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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Prince SOUVANNA PHOUMA (Laos) (translated from French): Allow me, Mr. President, to add the voice of the Kingdom of Laos to the chorus of warm congratulations addressed to you from this rostrum. Your election to the high office of President of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly bears eloquent witness to your outstanding ability. In your person, I salute Latin America, which has contributed so extensively to the work of peace and co-operation undertaken by the United Nations. I am firmly convinced that you will direct our proceedings with wisdom and competence.

2. I should also like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, who discharged his duties with such dignity and mastery.

3. It is a pleasure for me to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, whose tireless efforts have strengthened the authority of the United Nations.

4. This is the first time that I have had the honour of speaking before this Assembly. I shall do so frankly and with feeling, aware as I am of the importance of this debate and of the decisive role of our Organization in the maintenance of peace.

5. This year we begin our work under more favourable auspices than in 1962, and it is my hope that the eighteenth session will prove to be the turning-point from which we shall go forward to a just and equitable solution of the problems facing us.

6. Last year, developments engendered by the cold war had brought about a sudden deterioration in international relations, which threatened to degenerate into armed conflict. But while the former hearths of war—in Algeria, the Congo, Cuba and West Irian—have now passed into history, other hotbeds of tension remain in the Middle East, in certain parts of Africa and in Southeast Asia, and their embers cast an alarming light on the international scene.

7. Nevertheless, there do exist grounds for satisfaction and hope which warrant a certain feeling of

optimism, since in the last analysis everyone desires peace. We were therefore happy to hear Mr. Gromyko tell us, in his speech of yesterday [1208th meeting], that the Soviet Government had accepted certain proposals made by the United States Government with a view to the achievement of general and complete disarmament. The statement which the President of the United States made this morning [1209th meeting] to this Assembly was also pregnant with the promise of a better future.

8. The Moscow Treaty providing for a partial ban on nuclear tests,^{1/} which has been approved by the vast majority of nations, has illustrated the virtues of negotiation and contact. It affords us an opportunity of paying tribute to the wisdom of the great political leaders who, despite their basic differences on many problems, were able jointly to lay the important foundations for an agreement which, we ardently hope, will prove a prelude to universal peace.

9. Although this Treaty leaves intact the nuclear arsenal owned by a very few Powers, we can see that it reflects a trend towards general détente, and possibly towards the end of the cold war, that source of unrest and evil. Hence our optimism and our hope for peaceful coexistence. But such coexistence must not remain a mere catchword for use by the strong or for employment in a policy of domination. It must be made a reality, by specific action. There can be no coexistence without mutual respect for the integrity and sovereignty of States, without genuine renunciation of policies of interference, without straightforward co-operation.

10. As the representative of a small country, I wish to reaffirm here our faith in the United Nations. Weak though it may be, the United Nations remains the repository of mankind's ideals. It is not merely the forum for the exchange of views which often seem to be irreconcilable; it is, amid drama and paradox, the vehicle of that collective moral force which has hitherto succeeded in mastering uncontrolled influences and anarchical excesses.

11. Although it has survived many trials, we must not overlook the need to revise the operation of the Charter in the light of present-day realities. The question here is that of maintaining a proper balance between different forces. There is no doubt but that an adequate place must be given, in our collective life, to the numerous peoples which have just emerged into freedom. Following on the well-known Bandung Conference,^{2/} the important conference held last spring at Addis Ababa^{3/} has demonstrated the strength of this new force which is in process of organization

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

^{2/} Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung (Indonesia), 18-24 April 1955.

^{3/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

and will have to be reckoned with once these newly independent countries have achieved political stability.

12. The ideal of a lasting peace in brotherhood and harmony cannot be realized amid servitude and duress. It is shocking to witness how outworn colonialism in its most backward form still persists, disguised, in certain parts of Africa, where the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed population is going forward. But its position is being rendered daily more uncomfortable, and it will soon be swept away by the tidal wave of nationalism and by the decisive action of the free forces of all countries.

13. Elsewhere, racial discrimination, that by-product of colonialism which continues to defy the conscience of civilized peoples, must be resolutely condemned. The shameful practices which have been elevated into an official doctrine are an insult to human dignity and a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter.

14. I alluded just now to our domestic problems which, as is well known, have been settled outside the United Nations. However, since Laos is a Member of this Organization, it is my duty to talk to you about them in order to sum up the situation.

15. All the nations here represented are familiar with the events which have darkened the political scene in Laos since its emancipation. I would have wished simply to express here the hopes and fears of a small people which would have preferred to live according to its traditions and temperament. But alas, for over twenty years now, my country, which the dictates of fate have placed in the path of controversy, has remained a prey to violence and disorder, despite the settlements achieved at Geneva in 1954⁴ and 1962.⁵

16. Since 1954, at a time when our people might have looked forward to a period of freedom and fruitful labour, at a time when the French forces had evacuated our national territory, other, more unobtrusive troops have replaced them against the will of our people, in order to support a handful of revolutionaries in the name of a so-called war of national liberation.

17. This war, willed and maintained from abroad, has been of a devastating nature. It is planned and promoted in quarters characteristic of the fact that certain countries have an interest in seeing our country a prey to disorder because, with such disorder, it would be possible to set up an authoritarian régime which nobody in Laos wants. This policy of interference has in fact led to an uninterrupted series of disorders. Thus it has come about that Laos, against its will, has for many years been the scene of a war which would never have broken out if someone had not started giving arms to certain misguided people who are all the more dangerous because they represent no one.

18. My country is small and weak. It has never meddled in the affairs of others. Its only ambition is to live in peace and good understanding with all its neighbours. The Agreements of 1954 gave it independence, and those of 1962 guaranteed its neutrality and unity; but both sets of agreements have done no more than secure for it a truce between two conflicts, between two cease-fires. Peace in Laos,

therefore, is still confined to the realm of hope and uncertainty.

19. Yet the agreement on neutrality, which last year evoked so great a measure of approval and satisfaction throughout the Kingdom, should have led to reconciliation and concord. That agreement, which put an end to fratricidal strife and rivalry, and at the same time to foreign intervention in every form, should have marked the beginning of a new era in the process of building up the nation. It is in neutrality that Laos must find a chance of survival. The neutrality of Laos is not just an intellectual concept. It is in keeping with the dictates of our country's geography and with the pacific traditions of our people. Beyond that framework lie only risk and territorial amputation or mutilation. That is the pathetic truth.

20. Since April 1963, Laos has become the scene of new disorders. The fighting which provides the background to this sad chapter has flared up again almost everywhere. The optimism in which the Laotian people had found solace is giving way to doubt and anxiety. Everything is being called in question once more—even the foundations of our State. The implementation of the Geneva Agreements has been blocked by the obstructionism of some and the obstinacy of others. The International Commission for supervision and control, consisting of India, Canada and Poland, which was set up at Geneva in 1954 and made responsible for supervising the orderly implementation of those Agreements, has rarely been able to take any positive action, for lack of unanimity.

21. On the domestic level properly speaking, the integration of the various forces into a unified national army, and the reunification of the administration, could not be accomplished according to plan. In practice, the country is still divided into occupation zones which overlap with one another, rendering impartial and honest verification of complaints and charges difficult and freedom of movement impossible.

22. Even within the Government over which I have the honour to preside, the reluctance of its members to collaborate with each other is jeopardizing the coalition. The spirit of co-operation is often submerged by bitter criticism. An attitude of suspicion is all too tempting. It is sought to make negotiation impossible by amassing prior conditions and false pretexts.

23. Attempts to divide and undermine the purely symbolic forces placed under my authority have been organized and carried out by persons hostile to Laotian neutrality, the internal consolidation of which might run counter to their political ambitions. They would like the kind of neutrality aimed at by us to be organized in their fashion, in keeping with their own ideas and interests.

24. On the external level, Laos, which since its birth has been the victim of foreign rivalry, greed and interference, can as a neutral nation no longer tolerate any infringement of its unity and sovereignty. We insist that an end be put to all interference, from whatever quarter, in our domestic affairs. We wish to live in friendship and peace so that the Laotian people, torn and weakened by over twenty years of war, may devote itself to specifically national tasks. We want to make a fresh start towards national reconciliation, in concord and unity. Lastly—and this is our dearest wish—we are anxious to preserve the Geneva

⁴ Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

⁵ Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed on 23 July 1962.

Agreements, so that through coexistence we may achieve our uncompromising neutrality.

25. To this end I hereby proclaim from this rostrum that, despite the obstacles encountered on the road to reunification, I am ready—as I always have been—to continue the dialogue, to break down the wall of suspicion and doubt, and to overcome the deliberate deafness of certain nations by speaking the language of frankness and sincerity.

26. In the interests of peace, I appeal to the great Powers, and especially the signatories of the Geneva Agreements, to respect both the letter and the spirit of the undertakings into which they have entered. If they agreed to follow such a course and to use their influence for the purpose of advocating moderation and concord, their efforts would be greeted with immense relief.

27. This is the way in which we wish to settle our difficulties. If our appeal is heard, if the nations which participated in the Geneva Conference^{6/} heed the voice of Laos and their own consciences, then we shall gain the only victory that can do credit to the victors—the victory of peace.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/5530)

28. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The present business before the General Assembly is to adopt the agenda of the eighteenth regular session, allocate the items on it and organize the work of the session. To that end, it has before it the first report of the General Committee [A/5530].

29. I would suggest that it first consider matters relating to the organization of the session. If there are no objections, I would request the Assembly to consider section III of the General Committee's report. May I take it that the Assembly accepts the recommendations of the General Committee contained in paragraphs 21 and 22 of its first report? If there are no objections, I shall consider them adopted.

It was so decided.

30. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now proceed to the adoption of the agenda and the allocation of items. We shall follow the usual practice of considering first the inclusion of the items in the agenda and then the allocation of those items either to the General Assembly or to the various Committees. The Assembly may wish to bear in mind the decisions taken by the General Committee as set forth in paragraphs 4 to 8 of its report, when considering the Committee's recommendations concerning the inclusion of the relevant items in the agenda. If that procedure is acceptable to the Assembly, I shall invite it to consider the agenda whose adoption the General Committee has recommended.

31. I would further suggest that, in accordance with established practice, the Assembly should consider the proposed agenda items by groups as they appear in paragraph 10 of the first report of the General Committee [A/5530]. Representatives are of course aware that we are not concerned at this stage with

the merits or the substance of the various items proposed, except in so far as may be necessary for a decision whether to approve inclusion of those items in the agenda.

32. Items 1 to 6 have already been considered by the General Assembly. May I take it that the Assembly has already approved them? If there are no objections, it shall be so decided.

It was so decided.

33. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now proceed to item 7, with respect to which the Assembly is merely requested to take note of the notification by the Secretary-General [A/5517]. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly takes note of the notification by the Secretary-General.

It was so decided.

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now turn to item 8, which is the subject of this afternoon's meeting, and to item 9. With regard to the latter item, I would point out that the general debate has already begun. Consequently, if there is no objection, I shall regard those two items as having been approved by the Assembly.

Items 8 and 9 were included in the agenda without objection.

35. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Items 10 to 22, inclusive, refer to reports or elections. If there are no objections, I shall consider all those items as approved and included in the agenda.

Items 10 to 22 were included in the agenda without objection.

36. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 23 relates to the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We shall revert at a later stage to the allocation of this item and sub-items relating thereto. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of this item in the agenda? If there are no objections, it is so agreed.

Item 23 was included in the agenda without objection.

37. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Is there any objection to the inclusion of items 24 and 25 in the agenda? May I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of these items?

Items 24 and 25 were included in the agenda without objection.

38. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Is there any objection to the inclusion of items 26 to 28 inclusive? If there is not, I shall consider that the Assembly decides to include those items in the agenda.

Items 26 to 28 were included in the agenda without objection.

39. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now proceed to item 29. If there is no objection to the inclusion of this item, I shall take it that the Assembly declares it included in the agenda.

Item 29 was included in the agenda without objection.

40. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now pass to item 30 concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

^{6/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held at Geneva from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

The wording of the item has been recommended by the General Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. In connexion with this item the representative of the Republic of South Africa has requested the floor.

41. Mr. CHANDERLI (Algeria) (translated from French): I ask for the floor on a point of order.

42. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Algeria on a point of order.

43. Mr. CHANDERLI (Algeria) (translated from French): Pursuant to rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, I have the honour to request the President to suspend the meeting for twenty minutes.

44. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Algeria has moved the suspension of the meeting under rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. I shall accordingly put his motion to the vote immediately. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

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

Abstaining: Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Sweden, Venezuela, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Japan.

The motion for suspension was adopted by 68 votes to 17, with 22 abstentions.^{2/}

The meeting was suspended at 3.40 p.m. and resumed at 4 p.m.

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before calling on the next speaker, I would remind the Assembly that item 30 of the agenda, concerning the policies of apartheid, has been recommended for inclusion in the agenda by the General Committee [A/5530].

46. Consequently, debate on the inclusion of the item comes under the provisions of rule 23 of the rules of procedure: it shall be limited to three speakers in favour of and three against the inclusion.

^{2/} After the vote, the representatives of Morocco and Upper Volta indicated that, had they been present, they would have voted in favour of the motion.

47. Mr. JOOSTE (South Africa): Mr. President, as this is the first occasion on which I appear on this rostrum, I would like to convey to you my delegation's congratulations on your election to your present high office. It is indeed a fitting tribute to you and an honour to the country which you represent.

48. As the Assembly is aware, my delegation has already in the General Committee [153rd meeting] formally objected to the inscription of item 30 on the agenda of the General Assembly. My present very brief intervention is to place on record once again our objection. As in the past, we base our stand on Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter which, as everyone knows, prohibits the Assembly from intervening in any matter which is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a Member country.

49. Might I remind the Assembly that Article 2, paragraph 7, is one of the corner-stones of the United Nations and that it was specifically included in the Charter to protect especially the smaller Member States. That the importance of this safeguard is recognized is evidenced by the large number of occasions on which that Article of the Charter has been invoked by other countries since the inception of this Organization, as will be borne out by a reference to our records.

50. South Africa has never deviated from its legal stand in this matter and we have therefore always supported legitimate objections from other countries to the inscription of matters falling essentially within their domestic jurisdiction, irrespective of who they were. In cases where we have not actively opposed inscription, it was because the country or countries concerned did not formally invoke Article 2, paragraph 7. In those cases our silence was never intended and must not be regarded as in any way an agreement to inscription.

51. Mr. CHANDERLI (Algeria) (translated from French): My delegation has requested permission to make a brief statement following the suspension of the meeting. However, I would first like to be permitted to extend to you, Mr. President, the most sincere congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your election to the Presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its eighteenth session. Your character, which has made everyone in this great house your friend, and your precise mind, which has often brought a remarkable clarity to our debates over many years, are qualifications that give us reason to hope that under your inspired leadership our work at this session will proceed under conditions worthy of the task we are undertaking.

52. My delegation invoked rule 78 of our rules of procedure just now in order to request a suspension of the meeting. I owed you an explanation and, with your permission, I propose to give it, not only on behalf of my delegation but also on behalf of a large number of other delegations, which actually constitute the majority of our Assembly.

53. Eighteen years ago the United Nations Charter and the Organization itself were born, to the sound of the trumpets of victory, in a world that had been partly destroyed but was at peace. At that time a great many countries, including my own, were not Members of the Organization, for their peoples and their territories were still under foreign control.

54. If my delegation, together with many others, had had the honour of taking part in drawing up the Charter

and being admitted as a Member of the United Nations, there would have been no need for the statement I have to make today. Indeed, our delegations would have been able long ago to oppose the granting of United Nations membership to the Republic of South Africa, whose Government, although it signed the Charter, never had any intention of respecting it.

55. Unfortunately, at that time the Algerian people, like a great many peoples of Africa and Asia that had often taken a glorious part in the fight for freedom, had not been invited, despite that participation, to be represented at the Conference which would give birth to the United Nations.^{8/} We had had a great share of the world's sorrows, but we had not received our fair share of its honours.

56. Since that time the mighty wind of history has thrust us among you, and we have found in this chamber the representatives of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, whose policies, philosophy and behaviour are a constant insult to universal morality—an insult which grows daily more intolerable. It was as a protest against their presence in our midst that we decided to give symbolic expression to our unanimous censure by calling for a suspension of the meeting at the exact moment when the delegation of that Government had the effrontery to claim once more that its policy of apartheid was no concern of the peoples of the world.

57. We wished, therefore, by interrupting our work for a short time, to put on record the fact that the great majority of the Assembly shares our condemnation of that policy. The Government of the Republic of South Africa would do well to take note of that fact and of the profound significance of that condemnation. We say "for a short time" because our peoples and Governments have confidence in our Organization and want it to prosper and be effective, and because they wish to see the United Nations become increasingly adapted to its mission of justice and peace. That is the significance of our action, and it is in that spirit that it should be interpreted: as a mass protest against the presence among us of the delegation of a Government that violates the Charter, publicly shows contempt for the Organization and hopes for its disappearance and, in addition, as a desire to express our confidence in the United Nations and our desire not to obstruct or prevent the performance of its work.

58. The many delegations that have been good enough to authorize me to give you this explanation express the hope that there will be place in our Assembly only for men of goodwill. They are convinced that such goodwill is totally lacking in the Government of the Republic of South Africa, and that is why we intend to keep it quarantined, like the plague carriers of the Middle Ages, in the belief that its isolation will perhaps bring it to a more realistic and humanitarian appreciation of the relationship between communities in contemporary society. Should it not do so, my delegation and many others will not fail, in the name of right and justice, to seek all possible means of obliterating from our world the blood-stain represented by the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. It is by fire and by the sword that that Government denies fifteen million of our African brothers the right to life and dignity;

it is by law and reason that our peoples and Governments now wish again to attempt to make it recognize the legitimacy of our brothers' claims.

59. We trust that the conscience of the world will recognize the reasonableness of our position, the degree of patience we are demonstrating and the deep awareness of our responsibilities that are embodied in the symbolic character of the action I have just had the honour to explain to you.

60. Finally, in order to avoid any further delay in our debates, the delegations that have done me the honour of making me their spokesman have asked me to state that they have no intention at this point of initiating a debate on the point raised by the representative of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. I propose therefore that the recommendation of the General Committee on the inscription of the question of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa should be adopted immediately.

61. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Thus far, we have heard one speaker in favour of, and one against the item's inclusion. I would remind you that we are discussing the inclusion of the item concerning the policies of apartheid, and that under rule 23 of the rules of procedure there can be only three speakers in favour and three against. Consequently, any other representative who wishes to speak may do so, inasmuch as we can still have two speakers for and two against.

62. The representative of South Africa has requested the floor. I would ask him whether he wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply and, if so, whether he would agree to let me call on him before the close of this meeting. In that way, we could go on to consider the remaining items of the agenda, after which I would give him the floor. If that is agreeable, we would proceed as I have suggested.

It was so agreed.

63. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Since the representative of South Africa has agreed to exercise his right of reply after we have completed consideration of these items this afternoon, and since there has been no formal objection to the inclusion of item 30, but only reservations, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to include this item in its agenda.

Item 30 was included in the agenda without objection.

64. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now turn to item 31, dealing with the effects of atomic radiation. Since there is no objection, I shall consider item 31 as included in the agenda.

Item 31 was included in the agenda without objection.

65. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The next item is the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. If there are no objections, I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of item 32 in the agenda.

Item 32 was included in the agenda without objection.

66. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Items 33 to 37 inclusive deal with economic questions. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to include these items in the agenda.

Items 33 to 37 were included in the agenda without objection.

^{8/} United Nations Conference on International Organization, convened at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945.

67. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Items 38 to 48 inclusive deal with social questions and human rights. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly decides to include those items in the agenda.

Items 38 to 48 were included in the agenda without objection.

68. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Items 49 to 55 inclusive are matters within the competence of the Fourth Committee. If there are no objections, I shall presume that they have been approved for inclusion in the agenda.

Items 49 to 55 inclusive were placed on the agenda without discussion.

69. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Items 56 to 68 relate to administrative and budgetary questions. If there are no objections, I shall presume that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of these items in the agenda.

Items 56 to 68 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

70. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Items 69 to 72 inclusive relate to legal matters. If there are no objections, I shall presume that the Assembly approves their inclusion in the agenda.

Items 69 to 72 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

71. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now pass to item 73, concerning the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of this item on the agenda?

Item 73 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

72. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 74 relates to the denuclearization of Latin America. If there are no objections, I shall presume that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of this item on the agenda.

Item 74 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

73. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 75 deals with the question of Southern Rhodesia. If there are no objections, I shall presume that the Assembly is in favour of its inclusion.

Item 75 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

74. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 76 relates to means of promoting agrarian reform. If there are no objections, I shall regard it as included in the agenda.

Item 76 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

75. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 77 relates to the violation of human rights in South Viet-Nam. If there are no comments, I shall consider it included in the agenda.

Item 77 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

76. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 78 relates to the question of Oman. If there are no comments, I shall presume that the Assembly agrees to its inclusion on the agenda.

Item 78 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

77. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 79 deals with the designation of 1968 as Inter-

national Year for Human Rights. If there are no objections, I take it that the Assembly approves the inclusion of this item.

Item 79 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

78. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Item 80 deals with the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and has been recommended for inclusion in the agenda by the General Committee. If there is no objection, I shall presume that the Assembly agrees to its inclusion.

Item 80 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

79. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The last two items, 81 and 82, relate to the membership of the General Committee of the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council. May I take it that these items are to be included in the agenda?

Items 81 and 82 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

80. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The General Assembly has now approved the agenda of the eighteenth session. We shall now proceed to allocate the items which it has decided to include in the agenda. I invite representatives to examine the recommendations of the General Committee in section II of its first report (A/5530).

81. I propose to submit to the Assembly the allocation of the items set forth in the report, and then to deal first with the recommendations of the General Committee concerning items which should be allocated to plenary sessions, and then with the proposals for the separate Committees set forth in paragraph 20.

82. I now submit to the General Assembly the proposed allocation of items for the plenary meetings. It should be noted that item 23 has been allocated to plenaries, but three parts of this item have been assigned to the Fourth Committee. I propose to revert to this point when we pass to the items which it has been proposed to allocate to the Fourth Committee. If there are no objections, may I take it that the General Assembly approves the recommendations of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

83. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In regard to the discussion of item 24 at plenary meetings, I would point out to the General Assembly, as I did to the General Committee, that many foreign ministers and representatives have made firm arrangements to speak in the general debate up to 7 October. The morning and afternoon meetings have been reserved, and it would be difficult to make changes in their plans. The General Assembly could satisfy the wishes of the sponsors concerning priority for this item by beginning discussion of it on the afternoon of Monday, 7 October, and continuing on subsequent afternoons until it is exhausted. I hope that the General Assembly will accept this suggestion. Since there are no objections, I presume that the Assembly has accepted the suggestion.

It was so decided.

84. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Assembly will now examine the considerations of the General Committee concerning the allocation of six items to the First Committee. If there are no objec-

tions, I shall presume that the Assembly approves of the proposed allocation.

It was so decided.

85. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Six items have been proposed for examination by the Special Political Committee. If there are no objections, I shall presume that the recommendations of the General Committee are approved.

It was so decided.

86. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Assembly will now examine the recommendations of the General Committee for the allocation of eight items to the Second Committee. If there are no objections, I shall presume that the recommendations of the General Committee are approved.

It was so agreed.

87. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Is there any comment on the twelve items proposed for examination by the Third Committee? If not, I shall consider the recommendations of the General Committee approved.

It was so decided.

88. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Assembly will now examine the recommendations of the General Committee concerning the allocation of eleven items to the Fourth Committee. As I stated when referring to the allocation of item 23 to the plenary meetings, some parts of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, deal with items proposed for allocation to the Fourth Committee. The General Committee proposed in paragraph 15 of its report that the parts of its report dealing with certain specific territories should be considered by the Fourth Committee on the understanding that no action would be taken in plenary meeting on those territories until the relevant reports of the Fourth Committee have been submitted. In paragraph 19 of the General Committee's report, wording is recommended for two items. If there are no objections, I shall consider the recommendations of the General Committee approved.

It was so decided.

89. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We now pass to the proposal for allocation of items to the Fifth Committee. If there are no objections, I shall presume that the General Assembly approves the General Committee's recommendations concerning the allocation of sixteen items to the Fifth Committee.

It was so decided.

90. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Lastly, we come to the four items proposed for examination by the Sixth Committee. If there are no objections, I shall consider the recommendations of the General Committee approved.

It was so decided.

91. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Assembly has now finished its examination of the subjects "Adoption of the agenda" and "Allocation of items". The Main Committees will be duly informed, and in order to speed the work of the eighteenth ses-

sion I urge their Chairmen to take appropriate steps to ensure that their Committees meet as soon as possible next week and prepare their time-tables for each week of the session. We have thus finished consideration of item 2 of today's agenda.

92. Before closing the meeting I call on the representative of South Africa, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

93. Mr. JOOSTE (South Africa): I have asked to be heard again in order to exercise my right of reply. I regret to have to do this, but I have no alternative and I shall endeavour to be brief.

94. As the Assembly will recall, the representative who moved that our meeting be suspended for twenty minutes gave no reason for his proposal. It has now been made quite clear in a formal manner that the suspension was in fact a demonstration against the presence here of the South African delegation. I am therefore obliged to state our position.

95. Let me say first of all that the remarks which were made in fact constituted an attack upon South Africa. I have no intention of replying to those remarks—certainly, not at this juncture—apart from stating quite categorically that they are unfounded and that we reject them as such.

96. The demonstration, which in fact it was, irrespective of the manner in which it was conducted, is undoubtedly in conflict with the traditional practices of the United Nations as well as the dignity of this Organization. It is certainly also contrary to the spirit of the Charter.

97. South Africa is a founding Member of the United Nations—a founding Member which has made material sacrifices in the interests of this Organization. As one example I need only remind the representatives that South Africa was one of the nations which fought under the flag of the United Nations to repel aggression in Korea. One would have thought that this, as well as a number of other ways in which we have shown our desire to co-operate with the Organization to the extent permitted by our vital interests, would have entitled us to what I am constrained to call more civil treatment.

98. If the fact that many representatives in this hall may disagree with the domestic policies of my Government, as they interpret them, should lead to a demonstration such as the one we have just had, then I submit that a very serious precedent has been created this afternoon. Surely it cannot be denied that there are important differences, in fact, serious differences, between a number of the different States in this Organization as to the domestic policies in many of the countries represented here. If this is so, then I think I am entitled to put the question: Why should South Africa be singled out for this treatment?

99. The main fact, however, is that South Africa is a Member State, and, as such, is constitutionally and in every other way entitled to be represented in the United Nations. This is our right and we have every intention of exercising it. We cannot allow ourselves to be deterred by manifestations of this nature, or by any other form of what I must term intimidation, for doing so.

100. I need say no more apart perhaps from closing my brief remarks by referring to the fact that atti-

tudes or demonstrations of this kind should have no place in the United Nations. It cannot but reflect unfavourably on the prestige and the dignity of this Organization and indeed create an ominous precedent

—a precedent which can well have the most serious consequences for the future of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.