

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 429th  
 MEETING**  
 (Closing meeting)



Monday, 16 December 1963,  
 at 4 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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*Chairman:* Mr. Mihail HASEGANU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEMS 81, 82 AND 12

Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly (A/5519, A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2, A/SPC/L.106, A/SPC/L.107, A/SPC/L.108) (concluded)

Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council (A/5520 and Corr.1, A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1, A/SPC/L.105, A/SPC/L.109, A/SPC/L.110) (concluded)

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter XIII (section VI)) (A/5503) (concluded)

1. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the Soviet Union had always been and continued to be in favour of proper representation for the African and Asian countries in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council by means which included the expansion of the membership of those bodies. That was impossible at the present time, however, owing exclusively to the position of the Western Powers, which had prevented the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. That was the essence of the problem. In the circumstances his delegation thought that a vote on the draft resolutions proposing the expansion of the membership of the Councils should be deferred to allow for consultations which might result in a solution acceptable to all. If, on the other hand, the draft resolutions in question were put to the vote, his delegation would have no choice but to vote against them.

2. Mr. ARCHIBALD (Trinidad and Tobago) said with reference to the amendment in document A/SPC/L.106, which had been withdrawn at the 427th meeting, that its sponsors were among the countries that did not fit easily into the main geographical groups and might therefore be overlooked in the distribution of seats unless special notice was taken of their position. The amendment had concerned the Commonwealth and its withdrawal had been requested because the Common-

wealth was an association of countries not based on geographical considerations. His delegation did not object to the emphasis placed on those considerations, but the United Nations should not too readily abandon certain other criteria which had proved their usefulness. There was a great political and philosophical issue involved, for if it was true that in the nuclear era the one hope of mankind lay in the continued growth of the United Nations, the way in which it was to grow must be taken into consideration. If in the ordering of its internal affairs the United Nations decided to pay no attention to other international associations simply because they had not been established within its own framework, it would be aiming at an impossibly conformist world society. The goal of the United Nations was to develop harmonious relations among the conflicting interests which had always characterized human behaviour and it should take note of any previous experiences which pointed in that same direction. Accordingly, the United Nations should take another look at the Commonwealth, and, indeed, at any other similar associations which had served and might still be serving an international purpose. His country belonged to the Commonwealth of its own free will, yet, as its voting record showed, it arrived at its decisions independently. As the representative of a country recently admitted to the United Nations, he wished to place on record his appreciation of the readiness with which such help and advice as his delegation had sought had been forthcoming from its Commonwealth colleagues throughout the world. It was happy to be a member of an association which had shown itself able to change in a changing world with great courage and with a shrewd understanding of what was possible and practicable.

3. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon) said that the discussion had shown clearly that the claims of the countries which were still either inadequately represented or not represented at all in the principal organs of the United Nations were legitimate. The entire Committee, from the Western European group at one extreme to the Eastern European group at the other, had agreed that the countries in question were justified in expressing their concern and impatience at that situation. He had noted with satisfaction that the Soviet representative's statement recognized, first, that the claim of the African and Asian States was just and, secondly, that that claim could be met only through a proportional increase. Unfortunately, the conclusions reached by the Soviet representative were disappointing. The Western European countries had likewise recognized the justice of the African-Asian claim, but had set certain figures for the increases and had made it clear that they would accept no others. The vote that the Committee was about to take was perhaps one of the most important votes in the history of the United Nations. As it was the possible exercise of the veto by the great Powers which was standing in the way of a solution, he appealed to the smaller Powers in particular to join in casting

a vote which would make plain their determination to uphold justice, truth and equity.

4. Mr. CHANDERLI (Algeria) noted that the two great Powers and certain other delegations, although in disagreement as to the substance of the problem, had coincided in recommending that the Committee should defer action to satisfy the admittedly just claims of the African and Asian Members to equitable representation in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Also, certain delegations had observed that a great country which was not seated in the Assembly would object to any action resulting in an amendment to the Charter. It was becoming increasingly clear that the interpretation placed on the intentions and views of that country did not correspond to reality, so that in the mind of certain delegations, including his own, the argument was not as strong as it was being made out to be. He therefore hoped that at the current meeting the majority would unite in a common front to request the Assembly to recognize the legitimacy of the claims put forward by the under-represented countries. At the same time he would remind the delegations of the great Powers that time wrought many changes and that attitudes which had a certain value at a given moment might appear in quite a different light in other circumstances. Ratification of any amendments to the Charter would not take effect for another two years. If at the current session the great Powers adopted a completely negative position it would make it difficult for their governments and parliaments subsequently to change that position if political developments favoured such a step. Accordingly, he expressed the hope that any members which could not support the texts before them would abstain rather than cast negative votes, thus leaving the door open for the possibility of ratification. By doing so they would demonstrate their recognition of the legitimacy of the African and Asian countries' claim to equitable representation. In the past those countries had been ignored and for long periods of time they had been unable to participate in the life of the international community. Now that changing circumstances had given them a place among the other nations of the world it appeared that the great Powers which had drawn up the Charter were trying to impose their will on them, even if only indirectly. The result was that while they had finally been admitted to the world Organization they were not being allowed to participate fully in its work. He asked those delegations which had apparently not yet fully grasped the significance for the African and Asian countries of their request for equitable representation to try to understand that position so that the United Nations could become a truly universal organization and better serve the course of international understanding and peace.

5. Mr. PECHOTA (Czechoslovakia) said that his delegation's recognition of the changes taking place in the world, as reflected in the increased membership of the United Nations, led it to endorse vigorously the idea of making corresponding changes in the structure of the Organization. It was second to none in supporting the justified claims of the many new Member States for due representation in principal organs of the United Nations. The fundamental principle of sovereign equality upon which the Organization was based entailed the duty to ensure that the voices of all Members should be heard in all United Nations organs. His delegation had accordingly been among those taking the initiative at the twelfth session in proposing a draft

resolution<sup>1/</sup> on the enlargement of the General Committee. In the same spirit of appreciation of the role played by the new Member States, it gladly lent its support to draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2 which would not only ensure those States more adequate representation in the General Committee but would also enhance the role and prestige of that body. In supporting the draft resolution on the General Committee his delegation had taken the position that the Assembly's decision, in order to be more effective, should include a rule providing for the rotation of the Presidency of the General Assembly among the various geographical regions. It was gratifying to note that a majority in the Committee had recognized the justice of that position and he hoped that the delegations which in the past had shown reluctance to support it would withdraw their reservations.

6. Unfortunately the legal device suggested in connexion with the enlargement of the General Committee could not be employed in solving the problem of equitable representation in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. The attainment of that goal was blocked by the continuing unwillingness of the Western Powers to recognize the realities of the age. For fourteen years the representatives of one of the permanent members of the Security Council, whose approval would be needed before any amendment to the Charter could go into force, had been barred from participation in United Nations activities. In those circumstances, any amendment to the Charter would clearly be invalid. It was hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of maintaining the legal stability of the Charter. Once the Charter was weakened by non-compliance with certain provisions, such as that contained in Article 108 the very purposes and principles of the United Nations might be jeopardized. His delegation was ready to assist in exploring every possible means of securing wider representation of the new States in the Council, but whatever the final solution, it must be strictly in accordance with the Charter. He saw no possibility of obtaining practical results from the adoption of proposals contemplating amendments to the Charter until and unless the necessary conditions for the adoption of such amendments were created by the restoration of China's legitimate seat in the United Nations. The only other course, therefore, would be the redistribution of the existing seats in both Councils. His delegation accordingly could not support the draft resolutions proposing amendments to the Charter and would be obliged, to its regret, to oppose their adoption if they were put to the vote.

7. Mr. CHAPDELAIN (Canada), speaking on a point of order, proposed that the verbatim text of the day's proceedings should be made available to the Members. The statements that were being made were most important; in particular, he considered the statement of the representative of Trinidad and Tobago a valuable explanation of what the Commonwealth was and what it meant for the United Nations.

8. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon) hoped that the arguments opposing the maintenance of the Commonwealth countries as a separate group entitled to equitable representation would also be made available in verbatim form.

9. Mr. CHAPDELAIN (Canada) observed that the Cameroonian representative's point would be met by

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Annexes, agenda items 5, 6, 67 and 68, document A/SPC/L.22/Rev.2.

the Canadian proposal, since the text of the full discussion, for and against the proposals under consideration, would be distributed.

*The Canadian proposal was adopted.*

10. Mr. MISHRA (India), supported by Mr. VIEYRA (Argentina), moved a short suspension of the meeting for the purpose of preparing amendments to some of the draft resolutions before the Committee.

*It was so agreed.*

*The meeting was suspended at 5.10 p.m. and resumed at 6.25 p.m.*

11. Mr. JUARBE Y JUARBE (Cuba) explained that the Cuban delegation would vote in favour of the amendment in document A/SPC/L.108 to the joint draft resolution concerning the composition of the General Committee (A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2). It would do so as a gesture of solidarity with the States of the Latin American region, although the increase in the number of Latin American seats could hardly benefit his country owing to a special policy being pursued by the Latin American group in the United Nations.

12. Mr. BLAKE (United States of America) observed that certain consultations were continuing and suggested another short suspension of the meeting.

*It was so agreed.*

*The meeting was suspended at 6.35 p.m. and resumed at 6.45 p.m.*

13. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic) welcomed the restatement of the Soviet Union's position made by the representative of the USSR at the beginning of the meeting. He noted that the Soviet Union had been and was still in favour of ensuring equitable representation of Asia and Africa in the two major Councils of the United Nations by methods which included enlargement of the Councils, and therefore, amendment of the Charter. However, the USSR's position was that an amendment to the Charter could not be ratified until a solution had been found to the question of the representation of China.

14. It seemed to him that inasmuch as the difficulty lay in the ratification of the proposed amendments, the Soviet Union might be able to withhold its objection to their adoption by the General Assembly, in view of the possibility of a situation arising during the two-year period allowed for ratification that would enable it to ratify the amendments.

15. He appealed to the members of the Committee, and in particular to the permanent members of the Security Council, to adopt the necessary amendments to the Charter unanimously, pending a solution of the problem of ratification at a later stage.

16. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana) announced that an agreement had been reached between the African-Asian and the Latin American groups to fuse the four draft resolutions relating to equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council by amending the two draft resolutions sponsored by Latin American countries (A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105). The amendments in question would be read out by the representative of India.

17. Mr. MISHRA (India), after declaring on behalf of the sponsors the withdrawal of draft resolutions A/SPC/L.109 and A/SPC/L.110, read out a series of amendments to draft resolutions A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105, on behalf of the delegations of

Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zanzibar.

18. He pointed out that draft resolution A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 should be amended as follows: the words "Considering that the present composition of the Security Council is inequitable and unbalanced" should be added at the end of the first preambular paragraph. In operative paragraph 1 (a) the word "thirteen" should be replaced by the word "fifteen" and the word "eight" by "ten". Operative paragraph 1 (b) should be redrafted to read "(b) In Article 23, paragraph 2, the second sentence should be reworded as follows: 'In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase in the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year.'" In operative paragraph 1 (c) the word "eight" should be replaced by "nine". In operative paragraph 1 (d) the word "eight" should be replaced by "nine". Operative paragraphs 2 and 3 should be replaced by the following:

"2. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965;

"3. Further decides that the ten non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:

(a) 5 from African and Asian States;

(b) 1 from Eastern European States;

(c) 2 from Latin American States;

(d) 2 from Western European and other States."

19. The three operative paragraphs of draft resolution A/SPC/L.105 should be redrafted as follows:

"1. Decides to adopt in accordance with Article 108 the following amendment to the Charter and submit it for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

"Article 61 shall read:

"1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

"2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

"3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, in addition to the members elected in place of the six members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, nine additional members shall be elected. Of these nine additional members, the term of office of three members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

"4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

"2. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965:

"3. Further decides that without prejudice to the present distribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council, the nine additional members shall be elected according to the following pattern:

(a) 7 from African and Asian States;

(b) 1 from Latin American States;

(c) 1 from Western European and other States."

20. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana), speaking on behalf of the African sponsors of the amendments, said that they had put forward the amendments in order to be able to join forces with practically all the Asian and Latin American delegations. The understanding had been reached, with regard to the Security Council, that there would be five elective seats for Africa and Asia, of which three would go to African States and two to Asian States. In the Economic and Social Council there would be twelve seats for Africa and Asia, of which seven would go to African States and five to Asian States, five to Latin America, four to Western European and other States, two to Eastern European States, and four to the permanent members of the Security Council.

21. Mr. TARAZI (Syria), speaking on behalf of the African-Asian group, of which he was the Chairman for the month of December, confirmed the understanding by which of the five elective seats in the Security Council to be set aside for African and Asian States, three seats would go to African States and two seats to Asian States.

22. Mr. ALVAREZ VIDAURRE (El Salvador), speaking on behalf of the Latin American sponsors of draft resolutions A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105, reviewed the traditional concern of the Latin American countries for an equitable apportionment of the elective seats in the Security Council and the seats in the Economic and Social Council. That desire to do scrupulous justice to all regions had impelled the Latin American countries to accept modification of their original draft resolutions. He was happy to announce that the amendments introduced by the representative of India were acceptable to the Latin American sponsors and he hoped that the revised draft resolutions would command unanimous support.

23. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) speaking again on behalf of the African-Asian group, added that if the proposed amendments to the Charter were not ratified before the beginning of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, in other words before September 1964, the existing distribution of seats in the two Councils would remain unchanged so far as the Latin American group was concerned. That was the understanding agreed to by the African-Asian group.

24. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana) explained, in supporting the statement by the representative of Syria, that the guarantee given to the Latin American group and making it possible to break through the impasse was valid for one year only.

25. Mr. JACKLING (United Kingdom) said, in explanation of the vote of his delegation on the revised draft resolutions (A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105)

concerning the Councils, that the particular responsibilities which Article 108 of the Charter imposed on the five permanent members of the Security Council with regard to amendment of the Charter required the United Kingdom delegation to adopt a position of reserve for the time being. As members were already aware, his delegation approached the debate in full sympathy with the overwhelming majority in their wish to enlarge the two Councils. The effect of the revised draft resolutions, however, went further than the petition which had been before the Committee at an earlier stage, and his delegation would need more time for study than was available at the current session.

26. His Government would give careful and urgent consideration to the new proposals and to the views expressed during the discussions and in the various negotiations which had been proceeding outside the Committee. It should be clearly understood that the position of abstention which his delegation had to adopt did not prejudice in any way the conclusions which his Government would reach when it had had time to consider the matter again.

27. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America) explained that his delegation would abstain from the vote on the two revised draft resolutions. It had repeatedly made it clear that the United States was strongly in favour of increasing the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council in order to permit adequate representation of the African-Asian States. It had deeply regretted that one of the members of the Security Council, the Soviet Union, had prevented such a solution. His delegation had been prepared to vote for the earlier draft resolutions which would have had the effect of increasing the membership of the Security Council from eleven to thirteen and that of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-four.

28. The proposals to increase the membership of the Security Council to fifteen and that of the Economic and Social Council to twenty-seven had been very recent and if they had been put to the vote at the 428th meeting of the Committee, his delegation would have had to vote against them because of the lack of complete unanimity among those who favoured immediate increases in the two Councils. Since then, a wider measure of agreement had developed as a result of further consultations and, as a consequence, the United States delegation had been authorized to abstain. It took that position without prejudice to the final position of its Government on the proposed amendments to the Charter, which would be determined after further consultations with other Member States and in accordance with his country's administrative and constitutional processes.

29. In conclusion, he noted that the suggestion had been made informally that the final paragraph of the revised draft resolution concerning the composition of the Security Council (A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1) which prescribed the distribution of the ten non-permanent seats among the various regions, should be incorporated directly into the proposed amendment to the Charter. His delegation took no position with respect to that suggestion but thought that it ought to be borne in mind in view of the possibility that it might be put forward as a formal amendment when the items under discussion were considered in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

30. Mr. CHANG (China), after protesting against the terms in which the Chairman had called upon him to speak, said that the fact that China was not a member of the Economic and Social Council at the present time had made an additional seat available for the African States. However, if the Charter was to be amended and the membership of the Economic and Social Council enlarged, the situation would be quite different. He was therefore surprised that, as the representative of Ghana had said, only four seats would be reserved in the enlarged Economic and Social Council for the permanent members of the Security Council.

31. His delegation maintained that no solution of the problem would be even remotely equitable if China was discriminated against. If the explanation given by the representative of Ghana was the general view, his delegation would reserve its position and, pending instructions from his Government, would not participate in the vote on the draft resolution relating to the composition of the Economic and Social Council (A/SPC/L.105).

32. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana) said that in his statement he had not had the question of China in mind at all. He had referred to the existing distribution and not to the position of any State.

33. Mr. MATSCH (Austria) said that his delegation would vote for both of the revised draft resolutions on the understanding that so far as the Security Council was concerned the gentleman's agreement of 1946 would remain valid until the new text of Article 23 was ratified in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter.

34. Mr. ROWLAND (Australia) expressed satisfaction that the revised draft resolutions had attracted such wide support. While his delegation would be able to vote for them, he wished to make it clear that his Government had not yet taken a position with regard to the implications for Australia of the categories of States specified in the revised texts. In that respect, he was obliged to reserve his Government's position.

35. Again, his delegation's favourable vote should not be interpreted as constituting a commitment on the part of the Australian Government to ratify the proposed amendments to the Charter.

36. Mr. CHAPDELAIN (Canada) said that his delegation would vote in favour of the two revised draft resolutions, because it firmly believed that the enlarged Councils would make possible more balanced and therefore fairer representation, particularly in the Security Council.

37. He wished to make it clear, however, that the favourable votes would be cast without prejudice to subsequent consultations and negotiations on the implications of the distribution of seats by regions indicated in the final paragraph of each revised draft resolution. He also wished to reserve again his Government's position concerning ratification, which would, of course, have to be carried out in accordance with its constitutional processes.

38. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) noted that two permanent members of the Security Council had so far not given their agreement to the new formula that had been arrived at through the important agreements reached in the course of the afternoon between the African-Asian group and the Latin American group. He wished to associate himself with the appeal made to France and the Soviet Union to take account of the new climate and not place themselves in a position which would

subsequently complicate ratification of the amendments to the Charter. He considered it the unanimous desire of the peoples of Africa and Asia that no position should be adopted which would exclude the possibility of further negotiations to bring about the equitable treatment that the peoples of Africa and Asia were demanding.

39. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that some delegations had expressed the view that with the introduction of the various amendments a new situation had arisen, he wished to reiterate the statement that he had made earlier in the meeting, namely that the solution of the problem of expanding the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council was impossible solely because of the attitude of the Western Powers which were trying in every way possible to prevent the restoration of the legitimate rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China. He once again appealed to the Committee to defer voting on the draft resolutions and asked for consultations on that issue. He added that it would be more feasible through such consultations to arrive at an acceptable decision on the question of the equitable representation of African and Asian States in the main bodies of the United Nations.

40. Mr. COMAY (Israel) asked for an explanation of the status of the amendments to draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2 concerning the composition of the General Committee.

41. The CHAIRMAN explained that the draft resolution in question had been the subject of three amendments. The first (A/SPC/L.106), presented by Australia, Canada and New Zealand, had been withdrawn by the sponsors at the 427th meeting. The second (A/SPC/L.107) submitted by Czechoslovakia and Poland had been revised by the sponsors in accordance with an oral sub-amendment by the representative of Nigeria at the 427th meeting. The third (A/SPC/L.108), submitted by nineteen Latin American countries, was, it seemed to him, acceptable to the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2.

42. Mr. MISHRA (India) confirmed that the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2 accepted the amendment in document A/SPC/L.108.

43. At the request of Mr. LYNCH-SHYLLON (Sierra Leone), Mr. CHAI (Secretary of the Committee) read out the text of the Nigerian representative's sub-amendment.

44. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon), speaking as a sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2, said he did not think that the sponsors had had an opportunity to consult each other concerning the amendments in document A/SPC/L.107, as revised at the suggestion of the representative of Nigeria. He therefore suggested that the revised amendment should be put to the vote.

45. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) proposed that as it was already late the texts before the Committee should be voted upon without further debate.

*It was so agreed.*

*The amendments in document A/SPC/L.107, as revised, were adopted by 97 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions.*

*The draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2), as amended, was adopted by 109 votes to none.*

46. Mr. MISHRA (India) asked that the votes on the draft resolutions containing the proposed amendments to the Charter should be taken by roll-call.

47. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the draft resolution concerning the composition of the Security Council (A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1) as revised in accordance with the amendments read out by the representative of India.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Albania, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.*

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

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

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

*Draft resolution A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1, as revised, was adopted by 96 votes to 11, with 4 abstentions.*

48. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the draft resolution concerning the composition of the Economic and Social Council (A/SPC/L.105) as revised in accordance with the amendments read out by the representative of India.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*India, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.*

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

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

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

*Draft resolution A/SPC/L.105, as revised, was adopted by 95 votes to 11, with 4 abstentions.*

49. Mr. TINE (France) explained that his delegation had voted for draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2 for the reason stated at the 427th meeting. While his delegation had always favoured a reasonable enlargement of the Councils, it had not been able to vote for either draft resolution A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 or draft resolution A/SPC/L.105 as revised, because it felt that a thorough study of the complex issues involved had not been possible in the short time available. His delegation had hoped that it would have been possible to continue the discussions so that a unanimous decision could have been reached at the nineteenth session and followed by effective action.

50. Mr. COMAY (Israel), explaining his vote, said that his delegation had had no difficulty in supporting draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2 as amended, and had likewise voted for draft resolutions A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105 as revised, because it had for many years supported the demand for enlargement of United Nations organs to bring them into line with the growth in membership.

51. His delegation wished to put on record the high regard it felt for Australia, Canada and New Zealand, the sponsors of the amendment which was withdrawn (A/SPC/L.106) and hoped that they would continue their notable contribution to the work of the United Nations.

52. His delegation had supported the proposal that all the main geographical regions should be taken into account in the election of the President of the Assembly, but was unhappy about the tendency for the membership of the United Nations to crystallize into group electoral constituencies. His delegation felt that the States belonging to different regional groupings should seriously consider rotating posts amongst themselves, in recognition of the basic principle that all United Nations Members were equal, to enable each Member State to play its proper part in the work of the various United Nations organs.

53. Mr. WYZNER (Poland) said that his country fully recognized the undeniable right of the African-Asian countries to be properly represented in the main organs of the United Nations and had supported draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2. His delegation had been compelled, however, to vote against the draft resolutions providing for the enlargement of the Security Council (A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1) and the Economic and Social Council (A/SPC/L.105). Any amendment to the Charter had to be ratified by all five permanent Members including China, and his delegation, together with many other delegations, firmly believed that none but the People's Republic of China was entitled to exercise that right. Under prevailing conditions, the most suitable arrangement for enlargement of the organs concerned could be found by an agreement on the redistribution of seats for which the Soviet representative had submitted pertinent proposals.

54. Mr. NEDELEA (Romania), after welcoming the representatives of Kenya and Zanzibar to the Committee, said that his country had consistently supported the legitimate aspirations of the African-Asian States to be equitably represented in the main bodies of the United Nations and had voted for draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2 as amended. His delegation had voted against draft resolutions A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105 as revised because any amendment of the Charter required to be ratified by all the permanent members of the Security Council, including China whose seat should properly be occupied by the Chinese People's Republic.

55. Mr. CORREA DA COSTA (Brazil) said that the Latin American and African-Asian groups had united in support of the resolutions which had been adopted in the best interests of the United Nations as a whole and not only of their own groups. In so doing, they had refused to be paralysed by the prospect of non-ratification by one or more permanent members. He believed that ratification was strictly a matter of confidence on the part of legislative bodies, which were completely independent of the executive authorities. It was not uncommon for congresses not to ratify agreements signed by representatives of Governments. That, he thought, applied equally to the Soviet Union. He wished to assure the representative of Guinea that the statement made by the Soviet representative reflected only the views of the Soviet Government, and it was not to be taken for granted that the Soviet legislature would necessarily adopt those views with regard to ratifica-

tion. He hoped that the resolutions would be ratified by all the permanent members in order to put an end to discrimination among Member States.

#### Completion of the Committee's work

56. The CHAIRMAN announced the completion of the Committee's work on the last items of its agenda.

57. Mr. CSATC 7DAY (Hungary) congratulated and thanked the Chairman and officers of the Committee, and the Secretariat.

58. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark), speaking on behalf of all the Nordic countries, Mr. BENITES (Ecuador), speaking on behalf of the Latin American group, Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan), speaking on behalf of the thirteen Arab delegations, Mr. MAHMUD-GHAZI (Afghanistan), speaking on behalf of his own country, Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Burma, Mr. ZUPAN (Yugoslavia), Mr. NACO (Albania), Mr. HORAN (Ireland), Mr. MATSCH (Austria), and Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia), speaking on behalf of his own country and other members of the African group not present at the meeting, associated themselves with the thanks expressed by the representative of Hungary.

59. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) and Mr. HORAN (Ireland) welcomed Kenya and Zanzibar to the Committee.

60. The CHAIRMAN, speaking for the officers of the Committee and on his own behalf, thanked the members of the Committee for their kind words.

The meeting rose at 9.10 p.m.