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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of the Credentials Committee (concluded)*

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE
(A/5432)

1. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece), Rapporteur of the Credentials Committee (translated from French): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5432]. The Committee met on 5 June 1963. In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1203rd meeting, on 14 May 1963, the Credentials Committee consisted of the representatives of the same Member States which had served on the Committee during the seventeenth regular session.

2. The Committee had before it the memorandum by the Secretary-General on the credentials of representatives to the fourth special session of the General Assembly.

3. Paragraphs 4-18 of our report contain an account of the debate in the Committee and summarize the statements which were made.

4. Paragraph 19 sets forth the conclusions of the debate, namely that the Committee has found the credentials of all representatives in order and recommends that the General Assembly should approve its report.

5. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): As can be seen from the report of the Credentials Committee [A/

5432], during the Committee's discussion of the credentials of delegations to the fourth special session of the General Assembly the Soviet delegation opposed the approval of the credentials of the persons who unlawfully call themselves the representatives of China in the United Nations.

6. These justified objections were supported in the Committee by the representatives of Guinea and Indonesia and, in principle, by the representative of Nigeria. However, as a result of the position taken by the representative of the United States, the Committee did not adopt the proposal to regard the credentials of those persons as invalid.

7. The USSR delegation reiterates here its emphatic protest against the approval of the credentials of the group of persons still trying to pass as representatives of China.

8. The right to represent the great Chinese people in the United Nations and in its organs belongs exclusively to a delegation appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, which is the sole heritor of the rights and obligations of China, one of the founders of the United Nations.

9. The absurdity, the harmfulness, the great danger of the continued attempts of the United States to foist upon the United Nations as representatives of the Chinese people those whom the Chinese people themselves have forever driven from their soil is becoming more obvious.

10. The Chinese people, who are working actively towards a radiant socialist future and representing a great force in the world, must be legally represented in our Organization.

11. History is inexorable. No matter how stubbornly the United States insists on its position, which is illegal and contrary to the Charter, the People's Republic of China will inevitably take its place in the United Nations. The sooner this happens the better.

12. The continued exclusion of the great Chinese people from participation in the work of the United Nations can only lower, and is in fact lowering, the Organization's effectiveness.

13. The expulsion of the followers of Chiang Kai-shek and the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, a country with a population of 650 million people, are important conditions which must be met if the United Nations is to become a fully effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace and universal security.

14. In view of the fact that the report of the Credentials Committee contains completely unacceptable proposals regarding the representation of China in the United Nations and that the recommendations in this part of the report are in glaring contradiction with the provisions of the Charter as well as with rule 27

*Resumed from the 1203rd meeting.

of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, the Soviet delegation emphatically opposes this part of the Committee's report and accordingly cannot support the proposal for approval of the report.

15. Mr. HSUEH (China): My delegation supports the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5432] and will vote in favour of it. We have just heard a slanderous statement made by the Soviet delegation concerning the representation of China. The Soviet statement is no surprise. Indeed, it has no significance unless it indicates the importance which the Soviet Union attaches to the presence of my delegation in the United Nations as an impediment to Soviet designs.

16. The Soviet Union is well aware of the fact that as long as my Government stands in Taiwan as a rallying point of Chinese freedom, the political conquest of the Chinese people cannot be completed according to the plans of international communism. The Soviet Union must also feel that the presence of my delegation in the United Nations constitutes an obvious frustration in its attempt to subvert the world Organization into an instrument of Soviet policy. Let me make this very clear. My delegation certainly represents no communists, Marxists, Leninists or revisionists. But my delegation does represent China which is one of the founding Members of the United Nations.

17. The credentials of my delegation are issued by the only legitimate Government of China which is established under the Constitution freely adopted by all the people of China.

18. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America): The United States fully supports the validity of the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. Those credentials are completely in accord with rule 27 of the rules of procedure. The General Assembly has consistently upheld the right of the Government of the Republic of China, a founding Member State of this Organization, to represent the Republic of China in the United Nations. The credentials of this delegation are fully in order, and we submit that the report of the Credentials Committee is proper and should be approved.

19. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): As is well known, my Government recognizes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Government of China and therefore as the only authority competent to accredit a Chinese delegation to the United Nations. Consequently, my delegation is unable to accept the recommendation of the Credentials Committee in so far as the Chinese credentials are concerned. Our approval of the Committee's report is therefore subject to this reservation.

20. Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): The position of my delegation regarding the credentials of the representative of China and the representative of Hungary has been expressed more than once in this Assembly. His Majesty's Government of Nepal recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Government entitled to represent China in the United Nations. My delegation has worked continuously to get this legitimate recognition approved by the Assembly, and will continue to do so. My delegation recognizes the credentials of Hungary as adequate and satisfactory. My country maintains diplomatic relations with the Government of Hungary, and sees no reason why the credentials of the duly accredited representatives of that Government to this Assembly be doubted. With these two reservations,

my delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee.

21. Mr. ILIC (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee, with the reservation that its position concerning the question of the representation of China in the United Nations Organization remains unchanged.

22. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland): The fiction of Chinese representation, existing for the past thirteen years in the United Nations as the result of United States pressures, is a humiliating phenomenon and undermines the authority of our Organization. We have said many times before, and we repeat it now, that every day of further deferment of the final and positive solution of this question does a disservice to the prestige of the United Nations, prevents a settlement of urgent international problems and hinders the harmonious development of economic and political co-operation.

23. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, the credentials of those ghostly figures at present occupying the seat of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations can, by no means, be recognized as valid, as suggested in the report submitted by the Credentials Committee. We hope that it is the last decision of this kind, for it is nothing less than an expression of a policy which impairs the interests of the United Nations, and is in flagrant violation of the elementary principles of international law. For these reasons, we are unable to support the report of the Credentials Committee.

24. Mr. Mohamed RIAD (United Arab Republic): It is well known that my Government recognizes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the legal Government representing China and the people of China. My delegation should like it to be known and be on record that the only representatives of China should be those designated by the Government of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, with this reservation, my delegation will approve the report of the Credentials Committee.

25. Mr. NONG KIMNY (Cambodia) (translated from French): In voting for the report of the Credentials Committee, the Cambodian delegation wishes to make the following reservation: so far as we are concerned, the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal Government of China. Our position has long been known, and we shall work for the restoration of the People's Republic of China to its place in this Assembly.

26. My Government has also recognized the Hungarian Government, and it is subject to these two reservations that we shall vote for the report of the Credentials Committee.

27. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): In the Credentials Committee, the Guinean delegation stated clearly and unequivocally the position which the Government of Guinea has consistently held regarding representation of the Hungarian and Chinese Governments in the United Nations since 1958.

28. The Government of Guinea maintains normal diplomatic, commercial, economic and cultural relations with these two Governments.

29. In the case of Hungary, quite apart from the specific status of the relations between the Republic of Guinea and the Hungarian Government, we have been happy to note the improvement in relations be-

tween the Hungarian Government and certain Governments whose position has hitherto blocked normal recognition of the Hungarian delegation in the Assembly. We regret, therefore, that these encouraging signs, noted by all during recent sessions, have failed to materialize and that this problem, which must be satisfactorily solved in a manner compatible with the sovereign rights of the Hungarian people, has not been settled once for all at this special session.

30. Our hope, on this specific point, is that as a result of the visit that the Secretary-General is preparing to pay to Hungary this problem, which is one of the barriers, one of the obstacles, to the establishment of a proper climate of co-operation in this Assembly, will not come before the latter at its eighteenth session.

31. As regards the problem of the representation of China, our position is well known. We submit that we are guided, not by the interest of the Chinese Government, but primarily by the interest of the United Nations; we think that the United Nations is losing more than the Chinese Government as a result of the paradoxical situation which obtains today with respect to this question. We expect favourable developments on this problem, too, and I am happy to state, on the morrow of the historic Conference of Addis Ababa,^{1/} that independent and united Africa has decided to adopt, on all such points which were not discussed as separate items, a position of non-alignment or, in other words, a position which may not correspond to that of a given State but which Africa considers just.

32. Subject to these two express reservations, concerning the representation of Hungary and the representation of the People's Republic of China, the Guinean delegation will vote in favour of the report as a whole.

33. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): My Government recognizes the Government of the Central People's Republic of China as the only legitimate government of that country to be represented here in the United Nations. Therefore, our approval of the recommendation of the Credentials Committee in this Assembly should be considered, subject to this reservation.

34. Mr. SOSROWARDOJO (Indonesia): In the course of the meeting of the Credentials Committee, the delegation of Indonesia unequivocally stated its views on the question of the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China. Indonesia has recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China since 1950 and has since established diplomatic relations with that country. It recognizes that Government as the sole Government representing the peoples of China.

35. With regard to the matter of the credentials of the delegation of Hungary, my delegation has stated its views and is ready to support the credentials of this delegation to this session.

36. With these reservations, the delegation of Indonesia is in favour of and supports the report of the Credentials Committee.

37. Mr. ROUSSEAU (Mali) (translated from French): My delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee, but with the most express reservations as to the acceptance of the credentials of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek. The Government of Mali recognizes only the People's Re-

public of China, which it hopes will take its rightful place in the United Nations as soon as possible.

38. My country maintains the best of relations with the Republic of Hungary; it believes that the credentials of the Hungarian representatives are in order and that there will be no further need to consider this so-called problem in the future.

39. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): Approval of the report of the Credentials Committee by my delegation does not signify that we approve the paragraph which deals with the representation of the People's Republic of China. My Government has recognized the People's Republic of China and maintains normal and friendly diplomatic relations with it.

40. I make the same reservation with respect to the representation of Hungary at this special session. Consequently, approval of the report by the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic in no way constitutes a vote in favour of the two paragraphs relating to these two points.

41. Mr. ADEEL (Sudan): The position of the Sudan Government regarding the proper representation of China in the United Nations, which is clear on the record, remains unchanged. Subject to that reservation, my delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee.

42. Our position regarding the proper representation of Hungary also remains unchanged. My Government has diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the People's Republic of Hungary and we hold that the credentials submitted by the Hungarian delegation are in order and should be supported.

43. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in its report [A/5432, para. 21].

The draft resolution was adopted by 87 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

44. The PRESIDENT: The reservations will, of course, appear in the official records of this meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 7

Consideration of the financial situation of the Organization in the light of the report of the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations

45. Mr. QUAO (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5438].

46. The report, brief as it is, does not, in my view, call for any lengthy introduction. Following established practice, and in accordance with the wishes of the Fifth Committee, I have dispensed with the summary of the positions taken and the views expressed by various delegations which participated in the discussions at the 984th to 1005th meetings held between 15 May and 26 June 1963. All these have, of course, been fully covered in official records of the Committee.

47. The first part of this report contains summaries of four reports discussed by the Committee, namely, (a) report of the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations [A/5407 and Corr.1] and related papers [A/AC.113/1-27]; (b) the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations positions and prospects

^{1/} Conference of African Heads of State and Government, 22-25 May 1963.

[A/C.5/974]; (c) the report of the Secretary-General on the cost estimates for 1963 for the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) [A/5416], and the related report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/5421]; and (d) the report of the Secretary-General on the cost estimates for 1963 for the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) [A/5187], and the related report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/5274].

48. The record of the draft resolutions and the voting can be found in paragraphs 13 to 16 of the report. The recommendations of the Fifth Committee are to be found in paragraph 17. Since all these draft resolutions were overwhelmingly adopted by the Committee, I would recommend them to the General Assembly for its favourable action.

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

49. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision under rule 68 of the rules of procedure, interventions will be limited to explanations of vote.

50. Mr. HOUAISS (Brazil): In this explanation of vote, the Brazilian delegation wishes to place on record the following:

51. First, the seven resolutions approved by the Fifth Committee, which will shortly be brought to our consideration in this meeting, represent a substantial step towards the definition of the guide-lines which will preside over the establishment of future peace-keeping operations. Nevertheless, if an agreement on the establishment of either a permanent special formula or of a special scale of assessment for the sharing of the expenses of future peace-keeping operations is not reached during the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, Brazil reserves its right not to accept in the future the provisional and *ad hoc* solution adopted for the second part of 1963, and will insist on obtaining a less onerous share for all developing Member States.

52. Secondly, Brazil, therefore, gives utmost importance to the resolution on principles that will serve as guide-lines for the sharing of the expenses of future peace-keeping operations. Brazil believes that the present step forward will be of real use to the United Nations as a whole when, as a mathematical expression of these principles, the General Assembly adopts the special method for sharing the expenses requested in operative paragraph 2 (a) of draft resolution VII in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5438]. This special method, I repeat, can consist either of a special formula or of a special scale for any future peace-keeping operations.

53. Thirdly, in voting in favour of the said resolutions, the Brazilian delegation has not changed its traditional stand on the general problem of peace-keeping operations. In our view, the Security Council is the organ of the United Nations with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and, this being so, it is the primary, but not exclusive, organ to decide on the establishment of any peace-keeping operation. If, in trying to establish a peace-keeping operation that is deemed necessary by the Member States, the Security Council finds itself immobilized, then the General Assembly will decide on the establishment of the said peace-keeping operation.

54. Fourthly, the establishment of a special method for sharing the expenses of peace-keeping operations is, accordingly, the element that will crown the rationalization of the process that we are about to institutionalize, for this special method—either in the form of a special formula or of a special scale—will make it possible for the United Nations to make rapid decisions, without confronting Member States with the almost impossible task, as experience has proved, of agreeing, in good time, on an *ad hoc* scale of assessment for the annual budget of each peace-keeping operation.

55. Lastly, the Brazilian delegation, as a member of the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations, has done its best towards reaching the broad consensus that is seen in this special session. And in the same manner it will do its best towards reaching a fuller consensus on all questions concerning peace-keeping operations and, in particular, on the establishment of a special method for sharing the expenses of peace-keeping operations.

56. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation wishes to explain why in its view the draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee to the General Assembly [A/5438, para. 17, draft resolutions I-VII] are unacceptable.

57. Under the terms of the United Nations Charter, questions relating to action for the maintenance of international peace and security, including measures taken on the basis of Articles 43, 48 and 50 of the Charter, and related financial matters may be dealt with only by the Security Council, the organ which, according to Article 24 of the Charter, bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

58. The exclusive right of the Security Council to take decisions in such matters is confirmed by Article 11 of the Charter, which states that "Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly ...".

59. Now, not only did consideration of the questions dealt with in the draft resolutions now before the Assembly take place without the authorization of the Security Council, but these questions had not even been brought before the Council. The decision to consider them was taken by an unauthorized body, the General Assembly, under the pressure of the Western Powers, in defiance of the Charter and in circumvention of the Security Council.

60. Moreover, the actual debate on these questions also took place, not in the Security Council, as should have been the case under the Charter, but in the General Assembly, which, infringing the Charter, again exceeded its authority by encroaching upon the exclusive rights of the Security Council.

61. Finally, in violation of the Charter, and in particular of Article 11, resolutions have been submitted to the General Assembly which under the Charter only the Security Council may adopt.

62. Since all seven of the draft resolutions which the Fifth Committee has submitted to the General Assembly are in this respect a direct product of the Western Powers' policy to vitiate the United Nations Charter and circumvent the Security Council in the crucial

matter of the maintenance of international peace and security, the Soviet delegation will vote against them.

63. It is completely obvious, for example, that in the draft resolutions dealing with the financing of the United Nations operations in the Congo and the Middle East from 1 July to 31 December 1963 [draft resolutions II and III], the true intention behind the proposed decision to continue the Special and *ad hoc* Accounts for the operations and the recommendations regarding the specific ways of financing these operations is to legalize the continuation of these operations without having recourse to the Security Council.

64. But as we know, the Security Council, the only body entitled to take decisions on questions connected with the maintenance of international peace and security, took no decision to continue these operations for this particular or any other period of time.

65. What is more, as regards the operations of United Nations troops in the Congo, one of the permanent members of the Security Council, the Soviet Union, in a letter dated 2 March 1963 from its Permanent Representative to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General,^{2/} reiterated its position that United Nations troops should be removed from the Congo without delay. It is also well known that not only the Soviet Union, but another permanent member of the Security Council, France, considers the continued financing of the United Nations operations in the Congo to be illegal. Considering, furthermore, that the place of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council is illegally occupied by someone else, we see that the only proponents of a continuation of the operations of United Nations troops in the Congo are the Anglo-Saxon countries, the United States and the United Kingdom, that is to say, a minority of the permanent members of the Security Council.

66. To pretend in these circumstances that the Security Council agrees to what is being done in disregard of its exclusive competence is something which only one bent on contravening the United Nations Charter can do.

67. Further, it is clear from the draft resolution [draft resolution IV] dealing with the so-called payment of arrears in respect of contributions to the operations of United Nations troops in the Congo and the Middle East that some people still entertain the hope that the States which comply strictly with the Charter and refuse to recognize illegal decisions may yet yield to pressure and submit to imposed decisions of this sort. The Soviet delegation wishes to emphasize in this regard that such expectations are entirely illusory.

68. The Soviet Union has consistently taken the view that the operations of the United Nations troops in the Congo and the Middle East do not impose any financial obligations on States Members of the United Nations, both because these operations are not in accordance with the terms of the United Nations Charter and because the expenses involved in these operations are not expenses within the meaning of Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter.

69. The operations of United Nations troops in the Congo and the Middle East were provoked by the aggressive actions of the colonial Powers. Both operations, and especially the United Nations operation in the Congo, have become long-drawn-out affairs and

have put the Organization to considerable expense solely through the fault of the colonial Powers and their confederates, whose aims have nothing whatever to do with the maintenance of international peace and security. In this regard the Soviet delegation reiterates its position that the only just and acceptable solution of the problem would be that those same Powers should also assume the entire material responsibility for the United Nations operations in the Congo and the Middle East.

70. We cannot sacrifice principles, share responsibility with the aggressors, pay for them, pay for Belgium, for instance, which, finding support for its aggression in the Congo from "kindred spirits" and direct accomplices among the Western Powers, has become so far emboldened as to demand \$5 million from the United Nations in "compensation" solely for the military equipment at the Kamina, Kitona and Banana bases, which everyone knows the Belgian colonialists used in their aggression against the Republic of the Congo.

71. The Soviet Union does not intend to pay because the foreign companies in the Congo have deliberately prolonged the United Nations operation for reasons of profit. From the official accounts published by the Union Minière we know the fabulous profits it has made from the sufferings of the Congolese people. In only two years, from 1960 to 1962, the assets of the Union Minière rose from 12,300 to 19,600 million Belgian francs, or by 59 per cent.

72. The Soviet Union does not intend to pay because the imperialist Powers have used the United Nations operation in the Congo for the purposes of a cynical reallocation of "spheres of influence" in the Congo behind the backs of the Congolese people. The British company Tanganyika Concessions, for instance, in the same period between 1960 and 1962, squeezed out Belgian capital and took full control of the affairs of the Union Minière. It is no secret that this nominally private British company is tied to the United Kingdom Government by an agreement under which the Government has reserved for itself a priority option for the purchase of the company's shares.

73. For the same reasons the Soviet delegation also finds totally unacceptable the draft resolution [draft resolution V] concerning the extension of the period of subscription to the so-called United Nations bond issue, since it is manifestly contrary to the Charter and has the purpose of saving the faces and protecting the pockets of the aggressors and their accomplices. As has been announced, from 1963 onwards the Soviet Union will not pay that part of its contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations which is intended for the payment of the interest on or principal of the bonds.

74. As to the draft resolution [draft resolution I] dealing with the so-called general principles for the financing of some abstract future United Nations peace-keeping operations, the Soviet delegation has already pointed out that this move is nothing but an attempt to provide for the usurping of the Security Council's exclusive rights in the future as well, where United Nations peace-keeping operations are concerned.

75. Contrary to the Charter, this draft resolution provides that the financial arrangements for peace-keeping operations are to be established, not by the

^{2/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1963, document S/5249.

Security Council, but by the General Assembly, a body which is not entitled to decide such matters.

76. What is more, this draft resolution plainly encroaches on the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, which lays down that only the Security Council may adopt decisions concerning the employment of the armed forces of Members of the United Nations. These Charter provisions are simply ignored in the draft resolution, and the door is opened to attempts to usurp the rights of the Security Council in this regard also.

77. Indeed, what remains in this draft resolution of the special and primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security? To use the frank language of the document, only "the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council . . . in connexion with their contributions to the financing of peace and security operations". In other words, what emerges is, to put it mildly, a highly paradoxical picture: on the one hand an attempt is made to usurp the powers of the Security Council, and above all of its permanent members, with regard to the adoption of decisions in these matters, while on the other hand special responsibilities are placed upon these very members with respect to financial obligations.

78. The result of this attempt to sit on two stools at once can be seen clearly from another provision of this draft resolution. All that remains of the provision concerning the material responsibility of the aggressor as it was suggested, for instance, in the Working Group of twenty-one members by the delegations of the United Arab Republic, Nigeria and Cameroon is the very nebulous formula that where circumstances warrant—and the question who is to determine whether circumstances warrant or not is left unsettled—special consideration should be given to the situation of a State which is the victim of aggression. However, neither the words "aggressor" and "aggression" nor even the words "victim of aggression" are to be found anywhere in the draft resolution, which clearly also makes matters easier for the aggressor and harder for the victim.

79. It is appropriate to remind those who have found it possible to support such a "compromise" that it is not the Soviet Union, of course, that will have to bear the consequences of such "flexible" wording. It is well known that the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, who already enjoy, to put it mildly, a very dubious reputation as far as military operations on behalf of the United Nations are concerned, were the ones who hastened to explain in the Fifth Committee that even in the future operations of this kind should not be "complicated" by such things as establishing the responsibility of the aggressor, for this in their view "may raise serious practical problems".

80. With regard to the draft resolution [draft resolution VII] concerning the establishment of a so-called "peace fund", one can say that like the draft resolution on so-called "general principles" mentioned above, it shows that, for all the importance of the question of the dangerous actions of the colonial Powers against Egypt in 1956 and against the Congo, this is undoubtedly a matter of more serious, far-reaching and dangerous consequence than the outcome of these questions. The draft resolution in question would also lead to the establishment of a kind of material basis which would

make matters easier for those who wished to by-pass the Security Council in taking decisions connected with peace-keeping operations on behalf of the United Nations.

81. In this connexion, the attempt by the representatives of the Western Powers to explain now the reasons for sending United Nations troops to the Congo in 1960 invites attention. Disregarding well-known United Nations documents on the dispatch of these troops to the Congo in connexion with the aggression of the Belgian colonialists, the United States has put forward a new version of the matter which is clearly colonialist in spirit. In January this year, the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, stated the following, and these are his very words:

"First, in July 1960, when mutiny broke out in the armed forces of the Congo, when law and order broke down, when the Government was unable to gain control of the situation, . . . there was a clear threat to international peace in that huge new nation in the heart of tropical Africa."

82. Regarding the Belgian aggressors, Mr. Cleveland confirmed, as if in passing, that "the Belgians did return [to the Congo]—with paratroops—to protect their nationals".

83. The representatives of the State Department of the United States say in only a rather veiled manner what is spoken of quite openly in the Western Press today. The Washington Post, for example, said on 2 June 1963 that "the hard fact must be faced that the Congolese have tried and failed to govern themselves".

84. The most unseemly role in this inglorious field, as is well known, is played by the not unfamiliar Senator Ellender, who persists, over United States television and by other methods, in spreading his propaganda of misanthropy and racist ravings about the inability of Negroes to govern themselves. He cynically cites the shameful history of colonialism as showing that "it is always the whites who are responsible for any progress made in Africa".

85. The Western Powers subscribe to essentially the same thesis when they attempt today to revise in a light favourable to them the reasons for the dispatch of United Nations troops to the Congo in 1960, making out that the troops were sent there because the Government of the Congo showed itself incapable of controlling the situation in the country.

86. If one goes deeper, these are not of course merely exercises in the interpretation of history to the liking of the colonialists. They are an open attempt to establish the need to send troops in the name of the United Nations, but in the interests of the colonialists, to any young State which they proclaim to be incapable of governing itself.

87. The Soviet delegation will also vote against the draft resolution on the continuation of the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations [draft resolution VII], for we consider that it is contrary to the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter that any United Nations organ not empowered to do so should illegally undertake the examination of questions within the exclusive competence of the Security Council.

88. On the basis of the argument put forward the Soviet delegation is authorized to state the following:

(a) Any decisions which, contrary to the United Nations Charter and in disregard of the exclusive competence of the Security Council, are designed to make it compulsory for States Members of the United Nations to share the costs of financing the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and the United Nations Operation in the Congo, if adopted by the present session of the General Assembly, can have no binding legal force for States Members of the United Nations.

(b) It is just and lawful to place all material responsibility with regard to the operations already mentioned upon the Powers which are to blame for the situation which has arisen in the Congo and those guilty of aggression in the Middle East.

(c) From 1963 onwards, the Soviet Union will not pay that part of its contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations which is intended for the payment of interest on the principle of the so-called United Nations bonds issued to cover the costs of the operations in the Middle East and the Congo, since a requirement to these costs is contrary to the United Nations Charter.

(d) Questions relating to the method of financing the operations of armed forces acting on behalf of the United Nations may in the future be decided in each specific case, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, only by the Security Council.

(e) From 1963 onwards, the Soviet Union will not make any contributions to cover the following items of expenditure in the regular budget of the United Nations, where funds are allocated for measures taken in violation of the Charter or taken unnecessarily: the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; the Memorial Cemetery in Korea; the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine and the so-called United Nations Field Service.

(f) The Soviet Union is participating and is ready to participate further in technical assistance by sending Soviet experts, supplying Soviet equipment and so forth, but we do not intend to pay for the delivery of materials and the missions of experts from other countries, and in particular the United States of America. In 1963, the Soviet Union will pay its share of the \$6.4 million, that is to say a little more than \$1.1 million; however, it will pay not in foreign but in Soviet currency. These funds for technical assistance can be used to pay for Soviet experts, Soviet equipment, and so forth.

89. The Soviet delegation considers it necessary to stress as strongly as possible that in its practical activities the Soviet Union will continue to adhere in the future to a position of strict observance of the United Nations Charter and the lofty principles of our Organization. Attempts to put pressure on the Soviet Union in order to force it to reconcile itself to the violation of basic provisions of the United Nations Charter, a policy of blackmail and threats against us, never could and never can end in anything but failure.

90. Explaining how unjustifiable were the attempts of certain States to impose unlawful decisions on the Soviet Union through the voting machinery of the United Nations General Assembly, N. S. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government, said in his speech of 7 October 1960:

"The principle of a majority, which you set at two-thirds in deciding controversial questions, is entirely acceptable within a country, when internal questions are being settled—political, economic and other. But here we are dealing with a complex international question. This question is being decided by the countries belonging to the United Nations. This is not a parliament, but an international forum created to decide questions in such a way that the decision will not harm a single Member State of this forum.

"... Consequently, you should not abuse your temporary majority in the United Nations so as to impose your decisions on the minority, because, I repeat, this is not a parliament. Here we discuss not the internal problems of this or that country, but international problems, respecting the sovereignty of each country and the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States. This must be borne in mind and taken as a starting point. Then a just solution to the problem will be found."

91. The situation with which the United Nations is faced today is not a financial crisis for the Organization but merely the financial expression of the political failure which the colonial Powers have already encountered in their violations of the United Nations Charter, and an augury of the still greater failure which inevitably awaits the colonial Powers if they continue to follow the path of suppression of national liberation movements and the path of violation of the United Nations Charter.

92. Mr. KPONVI (Togo) (translated from French): Two days ago, when the Fifth Committee voted on the various draft resolutions before it, the Togolese delegation stated that at that stage it could not take part in the voting. We are now glad to announce that we are prepared to support the draft resolutions which the Committee has recommended to the General Assembly.

93. Our little country is one of the smallest; nevertheless, we wish by this gesture, symbolically and in token of our good faith, to make our modest contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations, to the development of an international community that is more cohesive, more dynamic, indeed more enterprising and more effectively dedicated to the rights and well-being of man, as well as to the defence and safeguarding of international peace and the security of all Member States; in short, an organization which truly seeks a better world.

94. Although the Togolese delegation may have certain reservations with regard to operative paragraph 1 (e) of draft resolution I concerning general principles to serve as guidelines for the sharing of the costs of future peace-keeping operations, it will vote in favour of the seven draft resolutions contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5438, para. 17]. In so doing, the Togolese delegation wishes once again to affirm before the entire world assembled here the ardent faith of the Government and people of Togo in the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter, our devotion to those principles and ideals, and our solid confidence in the Organization itself.

95. Mr. BARROS-CONTI (Peru) (translated from Spanish): My delegation wishes to state the position of the Government of Peru on the vote which is about to be taken in the Assembly and, at the same time, to explain its votes in the Fifth Committee [1004th

meeting], where it cast two votes in favour and abstained five times.

96. With regard to its abstentions on draft resolutions II and III [A/5438, para. 17], which relate to the costs of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the United Nations Operation in the Congo, my delegation wishes to point out that, in once again abstaining today, it will simply be maintaining its traditionally established position.

97. The Government of Peru is not in favour of continuing indefinitely to increase the financial obligations of Member States, many of which, like my own country, experience serious difficulties in assuming special economic burdens.

98. On the other hand, the Peruvian delegation has pleasure in announcing that it will now vote for draft resolution IV instead of abstaining, for until this morning we had no instructions from our Government which, as it does every year at this time, is now preparing the national budget and making provision for the payment of its arrears in the estimates for the coming year.

99. The Government of Peru therefore favours the idea of arranging facilities for payment by instalment, in accordance with agreements to be reached with the Secretary-General. My delegation is also pleased to announce that it will vote in favour of the other three draft resolutions.

100. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): My delegation will vote for all the draft resolutions recommended to the General Assembly in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5438] except for draft resolution IV dealing with the question of the payment of arrears, on which it will abstain.

101. While we fully respect the spirit of compromise which resulted in the recommendation of these draft resolutions by the Fifth Committee, and while we have already expressed our complete readiness to meet all of our obligations correctly and justly agreed upon in the United Nations, our votes for these draft resolutions carry with them certain strong reservations.

102. It is noteworthy that the spirit of keeping the United Nations financially active is strong among the small Members of the Organization, of which my country is one, owing to our deep faith in the Organization.

103. The Fifth Committee has recommended the adoption of a series of draft resolutions which, according to the expressed views of the sponsors would not lead to a final solution even of the financial difficulties of the United Nations, while certain strong political difficulties would be created, which would have to be overcome by the Organization in the future. We regret that the Fifth Committee, while recognizing the political controversies as the main obstacle in the way of a solution of the financial problems, failed to take a more practical and realistic approach to this question.

104. In this connexion, the Afghan delegation suggested that, before the recommendation by the Fifth Committee of any draft resolutions which might not secure unanimous approval, the Secretary-General should be requested to undertake certain negotiations, upon the request of all Member States and with their co-operation, between the parties directly involved in the political controversies, in an attempt to replace the imposition of rigid public positions on questions

of principle by a policy that would not be likely to divide the General Assembly on this issue.

105. This suggestion did not meet with the reaction that I expected in the Committee—but I stress "in the Committee" because it was favoured by the majority of delegations outside the Committee room. The result of the procedure which followed is quite clear to us now, and we shall be voting on these draft resolutions knowing, unfortunately, that we are not as unanimous as we should have been and as, in the view of my delegation, we could have been.

106. As I said, while we support these draft resolutions and will meet all our obligations, my abstention from the vote on one of them will be for no other reason but that this draft resolution in particular has highly important political and legal implications which we do not think, in their present form, will be entirely in the interest of the work of the Organization in the future. It does not mean that my delegation does not fully support the idea of the payment of arrears.

107. On other points I shall not take up the time of the General Assembly except to say that the reservations made in the Committee by the developing countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America are reservations which are shared by my delegation, particularly on the matter of general principles, the only difference being that our reservations should be accepted by representatives in the light of our statement in the Fifth Committee.

108. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): My delegation will vote in favour of all the draft resolutions that have been submitted to the General Assembly, fully conscious of the fact that these draft resolutions are based mainly on General Assembly resolution 377 (V), Uniting for peace, which was adopted in the Assembly years ago by an overwhelming majority. My delegation, however, is equally aware of the fact that those delegations which disagree with the Uniting for peace resolution base their arguments on certain Chapters and Articles of the Charter which actually have the same legal force as the Uniting for peace resolution. We believe that the Assembly is also aware of the fact that these Chapters and Articles are based on the principle of unanimity among the big Powers, which, in our opinion, is only a polite euphemism for the ugly fact that those Powers have the power to frustrate any action taken by the Security Council for peace-keeping activities. These Powers have the military power to frustrate any action that could be taken by the Security Council. This is a very important fact and makes the situation dangerous, because one of the countries which, at the inception of the United Nations, was given the veto power has broadened in military power.

109. In my opinion, we can only adopt these draft resolutions in the hope that very soon—even at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly—efforts will be made to bridge the gap that exists among the veto Powers on the question of peace-keeping operations. My delegation will support any action which, we hope, may be initiated at the regular session of the Assembly this year, to bridge the gap between the veto Powers on the question of peace-keeping operations. If such efforts are not made, we believe that we shall be faced with a most dangerous situation in our time.

110. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will proceed to vote on the seven draft resolutions in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5438, para. 17]. I now put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 92 votes to 11, with 3 abstentions.

111. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution II. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

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

Abstaining: Peru, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Algeria, Belgium, Burundi, France, Guinea, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Mali.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 80 votes to 11, with 16 abstentions.**

112. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution III. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hun-

gary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Belgium, Chad, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mali, Peru, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Republic.

*Draft resolution III was adopted by 80 votes to 12, with 15 abstentions.***

113. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution IV. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Trinidad and Tobago having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

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

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

Abstaining: United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Belgium, Chad, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mali, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sudan, Syria.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted by 79 votes to 12, with 17 abstentions.***

114. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution V.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 93 votes to 12, with 4 abstentions.

115. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution VI.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 91 votes to 12, with 2 abstentions.

116. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution VII.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 95 votes to 12, with 2 abstentions.

117. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland): The Polish delegation voted against the resolutions on financing UNEF and ONUC operations, both for the period ending 30 June 1963, and until 31 December 1963, as well as on similar extension of the sale of United Nations bonds, for the following reasons.

*The representative of Morocco, who was absent at the time of voting, subsequently indicated to the Secretariat that, had he been present, he would have abstained.

**The representative of Morocco, who was absent at the time of voting, subsequently indicated to the Secretariat that, had he been present, he would have voted in favour.

118. First, sharing of the costs of these operations, directly or through the bonds, would amount to their support, even more explicit than the consenting vote. This we could not do. While UNEF originated in the circumvention of the Security Council, the ONUC operation was implemented in complete disregard of the decisions of that Council. Tragic consequences followed, for which we refuse to share responsibility. We are also disturbed by the further extension of the military operation in the Congo, lest the presence of the United Nations Force be used by powerful foreign monopolies to establish and secure the permanency of their control over the riches of that country, in defiance of the wishes of its people.

119. Secondly, to have all Members of the United Nations share the financial burden of both operations as a normal expense of the Organization would mean to put a premium on those who violated the Charter, and particularly Article 2, paragraph 4. This, in turn, would give an incentive to the future use of force. If one accepts the fact that UNEF was established as the result of the aggression against Egypt in 1956, and that it is maintained to prevent similar attack, then the States guilty of a breach of the peace and of continuous threats in the area should pay for the expenses of that force.

120. The same is true for ONUC. The offender should not profit, and the offended should not be punished when the issue arises as to how to finance actions resulting from an offence.

121. My delegation had to cast its negative vote also on resolutions dealing respectively with financing of the future operations and continuation of the Working Group. Here are the reasons.

122. First, contrary to the Charter, and expressly to its Article 10, these proposals would provide that a recommendation of the General Assembly on a military operation or any action of the same nature as those defined in Chapter VII have binding force on Member States, regardless of their attitude toward such operation or action. Furthermore, the proposals provide that a Member State has to support any future operation through obligatory participation in the resulting financial burden. Surely, no one could expect my Government, or any other, to forego so easily its sovereign rights and to revise its obligations arising from signing of the Charter, without proper executive and legislative procedure as provided for in the United Nations and national constitutions. Even actions legally approved by the Security Council can be financed only by special agreement negotiated with the members and subject to ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The full text of these provisions can be found in Article 43, and we have witnessed fairly recently such procedures in action.

123. Secondly, we understand that for many, and especially the smaller countries, the transfer of the Security Council powers to the General Assembly is particularly attractive. We also share their concern about the special influence which the colonial Powers still have in the Council. But, even if it were possible to do so, this could not guarantee without proper safeguards that the decisions of the majority, even when inspired by most rightful policies, would not be undermined or subverted by the forces alien to United Nations ideas, as was the case in the Congo. We believe that such safeguards are provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

124. Thirdly, Poland recognizes the collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace, but we are strongly opposed to the concept of collective responsibility for acts of aggression and for the results they produce. As we have done in the past, we shall support in the future only those operations that will lead to the defence and to the strengthening of the independence of countries, of the freedom of their peoples to do what they wish in their political, economic and social life. We will oppose and will not pay for any actions in the past and in the future which run counter to these aims and to the constitutional processes of the United Nations.

125. Similar reasons guided us in voting against the resolution proposing the establishment of the so-called peace fund. It was significant for us that the authors of this proposal were ready to depart even more from the Charter than they were originally when, in the text finally presented, they decided to omit any reference to the obligations and responsibilities resting with the Security Council.

126. Before closing, I wish to state that my Government will not feel bound by any and all resolutions approved today by the General Assembly. We consider them as not having any legal force, irrespective of the intentions and sincerity of many who supported them.

127. At a moment like this the Members of the Assembly owe themselves particular frankness. I submit that no one in this hall would claim that by approving these resolutions the General Assembly has solved any problems. I am sure that the great majority would agree, that the General Assembly has added a number of new and more difficult ones to the already overburdened agenda of the Organization. Many delegations in the Fifth Committee and in this hall expressed numerous objections and reservations to the resolutions and stated that they voted for them for the sake of regional or political unity. It is, of course, their sovereign right to do so. One wonders, however, what would have been the results were it not for the emotions and pressure of haste which accompanied the last stages of this session. I am sure that all those who have reservations arising from legal and political principles and from the desire to strengthen the United Nations could create an impressive unity and majority in defence of the Charter.

128. It is not for the first time that the voice of my delegation calling for reason, objectivity and adherence to the Charter does not meet with an immediate majority response. We experienced that in 1960 and in the following years when calling for resolute measures to end the Katanga secession and foreign intervention in the Congo. There have been similar experiences in the past. And yet, sooner or later, we meet again in agreement with those who wish to strengthen our Organization through dedicated observance of the Charter, for no one has succeeded as yet in devising a better instrument for peaceful international relations in the present divided world. All the difficulties and weaknesses of the United Nations reflect not the shortcomings of its constitution but are the results of too many departures from its letter and spirit.

129. Permit me to express, therefore, the sincere hope that when the dust settles and when objectivity and reason replace emotion and prestige we shall meet with many on the ground which today, for various reasons, they chose to avoid.

130. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): I have asked for your permission, Mr. President, to make a very brief statement to express the views of my delegation on the achievements of this special session. I believe that our most important achievement is that we have supplied our Secretary-General, U Thant, with the financial means for continuing the operations of the Organization, and his own remarkable work for peace, through the final six months of 1963. I know that the representatives who voted for the appropriations did so for varying reasons and with different reservations. However, they all did so with the common, strong conviction that the constructive decisions and important initiatives which U Thant has taken on behalf of peace in his comparatively brief tenure of office deserved unconditional support. Now we have given him that support.

131. Apart from this achievement, all else will be a matter of dispute, especially among the commentators. And here I would venture to say that what we have failed to achieve is perhaps more constructive than what we have in fact achieved. We failed, for instance, to devise a final formula and a unanimous agreement on ways and means of implementing the peace-keeping machinery which falls to this Organization; and that we failed to do so is indeed, in our view, fortunate. For had we succumbed to final and irrevocable decisions on definitive principles in an atmosphere of discord, we might perhaps have split, and even wrecked, this world Organization. In this case, to have left the door wide open for further negotiations and further considerations was better, in our view, than to have locked the door and thrown away the key. The various resolutions adopted to continue the work of the Working Group, to continue to seek further solutions in the hope that the chasms which now divide us may be closed, these are also achievements worthy of record. My delegation hopes that these deliberations preceding the regular Assembly will enable the eighteenth session to achieve an accord of all Members on ways to implement the peace. We must always remember that real peace cannot be a solution by the majority. Even the smallest minority dissenter breaks that indivisibility which is the true measure of a sound and constructive peace.

132. Mr. President, as this is my final statement before this body prior to my departure for duties elsewhere, may I crave the indulgence of my fellow representatives to express a few personal words.

133. In the brief period that I have had the privilege of serving here I have made many friends. I have also learned many lessons about international co-operation. Of these lessons, to my mind, the most important one is that the United Nations is not, as it is often said, the last hope for peace; it is the first hope, and perhaps even the sole hope. We are aware of various regional organizations, especially the military organizations which assert their claim to being the first hope. The extravagant budgets never put them under the label of near-bankruptcy which has plagued the United Nations. But these military organizations are falling apart before our very eyes.

134. The nuclear bombs which are also invoked as the first defence line of peace certainly bring no peace, nor peace of mind, to anybody, and least of all to those who possess the nuclear bombs. But here we have the United Nations, with no armies, no bombs and almost no money, and it still towers above all pretentious rival organizations. The explanation for

this paradox, to us, is eloquently simple. There is no force in the world, be it a military alliance or the most destructive magic weapon, which can equal the sum of the force of the collective effort for peace established here through this universal authority. The magnitude of this force, in which all the peoples of the world are represented not only physically and politically, but even more so morally and spiritually, is something beyond all calculation.

135. Because the United Nations, its family and its Charter, its hopes and its aspirations are the sole embodiment of this incalculable force, it remains, I say, the first, last and sole hope for universal peace. This is its unfathomable potential. This is the true nature of power in our time.

136. The second lesson that I have learned is that the peoples of the world are the chief and unfailing supporters of this Organization, that they want the Organization to have the strength to bring their hopes and prayers for a peaceful world to complete fruition.

137. The third lesson I have learned is that now we have gone beyond the stage when the United Nations has to solicit the support of peoples and nations, as it did in its first years. Today, on the other hand, the United Nations could well reverse the admonition to be outward-looking, it could become inward-looking, it could search its own inner soul. And when it does so, at that moment of introspection, it will be seen that it is within itself that the United Nations must seek and find the support and the strength it must have for the task that lies before it. The United Nations itself must purge those divisions which now bedevil it: the big-Power divisions; the ideological divisions; and now, unhappily, the divisions between the three peace-keeping organs, the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Office of the Secretary-General.

138. It is not in the dogma of false nationalism, in the fallacies of extremist movements, in the heresies of gun-toting alliances, nor in the scepticisms of peoples, where lie the main obstacles to our labours. It is within ourselves that these obstacles exist. This is the situation with which we are faced, and this is the situation which must be changed.

139. What representative here would be brave enough to go back to his country and tell his people that the United Nations cannot function because of rivalry for power among the peace-keeping organs? No one can do that. The General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretariat must not be permitted to become involved in the brawlings of an unhappy family. The needs of the time and the majesty of the panoramic vista of the future that spreads itself before us require that these three organs—the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretariat—must form a solid phalanx in the cause of peace and human happiness. To effect this consolidation is the task that awaits this Organization after this session is adjourned.

140. May I say that I have learned another great lesson, and that is the scope and the greatness of the man who has presided over this twin-session of ours. My highest tribute goes to you, Mr. President, as a shining example of men who have come here and laboured hard, day and night, to render their best services in the cause of the world Organization. Mr. President, I wish you every success and happiness in your endeavours. I wish you all peace and prosperity in all your enterprises.

Completion of the work of the Fourth Special Session

141. The PRESIDENT: That concludes the business of the fourth special session of the General Assembly.

142. Before I close the session, I wish to thank the Chairman, Mr. Adebo of Nigeria, and the members of the Working Group for their diligent and constructive work. Their efforts greatly facilitated the work of the Fifth Committee. The Assembly knows how hard the Fifth Committee itself has worked, and I am certain Members would wish me to express to the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Bannier of the Netherlands, to its Rapporteur, Mr. Quao of Ghana, and to its other officers, as well as to its entire membership, the appreciation and gratitude of the Assembly for the work they have done.

143. I should like also to express my appreciation to the Vice-Presidents, who kindly agreed to stand by during my absence, in particular to Mr. Zea of Colombia, who presided at the 1204th plenary meeting. I am sure I speak on behalf of the whole Assembly in expressing appreciation to the Secretary-General, to the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, to the Controller and to all the members of the Secretariat for their assistance in the conduct of the fourth special session.

144. I have on my own behalf to offer an apology to the Assembly. As Members are aware, I was compelled to be absent during the latter half of the delib-

erations of the Fifth Committee. My absence was due to a very strong moral obligation which I had undertaken well in advance of the session of the Assembly and which I could not, at that stage, evade without the risk of causing considerable inconvenience to Governments of States who had very kindly extended certain invitations to me. I am aware that there has been some speculation on the cause of my absence. I wish only to state that a great part of that speculation was entirely wide of the mark.

145. I have also to thank my colleagues and to express to them my deep gratitude for their continued confidence and their complete co-operation with me and with the Secretariat officials during the fourth special session.

AGENDA ITEM 2Minute of silent prayer or meditation

146. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Members to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

147. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the fourth special session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.