer to many inadequacies in the past practice of the United Nations. They cite examples and offer to remind us that ever since the United Nations was created, not a single President of the eighteen sessions of the General Assembly was elected from the Socialist countries. They say that the London gentlemen's agreement was violated and many times ignored when the East European seat in the Security Council was usurped for so many years.

In this context the USSR once more raises another unfortunate question -- the Chinese question. Finally, Mr. Fedorenko of the Soviet Union made it clear that the People's Republic of China objected to enlargement of the Councils and that, until its admission to the United Nations, redistribution is the solution; and that being the case, the USSR supports this position.

All these positions are not new to the United Nations. Representation has been the problem ever since its first inscription as an item on our agenda at the eleventh session. It was not surprising to my delegation, therefore, to hear the clear observations made by the representative of the Soviet Union on this matter. This position is consistent with the previous positions of the Soviet Union in this connexion.

We are not sitting here for the purpose of passing judgements on the positions of Governments. This does not help to find a solution to our present problem. Whether we, the new Members, like it or not, no enlargement is possible without a revision of the Charter. And no revision is valid unless it is endorsed and subsequently ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council. This is a vested right embodied in our Charter, and in attempting to find a solution the positions of the five permanent members are to be taken into consideration.

(Mr. El-Farra, Jordan)

Of course, my delegation maintains and would like to emphasize the point that the representation of China is not a sub-item now before us. We agree that we should confine our deliberations to the specific agenda item before us. However, we cannot ignore the position taken by a Power which has the key to the enlargement. And while we are not here to find a solution to the Chinese question, we must realize that this is a position taken by a permanent member of the Security Council every since this item was first inscribed.

On the other hand, it would be unfair to have the new Members attempt to achieve their aspirations through the cold war gate with its many obstacles and complexities. Their problem is not, and should not be a cold war issue. By admitting new Members, the United Nations assumed an obligation to give every one of them equitable representation in all its organs, including the Security Council and ECOSOC.

In this connexion, permit me to say that the London gentlemen's agreement was reached at a time when many Powers were also responsible for administering non-self-governing territories mostly in Asia and Africa. This being the case, the seats were given to them in their dual capacities in order to secure equitable geographic distribution. Since most of those ex-colonies and non-self-governing territories are now with us as equal Members of the United Nations, those Administering Authorities can no longer claim the extra seats which they had been given in 1946 when they were responsible for many Asian and African territories. Moreover, the increase in Membership calls for redistribution and enlargement wherever it is possible and practicable.

We feel that it would be pointless to set in motion and divert our attention to a procedure of ratification when we know very well that one of the veto members intends to block its amendment. Therefore, we earnestly hope that the Soviet Union will find it possible to co-operate with us in finding a solution to this problem. We cannot make this problem dependent on other unrelated questions. Right of representation in all organs of the United Nations and among all Members of the Organization is not a conditional right; it does not depend on the admission of new Members or the accreditation of any particular Member. To have other Members deprived of their vested right of equitable representation in all Councils until a certain issue is solved reflects on the effectiveness of this body and the responsibility of its Members.

(Mr. El-Farra, Jordan)

To summarize our position on the many draft resolutions and amendments before us, we would like to state that we are a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on the composition of the General Committee of the Assembly (A/SFC/L.101). We hope that this draft resolution, together with the Latin American amendment will be adopted unanimously.

The amendment submitted by Czechoslovakia and Poland as revised requests that the Presidency should rotate every year among six regions. We have heard some Members oppose this amendment on the ground that it would lead to rigid automatic regional rotation and would affect the requirement of high qualifications and the possibility of choosing the best man. In other words, we were reminded not to walk into a kind of group politics.

We have given every consideration to these points. We believe that fairness and practical wisdom should be the factors determining whether or not the amendment is needed. The practice of the United Nations during the last eighteen years vis-à-vis this question should also be examined in order to see whether such an amendment is justifiable. It is clear to my delegation that, during the last eighteen years -- that is, since the creation of the United Nations -- not one President has been chosen from Eastern Europe. We refuse to believe that the candidates from Eastern Europe were not qualified to meet the required criteria, or that the region itself could not offer such a candidate. Moreover, we have noticed that the London gentlemen's agreement of 1946 was not given due regard and equitable implementation. This being the case, and considering all the surrounding circumstances, we feel it is necessary to adopt the Czechoslovak-Polish amendment as revised by Nigeria, in order to safeguard the rights of all regions.

(Mr. El-Farra, Jordan)

As to the draft resolutions submitted by thirty-seven African and Asian States on the enlargement of the two Councils, we are fully in favour of these two drafts, and we shall vote in favour of them when they are put to the vote.

As to our share in the new distribution, being a member of the group of States belonging to the League of Arab States, our position was very ably explained by the representative of Iraq, and we need not at this stage of our deliberations add anything to what has already been stated on this question.

Mr. ASTAPENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The Byelorussian SSR delegation considers it necessary to make a brief statement of its position on the question under discussion and the proposals related to it.

Since the time when the United Nations was set up, great changes have occurred in the world -- changes in the relations of forces on the international scene. We have seen the growth and strengthening of a world socialist system; the irreversible stream of the national liberation movements, which have cleared away in many regions of the world the colonial regimes, to be replaced by young States. Changes have occurred in the membership of the United Nations as well. The membership over this period has more than doubled. The number of socialist countries of the United Nations has also doubled.

In 1945 the African continent was represented in the United Nations, as is well known, by three States. Now they number thirty-two. The appearance of young developing States is a result of the collapse of the colonial system and is inseparably linked with the victory of the forces of peace over fascism at the end of the Second World War, to the formation of the world socialist system, to the growth of the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples, to the contribution of socialist States to the cause of the freedom of colonial peoples and countries and to the formation of young independent States.

We have always believed in the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and to the setting up of independent States. Throughout the years of the existence of the United Nations, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have unswervingly expressed themselves in favour of the speedy liquidation of colonialism and all its sad consequences. It is precisely the Soviet Union

(Mr. Astapenko, Byelorussian SSR)

which took the initiative for the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. As is well known, the birth of many young States is linked with this Declaration, and we have welcomed these States as full Members of the United Nations.

With the full and immediate implementation of this Declaration we have the emergence of new States. The socialist countries, for their part, have always based themselves on the premise that the new States, regardless of their size, geographical position and history, are fully sovereign and equal, and their rights must be respected. We are very sympathetic to the yearnings of the young independent States for equitable representation in the principal organs of the United Nations. We have always tried to see to it that the activities of the United Nations took due account of the interests of all its Members and that the Organization should reflect the existence of the three groups of States in the world. It is only in this way that the United Nations can function effectively as an international organization.

In order to improve the activities of the United Nations, great importance should be attached to the improvement of its structure. We want to see the Organization become a vigorous international organ capable of playing an important role in assuring co-operation among all States. This is precisely what dictates the desire of the socialist countries with respect to the reorganization of the principal organs of the United Nations on the basis of the equality of States and taking due account of the realistic balance of forces on the international scene.

With respect to the question of taking due account of the interests of all Member States and representation in the organs of the United Nations, and particularly in its principal organs, we cannot fail to point out the totally anomalous situation in which discrimination is permitted against one or another Member State in violation of their rights and interests.

In this connexion, I would like to recall that at the sixth session of the General Assembly, when the candidacy of the Byelorussian SSR was proposed by the Eastern European States for a non-permanent seat on the Security Council, after more than twenty ballots it was Greece who was elected in its place. This was clearly in violation of our rights and interests.

(Mr. Astapenko, Byelorussian SSR)

Furthermore, for many years now the non-permanent seats in the Security Council which belong to the countries of Eastern Europe have unfairly been apportioned to the Western countries. This is carried out only against us, the Eastern European countries. Is this admissible? Is this fair? After all, it is an act of discrimination.

Let us turn to the question of the election of the President of the General Assembly. This question, of course, is not a new one, but it is a fact that from the time the Organization was set up, candidates from socialist countries have not yet been elected to the Presidency of the General Assembly, while some regions of the world have occupied this post more than once, which is unfair.

(Mr. Astapenko, Byelorussian SSR)

It is necessary also to put an end to the anomalous situation by which the rights of the great Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations have still not been restored. A solution of the question of the expansion of the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council requires changes in the Charter of the United Nations, and this is only possible by the restoration of the legitimate rights within the Organization of the Chinese People's Republic in accordance with a strict observance of the provisions of the Charter.

Under the present circumstances, the only practical possibility is a redistribution of the existing seats in both Councils. Basing ourselves on the changes which have taken place in the world, we believe that it would be expedient to replace the gentleman's agreement of 1946 by another agreement on the redistribution of the non-permanent seats in the Security Council in such a way as to ensure that each of the six fundamental geographic regions in the world -- Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Latin America and the Middle East -- would hold one seat each in the Security Council. In our view, it would be possible also to solve on this basis the problem of the redistribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council.

As for the General Committee, my delegation considers that in this case there is no justification for a postponement of the solution of this problem. Of course, both in the composition of the General Committee and in the question of the election of the officers of the General Assembly there should be no place for discrimination against any States.

Basing ourselves on what we have said, the Byelorussian delegation will vote for the draft resolution on expanding the membership of the General Committee, with the amendment submitted by the delegations of Poland and Czechoslovakia. With regard to the draft resolutions on the increase in the number of non-permanent seats in the Security Council and the increase in the number of seats in the Economic and Social Council, my delegation believes that it would be advisable not to put this to the vote. If, however, they are put to the vote, my delegation will vote against them.

Mr. JARGALSAIKHAN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): Since the United Nations Charter was adopted great changes have occurred not only in the United Nations but in the world as a whole. The collapse of the colonial system and the emergence of new independent States in Africa and Asia, with their resultant entry into the international scene, as well as the emergence of the Socialist countries, could not fail to change the balance of power in the world. In accordance with this, there have been great and substantial changes within the Organization itself. It would be natural, therefore, for these changes to be duly reflected in the structure of the United Nations on the basis of the proposals of the Afro-Asian countries.

The eighteenth session of the General Assembly is now considering the question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly and the equitable representation of States in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. The Mongolian delegation has paid close attention to the documents relating to the substance of this question and also to the draft resolutions which have been submitted.

With regard to ensuring equitable representation in the membership of the bodies of the United Nations, the Mongolian delegation would like to refer to the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic who, speaking at a plenary meeting of the present session of the General Assembly on 1 October, said:

"The Mongolian delegation fully shares the opinion of the representatives of the Afro-Asian countries regarding the necessity for changing the structure of some United Nations bodies, considering it, as we do, a measure properly responsive to the realities of today." (1223rd meeting, p. 41)

The present structure of the United Nations cannot be said to be satisfactory since it does not fully reflect the position as it now exists in the United Nations. Therefore, demands have been made for changes in the existing structure of the United Nations in order to ensure an equitable distribution of representation of the Afro-Asian countries. In this connexion, the Mongolian delegation supports the draft resolution of the Afro-Asian countries on the composition of the General Committee contained in document A/SPC/L.101, together with the revised wording of the amendment submitted to this draft resolution, A/SPC/L.107.

(Mr. Jargalsaikhan, Mongolia)

With regard to a more adequate representation of the Afro-Asian countries in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, this can be brought about either through an expansion in the membership of these bodies or by a redistribution of the existing seats. However, an increase in the membership would mean a revision of the structure of the primary organs of the United Nations, and this would require a review of the Charter itself, since the membership of these organs is laid down in Article 23 of the Charter. Accordingly, changes in the membership of these organs would require changes also in the corresponding articles of the Charter.

With regard to a revision of these articles, if amendments were submitted then the question would naturally arise that the necessary conditions for this did not exist. Under the provisions of the Charter, a review of the Charter requires the participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council, and, therefore, the absence of one of the permanent members of the Security Council, the Chinese People's Republic, makes it impossible to decide this question at the present time, since Article 108 lays down that it is necessary to have the participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council in deciding questions connected with a revision of the Charter. Everyone here well knows that today one could not see any success in a conference to review the Charter, and, as we also see, the People's Republic of China disapproves of the question of amending the Charter to increase the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations

In the light of these circumstances, the Mongolian delegation cannot vote in favour of the draft resolutions calling for an amendment of the Charter. At the same time, my delegation will support the proposal designed to seek an acceptable way of solving these problems at the moment in the form of a new agreement for a redistribution of the seats of the non-permanent members of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council.

The Mongolian delegation expresses the hope that this important question will be solved successfully within the framework of the provisions of the Charter. A settlement of this particular problem would definitely help the efficiency of the activities of the United Nations, which is supposed to be the primary instrument for the maintenance of world peace.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of the Ivory Coast in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (interpretation from French): In order that there may be no misunderstanding, my delegation would like to explain what we had in mind when we referred to the reservations made by the representative of Iraq.

We should like to say forthwith that we are grateful to the delegation of Iraq for not having submitted its reservations in the form of a draft resolution or an amendment. We understand full well the situation as it was described by the representative of Iraq. We have no doubt that, depending on the geographical location of the States on whose behalf he spoke, those States can constitute a geographical entity. That is true.

If my delegation intervened in the debate, it was merely because we thought we heard the representative of Iraq refer to the Arabs of two continents -- in other words, African and Asian. My delegation can state that at Addis Ababa the notion of North Africa was completely buried. No African would any longer even think of referring to it. We had the example of the chorus of African voices raised against Mr. Galvao when he tried to speak of North Africa, Africa south of the Sahara or South Africa.

Hence, we believe that the claims, as they have been formulated, are an internal matter which we should be able to settle among ourselves. The seats which it is intended to reserve for Africa could be distributed among ourselves, as Africans, on the basis of no other concept except the African concept.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of Iran, in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. NAYERI (Iran) (interpretation from French): In his two statements, this morning and this afternoon, Mr. Pachachi, the representative of Iraq, supported by various representatives of Arab countries, spoke of the gentleman's agreement and of the seats in the Security Council which, under that agreement, were allocated to various regions of the world. If I correctly understood him, the representative of Iraq gave the impression that the seat assigned to the

(Mr. Nayeri, Iran)

Middle East region was and continues to be an Arab seat. Since the statements made at today's meetings are to be reproduced in full, I should like to make clear my delegation's position on the point raised by the representative of Iraq.

My delegation has always felt that the seat allocated to the Middle East belongs to all the countries of that region and not to a group of specific countries. Indeed, we have always said, and I repeat, that we cannot accept a restrictive or extensive interpretation of the geographical term "Middle East".

Everyone knows that in 1946, when the notion of "Middle East" was included in the text of the well-known gentleman's agreement, that notion covered a carefully limited number of countries, among which were Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey, to which other countries of the region have been added subsequently -- such as Cyprus, since it acceded to independence.

At the same time, I should like to draw attention to the fact that since the gentleman's agreement was drafted, to my knowledge Iran and Turkey have each had one term on the Security Council, under the gentleman's agreement, filling the seat reserved for the Middle East.

I merely wished to make clear my delegation's position in this respect.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of Iraq in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): I do not want to prolong the proceedings of this Committee, but I would like to say the following.

The representative of the Ivory Coast said that the allocation of seats for the African continent will be an internal matter among the Africans. I merely want to remind him that in the draft resolution which he has co-sponsored there is no division between Asia and Africa: there are five seats for African and Asian States. Therefore, these five seats will be taken in one block. There is no such thing as so many seats for Asia and so many seats for Africa; there is no such thing, therefore, as an internal Asian question and an internal African question. If there is any internal question, it is an internal Afro-Asian question.

The representative of the Ivory Coast would not like a division among the African States. Well, we say that we would not like a division among the Afro-Asian States. The Arab States, whether they are in Africa or in Asia, are not something imaginary. They happen to be a group which is formally recognized in the United Nations. The League of Arab States is a regional organization officially recognized in the United Nations. The Arab States, whether they are in Africa or in Asia, are bound by a formal, legal agreement which is still in force.

I do not want to have a dialogue with the representative of the Ivory Coast on this question.

(Mr. Pachachi, Iraq)

There are five seats for Africa and Asia. The Security Council is being expanded from 11 to 15. There are four additional seats. The reason why we are adding four seats is in order to give representation to those States that have been admitted to the United Nations since the gentlemen's agreement of 1946 was concluded. And most of these States happen to come from Africa and Asia. But the fifth seat that is allocated to Africa and Asia, in fact reflects the one seat that was given in 1946 to that area of the Middle East which includes both parts of Asia and parts of Africa. And while I agree with the representative of Iran that the Middle East at that time was not restricted or confined to the Arab States, the fact of the matter is that the Arab States have themselves increased since 1946. We began in the United Nations with five members; we are thirteen members and we may still increase. All I said was that on behalf of seven States, which are not co-sponsors of this resolution, we express the hope, and indeed the conviction, that one of the five seats given to African and Asian States would at least belong to an Arab State -- whether it is from Africa or Asia does not matter, but at least to one of these States. I think in view of the number of the Arab States in the Organization and in view of the fact that a seat was given to the Middle East, and with all due respect to the representative of Iran, most of the countries of the Middle East happen to be Arab States. Therefore, we ask that at least one seat be given to the Arab States. If there was a mention of the Middle East, we would have been perfectly prepared to go along with it and without in any way mentioning or specifying that that seat should go to the Arab States. We would have gone along with the same spirit of the agreement of 1946. But in the absence of such a specific mention that that seat to the Middle East, instead of being mentioned as the other seats from European States, Latin American States and Western States have been mentioned, was included within the five seats from Africa and Asia, we felt that we would like to make a declaration on behalf of the seven Arab States in the Middle East, expressing the hope, and indeed the conviction that their legitimate desire would be taken into consideration when such seats are divided among the Members.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): On a point of order I give the floor to the representative of Ghana.

Mr. QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana): I beg to move formally that this meeting be adjourned until four o'clock Monday afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The representative of Ghana has proposed that we should adjourn this meeting until Monday at 4 p.m.. If I hear no objections, I shall take it that the Committee agrees with the Ghanaian proposal, and this meeting will stand adjourned.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.