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**President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKEY  
(Ghana).**

**Statement by the President**

1. The PRESIDENT: Members are all aware that at the 1329th meeting -
2. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -
3. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Albania cannot interrupt the President at this stage.
4. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -

5. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Albania should accord courtesy to the Presidency. I have not given him the floor. I must speak first.

6. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -

7. The PRESIDENT: As the representative of Albania knows very well, our proceedings must be carried out in an orderly fashion.

8. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -

9. The PRESIDENT: The President cannot accord any Member the right to speak when the President has a statement to make.

10. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -

11. The PRESIDENT: I assure the representative of Albania that I am prepared to give the floor to him at the right time. As President, I have a statement to make, and as the presiding officer I have every right to indicate to the Assembly what I have to say before I accord him the right to speak. This is the normal procedure; I am following the rules of procedure.

12. The representative of Albania has the right to speak at the right time. I shall give him the right to speak. I am not denying him that right; I shall give him that right.

13. I wish to say that I have no intention whatsoever of denying anyone, any delegation, the right to speak here. After all, we are a democratic body and every delegation has the right to speak when the Chair gives it the floor. The Chair cannot refuse anyone the right to speak. But the Chair must also make a statement. This is a right which is accorded to the Chair by the rules. Therefore, if you will allow me, I shall now speak.

14. You are all aware that at the 1329th meeting, held on 16 February 1965, the representative of Albania made certain proposals in the course of his statements. Although these proposals have not been introduced in writing as required under the rules, I believe that delegations have had time to study the verbatim record of the proceedings of the 1329th meeting and are aware of his proposals.

15. At this stage I believe that a recapitulation of the various decisions taken at recent meetings is necessary and will be useful.

16. As all delegations are aware, on 27 January 1965, at the 1325th meeting, I announced that the general debate was concluded [1325th meeting, para. 80].

17. When we met at the 1327th meeting on Monday, 8 February 1965, the Secretary-General made the statement to which I drew attention at the last meeting.

The Secretary-General in effect proposed that the Assembly should recess once it had, on a non-voting basis, agreed upon the machinery for comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects and disposed of the items on which a decision was needed before the Assembly recessed [1327th meeting, para. 7].

18. At the same meeting I stated as follows:

"The General Assembly has heard the statements by the Secretary-General. My own consultations bear out his conclusions. If the General Assembly agrees, decisions on the four questions proposed by the Secretary-General might be taken on Wednesday afternoon, 10 February, at 3 p.m." [Ibid., para. 32.]

19. I added:

"Thus, if the General Assembly agrees, existing vacancies may be filled on Wednesday afternoon, 10 February, on the basis of consensus..." [Ibid., para. 38.]

I asked the question: "May I now assume that there is no objection to the procedure I have outlined?" I stated: "There appears to be no objection. It is so agreed." [Ibid., para. 41.]

20. At the following meeting of the General Assembly on 10 February, which was the 1328th meeting, decisions were taken, on the basis of a non-voting consensus, with regard to the following items:

- (1) Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council;
- (2) Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly;
- (3) Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board;
- (4) Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- (5) United Nations International School;
- (6) Report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

21. The only items remaining on which a decision is needed before the Assembly can recess are the items which were listed in the Journal of the United Nations for the 1329th meeting held on Tuesday, 16 February 1965, which have been repeated for today's meeting. In this connexion, I may point out, with regard to the first item on our agenda today, the procedure of consultations was followed on the basis of the no-voting procedure, and I am advised that Albania participated in these consultations. I am grateful, of course, to the representative of Albania for his co-operation in this regard.

22. In these circumstances it is clear, as I stated at the 1329th meeting, that the Assembly has agreed "by its decision, by its consent, and by the procedure it has consistently followed since" that we should continue to proceed without a vote, and that the Assembly should recess when it has completed action on the items on which such action is needed before the Assembly can recess, namely the items listed in the Journal for the 1329th plenary meeting [1329th meeting, para. 55].

23. In these circumstances, I cannot help expressing the view that if the representative of Albania had wished a different procedure to be followed, the occasion for proposing this would have been at the 1327th meeting, held on 8 February this year, since I had declared at the previous meeting "the general debate is now concluded".

24. In any case, we are now seized of a proposal by the representative of Albania which we must dispose of before we can proceed. The effect of the Albanian proposal is that the Assembly reconsider and reverse the no-vote decision to which I have referred. The purpose of that decision was to avoid a confrontation prior to the recess, and to set up machinery for negotiations during the recess which we hope will result in agreed solutions as to all the financial, peace-keeping and voting problems which are troubling us. It is clear, as I indicated at the 1329th meeting, that the Assembly will first have to decide whether to reconsider its own decision before it can take up consideration of the proposal of the representative of Albania [1329th meeting, para. 55].

25. Since the Chair is only the servant of the Assembly and since I am bound by that no-vote decision unless and until the Assembly has changed it, I have necessarily to follow the procedure heretofore followed, namely to proceed on the basis of consensus. In these circumstances, I declare that there is a consensus against reconsidering that decision, and it can be so decided, and, in fact, it is so decided.

26. I see that the representative of Albania wishes to speak, and I call upon him.

27. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Mr. President, the way in which you deprived me just now of the right to speak on a point of order, which I was entitled to raise, was unjustifiable. I protest on behalf of my delegation against the manner in which you interrupted me and prevented me from speaking.

28. The Albanian delegation wishes also to express its deep regret at the way in which you adjourned the meeting on Tuesday last, 16 February [1329th meeting], when the General Assembly had before it the motion submitted by Albania and when I had urged that a vote should be taken before the meeting rose. You invoked rule 35 of the rules of procedure, in order to adjourn the meeting, whereas that rule gives you only the right to propose the adjournment of the meeting to the Assembly—I stress the words "propose the adjournment to the Assembly". In acting as you did, you did not even take note of my desire to speak, which I expressed when, from my seat in this hall, I called out "Point of order".

29. I do not think, however, that you intended to disregard the rights of the delegation of a sovereign Member State, for that would be contrary to our Charter, which is based on the sovereign equality of Member States, large and small, and would also be contrary to the principles which you hold and which are those of the country and the continent which you represent, especially for the delegations of small countries such as ours, dedicated to peace and freedom.

30. That being the case, I revert to the motion I submitted to the General Assembly at the meeting last Tuesday, 16 February, which was worded as follows:

"The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania presents a formal request that the General Assembly should immediately start its normal work in accordance with the Charter and the rules of procedure. We request that the Assembly should proceed immediately to set up the General Committee and adopt the agenda so that it can begin without further delay its consideration of the various items, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the rules of procedure, and specifically rules 21, 31, 38, 40, 67, 85 and 105.

"Our proposal should be given priority over any other item, and we should like the General Assembly to take a decision on this matter immediately by a roll-call vote." [1329th meeting, para 20 and 21.]

31. At the last meeting, some delegations maintained that our motion should perhaps have been submitted in the form of a draft resolution. We do not consider that there is any justification for such a demand, for it is not a matter of adopting a draft resolution on a new question; it is simply a matter of getting on with our normal work, as in previous sessions, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the rules of procedure, which are still fully applicable. We do not think there will be any further insistence on such a requirement and we feel that delegations have had time to reflect on our motion, which is very simple and clear.

32. Similarly, with reference to the question of the consensus on the irregular "no-objection" procedure, we trust that after our statement at the last meeting it has become obvious that this consensus ended on 27 January 1965 [1325th meeting], when the general debate, to which it was supposed to be restricted, was concluded. You have just asserted, Mr. President, that a new consensus was adopted on 8 February [1327th meeting]. I say that this is not in accordance with the facts. I asked all the delegations: did the President make a formal proposal to the General Assembly, according to which this remarkable procedure of no objection was to be adopted once again? Was there any approval by the General Assembly, after which the President brought his gavel down? Nobody knows. Nobody can confirm it. No such thing appears in the documents.

33. However that may be, since you have pressed the point, Mr. President, I too am going to quote some extracts from previous meetings, as you did.

34. On 18 January 1965, after speaking about financial matters, you said:

"Secondly, the work of the General Assembly should be conducted under normal procedures as soon as possible." [1315th meeting, para. 19.]

35. On 27 January, Mr. President, you said:

"Both the Secretary-General and I feel that we need a little more time for consultation with the interested delegations and parties before we meet again. I would therefore propose that, if the Assem-

bly agrees, we might meet again on Monday, 1 February, at 3 p.m. In the meantime, I would urge the various delegations to resolve their difficulties in regard to the constitution of the General Committee so that the Assembly may be able to set it up on Monday." [1325th meeting, para. 81.]

36. On 1 February 1965, the Secretary-General said:

"Now that the general debate is over, the Assembly has to decide on the procedure to be followed from now on." [1326th meeting, para. 1.]

You yourself, Mr. President, then added:

"I know that there are many delegations that feel that we have to get on with the normal business of the Assembly without further loss of time. As the Assembly is aware, this is a view to which both the Secretary-General and I attach considerable weight." [Ibid., para. 16.]

37. That was on 1 February 1965. The Secretary-General announced the end of the general debate and the end of the no-objection procedure. You yourself said, Mr. President, that it was necessary to begin normal work as soon as possible. You stated:

"... we should utilize this period to formulate concrete proposals which will determine the future course of this session." [Ibid., para. 19.]

38. I have examined the verbatim record of the meeting on 8 February. There is no mention of any decision by the General Assembly concerning a new consensus on the no-objection procedure. Furthermore, at the last meeting the delegations which took the floor did not make any reference whatsoever to any consensus on the no-objection procedure. On the contrary, everybody expressed concern that no decision had yet been reached on the procedure to be followed.

39. In view of the fact that at the meeting last Tuesday delegations confirmed that the Albanian delegation had the right to submit the request of which we are all aware, and that they confirmed that that request is fully justified, we think that the General Assembly should now be ready to take a roll-call vote, in accordance with our motion.

40. I repeat, Mr. President, that I do not agree with the interpretation you have placed on the proceedings at the meeting of 8 February, and I appeal, under rule 73, against that interpretation—that is, of course, if you will adhere to it.

41. If you agree to put my proposal to the vote first of all, I wish to stress once more, at the time this action is taken, that in submitting its motion the People's Republic of Albania is prompted chiefly by the consideration of the importance of safeguarding and strengthening this Organization, to which all countries devoted to peace and freedom are firmly attached, and that we are animated by respect for the lofty principle of the sovereign equality of Member States and for the other fundamental principles of the Charter, to which my country remains faithful. We are convinced that our motion will be supported by all countries which respect those principles.

42. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Albania. With regard to his complaint in connexion

with the adjournment of the meeting on 16 February, I must apologize to him if, when I proposed the adjournment, he wanted to speak, but I must say that I did not see him raise his hand. I was not looking in his direction at all, but if he did raise his hand, then I must apologize.

43. I also wish to stress that the President, as I have repeatedly said, is the servant of the Assembly, and I would never deviate from the rules which guide our procedure. I have declared that there is a consensus against our reconsidering the decision taken. Am I to take it that the representative of Albania is challenging my ruling that a decision has been taken?

*The representative of Albania indicated assent.*

44. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia on a point of order.

45. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I have asked judiciously to speak on a point of order, but not in order to support one side or the other. Far be it from me to do so. I will be forgiven even by my own Government if I say that I identify myself with the interests of this Organization, inasmuch as I represent Saudi Arabia. It is not a question of historiography of events, and I use the word "historiography" with all the meaning that it implies.

46. You were perfectly right, Mr. President, when you enumerated what had happened. If we, the small countries, were conformists, it was because we thought that peace sometimes demanded from us the price of conformity. It was for the sake of avoiding what you call "confrontation". But this fear and danger does not exist any more, there is no longer any confrontation or possible confrontation. To all intents and purposes, this session has come to an end. I do not like to use only formulae to the effect that the contesting Powers might, if we were to ask for a vote, stand up and say that those who allegedly have not paid their dues do not have the right to vote, in accordance with that famous Article 19. There is no confrontation, there is full agreement on the part of the contestants.

47. I took the time last night, at 7.30 p.m. to come to this auditorium because I missed the constructive work of the General Assembly during this session. For twenty years...

48. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): Point of order.

49. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Can he make a point of order on a point of order?

50. The PRESIDENT: May I appeal to the Assembly to observe decorum. As a matter of fact, there has been a challenge to my ruling, and this comes under rule 73 of our rules of procedure, but I have allowed the representative of Saudi Arabia to speak, and I hope he will make his statement short so that we can then take this matter up.

51. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): When those with power have talked for two hours, nobody has objected. I have the privilege of speaking, and it would be a lack of decorum to say that I cannot take my time. We have been muzzled during the whole of the session here. Some can speak very succinctly and make themselves understood. They are great, but we are not

that great. It is my privilege to talk and to make myself understood, and I hope that my friend, Mr. Gebre-Egzy, will do me the courtesy of not interrupting me. But now my thread of thought has been cut, and this will prolong the meeting all the more.

*[Laughter]*

52. There is filibustering in certain parliaments and chambers, and it now seems that in the United Nations, also, there is an attempt to use methods of obstruction. I hope I shall be left in peace to say what I want to say. If I can make you laugh, I shall laugh with you, but there is nothing to laugh about when we come to the seriousness of what might accrue from anything that might take place in this Assembly which would constitute a precedent for our becoming nothing but rubber-stamp representatives. This is the core of my intervention, and this is a serious matter and not something to laugh about.

53. Last night, Mr. Stevenson made us all laugh with his sense of humour, and we felt better after his speech. There is nothing wrong with that, but this can also degenerate into banality if we go on considering this Organization as a joke, as unfortunately it has been looked upon by many people outside this chamber, as well as by people inside.

54. I shall explain my point of order in order to appease any person who might think I just wanted to come to this rostrum to make myself heard. I think I have spoken enough during the past twenty years here. It is not very amusing for me to have to say what I have to say.

55. I have said that to all intents and purposes the session is over. If we were to continue this session our Governments would have to make special appropriations for keeping their representatives here or for bringing them over again, and I do not think this would be easy, even for the developed countries, as they would have to enter into constitutional processes to do so.

56. On the other hand, for the sake of peace, many of us conformed to the arrangements which you, Mr. President, rightly mentioned you had suggested, with the Secretary-General always giving us his advice in our collectivity, in order not to allow this Organization to founder. But we heard last night—in the very heartening speech given by none other than the Vice-President of the United States—that this Organization will not founder, and that it will go on. That was the best I had heard since 1 December. It was a very encouraging sign. I believe that when the Vice-President of the United States speaks, he weighs every word of his speech. It is not in the interest of the United States, or of the Soviet Union or of France, or Albania, or Saudi Arabia, or any one of us, to see the end of this Organization.

57. I know what is going to happen after this—and that is why I asked for a point of order. You know what you arranged, Sir, to the best of your ability, with the help of your advisers, and no doubt the Secretary-General, and also of those with whom you consulted. I have no doubt that you not only have the welfare of this Organization at heart, but also wish to see to it that we do meet with concord, if not within

the next few weeks at least in September. Nobody doubts the good motives. No one should doubt either the motive of our colleague from Albania. We cannot delve into the motives of each one. If we doubt, there is no end to it. If we doubt, then we can accomplish nothing.

58. I know the other side of the coin: what will happen when your ruling is challenged. It is not going to stop there, because I was told what some of our colleagues are going to do. Rightly or wrongly, I am not going to divulge that. It is not for me to judge. It is perhaps not for any one of us here to judge. It is perhaps for those who are outside, and who can be more objective, to judge—those who are not deeply concerned as we are.

59. This is what I am going to propose—and do not think I have been talking about this to my colleague from Albania. I have tried my best to see that his dignity is preserved as a human being. We deal here with human rights too. Some of us were applauding and some came short of booing. Others were acclaiming things that served their own interests, as if we were in a theatre on Broadway. This is no place to boo or to debunk, nor to praise to the high heavens. This is a place where we could accomplish, even at this late hour, something that might be workable.

60. I do not have a plan; I do not think that anyone has a plan. It is difficult to have a plan when there are 115 countries. I have certain suggestions to make lest, after the mechanics of challenging your ruling are over, we have a sort of pandemonium. That would be a sorry situation indeed—and it is what drove me to ask for the point of order, because I know what is going to happen after the challenging of your ruling, Sir. I should feel sad if it were to take place.

61. I cannot divulge what might happen. I know something is going to happen which will not redound to the good name of the United Nations. And when the Press picks up these matters and we become the butt of the Press—I am not speaking of the local Press but of the world Press—some of it gives enough space to the enemies of the United Nations and they confuse the issue more than it is confused.

62. I appeal to you, Sir, as our President, and at the same time to my colleague from Albania, to whom I wish to address myself before the entire Assembly. We should respect not only your person, as well we do, but also the dignity of the Chair, as you are our representative. You talk quite often, not on your own behalf, but representing each one of us, although sometimes it is difficult to satisfy each one of us.

63. The small Powers have no assurance that if we meet in September we shall not be faced with the same issue. That is the first point. Some of us think that, even if we meet in September, a deal will have been made which may not be in the interests of the small Powers.

64. Yesterday in the speech of the Vice-President—and when I say Vice-President we have no Vice-President here in the United Nations, so I mean the Vice-President of the United States—which was on a very optimistic note, we heard that we should not fear that the United Nations had come to an end. The

Security Council is functioning; many subsidiary bodies are functioning; and the General Assembly must wait until certain adjustments are made. Who is going to make those adjustments while we are not present to participate in them? Oh yes, there is going to be a committee; a committee, I heard from my colleagues, and specially the small countries, a committee of thirty, twenty-seven—many figures have been given. This Member would be acceptable to this side, but may not be acceptable to the other side; therefore, the membership of the committee had to be changed until it came to be, I heard—I may be corrected—anything between twenty-seven and thirty, or maybe more. It is collecting momentum.

65. I hope my colleague from Albania will not come to the point where he has to challenge your ruling, because then I know what will happen if he does—and it is shameful that we should strike at the dignity of a dissident. I say that although I may not agree with him in substance. The Press will carry headlines saying that he is isolated, and then they will put on it all the interpretations they see fit, and the man in the street will believe it. That is the freedom of the Press—not of licence only, but of the Press. I believe sometimes it is the freedom of licence. One great paper in this same city of ours called the representative of Albania "Mao's proxy": in other words, a stooge of Mao. Albania is a sovereign Member State of this United Nations. Millions who read those headlines will believe that it is a stooge of another country which is not a Member State, because it suits some to call Albania a stooge. This is striking at the dignity of each one of us. Tomorrow, if someone disagrees with a small country he will call it a stooge of another country. This is what we are getting to. We do not want any more confusion. We do not want any challenging of your ruling, sir. But still we must satisfy a small country. We must find a formula. What is the formula? The formula is not so complicated, I submit.

66. We are going to have no committees. The period of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly is over, but we can do certain things here. We can dispose of the budget, and also the two or three items which you mentioned, in a normal way, hoping—

67. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): Point of order.

68. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): I am about to finish my statement. Mr. President, will you ask the gentleman, my good friend from Ethiopia, not to bother me any more? I am winding up my speech. I have been here long enough. Do not make a scene. Can there be a point of order over a point of order? Mr. President, will you allow me to continue, or shall I come back to the rostrum later?

69. The PRESIDENT: Proceed.

70. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): If the two contesting Powers will agree, today or tomorrow, and preferably today, to make an exception only for disposing of the remainder of the business we have before us in the normal way, by a vote and not by consultation, then I want to prevail on my colleague from Albania not to challenge your ruling, Mr. President. We shall then avoid pandemonium and can be happy that at least both Powers have made a conces-

sion and have not been stubborn in taking positions on financial questions which are, in fact, none other than political. Otherwise, we shall indeed be downcast and shall not know if even the ritual of the United Nations will be preserved, whether in September many of us will have the heart to think that we may be able to proceed as we proceeded in the past by having the forum of the international community at least working with equal dignity and with equal rights.

71. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -

72. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Saudi Arabia has appealed to the representative of Albania not to press his challenge to my ruling. I am sure that the representative of Albania will heed the appeal of the representative of Saudi Arabia and not insist on challenging the ruling which I have given.

73. The representative of Albania has the floor on a point of order.

74. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): I must thank the representative of Saudi Arabia very much for his kind words about my country. As far as the rumours and provocative statements about Albania from imperialist sources are concerned, the world knows what to make of them. The peoples of the world know how the Albanian people and their leaders have fought unremittingly for sovereignty and independence, how they fought against the Fascists during the war, and how they resisted all imperialist attempts after the war; the very people who spread such rumours are well aware of this from their own experience; they know how all the plots which they hatched against Albania have failed.

75. If Albania had had any inclination to become a satellite, it would have become a satellite of the United States of America long ago. But the Albanian people are well known, and the Albanian leaders, the same men who led the Albanian people during the war and are still leading them, those who have led them from victory to victory, transforming the country and changing a backward agricultural country into a modern country with modern industry and modern agriculture, they are the men who lead independent and sovereign Albania today.

76. I do not think that I need to enlarge upon such slanders. We are accustomed to such things. Moreover, the imperialists are incapable of visualizing relations between States other than in terms of great Powers and small Powers, great Powers and satellite Powers. But in this respect Albania is not alone. There are many small countries here who know the real meaning of such accusations against small countries and, even if they do not protest, their hearts are with me, the representative of Albania, because of the principles which I am defending.

77. In any case, I do not think that it is necessary for me to dwell on this matter now. I am sorry to tell you, Mr. President, that I do not at all agree with the interpretation which you gave of the meeting of 8 February [1327th meeting]. I value the truth and, much as I should like to please you, I must maintain, bearing in mind the true facts, that on 8 February, no decision was taken regarding the adoption of an abnormal procedure called the "no-objection" proce-

dure. That is why I challenge your ruling and I ask you to put my challenge to a roll-call vote.

78. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Albania has appealed against my ruling, and has asked for a roll-call vote on his appeal. I believe that a procedural vote cannot be avoided at this time.

79. Since the vote is in fact solely in connexion with the question of whether or not the General Assembly should continue its further work, as heretofore, without voting, I believe that I can say that the vote can proceed on the basis of full reservations as to all the legal issues and without prejudice to the respective positions of Member States.

80. Since the vote is on the appeal against my ruling, then rule 73 should apply. Rule 73 reads in part:

"The appeal shall be immediately put to the vote and the President's ruling shall stand unless overruled by a majority of the Members present and voting."

So those who vote in favour will be regarded as supporting the appeal against the President's ruling, and those who vote against will be regarded as supporting the President's ruling. Those who wish to abstain are, of course, free to do so.

81. I repeat: those who vote in favour will be regarded as supporting the appeal against the President's ruling, and those who vote against will be regarded as supporting the President's ruling. Those who wish to abstain, are, of course, free to do so.

82. I understand that the representative of the United States wishes to speak on a point of order.

83. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -

84. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): Mr. President, since the -

85. The PRESIDENT: There is a point of order. The representative of the United States is speaking on a point of order.

86. Mr. BUDO (Albania): -

87. The PRESIDENT: There is already a point of order by the representative of the United States. Therefore, there cannot be another point of order. Let the representative of the United States speak first, and then the representative of Albania will have his turn.

88. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Rule 73 of the rules of procedure states that the appeal shall be immediately put to the vote.

89. The PRESIDENT: If I understand the representative of Albania correctly, his point is that the appeal against the ruling of the President shall immediately be put to the vote. I think he is right on that. Therefore, may I suggest that we proceed to a vote, since rule 73 calls for that to be done immediately.

90. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): I had not expected that we would have to engage in this sort of procedural discussion much longer. If the President will be good enough to look at rule 90 of the rules of procedure, he will see that it reads:

"After the President has announced the beginning of voting, no representative shall interrupt the

voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting."

I make such a point of order, and I should like to be heard.

91. The PRESIDENT: I refer the General Assembly to rule 90:

"After the President has announced the beginning of voting, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting."

92. If the representative of the United States is making his point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting, he may proceed.

93. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): Well, of course, the President announced that the vote was to be taken. If I have the President's permission, I shall make my point of order, and I shall make it a little briefer than some that have been made here today.

94. Since 1 December, this Assembly has agreed, without objection, to act -

*The representative of Albania spoke from the floor.*

95. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): You will listen to me. You will have the opportunity to speak when the President recognizes you at the conclusion of my remarks.

96. Since 1 December, this Assembly has agreed, without objection, to act on the basis of a procedure the purpose of which has been to avoid a confrontation on a matter of basic principle so that, with adequate time, an agreed solution consonant with the provisions of the Charter shall be reached. Agreement has also been reached that the Assembly should proceed by recessing, after disposing of certain important items, to permit a new effort to be made to seek that solution.

97. One Member of the Assembly has now challenged these procedures, previously agreed to by all Members in the best interests of the Organization. We are therefore faced with a situation where a procedural vote is regarded by many Members as necessary to confirm -

*The representative of Albania spoke from the floor.*

98. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): Will you ask for order in the hall, Mr. President.

99. The PRESIDENT: I appeal to the representative of Albania to keep order. I will give him his turn when the time comes. When the representative of the United States has finished speaking, I will give the floor to the representative of Albania. The representative of the United States is speaking on a point of order in connexion with the voting, I presume.

100. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): As I said, one Member of the Assembly has now challenged these procedures, previously agreed to by all Members in the best interests of the Organization. We are therefore faced with a situation where a procedural vote is regarded by many Members as necessary to confirm the clear desire and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly.

101. Inasmuch as the procedural vote for which the President has called in connexion with his ruling deals only with the issue of whether the Assembly should or should not continue to proceed on a non-voting basis, and not with the substantive business of the Assembly, the United States considers that such a vote would not involve or prejudice the question of the applicability of Article 19 and that the question can in no way be affected by it. Accordingly, so that the overwhelming majority may not be frustrated by one Member and so that the Assembly may complete the substantive business currently before it on a consensus basis, the United States will raise no objection to the procedural vote on the challenge to the President's ruling.

102. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Albania on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting.

*The representative of Albania spoke from the floor.*

103. The PRESIDENT: We shall proceed with the voting. Those who vote "Yes" will be regarded as supporting the appeal against the President's ruling, and those who vote "No" will be regarded as supporting the President's ruling. Those who wish to abstain are, of course, free to do so.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour: Mauritania, Albania.*

*Against: Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon.*

*Abstaining: Guinea, Mali, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Algeria, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, France.*

*The appeal against the ruling of the President was rejected by 97 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.<sup>1/</sup>*

104. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): I wish to express the regrets and strong protests of the delegation of Albania about the way in which an

<sup>1/</sup> The representatives of Cambodia and Saudi Arabia advised the President formally that they did not participate in the vote.

attempt has been made to trample under foot the rights of a sovereign State like Albania. This is a matter which concerns not only Albania but all countries which cherish the cause of the sovereignty of Member States.

105. The intrigues of the last few days are prejudicial to the rights and the dignity of Member States, and have a serious effect on the Organization. The delegation of Albania expresses its deep regret, since these are very dangerous moves which can only serve the aims of those who wish to use the Organization as a submissive instrument in the service of their own interests aspiring to hegemony. Such actions cannot fail to constitute a serious precedent for the future.

106. We cannot but recognize that what has happened today will certainly cause great disappointment among the peoples of the world, who rightly expect the United Nations to fulfil its tasks, in conformity with the Charter, in support of their struggle for peace and freedom.

107. At the same time I feel I should point out that, by voting today on the basis of rule 73 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly has for a moment applied the rules of procedure and has followed the normal procedure, and that all Members of the General Assembly have voted, thus rejecting the United States claim that certain countries should be deprived of their right to vote in the General Assembly, countries which rightly refuse to pay the expenses of the operations of the United Nations forces which have served the interests of the aggressive policy of the United States. This has also shown that the whole thing was a subterfuge to prevent the General Assembly from functioning normally at this session and from considering the important and urgent problems of our times. The United States claim was a bluff and today the bluff has been called. The veil covering the real aims of the United States in its threat to invoke Article 19 of the Charter has been lifted and the whole world now sees that the question of the expenses of the United Nations forces, and hence the threat of confrontation, is merely a pretext and a means of blackmail which conceals unavowable objectives.

108. All the efforts made by the delegation of Albania during this abnormal session, including those made during the last two meetings, have been prompted by our concern for the United Nations, by our desire to help the Organization out of the present intolerable confusion, which is unworthy of sovereign Member States, and to do all in our power to help to save the United Nations before it is too late.

109. Many delegations have congratulated us on our initiative; they have told us that they appreciated our initiative and considered it a valuable contribution to the joint effort which must be made by Member States which sincerely desire the protection and consolidation of the United Nations, in conformity with the principles of the Charter. We have done our duty and we shall continue to make every effort to help as much as we can to maintain the United Nations and to save it from the breakdown that threatens it. But we must admit that the danger is becoming increasingly serious and threatening and that the peace-

loving countries devoted to the Organization must at once redouble their efforts in order to save it in time. We have done our duty and the Member States which cherish the same principles as we do, as also all the peoples of the world, will say that we are right and at the same time will denounce those who are responsible for the abnormal situation in the General Assembly and who persist in preserving it.

110. I am the representative of a small country and I have been faced with the most shameful machinations by representatives of the great Powers, representatives who are very experienced and capable of defending the most unjust causes. But I want to tell you that I am not intimidated by these false giants, for I am not alone. Here in this Hall I have many friends, representatives of peace-loving countries, who support the delegation of Albania and the cause which it defends. I am not intimidated by these false giants, for I have an advantage which my enemies lack. My advantage is the fact that right is on my side, that the cause which I defend is a just cause, the cause of humanity. This is an advantage which excels all others and which will ensure our triumph. I am very proud to defend this cause, since it is the cause of my people and at the same time the cause of all the peoples of the world who fight against imperialist slavery, and fight for the liberty, dignity and progress of mankind. It is this cause that will ultimately triumph.

111. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Albania. I shall now call on representatives in explanation of vote. The first name on my list is that of the representative of Ethiopia.

112. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): We have just taken a decision in which my delegation cast its vote with several considerations in mind. It is necessary for me to explain that vote in terms of what I said here at the 1329th meeting and put the matter into the record so as to prevent any perversion of the facts.

113. At the 1329th meeting I took the floor and said that at a certain moment in the proceedings during this session, you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General had made a certain proposal and that we had agreed to that proposal when you asked whether there was any objection. At that time we kept quiet, we registered no objection, and you understood that we had agreed to the procedure which you had then outlined and which you have repeated today.

114. Now, it is important for the Ethiopian delegation to state that our vote means that we agreed to that procedure. There is no other interpretation to be placed upon it. For, as I said at the 1329th meeting, were it possible, we should have liked to see the Assembly function normally; in fact, we should have liked to see it do so not two and a half months but fifteen days after the start of the debate. This I want to put on the record so that there shall be no misunderstanding whatsoever.

115. Secondly, Mr. President, since I have the floor, I hope you will permit me to explain why I wanted to take the floor on a point of order when the representative of Saudi Arabia had the floor.

116. It is my understanding that when the President makes a ruling and that ruling is challenged, a vote

has to be conducted right away—the word is "immediately". I would be the last person to challenge the wisdom of the representative of Saudi Arabia, and indeed I agree with many of the things he said; but my impression is that once an infringement of a rule has been permitted somewhere, it then becomes very difficult to stop. And with all the respect and esteem that I have for the representative of Saudi Arabia, I believe he rose on a point of order; and when a representative rises on a point of order, it is only fair to the other delegations for him to state what that point of order is within the first two, three or four minutes. I do not begrudge it to any delegation if it takes five or ten minutes, but the moment we go beyond that we are in difficulty. The testimony for that is that the representative of the United States—and again, I do not begrudge him his right to take the floor—took the floor and spoke under rule 90. While I am not in a position to say that that was right or wrong, it does seem to me that there is a doubt. The rule states: "After the President has announced the beginning"—the beginning—"of voting, no representative shall interrupt the voting...". I submit, Mr. President, that you had announced the beginning of the vote, and after that, no representative had the right to ask to take the floor to make a policy statement. And a point of order, if it is made, must be in connexion with the conduct of the vote, must be direct; it cannot be otherwise. As to the other part concerning the explanation of votes, this certainly cannot be said to apply after you have announced that we are beginning to vote.

117. My preoccupation with regard to these two points, I repeat, is not because I begrudge the time taken by the representatives of Saudi Arabia and the United States; it is rather that once the rule is infringed, then the rights of other delegations will be in danger.

118. Mr. MISKE (Mauritania) (translated from French): I should like to say first of all, Mr. President, that I think it highly regrettable that you were induced to adopt a procedure which has prevented a number of representatives from speaking before a vote was taken, for their statements would have been useful in throwing some light on the vote. Nevertheless, I should like to state the position of Mauritania on this serious problem, in explanation of the vote which my delegation has just registered.

119. The Mauritanian delegation wishes to make known its position on the serious problem which is paralysing this Assembly. We have hitherto refrained from our opposition to the *de facto* abdication of the Assembly, out of loyalty to a group to which we belong and whose decisions we respect, for this group considered it wiser to resign itself, with death in its soul, to agreeing to anything in order to avoid what some think would be a catastrophe.

120. A new situation has, however, arisen. The intervention of Albania had the merit of breaking the spell under which the Assembly has been rendered impotent, and the African group took the very appropriate decision to allow its members complete freedom of action.

121. There is something disquieting about some of the evidence gleaned from the negotiators who have

been acting as intermediaries between the great Powers during the last few months. Only last night, and even this morning, some of these negotiators told me that at certain moments there was practically nothing dividing the Russians and the Americans, and that all that was lacking was a very slight effort of goodwill and at times even of good faith; also that if they really wanted to agree now, such an effort would have been made. Why, then, do they not wish to agree now? Is it, as is rumoured in the lobby, because they want at all costs to prevent the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, at least this year? Is it, generally speaking, because they want to prove incontestably that they alone dominate the world and because they want this assumption to be accepted, at least implicitly, by all the Members of the United Nations? They would then have time to conduct large-scale negotiations on the affairs of the world and, having reached agreement, would condescend to allow us to approve it, perhaps indulging in the luxury of a few minor disputes in our presence, for the sake of appearances and to amuse the gallery.

122. Whatever truth there may be in these speculations, one thing is apparent. The two greatest Powers in the world have acted as if they had agreed between themselves to prevent the United Nations from functioning and to crush it by the weight of their joint power. This attitude derives from a principle which was expounded bluntly and frankly by the President of the French Republic only a few days ago. The responsibility for the fate of the world, according to this principle, rests with a small number of great Powers, which must become aware of that responsibility and must meet together to assume it jointly. This attitude has at least the merit of frankness. The only difference between the two positions is that, for General de Gaulle, there are five great Powers, which must meet in the open to assume their historic responsibility, whereas the Americans and Russians, for their part, prefer a club with a more restricted membership, a club with two members, with perhaps a little seat in the aisle for the United Kingdom and, if absolutely necessary, observer status for France, but, above all, no China, popular or unpopular.

123. Well, we must say quite clearly that we disagree. We do not want to entrust either to five or to two great Powers the task of deciding, without our participation, on the fate of all of us, whether that decision is taken within the framework of an official and recognized club or of a disguised duumvirate within the United Nations. That would in fact imply nothing less than that the other countries, and especially the newly independent countries, are still not mature, still not able to deal with their own affairs. This concept is based on a colonialist philosophy "par excellence", perhaps better adapted to present-day developments in the world but certainly no different in essence from the one which prevailed during the last century, when the great Powers of the time decided, or thought they decided, the fate of the world and divided it into zones of influence either at conferences in which two, five or seven countries participated, or on the battlefield.

124. Now I do not see why this modern colonialism of the great Powers should be any more attractive to us than that of the Powers of former days. They do not even pay the price; although they willingly help us to kill each other, they are in general much more reluctant when it comes to helping us seriously, effectively and substantially in our development. One single example is enough to show in no uncertain manner how paltry and insignificant are the sums granted to us, often with unacceptable political conditions attached: one has only to compare the total aid granted, on an average, in one year to one of the under-developed countries for its development with the amounts expended in one day to help the Vietnamese, for example, to exterminate each other.

125. We must state these things quite clearly. In so far as the attitude of the Soviet Union concerning the problem of payments challenges the prerogatives of the General Assembly, to the advantage of that select club which the Security Council still is, we disagree with the Soviet Union. We are faithful, above all else, to the principle of the sovereign equality of States, and the General Assembly, in the form it has assumed in the past, has been and will, I trust, remain the main safeguard of that right. In so far as the blackmail the United States has exerted on the General Assembly to render it inactive is the result of that country's wish to make the United Nations an instrument of its national policy, we disagree with the United States. The United States has, indeed, the right, as has any other Member, to invoke any Article of the Charter and to demand that it shall be respected. By what right, however, does it take upon itself the monopoly in interpreting this or that Article of the Charter? What provision of the Charter or of the rules of procedure would authorize it to compel the General Assembly, by threats, to interpret those texts in the light of the applicability or non-applicability of this or that article? There is nothing that authorizes the United States, any more than the Soviet Union, to do so.

126. If the United States considers that it is contributing too great a share to the financing of the United Nations and its various agencies and that this should give it a right to greater control over the affairs of our Organization, let us look closely into this problem. The United States pays its normal share of the regular budget of the United Nations. It has certainly accepted—if it did not itself suggest—the method of calculating the contributions, without having recommended that the idea of the sovereign equality of States should be questioned or should be dependent on the financial contribution. If, on the other hand, the United States shows generosity or a sense of duty or, if you prefer it, international solidarity, and agrees to make substantial and voluntary contributions to the various international agencies, that is all to the good and we are certainly grateful to it, provided, of course, that this does not lead to any blackmail or any attempt to use the United Nations to serve a national policy of power and prestige. Otherwise, it would be simpler for the United Nations to refuse this kind of tainted gift and to reduce its expenses and restrict its activities, which would thus be rendered more effective because they would be more independent and more disinterested.

127. To the extent that the attitude of France towards the United Nations reflects a certain rather condescending paternalism towards the small countries, a lack of confidence in their maturity and a desire to settle, without their participation, the question upon which the fate of mankind—that is, their own fate—depends, we do not agree with France.

128. The Mauritanian delegation therefore considers that the only appeal we have to make must be addressed to the great Powers, urging them:

To agree to play their part loyally in the United Nations;

To respect the principle of the sovereign equality of States;

To help the United Nations to become a genuinely effective instrument for international co-operation by placing at its disposal a much greater share of their immense wealth, which is boundless compared with that of the under-developed countries;

To cease trying to use the United Nations as an instrument of their national policies;

And to realize that a strong, independent and respected United Nations would be capable of establishing and firmly maintaining peace in the world; this would mean that those Powers would no longer need to undertake the role of policing the world and that they could devote all their efforts, resources and surplus energies to peaceful and eminently praiseworthy work, such as, for example, improving the lot of the under-privileged among their own citizens and giving the poor countries disinterested assistance in keeping with their great needs.

129. The intellectual and scientific achievements of those Powers, their aid to a world in need—the only fields which are truly honourable and in which they can compete freely without being likely to create animosity, to incur hatred or to sow the seeds of misfortune—these things would earn them general and universal gratitude.

130. It would, of course, be naïve and unreasonable to expect to prevent any given country from exerting a greater or lesser influence in the United Nations, in accordance with its importance in the world at the economic or cultural level, or simply in accordance with the size of its delegation, the technical or other ability of its representatives, or yet other criteria. Of course, newcomers to the United Nations can and must take advantage of the experience of the older Members, whether large or small Powers, but it is inadmissible and dishonest for any country to make its influence felt and to use it publicly and officially as a means of blackmail and pressure and as a means of dominating the United Nations.

131. It is for that reason that the Mauritanian delegation asks the General Assembly, firstly, to reaffirm its devotion to the principle of the sovereign equality of States; secondly, to denounce any attempt at blackmail designed to influence the decisions of the Assembly under the threat of the withdrawal of one or more Members; and, thirdly, to adopt the Afro-Asian plan as the basis for settling the present difficulties of this Organization. The procedural vote which took place just now does not detract in any

way from the value of these proposals and I urge that they should be put to a roll-call vote.

132. I cannot conclude without paying a tribute from this rostrum to the fine qualities of a man whom Africa can already number among its most enduring glories and who has become one of the greatest Presidents ever to guide the work of this Assembly. I refer, of course, to our President, Alex Quaison-Sackey.

133. If I may be allowed to make one last appeal, I shall address it to the great Powers, urging them to show their friendship for Africa by making the necessary effort to enable one of the first sessions presided over by an African to function normally at last.

134. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): My delegation abstained in the vote which has just taken place and I should like to explain very briefly the reasons for that abstention.

135. My delegation abstained because it considers that the Assembly was indirectly invited to give its decision on the motion submitted on 16 February 1965 by the delegation of Albania. You will recall, Mr. President, that in the course of my statement in the general debate on 22 January 1965 [1319th meeting] I deplored the obstacles which were preventing the normal functioning of this session, over which you are presiding on behalf of Africa. My delegation is still prepared, as in the past, to afford you all the assistance it can in order to overcome the difficulties that you are facing today and that we face with you. My delegation wishes, however, to give you this assistance within the framework of respect for the rules of procedure and for the principles which have always guided the work of this Assembly.

136. Having made that point clear, my delegation feels that the manner in which we have just been consulted is not in conformity with the rules of procedure. Indeed, rule 73 specifies:

"During the discussion of any matter, a representative may rise to a point of order, and the point of order shall be immediately decided by the President in accordance with the rules of procedure."

137. That being so, my delegation considers that in order to comply with the rules of procedure the Assembly should have taken a decision on the motion submitted by the representative of Albania. It does not seem to be correct to link the Albanian motion to a consensus accepted a week ago by this Assembly and to submit the motion in this way, as an appeal against a presidential ruling. I should like to explain, that if the Albanian motion had been put to the vote my delegation would have voted in its favour, because its contents are in line with the views of all the delegations who have come to New York at considerable expense, not as tourists but in order to discuss the questions appearing on the provisional agenda of this session and thus to make their contribution to the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of co-operation between the peoples of the whole world.

138. The presidential consensus of 8 February, on which we were asked to take a decision once again, was accepted by this Assembly as the result of a

regrettable combination of circumstances which imposed an abnormal method of work on the Assembly. My delegation considers that the Assembly should have been asked to vote, not on the consensus, but on the motion submitted by the delegation of Albania. My delegation considers that the proceedings and the rules of procedure have been manipulated, and that is why we abstained. The procedure employed to reject the Albanian proposal does not seem to me to serve the true interests of the Organization and it constitutes a dangerous precedent for the delegations which do not always share the views of the great Powers.

139. Before leaving this rostrum, I should like to reaffirm that if the motion proposed by the Albanian delegation had been put to the vote my delegation would have voted in its favour, in order to enable the Assembly to function in pursuance of the objectives of the Charter. My delegation is indeed convinced that to prevent the Assembly from functioning at a time when serious crises threaten the peace of the world, at a time when an imperialist war is being inflicted on the people of Viet-Nam, constitutes an act which is contrary to the objectives of the Charter. That is why my delegation abstained in the vote which has just taken place; in the opinion of my delegation, this type of consultation is a circuitous way of rejecting proposals submitted by a delegation in conformity with the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

140. Mr. SETTE CAMARA (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation refrained from objecting to the procedure which has just been followed by the General Assembly because of the fact that this course of action was adopted by a consensus of the membership and that, regrettably, no alternative to that procedure seemed to have been offered or supported by the quasi-totality of the Assembly.

141. We feel it to be our duty, however, to express our formal reservation on that procedure. It is our conviction that it is not consistent either with the spirit or the letter of the Charter of San Francisco, and we deplore the fact that such a price had to be paid for reasons of expediency. We only hope that the future will prove that our decision was as wise as it was expedient.

142. The vote of my delegation, therefore, is to be interpreted exclusively in the light of those considerations, and must by no means be construed as a reversal of the position assumed by Brazil before the Working Group of Twenty-One<sup>2/</sup> and the General Assembly on the rights and powers of the General Assembly on the question of peace-keeping operations and on the nature of the expenditures entailed by them.

143. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): In the first vote taken in the General Assembly since the beginning of the nineteenth session, my delegation felt obliged to abstain. In view of the importance of the question submitted to us and of the fact that this is the first time that we have voted, my delegation considers it essential to explain its vote.

144. I should like to say first of all that, in the debate which has just taken place, we felt rather as if we

<sup>2/</sup> Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations.

were acting out La Fontaine's fable about the animals sick with the plague, and many seemed to be trying to raise a hue and cry against the donkey without really attempting to get to the root of the problem before us. We had the unhappy feeling that there was a tendency to make Albania responsible for the difficulties with which we are confronted whereas, in our view, the Albanian proposal is a reflection of certain consequences of the abnormal situation which has prevailed since the beginning of the nineteenth session. We feel that it was pointless to try to impose on Albania a decision unlikely to provide the most reasonable way out of the impasse in which we have found ourselves for nearly two and a half months.

145. What, in fact, was Albania's request? As we understand it, Albania had put forward a proposal on which two positions were possible: either we could have taken a decision on the Albanian proposal, or one or more delegations could have invoked the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, and in particular rule 81, which reads:

"Subject to rule 79, any motion calling for a decision on the competence of the General Assembly to adopt a proposal submitted to it shall be put to the vote before a vote is taken on the proposal in question."

146. It therefore seemed to us that, if it was the Assembly's wish not to vote on the Albanian proposal, it would have been easy to raise a previous question, and the Assembly could have decided thereon. Unfortunately this is not what happened.

147. There was also another possibility. You yourself, Mr. President, summed up the situation and pointed out that an implicit decision had been taken by the General Assembly which ruled out the proposal of Albania; but it seemed to us, in those circumstances, that the General Assembly should have been consulted not in the form of a vote on the challenge to your ruling but on the question whether it wished to maintain or reverse its decision. Under rule 83, a two-thirds majority would have been enough to reverse the earlier decision.

148. None of these rules was invoked, but I must say, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, that, if the Albanian proposal had been put to the vote, my delegation would have voted enthusiastically in favour of it.

149. There are many reasons why we would have done so. I wish merely to state that, for my delegation, one of the main reasons is the fact that the agreement reached today will not enable the nineteenth session to take up such vital matters bearing on the liberation of peoples as the question of apartheid, the question of the Portuguese colonies and the question of Southern Rhodesia, all of which contain the seeds of discord, if not of war, on the African continent.

150. We deeply regret that the constitutional situation that has arisen has not allowed the General Assembly to take up these matters.

151. We did not deem it appropriate to oppose your ruling and, being to some extent bound by a decision taken by a group of States, preferred to abstain when you consulted us, Mr. President. We preferred

to abstain not only for the reasons which I have just advanced but also in order to make your work easier, bearing in mind that we would have an opportunity to come to the rostrum and explain our vote.

152. We wish to state once again that our delegation is determined to spare no effort to strengthen this Organization and preserve the rights of all States, both large and small, so that, by joint efforts, in public and democratic debate, we can find solutions to any difficulty which may confront us.

153. My delegation was therefore anxious to explain its vote, hoping that it will thus have helped to clear up any misunderstanding about the position which the Guinean delegation would have taken if the Albanian proposal had been put to the vote—and this in no way prejudices what the position of the Guinean delegation might have been if the question of Article 19 had been raised.

154. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): We have heard explanations from the two representatives in this Assembly who voted in favour of the resolution just now, and we have heard some explanations from those who abstained. I think that it may be useful to endeavour to summarize for a few minutes the reasons which weighed with my delegation and I believe with many others, in deciding to vote with the overwhelming majority just now. The circumstances of that vote were exceptional. They were more than exceptional, they were unique.

155. We bore in mind, of course, the statement which you, Mr. President, made to us before the vote was taken. We took account of what was said; and many of us welcomed and agreed with the statement which was made by the representative of the United States before the vote was taken. We had no doubt that the stand that we had taken in recent months had been right and necessary. We have paid all that was due from us, but we never believed that we should pay by the erosion or the expenditure of the clauses of the Charter. We never believed that it was right that a great Power could decide whether it should observe the provisions of the Charter or not. We had no doubt whatsoever that it was right, proper and necessary to take the stand we took, but equally it was right, proper and necessary in our opinion to take the action which we have taken this afternoon.

156. We take this position for three reasons. First, because we support, and we shall always seek to support, your authority, Sir, as President of this Assembly. In recent weeks, within this Assembly and outside it, you have been faced by all sorts of pressures, and indeed from time to time, circumstances which I do not think should have been placed before you—and actions with which certainly we do not agree, and indeed behaviour in this Assembly for which I think some of us cannot be proud. But always you have maintained your admirable good humour, your ready accessibility, your readiness to listen to representatives of all persuasions.

157. You face both in the Assembly and outside it great difficulties and many pressures. It will be the purpose of my delegation, as I am sure it is the purpose of the overwhelming majority of the representatives in this Assembly, to give you due support

in the discharge of your extremely difficult and onerous duties.

158. But the second reason why we voted as we did just now, and why we think it was right to do so, is that we believe that what is the wish of the overwhelming majority of the representatives in this Assembly has seldom been clearer. Whatever the rules of procedure, which we support, or the customs or the traditions or the precedents that may exist, the purpose of any body such as this, or any other body in the world which is a representative body, is to give effect to the overwhelming wish of that representative body. Who can doubt after the vote which we have taken or after the lengthy discussions in which we have engaged, that this was indeed the overwhelming wish of the Assembly? The representative of Mauritania just now spoke disparagingly of my country, and spoke as if he was representing the majority. But if I am not mistaken, he was in a minority of two. I think that there are others well qualified to speak for the majority opinion—those who have voted in an overwhelming vote just now.

159. I believe that the fundamental basis of the United Nations is the general membership. One of the reasons why we wish to go forward along the lines that we have stated is that we have insisted, rightly insisted, that in the body which is, we hope, to be set up this afternoon to deal with the most important function of the United Nations, the function of peace-keeping, there will be a satisfactory representation of the general membership.

160. There are those who have advocated, as you know, that these matters shall be dealt with only by the great Powers, that in fact all we should do is to watch and pray while the great Powers go to the summit and we, the murmuring multitudes, should wait below for their unalterable law carved on tablets of stone. Not at all. Here in the United Nations every one of us has an essential interest in peace-keeping—every one of us. The United Nations is a representative body, not a class to be lectured by the masters. It is a body in which every Member has an equal right to speak, as we have seen that right exercised today. Therefore, if the first reason for the decision we took by the vote just now was to support the President, the second was to give effect to the wishes of the overwhelming membership of this Assembly, which have never been more clearly expressed; and thirdly, we supported the President and we supported the wish of the Assembly, because we now have an opportunity, after weeks and months of painful negotiation, to go forward on a course which offers some promise for the future.

161. We said, and we meant it, that what we wanted was not a cold war victory, but a United Nations success. And I believe that at the end of the afternoon that is what we shall have. We have set the course which has now been agreed by, I think, practically every Member of this Assembly—and that is remarkable enough—that the President and the Secretary-General should initiate proposals for settling the future principles of peace-keeping and also for dealing with the financial difficulties which have delayed us so long.

162. We have also proposed that a body should be set up fully representative of the whole membership of the United Nations, so that questions of peace-keeping can be settled for the future. These are great opportunities.

163. We were entirely against postponement, without this new major effort of policy being made. We were entirely against a confrontation, which we know, whatever the result of the vote and whoever won in the vote, would cause the United Nations to suffer gravely, maybe in a lasting manner. We believed that it was right to give our minds, the great Powers and the little Powers together, to the most important single effort to be made by the United Nations since it was established twenty years ago. For these reasons, we supported the action which has been taken. We agreed with the vote which was taken just now and with the result of it.

164. This event should not be regarded as the end of an unfortunate session. We hope that with your help and with your leadership, Mr. President, we shall be able by finding the answers to our problems on peace-keeping, and the answers to our problems on finance, too, to turn this nineteenth session from a failure to a success, and go into the twentieth session encouraged and strengthened with a United Nations which is not weaker but stronger for the future.

165. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): If I have come to the rostrum, it is not because I did not speak during the general debate, but it is to protest against a certain procedure which was followed today.

166. I think, Mr. President, that although some Powers have come here and told you that they support you, our coming to explain our vote here does not mean that we do not support you in any way. In fact, as an African, I would be the first man to support you wholeheartedly, and my own Foreign Minister, when he came to speak here, said how highly he was pleased that for the first time we had an African President of the Assembly.

167. But even at this moment, I think there are quite a number of things which went wrong, because for the first time we have been subjected to interpretations to suit only certain Members. For the first time we have been subjected to indignity, and perhaps a country like mine has doubts whether, tomorrow, this indignity to which certain delegations were subjected will not be repeated with regard to some other delegation.

168. May I now be permitted to go back to this question which is really at the crux of the matter, and that is the question of consensus. If I understand it correctly, a consensus does not really mean an agreement in the real sense. It was just a matter of convenience which we wanted to employ simply because, without it, the Assembly could not have done its work. This is the way I understood the consensus.

169. If you remember, Mr. President, under this very consensus, on 18 January, at the 1315th meeting, you told us that on 25 January the Assembly would come back to normal and we would elect the committees. You banged the gavel and we took it to be the consensus.

170. Now, a delegation like mine is definitely at a loss to understand when we agreed to break the decision of the President, the one which he gave us on 18 January. Therefore, when the representative of Albania came here to ask for a vote on the fact that the Assembly should go back to normal procedures, he was asking for nothing other than what we had agreed upon here as the consensus, and upon which the President of the Assembly had banged his gavel indicating the consensus. Therefore, for some people here to come forward and say that today we voted to reverse a certain decision which we had taken before puts a delegation like mine at a loss to understand whether today we were voting to reverse the decision which you, Mr. President, made at the 1315th meeting or on a decision which was more recent and which was considered by some of the Powers to be convenient for today.

171. Let us be very frank. We think that for the first time we have subjected certain countries to a certain indignity simply because they are small countries. Why do I say this? First of all we know that, in the course of the discussion at the 1329th meeting, Albania called for a vote on a certain motion. What was this motion? The motion was that the Assembly should go back to normal work. I must confess that today we did not vote on the motion of Albania. We voted on a question that the President wanted the Assembly to decide upon. I think this is a very dangerous procedure, especially for a small country like mine, and perhaps for a country such as the one you represent, Mr. President. If things can be decided here because certain Powers are in favour of it, then the United Nations might perhaps cease to be what it really represents. Again, may I say that the procedures we saw today will go down in history as a shocking moment, not only for the world but for future human beings. We thought that the indignity to which the Assembly was subjected was certainly beyond the normal thinking of normal people.

172. My delegation sincerely hopes that these things will not be repeated. We sincerely hope that Albania and some other smaller countries in the future will not be subjected to the sort of indignity we saw today.

173. We know for certain that we were all anxious to avoid a confrontation, that we were all anxious to get the work done today. But we think that the way in which it was done was not the right way, and we think that future generations will feel that what we did today was in fact wrong.

174. That is why my delegation chose to abstain in the voting today—because we were not voting on the motion of the representative of Albania.

175. The PRESIDENT: Unfortunately, the Chair cannot answer back. This is a very extraordinary session, and I could behave extraordinarily, but I will not do so.

176. Mr. TREMBLAY (Canada): I wish to explain briefly the position of my delegation concerning the vote which has just been taken in this Assembly in order to uphold the President's ruling.

177. The President has already described, in his statement, the conditions under which the Assembly has been operating since it met on 1 December—

arrangements which have had the unanimous consent of all Members. We all know that on 16 February the representative of Albania suddenly and without warning asked us to reverse the several decisions which had up to then guided our work. The President appealed at that point to the representative of Albania not to press his motion. The representative of Albania did not then agree, and has not since agreed, to withdraw his motion.

178. It has been recognized by all Members that the differences of opinion among Members of our Organization over Article 19 threaten, unless they are resolved by agreement, to cause serious damage to the United Nations. Members have recognized the seriousness of the danger facing our Organization and, in the difficult and delicate circumstances, have shown a truly remarkable sense of responsibility by agreeing to follow the procedure required by this unusual situation. The establishment of a special committee, under the same procedure, to carry out a comprehensive review of all aspects of peace-keeping operations was threatened by the challenge of the representative of Albania, which in one step would have frustrated our efforts to settle our differences through agreement and would have produced the confrontation which we all seek to avoid.

179. In the circumstances, it has been necessary to hold a vote in order to protect the future of our Organization. We had no alternative but to vote in order to achieve the ends which we have been seeking for the past two and a half months. However, my delegation wishes to state that it does not regard the vote which has just been taken as a modification of the views which my Government has publicly expressed on the question of the applicability of Article 19.

180. Mr. CISS (Senegal) (translated from French): The vote which has just been cast was on the question whether the General Assembly had already taken a decision to adopt the items on our agenda today by the procedure of consultation or "no-objection".

181. My delegation, which abstained, is anxious, like you, Mr. President, that the United Nations should survive and that everything should be done to avoid a confrontation. This desire led us to tolerate certain procedures on a number of occasions. We consider that the procedure outlined on 8 February 1965 was valid solely in order to allow certain vacancies to be filled and must not constitute a precedent, the inevitable consequence of which would be to muzzle the General Assembly to the advantage of other United Nations bodies such as the Security Council, where the great Powers have permanent seats and where, unfortunately, the smaller countries are barely represented.

182. To say that the General Assembly must take its decisions on the basis of a consensus is a dangerous precedent which might result in institutionalizing this system and jeopardize the principle of "one man, one vote". We are not responsible for the present situation. The situation in which the General Assembly has found itself is one which we have merely tolerated; we cannot be asked, by a vote, to sanction the procedure followed. Principles are involved, and whenever there is a question of principle, Senegal will not fail.

183. Mr. President, we admire your discretion and your perseverance; your efforts to find a solution acceptable to the parties are praiseworthy and you are to be commended for them.

184. We realize that, at the present time, now that the Assembly's session is drawing to a close, it is not possible to return to normal procedures. We would have been able to support a proposal from you recommending that, in view of the circumstances and the lack of time and especially in view of the fact that most of the members of the smaller delegations have returned to their countries, the session should be adjourned until September—naturally, after certain administrative measures had been adopted.

185. Once more my delegation wishes to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your efforts, and begs you to understand the reasons which led us to abstain in the vote.

186. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): I had not thought it would be necessary to speak at this late hour. In view, however, of the trend of certain developments here this afternoon, my delegation considers it necessary to speak.

187. I think that we should set the record straight. Some representatives have been speaking here this afternoon as though there had not been an agreement. But there was an agreement. Very clear evidence of that fact was the surprise with which the move of the representative of Albania was greeted. Whether or not we liked the agreement is another matter. Whether it is proper, fair and in the best interests of the sovereign rights of nations here assembled to reach decisions by consensus is another matter. Unfortunately, however—I repeat: unfortunately—we did resort to that procedure. There is ample evidence in the verbatim records that on every occasion the President told the Assembly what steps he proposed to take and asked whether there were any objections. Indeed, many times his decisions were greeted with applause, giving the abundant impression that they represented the agreement of the Assembly. Even the informal consultations which took place elsewhere, outside this Hall, were carried out in full agreement.

188. As I have said, whether we have now come to a stage when we would wish to consider that we might have made grave mistakes is another matter. However, I repeat that in all fairness we should set the record straight.

189. The President has been put in an impossible position. That has come about not because of the actions of certain delegations, particularly African delegations, or of the President, but because of circumstances in which we have all connived by our silence up to this moment.

190. My delegation's statement to the Assembly some days ago [1328th meeting] was not made because we believed that we should question the consensus that had been reached. We were referring to other aspects of the agreement. For instance, we knew that the Assembly was going to adjourn under certain circumstances, and I referred to the events that would take place during the adjournment. I would recall that I said from this rostrum that we hoped that certain

delegations would exert themselves with more vigour so that certain conclusions and decisions could be reached.

191. I think that it is unfortunate for anyone to give the impression from this rostrum that the idea of a consensus was repugnant. We all agreed to it. Our very silence is evidence of that. Only the delegation of Albania had the courage at this late hour to come to the rostrum and state—as I consider it had every right to do—that it no longer agreed with the no-vote procedure.

192. It is in that context that I understand what has happened here this afternoon. A challenge was made to the President's ruling that we should continue on a no-vote basis. That challenge was properly dealt with. That was why my delegation voted to uphold the President's ruling and against the challenge which the representative of Albania was quite entitled to make.

193. I should like to take this opportunity also to pay tribute to the President for his untiring patience and tremendous skill. I am sure that the majority of the peoples of Africa and the world will be justly proud of his performance.

194. Mr. HAY (Australia): The Australian delegation wishes to place on record its understanding of the circumstances in which voting took place on the challenge to the President's ruling this afternoon.

195. This was a procedural vote, specifically related, as the President himself said, to his ruling that the Assembly had already agreed to the continuation of the procedures adopted for the very purpose of avoiding a confrontation and enabling us to move to a recess and thereupon to begin negotiations on future peace-keeping.

196. In those circumstances, the fact of our casting a vote does not in any sense prejudice the stand of the Australian Government on the substantive issues involved.

197. I would add one observation. Exceptional circumstances impose great strains upon the presiding officer of this Assembly. We have looked to you, Mr. President, to uphold the rights of individual Members in a body of sovereign equals, and at the same time to ensure that in an Organization governed by majority rule, exercised in accordance with agreed principles, the necessary business is done. My delegation believes that you have achieved both those ends with fairness and dignity.

198. We further believe that the obligation which the presiding officer owes to the membership is balanced by an obligation which the membership owes to the presiding officer. I find myself in agreement with what the representative of Sierra Leone has said on that point. I personally regret that in the course of these proceedings you, Mr. President, have been subjected from one quarter to a strain which in the exercise of your duty I do not believe should have been imposed upon you. I would add that in those circumstances, too, my delegation believes that you have comported yourself with the fairness and dignity which have characterized your great predecessors in this office.

199. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish to say a few words in explanation of my delegation's vote, particu-

larly since my delegation has had a special position on this issue.

200. We voted against the challenge to the President's ruling because we wanted to support this ruling and his authority as President of the General Assembly, and also in order to be consistent with the stand we had taken on 8 February on the consensus then reached. That consensus was to avoid voting, because we all knew that voting would lead to a confrontation. We all agreed at that time that by all means a confrontation should be avoided and that we should proceed through such a consensus, in the interests of the United Nations. The representative of Albania participated in that agreement. It was the general feeling that we should take that wise course. Nothing has happened since that would make us alter that position. Therefore, we cast our vote today, in conformity with our previous stand.

201. Now, I said that our position is a special one. It is special in this respect: that we would otherwise have voted for the motion of the representative of Albania, a motion that was close to our hearts because it meant, in terms of its presentation, the resumption of the normal proceedings of the General Assembly, and we wanted our item to be discussed. We want it to be discussed now all the more because from the moment that it became known that there would be no General Assembly now and that it would probably be postponed until September, Cyprus began to suffer from threats and pressures. There are problems arising every day now in the situation in Cyprus, problems which did not exist even a few weeks ago when there was a question of this problem of Cyprus coming to the General Assembly. It is therefore obvious that if there was one representative in the United Nations who would want to see normal proceedings, it would be the representative of Cyprus.

202. Unfortunately, however, the motion of the representative of Albania would not have led to normal functioning of the General Assembly. It is common knowledge that it would have led to a confrontation and it is also common knowledge and generally admitted that such confrontation would have endangered the very existence of the General Assembly and of the United Nations. We know that from what the representative of the United States said here a little while ago. In that situation, therefore, it would have been not merely unwise but entirely contrary to the interests of our country and of all small nations, indeed of all countries in the world, to support a motion which would have led to the destruction of the United Nations though ostensibly aiming at its normal functioning.

203. It is regrettable that a situation has arisen where we are faced with two dangers: either that there be no normal functioning, or that the whole existence of the United Nations itself should be in jeopardy. Why has this situation arisen? It is a matter which requires study, and we hope that the time from now until the resumption of the Assembly, in September or at any other time, will be devoted not merely to overcoming the difficulty involving Article 19—which is a mere symptom of a general situation—but to moving forward towards strengthening the United Nations and making it an organization for

freedom and peace in the world so that it may fulfil its destiny—to help humanity to survive.

204. I said that the matter of Article 19 is a mere symptom. It is a symptom because what is really wrong with the United Nations is that after twenty years in which the world has moved with tremendous rapidity, the United Nations is forced to remain static. Peace-keeping operations are a development that was not envisaged when the Charter was drafted. The peace-keeping operation became necessary with the change in times; it started in an improvised way, as a matter of emergency, and it has not been able to develop into a proper system for peace-keeping; and it has not been able to do so because the United Nations itself was prevented from developing. And this is something that has to be realized; that today the United Nations will either have to develop in the way it should develop, in accordance with present-day conditions, or else it will gradually die a premature death. We heard this warning from the previous Secretary-General, the late Dag Hammarskjöld, and we heard it from the present Secretary-General—that the United Nations has to develop. But in order for it to develop, it must win the confidence of the whole world. It must be like the wife of Caesar: not only must it be above reproach; it must appear to be above reproach.

205. Therefore, we must bring greater objectivity to the United Nations. That is the duty of every one of us, of every nation forming the United Nations—to bring greater objectivity and a genuine allegiance to the United Nations; that means an allegiance to humanity as a whole, above all parochial interests of each country. That is how we can overcome this difficulty; that is how the present difficulty will become an incentive for the required progress of the United Nations. It is perhaps a blessing in disguise that the United Nations must, after all, develop as it should develop.

206. I should like, Mr. President, to say that you have found yourself in great difficulty. You have found yourself in difficulty because you have been striving to serve the United Nations, striving to move towards a normal United Nations. It is well known that you, together with the Secretary-General, have been exerting all efforts to bring normality to the United Nations, and if you have thought this procedure was necessary, no one else can say that he has more at heart the interests of the United Nations and its normal functioning than have you yourself. Therefore, I feel that in voting as we did vote, we have carried out our duty not only to our country, but to the United Nations as a whole.

207. The PRESIDENT: I still have four speakers in explanation of vote. I intend to go through with our work for this afternoon. I therefore appeal for brevity.

208. Mr. ZEA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): I wish to apologize to you, Mr. President, and to the other Members of the General Assembly for taking the floor at this time when I know that we are all anxious to conclude our work as rapidly as possible, but I felt it necessary to say a few words in explanation of the Colombian delegation's vote.

209. Colombia took part in the voting today because it did not want its position to be interpreted as in

any way opposed to the desire of the vast majority of the General Assembly that a sure road should be found for the preservation of this world Organization, after the intensive efforts which have been made to arrive at a solution to the problem which has been engaging our attention for the last few months. I must state, however, and I wish this to be clearly recorded in the records of today's meeting, that Colombia's participation in support of the Chair's ruling cannot be interpreted as indicating agreement with a system of voting which, even though recognized as exceptional, is highly questionable in the light of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

210. I realize that, on the grounds that the most important thing is to survive, many of us, and particularly the delegations which have played an active part in this struggle, have had to set aside our scruples. But for that reason we must make our position very clear, i.e., our vote must in no circumstances be interpreted as an abandonment of our fidelity to certain principles, such as those concerning the powers of the Assembly in respect of the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations, and the obligations of Members under the Charter, in the light of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>3/</sup> which was accepted by the Organization [General Assembly resolution 1854 A (XVII)].

211. It is our hope—I am speaking now specifically for the Colombian delegation—that the sacrifice made today may truly mean the beginning of a solution to this problem which has been paralysing us and may ensure a serene future for the United Nations.

212. This is the only thing that can compensate us for the vote which has just been taken, and for this reason we are today regarding the situation with a degree of optimism, for it has certainly been heartening to see the unity and solidarity with which the Assembly has spoken today and to see delegations which have hitherto adopted sharply opposed positions voting on the same side.

213. On behalf of my delegation, I wish also to express my gratitude to the President, who has made so many efforts in the last few days to make it possible for the Assembly to adopt the procedures which have been proposed today and to avoid at all costs a confrontation which might have been very serious for the life of the Organization. I am sure that this feeling of gratitude is shared above all by the small countries, which can see that in the United Nations lies their best safeguard, since it can help to ensure that world peace will not be jeopardized in the immediate future.

214. Mr. NABWERA (Kenya): My delegation, like the delegation of Sierra Leone, did not think that it would be necessary to explain our vote. But having listened to the explanations that were presented this afternoon, my delegation feels that we must explain why we cast a negative vote.

215. From the very beginning of this session we believed that the situation which existed had many difficulties. The General Assembly agreed that we

should use an abnormal system of determining the majority view on any given issue. This is the system that we were using until 16 February, when the representative of Albania introduced his formal request that we return to the normal procedure.

216. I should like to make the position of my delegation on this point very clear. My delegation would have seen no objection to supporting the request of Albania, and perhaps doing so by voting for that request, if we felt that the particular request was likely to help in finding a solution to the problem which had plagued the Assembly from the beginning. But we felt that, at such a late hour, it would not help matters to create a situation which would bring about a confrontation. That is why my delegation felt that the procedure we were using, although an abnormal one, was perhaps the only way out, if we were to bring this session to a successful end.

217. Since this position was challenged, my delegation had no alternative except to oppose the challenge to the President's summing up of the situation to the effect that the consensus had been accepted by the General Assembly.

218. The President's words expressed on a certain date were quoted from this rostrum this afternoon. But whatever the President said, he expressed the wish that the Member States of the United Nations would reach agreement during the time of the adjournment. Since agreement was not reached, I think it would have been impossible for the President to ask the General Assembly to revert to the normal procedure, unless the Assembly so wished. That is why my delegation felt that the challenge to the President's ruling was of such a nature that we were bound to vote against it.

219. Finally, I should like to say that instead of stating that we have supported the President, my delegation feels that we have supported the United Nations in asking Members to support what we consider at this late stage to be the only practical way of bringing this session to a successful end.

220. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) (translated from French): I should like to say briefly, in explanation of our vote, that my delegation voted against the challenge to the President's ruling for the following reasons, which I am going to explain as quickly as possible.

221. We have followed with close attention and much sympathy the efforts, which you, Mr. President, have made during these days of crisis for the existence of the Organization. We have realized how distressed and troubled you have been with all the difficulties besetting you and we have understood that it was a matter of conscience for you in view of the moral, political and juridical considerations involved. To show our appreciation of all you have done, we thought that our best course was to uphold your moral and political authority and your prestige as President of the United Nations General Assembly and the representative of a brother country of Africa.

222. Our fundamental intention, therefore, was to vote in such a way as to provide the backing and support which it is our duty to give you in the circumstances

<sup>3/</sup> See Certain Expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July; I.C.J. Reports 1962, page 151.

and it was essentially with this aim in view that we took the very important decision which has just been made. We hope that this decision will enable the General Assembly to dispose of the few items still pending and to bring this session to a close in circumstances which will enable us to look forward to the future with hope and confidence.

223. Mr. RUMAVUBI (Burundi) (translated from French): I should like first of all to say how distressed I was to see the direction things were taking here. I wish to add that Burundi is very grateful to the President for having maintained his composure in dealing with events charged with so much emotion.

224. In explanation of my vote, I should like to say that the Kingdom of Burundi abstained in the vote out of respect for the principle accepted by the General Assembly since 1 December 1964, namely that the General Assembly would carry out its work by means of consultation or a no-objection procedure. Burundi is one of the countries which are convinced that the future of mankind depends on peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, provided that it is agreed from the outset to avoid any burning issues which might become the subject of a major confrontation between Member States, especially—and unfortunately this is now the case—if it involves the great Powers.

225. As it has turned out in practice, however, my delegation has been forced to wonder whether the Assembly has chosen the best method of work. By way of reply I shall tell you frankly that many countries, while not disapproving of the method proposed and adopted, have thought with some bitterness that it was high time to finish with this practice; for two months we have been hoping that something would happen and nothing has happened. We did not want to offend Albania by voting against its proposal, but we were still guided by the same principle, i.e., the desire to avoid a confrontation; but, even if it is only a small Power—this, incidentally, is a relative matter here in the General Assembly, and I do not quite understand what is meant by "small and great Powers"—even, I say, if it is a small Power like Albania which has come here to the rostrum, we must avoid offending it in its views and in its prerogatives as a sovereign State.

226. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): I did not think that I should have to speak during this session. I thought I had spoken quite enough last month during the debate in the Security Council and I had hoped that, in view of the way in which the Assembly has decided to work, I should be spared the need to use my voice—which, incidentally, I have lost.

227. Nevertheless, certain circumstances have arisen which compel me to take the floor and, since this is the first time that I have come to this rostrum, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the General Assembly and to welcome the three new States which have been admitted to membership of the Assembly. We in Africa are also very pleased to see the birth of a new State, the State of Gambia, which gives us reason to hope that the process of decolonization will continue.

228. The circumstances which have led me to take the floor concern the statement made from this rostrum last Tuesday by the Albanian representative. In that statement he said, *inter alia*:

"A simple reminder of a few facts is sufficient to demonstrate this, namely, the aggression committed in Korea under the United Nations flag and the transformation of South Korea into a base for aggression endangering peace in the Far East, the disastrous role played by the United Nations in the Congo, which went as far as the overthrow of a legitimate Congolese Government, the assassination of its Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, and the transformation of the country into a United States colony, and the deplorable results of the recent debates in the Security Council on the United States armed intervention in November 1964 and the monstrous crimes and massacres committed against the martyred people of the Congo, which continue to this day." [1329th meeting, para. 7.]

229. As far as the role of the United Nations in the Congo is concerned, the Albanian representative must assume responsibility for the charges he has made, and I leave it to the competent organs of the United Nations to defend themselves. But, as the principal victim of the tragedy which led to the United Nations action, I am in duty bound to bear witness here to the benefits of that action and to pay a tribute to all those, from the smallest to the greatest, who did everything in their power and are still doing so, to achieve the primary objectives of the United Nations. I admit that people working for the United Nations may have made mistakes, but no one today can deny that, despite the many difficulties it encountered, the Organization achieved the main objectives it had set itself in the Congo.

230. Having paid this tribute, I should like to look a little more closely into the Albanian representative's statement that, thanks to the United Nations, my country has become an American colony. I should like to tell the Albanian representative that, if the Democratic Republic of the Congo were an American colony, it would have "big ears"—to use the expression we have heard here recently—and would be able to come here and hurl a challenge at all Member States, as he has just done at the risk of wrecking the Organization. There is no need for me to tell the Albanian representative that his own friends have not failed to point this out to him and that the vote just taken by the General Assembly has amply proved it.

231. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, a small country with "small ears", has placed its trust in the United Nations and it wants at all costs to preserve it, as do all the small countries.

232. Furthermore, I should like to point out to the Albanian representative that, if the fact of maintaining good relations with one of the great Powers constitutes a crime, then there are many candidates for the gallows in this Hall, and Albania would not be spared, for one need not be a great scholar in order to know that yesterday Albania maintained the best possible relations with one great Power and that today it maintains the best possible relations with another.

233. Let me say, however, that there is one point on which I am in agreement with the Albanian representative. This does not happen very often. I agree with him when he speaks of the people of the Congo as a "martyred people". Yes, we are indeed a martyred people, the victim of foreign intervention, not that intervention to which he alluded but those acts of intervention which are prejudicial to our sovereignty and in defiance of our Constitution. The President of the Republic was right when he said, in his recent New Year's message, that those who talk about reconciliation in the Congo should realize that it is the foreigners who need to be reconciled.

234. The history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, although it is scarcely five years old, is rich in object lessons. It teaches us that every time an attempt has been made to disregard our institutions and our legal systems, events in the Congo have taken a tragically violent turn, involving innumerable victims. That was the case under the various anti-constitutional régimes which followed one upon the other in the Congo, each with its list of victims, and to some of which certain countries whose representatives are seated in this Hall sent diplomatic missions. And that is the case today when countries whose delegations are present in this Hall provide the rebels who have fled to their territory with training grounds, equipment, weapons and ammunition, technical instructors and even troop reinforcements to fight against the forces of the Government. It is these same countries which, after giving illegal support to those régimes, come here and shed crocodile tears about the victims of their own intervention.

235. The Congolese people are no longer taken in by this comedy, and those who naively think that it is to their interest to foment disturbances in the Republic and to let their territory be used as a base for subversion against the Republic have only to open their eyes and their ears to understand that they are doing a disservice to themselves and that in the end it will be they themselves who will suffer for their favours. Let them remember the African proverb which says: "When you light a fire, and the fire begins to burn brightly and you are in the vicinity, you will end by being burnt."

236. I should like to take this opportunity to say that it is our intention always to maintain the best possible relations with all States; we cannot do so, however, unless there is reciprocity and unless the others pledge themselves to respect the sovereignty of our State.

237. The PRESIDENT: I call the representative of Mauritania in exercise of his right of reply.

238. Mr. MISKE (Mauritania) (translated from French): I apologize for taking the floor at this late hour, but I am compelled to do so as you yourself have said, Mr. President, in order to exercise the right of reply.

239. In spite of all the respect that I have for the United Kingdom representative and for his country, I am obliged to tell him that he must have misunderstood the meaning of my remarks. It was certainly not my intention to say anything disrespectful about

his country. On the contrary, his country is one of the few great Powers regarding whose position I made no comments which might be construed as criticism; moreover, I entirely agree with Lord Caradon on at least some of the views he expressed, particularly on the need to respect the equality of States and to prevent the United Nations from being virtually replaced by a club with restricted membership.

240. I must add that the remarks I made concerning certain aspects of the policies of some countries, such as the Soviet Union, the United States and France, do not in my opinion constitute anything disrespectful to those countries. I think it is possible to disagree with the way in which a country, even a great Power, conducts its policy or expresses certain aspects of that policy, and still have the greatest respect for that country, for its people and even for its leaders who are responsible for that policy.

241. I cannot help noting, however, that no small country, no newly independent or under-developed country, has expressed reservations regarding my remarks—for as far as I know, the United Kingdom does not exactly correspond to that description. Well, the representative of the United Kingdom expressed his disagreement with the way in which I spoke about the position of the under-developed countries and their relation with the great Power. In so doing, I did not claim to speak on behalf of any country other than my own. I expressed views which may or may not be shared by others; but in any event it would have been more natural for some of the countries concerned to raise objections if there were any to be made.

242. Furthermore, I think that the fact that my vote was one of the only two affirmative votes cast—and I consider that the word "affirmative" is the correct term—was the result of a misunderstanding, to which some speakers who preceded me, in particular the representatives of Mali and Guinea, have drawn attention. I shall not dwell on those procedural questions, but I wish to say that the Mauritanian delegation's vote is in no way to be interpreted as the expression of opposition whatever to you personally, Mr. President. The Mauritanian delegation considers it a duty of the Members of the United Nations, and particularly the African countries, to assist you in your task, and it will spare no effort to do so. This statement is not one of mere courtesy.

243. I should now like to ask the President to allow me to renew the request I made a few minutes ago when I asked him to submit the three proposals made by my delegation to the Assembly for approval.

244. I should like to add, however, that in order to help the President to carry out the difficult task before him, we leave it to him to choose the most appropriate moment to put the proposals of the Mauritanian delegation to the vote.

245. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to consider the agenda for this meeting. I intend first to present the items in the order in which they are listed in today's Journal of the United Nations and then to request the Assembly to take a decision on them. I understand that a number of repre-

representatives wish to speak on some of the items. I shall give them the floor after the decisions have been taken by the Assembly so that their observations may be on record.

#### ITEM 16 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

##### Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council (continued)\*

246. The PRESIDENT: As Members are aware, with the agreement of the Assembly, I held last Thursday, 11 February, a second consultation regarding the remaining vacancy on the Economic and Social Council, which also proved inconclusive. I therefore appealed to the Permanent Representative of Guinea who, in response to my appeal, agreed that he would not object to the election of Gabon by the General Assembly to the remaining vacancy on the Economic and Social Council. I want to thank most sincerely the representative of Guinea for having responded to my appeal and for having co-operated in my efforts to reach an agreement on this question.

##### Interim financial arrangements and authorizations for 1965 (continued)\*

247. The PRESIDENT: At our last meeting the Assembly decided to postpone action on the item "Interim financial arrangements and authorizations for 1965". I hope that all Members have had time to study the Secretary-General's proposals which have been put into the customary form of a General Assembly draft resolution in document A/L.456.

#### ITEM 21 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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 (A/5800, chapter I, para. 169, A/5800/Add.6, chapter XV, para. 112)

248. The PRESIDENT: The next item relates to the recommendations of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four concerning the United Nations supervision of the election in the Territory of the Cook Islands under New Zealand administration.

249. A communication from the Permanent Representative of New Zealand on this matter is to be found in documents A/5880 and A/5882. The Secretary-General has made certain suggestions. These suggestions have been put into the customary form of a draft resolution [A/L.460]. In addition, the Assembly has before it a letter from the Permanent Representative of the USSR addressed to the President of the General Assembly [A/5885].

250. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In connexion with the item relating to the supervision of the elections in the Cook Islands, arising from the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four and the communication dated 2 February 1965 from the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, I have submitted a draft resolution [A/L.460].

251. I should like to inform the General Assembly that in this draft I have merely put in the form of a

resolution the suggestions which I originally submitted in my note of 9 February 1965 [A/5882].

252. I should also like to inform the Assembly that, should the draft resolution be approved, it is my intention to consult the administering Power, as well as the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, through its Chairman, in connexion with the appointment by me of a United Nations representative to supervise the elections.

##### Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects

253. The PRESIDENT: During the past several weeks the Secretary-General and I have been in close consultation with almost every delegation, through the various groups in the Assembly, and we both feel that there is a consensus on the establishment of a special committee referred to in draft resolution A/L.461/Rev.1. I know that one delegation or another may have reason for dissatisfaction with some part of this draft resolution, either in regard to its wording or its substance. I would, however, say only this: that consultations over a period of weeks have revealed that the present formulation represents the widest area of agreement and support in the Assembly.

254. I would therefore appeal to all Members of the Assembly, notwithstanding their reservations, to accept this draft resolution so that we may proceed with the tasks ahead without further delay.

255. In operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution it will be observed that the President of the General Assembly is authorized:

"... to establish a Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, under the chairmanship of the President of the Assembly and with the collaboration of the Secretary-General, the composition to be announced by the President after appropriate consultations".

256. Nothing would have pleased me better than to have been able to announce the composition of this committee and incorporate this as part of a draft resolution. I am still continuing my efforts to get the composition which will represent the greatest common measure of agreement amongst all delegations. I realize, of course, that practically every delegation is anxious to serve on this committee in view of the importance of the work of this committee for the future of our Organization. I shall continue to pursue my consultations and I hope to be able to announce the composition of a special committee during the next few days.

##### Status of the agenda of the nineteenth session

257. The PRESIDENT: As I stated at our last meeting, document A/5884 contains a statement on the status of agenda items prepared after consultations with the Secretary-General. I hope that Members have had the opportunity to study it. Paragraph 1 lists the items which the General Assembly has in fact adopted as its agenda by dealing in whole or in part with matters which relate to them.

258. It has been brought to my attention that item 8, namely, "Adoption of the agenda", should not be considered as having been dealt with because the

\*Resumed from the 1328th meeting.

nineteenth session has not adopted any agenda. This, of course, is true. The item has not been fully dealt with, but to the extent that the Assembly has taken up even in part the points listed below, those items should be considered as having been included in the agenda of the nineteenth session, it being clearly understood that other items remain only on the provisional agenda of the nineteenth session and should not be considered as having been adopted by the General Assembly.

259. Paragraph 2 lists three items which it is customary for the Assembly to act upon by taking note of the reports submitted under these items. I believe that the Assembly would wish to take note of these three reports in accordance with its customary practice.

260. In paragraph 3, there are listed a number of items under which the relevant reports have been received by the Assembly. I shall not ask the Assembly to take note of these reports since there has been no opportunity to consider them. I believe that the Assembly should, as a matter of its own official records, note that the relevant reports have in fact been received and that those bodies which have continuing responsibilities should continue to do their work, subject to the agreed budgetary limits for 1965.

261. As regards paragraphs 4, 5 and 6, these are included for the information of Members. As stated therein, when the nineteenth session is reconvened, the whole of this provisional agenda will be before the Assembly for such action as the General Assembly may wish to take. In other words, the action taken here should not be regarded as in any way prejudicing the decision of the Assembly as regards any further consideration of these items.

262. Paragraph 7 makes it clear that the nineteenth session makes no decision with regard to those items on the provisional agenda and on the supplementary list which have been inscribed at the request of Members. If no action is taken on these items during the nineteenth session, it will be up to Member States, should they desire to ask the twentieth session to consider these items, to make the necessary requests for inscription in accordance with the relevant rules of procedure.

263. I shall now put before the General Assembly the following proposals in the order in which they appear in today's agenda and in the order in which I have just presented them to the Assembly.

#### ITEM 16 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

##### Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council (concluded)

264. The PRESIDENT: I would not propose to the Assembly that it approve without objection that Gabon be declared elected to the remaining vacancy on the Economic and Social Council. If I hear no objection I shall declare Gabon a member of the Economic and Social Council as from 1 January 1965.

##### Interim financial arrangements and authorizations for 1965 (concluded)

265. The PRESIDENT: The second item concerns interim financial arrangements and authorizations

for 1965. As I stated before, I shall give the floor to the representatives who wish to speak under this item after decisions have been taken on all the items for today. In regard to the proposals contained in document A/L.456, I believe that there is general agreement on them and I shall declare that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution, if I hear no objections.

266. The representative of Albania has the floor.

267. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania has frequently expressed its views on the regular budget of the Organization; in particular, with regard to the budget for 1964, we defined our position clearly during the previous session of the General Assembly. We state, *inter alia*, that we were opposed to the illegal inclusion in the regular budget of expenses in connexion with the United Nations forces and of the so-called United Nations debt. Our position in the matter was set forth clearly in the Albanian Government's letter of 13 May 1963 addressed to the Secretary-General.<sup>4/</sup> We also stated our position during the fourth special session of the General Assembly and on other occasions.

268. In accordance with its well-known position, the Albanian Government has not contributed and will not contribute to such expenditure. Similarly from the 1964 financial year onwards, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has not contributed towards the cost of special missions and the United Nations Field Service. It is clear that these bodies were set up in violation of the Charter and do not serve the cause of the Organization as defined in the Charter.

269. For reasons which are well known, Albania has always voted against the United Nations budget as a whole. We all know that all the financial questions of the Organization are of great importance. They must therefore be properly discussed and the decisions of the General Assembly on these questions must be taken in accordance with the established rules.

270. That being so, and in the light of the brief remarks which I have just made, the Albanian delegation requests that the draft resolution [A/L.456] concerning the Organization's expenses for the current year should be adopted by the General Assembly by a normal vote, in accordance with the Charter and the rules of procedure. As far as the Albanian delegation is concerned, we wish to state that we shall vote against the interim budget.

271. The PRESIDENT: The observations of the representative of Albania will be on the record.

#### ITEM 21 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries

<sup>4/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 7, document A/C.5/975.

and Peoples (A/5800, chapter I, para. 169; A/5800/Add.6, chapter XV, para. 112) (concluded)

272. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the third item, the recommendation of the Special Committee concerning the Cook Islands. Having heard the Secretary-General's statement, and subject to the reservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -

273. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Point of order.

274. The PRESIDENT: I will return to this after I listen to the representative of Albania. The representative of Albania has the floor on a point of order.

275. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Mr. President, I did not make a statement simply in order that it might be included in the record; I made a formal request for the draft resolution on the regular budget to be put to the vote.

276. You are well aware that the consensus procedure —with which I do not agree—presupposes non-objection. But I am against this draft resolution; the Albanian delegation is against it. This draft resolution cannot therefore be adopted without being put to the vote. This is the essential principle of the no-objection procedure. In his statement on 1 December [1286th meeting], the Secretary-General said that only questions which could be disposed of without objection would be considered. The consensus, therefore, is still the same. I do not agree that there was any such consensus, but that is what was decided and the matter is closed. However that may be, there still remains the condition that the draft resolution cannot be adopted without a vote if there are any objections to it.

277. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Albania no doubt is aware of our rules of procedure and he knows how decisions are taken by the Assembly. The Assembly has just voted to continue with its no-voting procedure, and therefore for him to ask for a vote is completely out of order.

278. The third item deals with the recommendation of the Special Committee concerning the Cook Islands. Having heard the Secretary-General's statement, and subject to the reservations of the USSR in document A/5885, if I hear no objection I shall declare that the Assembly has adopted, without objection, the draft resolution contained in document A/L.460.

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (continued)

279. The PRESIDENT: If I hear no objection, I shall declare that the General Assembly has adopted the draft resolution contained in document A/L.461/Rev.1.

Status of the agenda of the nineteenth session  
(concluded)

280. The PRESIDENT: I invite Members to turn to paragraph 2 of document A/5884, which lists three items pertaining to reports of which the Assembly customarily takes note. If the Members have no objection, I shall declare that the General Assembly takes note of these reports, in accordance with its customary practice.

281. Regarding paragraph 3, the Assembly has had no opportunity to consider the relevant reports which have been received under some of the items. The Assembly, in fact, need not take note of these reports. However, if I hear no objection, I shall declare that the General Assembly should, for its own Official Records, note that the relevant reports have in fact been received and that those bodies which have continuing responsibilities, such as the Committee of Twenty-Four, should continue to do their work, subject to the agreed budgetary limits for 1965.

282. I now put before the Assembly for decision the proposals under the five items that we have considered at this meeting. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that they have been adopted.

*It was so agreed.*

283. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has now taken decisions on the items on the agenda for today. Before giving the floor to those representatives who wish to speak in connexion with the item entitled "Interim financial arrangements and authorizations for 1965", or, in fact, on any other item which has now been approved, in order that their observations may be recorded, I wish to make two statements.

284. First, the General Assembly will recall that at its 1328th meeting it adopted a draft resolution on the report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board [A/L.457 and Corr. 1]. As a result of the adoption today of the resolution on interim financial arrangements and authorizations for 1965, the last preambular paragraph of the resolution on the Joint Staff Pension Board would now read as follows:

"Recalling the terms of the authorization given to the Secretary-General in resolution 2004 (XIX) of 18 February, and under those same terms."

The date of the resolution will also be changed accordingly.

285. Secondly, I wish to thank the Members of the Assembly for their confidence in me, which they have shown in authorizing me to establish the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. I value their confidence highly and I want to assure them that, pursuant to this decision, I shall perform my task to the best of my ability with the collaboration of the Secretary-General and, I trust, with the cooperation of all concerned.

286. I shall announce the composition of the Special Committee by means of a communication which will be circulated as a document of the General Assembly. 5/

287. I shall now give the floor to representatives who wish to speak in connexion with any or all of the items, in order that their observations may be on record.

288. I give the floor in this connexion to the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

289. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Before making some pertinent comments on certain items of the agenda, allow me to draw attention to the following

5/ Subsequently circulated as document A/5900.

statement by the Soviet delegation in connexion with the statement made by the representative of the United States of America at this meeting of the General Assembly.

290. It is a noteworthy fact that the position taken by the United States representative indicates beyond question the desire of the United States to assume a special posture here, to arrogate to itself the prerogative of acting as an arbiter, as some kind of judge who has been vested with full powers to decide what procedure the General Assembly should follow and whether this world forum can or cannot proceed to a vote.

291. But surely it is legitimate to ask: precisely by what right did the representative of a State Member of the United Nations—the United States of America—use this rostrum in order to play the part of supreme guardian of procedure at the present session and try to take over the function of the whole General Assembly, telling it how it should behave?

292. We should like to stress that such unilateral claims by any country whatsoever, whether great or small, are intolerable in an international organization of sovereign and equal States. It is high time to take a healthy and realistic approach to the problems facing the United Nations, without going astray and falling a prey to dangerous illusions.

293. The United States representative saw fit to reaffirm the well-known position of the United States; and we are thinking, not of the carefully-wrapped packaging of words in which the United States representative enveloped his statement, but of the essence of the matter. He raised the question of the so-called applicability of Article 19 of the Charter. It is an unalterable and indisputable fact, however, that there are no legal or other grounds for putting forward claims in connexion with the payment of the cost of the illegal United Nations operations in the Congo and the Middle East, since these operations were undertaken in violation of highly important provisions of the United Nations Charter—in circumvention of the Security Council, the only United Nations organ authorized by the Charter to take action for the maintenance of international peace and security.

294. Furthermore, the cost of United Nations forces, even where such forces are established and used in accordance with the Charter, cannot be considered as coming under the regular budget, but counts as extraordinary expenditure.

295. No one, of course, would in any way wish to deny the existence of Article 19 of the Charter. But that Article is applicable only to countries which are in actual fact two years in arrears in the payment of their contributions to the regular budget. At the present time, as everyone knows, no country is in such arrears. Accordingly, if one adheres to the United Nations Charter, there is no reason to raise the question of the applicability of Article 19.

296. We consider it necessary to remind the Assembly that a number of representatives, speaking in the general debate, stressed the fact that the applicability of Article 19 could be raised solely in connexion with arrears in the payment of contributions to the regular budget of the United Nations.

297. The Soviet Union does not intend to share political, financial or any other kind of responsibility for the aggressive ventures of the colonizers in Africa; it does not intend to share responsibility for the murder of the Congo's national hero, Patrice Lumumba. The Soviet Union does not intend to share responsibility for the fact that, despite its warnings and protests, the colonizers have used operations undertaken in the name of the United Nations for purposes which have nothing to do with the United Nations Charter.

298. The Soviet Union made every effort to ensure that the urgent and pressing questions of the day would be discussed at this session of the General Assembly. It is well known that everything possible has been done by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in order to overcome the difficulties which the General Assembly has encountered, and to bring about a return to the normal working of the Assembly. The Soviet Union showed the maximum degree of goodwill by accepting the Afro-Asian countries' compromise proposal of 30 December 1964, the essence of which was that the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter should not be raised and that the problem of the Organization's financial difficulties should be solved by means of voluntary contributions without any prejudice to the positions of the different sides on matters of principle. We not only agreed with this proposal in principle, but accepted all its provisions without exception, including the provision to the effect that Member States, and particularly the highly developed countries, should make substantial and voluntary contributions.

299. Allow me to observe, once more, that this was an exceptionally important step towards the achievement of a sensible agreement in the interests of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. It was also a demonstration of the socialist countries' unswerving friendship for the Asian and African countries, and of our sincere desire to strengthen the United Nations.

300. We did not conceal the fact that the Afro-Asian countries' proposal was for us no more than a compromise, that it contained contradictory provisions, and that by no means everything in it was satisfactory to us. However, we set all this aside, since the main thing was to bring about a situation in which firm safeguards would be established against the use of Article 19 of the Charter for provocative purposes and the General Assembly would be able to pursue its ordinary business without hindrance in accordance with normal procedure.

301. But everything depended on the position of those Powers which rejected the Afro-Asian countries' compromise proposal, and which are thus responsible for the existing situation. In this connexion, any kind of argument or manoeuvre designed to place the Soviet Union and the United States of America on an equal footing with regard to the activities of the United Nations and, in particular, the work of this session of the General Assembly cannot be regarded as anything but absurd and demagogic.

302. The Soviet delegation would like to express the hope that further discussion in the Special Committee of the whole question of United Nations peace-keeping

operations [A/L.461/Rev.1], including methods of overcoming the Organization's present financial difficulties, will be successful and yield the required results. We note with satisfaction that the Special Committee will work under the guidance of the President of the General Assembly—the representative and distinguished Ambassador of the African country of Ghana, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey—and with the participation of U Thant, the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations.

303. The Soviet delegation expresses the conviction that with the aid of healthy and peace-loving forces the United Nations will come through the severe ordeal it has been forced to undergo and will in all its activities, especially in connexion with peace-keeping operations, adhere strictly to its Charter.

304. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we consider it necessary once more to emphasize that it is firmly and steadfastly in favour of strengthening the United Nations as an organ for international co-operation, on a footing of equality, in the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

305. With reference to the Secretary-General's statement of 8 February 1965 [1327th meeting] and the resolution adopted today on budgetary matters, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to stress that the Assembly has determined—as it did at the meeting of 30 December 1964—that expenditure under the regular budget in 1965 should be at the same level as in 1964.

306. We also note the provision, contained in the Secretary-General's statement and indicated in the resolution, to the effect that the adoption of this decision will not prejudice countries' positions of principle, and objections, with regard to certain sections of the budget or to the budget as a whole. In this connexion we consider it necessary to point out that our position of principle and our objections with regard to certain sections of the 1964 budget and to the budget as a whole remain as set forth in the relevant statements made by the Soviet delegation during the General Assembly's eighteenth session and at the plenary meeting of 30 December 1964 during the Assembly's nineteenth session [1314th meeting].

307. Mr. President, in connexion with the proposal in document A/5884, paragraph 3, that the General Assembly should note that it has received the report [A/5812] of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to make the following statement: the Soviet Union has objected and continues to object to the establishment and activities of the so-called Korean Commission. We have repeatedly pointed out that the United Nations, under its Charter, has no right to interfere in the domestic affairs of any State. The unification of Korea is a purely domestic matter, which must and will be settled by the Korean people itself, without outside interference.

308. The sad story of the work of this notorious United Nations Commission makes it abundantly clear that it has been openly used as a cover for the continued occupation of South Korea by foreign troops

and for the maintenance of despotic régimes in that part of the country.

309. The Soviet Union is in favour of withdrawing all foreign troops from South Korea and of enabling the Korean people to decide its own destiny.

310. The PRESIDENT: To make observations in regard to the decisions just taken, I give the floor to the representative of South Africa.

311. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): I wish to place on record that my delegation did not participate in the approval of document A/5884 in respect to the matter of item 31 mentioned therein. Our position on the legality of this matter has been fully stated in the past and is contained in the records of the United Nations.

312. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland): On behalf of a number of socialist delegations and on our own behalf as well, the Polish delegation wishes to state that any action taken by the General Assembly with regard to document A/5884, entitled "Status of the agenda of the nineteenth session", cannot be interpreted as agreement of these delegations to the continuation of The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) and to the inscription of the so-called Korean question on the agenda of this or of the next session of the General Assembly. Our view has been, and continues to be, that the existence and activities of UNCURK are illegal, and harmful to the cause of the unification of Korea.

313. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): I am authorized to make the following statement in connexion with the Secretary-General's suggestion regarding the 1965 budget, put forward at the 1327th meeting of the General Assembly, and in connexion with the resolution adopted today on the interim financial arrangements and authorizations for 1965.

314. The Governments of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic have recorded their objections on principle to certain sections of the United Nations budget for 1964. These objections contained in the statements of their delegations at the fourth special session and the eighteenth regular session of the General Assembly, as well as in their respective notes on the subject of the Secretary-General's report on budgetary matters, are reiterated and fully reaffirmed hereby with regard to similar expenditures that might be authorized and undertaken by the Secretary-General during 1965.

315. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): I regret that I have felt it necessary to ask for another moment on this platform to exercise my right of reply to some remarks uttered here a moment ago by the representative of the Soviet Union, who charged me with presuming to act as judge of the procedures of the General Assembly and with intolerable behaviour, and so forth, if I understood him aright. I should like to take leave to point out that the procedures were not determined by the United States; they were determined and decided by everybody in the General

Assembly and reaffirmed this afternoon by an overwhelming vote—and I thought that that included the Soviet Union.

316. The Soviet representative criticized me for even mentioning the United States position on Article 19 when I rose here to consent to a vote in order to enable the Assembly to proceed with its business. But he did not hesitate to make a speech in justification of the Soviet position and of its refusal to pay its assessments under Article 19 in continued defiance of the opinion of the International Court of Justice and of the vote of the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly expressed in a formal resolution.

317. I had thought that the Soviet Union wanted to avoid a debate on Article 19 and a confrontation at this time, and it was because, as I said when I came here earlier, almost all of the Members also wanted to avoid a showdown at this time, that I did not insist on a prior decision by the Chair as to who was eligible to vote on the Albanian challenge to the President's ruling, but announced that on such a procedural matter I would not object to a vote to enable the General Assembly to finish its work.

318. If I have disappointed the representative of the Soviet Union in trying to accommodate the President and the Members, I regret that he did not express his objection to my agreement to a procedural vote at an earlier hour. From those who wanted to avoid confrontation, I had expected something better than this surly utterance from the representative of the Soviet Union. I deeply regret that the representative of the Soviet Union has ended the Assembly on such an unhappy note, with not only an attack on the United States, but a rigid, uncompromising reaffirmation of its rejection of the powers of the General Assembly in the field of peace-keeping.

319. I can only hope that the attitude presented by the Soviet Union today will not prevail in the consultations to which they have agreed.

320. On behalf of my Government, let me say, in conclusion, that we intend to enter the consultations in good faith, and we can only hope that the Soviet Union will do likewise.

321. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

322. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): If the Soviet representative has asked for the floor again in order to reply, it is only because we observe reciprocity in statement, in tact and in the stating of positions of principle.

323. In connexion with what my distinguished colleague Ambassador Stevenson has said, allow me to draw attention to the following: it seemed he was creating the impression that he was showing exceptional generosity towards the General Assembly and sanctioning the application of the voting procedure, and that we grateful people should first of all express our delight at his kindness and concurrence.

324. Here we see the same old attitude, the same old claim to be the supreme arbiter in deciding

what kind of procedure can be applied, and when and how, at meetings of the General Assembly. Our distinguished colleague, however, forgets one very simple, elementary truth: that competence in this matter lies not with any individual State, but entirely and undividedly with the General Assembly as a whole. The assembly is, after all, master of its own procedure.

325. Accordingly, such statements made in this connexion can be regarded only as unjustified and irregular.

326. The United States representative saw fit to reaffirm the well-known position of his country. But it is common knowledge that repetition of groundless arguments cannot give even a semblance of legality to an unsound position which is at variance with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

327. Allow me to remind the Assembly that the Soviet Union has unfailingly fulfilled its financial obligations under the Charter. It is the country which makes the second largest contribution to the Organization's regular budget.

328. On 13 January 1965, the Soviet Union paid in the sum of over \$3.5 million, representing the last part of its contribution to the Organization's regular budget for 1964. Consequently, the Soviet Union is not in arrears with its contribution to the United Nations budget, either for 1964 or for any preceding years. We have discharged to the full our financial obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

329. In point of fact, this was recognized a few days ago by the United States representative himself: Mr. Stevenson, speaking on 10 February to the American Bankers Association—which presumably he would not seek to mislead as he is trying to mislead us—stated that the Soviet Union had always fulfilled its financial obligations in respect of the normal activities of the United Nations. Furthermore, the United States representative said that the question of so-called arrears and sanctions was the smallest part of the problem. He stressed that the problem was one of principle. And that is in fact so. The actual issue is not merely one of a certain number of dollars which were spent illegally at a certain time. It is one of major political questions, involving matters of principle, on which the future of the United Nations as a world Organization largely depends.

330. Perhaps someone basically wanted to force an actual violation of the United Nations Charter and thus ensure that it would still be possible, in the future, for the colonizers to use the United Nations for their own purposes. This shows quite clearly, once again, that in all this business the financial aspect is merely a feeble cover for far-reaching political plans.

331. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Mauritania requested me to put to the vote at the appropriate time certain proposals which he formulated when he spoke in explanation of his vote. I wish I were in a position to comply with his request. In any case, I shall speak to him later about this. However, I wish

to draw attention to the fact that since the Assembly earlier today confirmed its decision to continue on the basis of a no-vote procedure, it would be difficult for me to put his proposals to the vote. In any case, his proposals are on record, since he has put them before the Assembly.

332. In accordance with the decisions of the General Assembly regarding the agenda of the nineteenth session and the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, it may be necessary to reconvene the General Assembly some time after the receipt of the Special Committee's report. Unless, however, the recommendations of the Committee are such that no delay in reconvening the Assembly is possible, I would propose to reconvene the nineteenth session of the General Assembly on 1 September 1965.

333. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to my proposal.

*It was so decided.*

334. The PRESIDENT: May I be permitted to make a few remarks.

335. In explanation of vote some delegations have seen fit to criticize procedure that was followed by the Chair. May I point out that I asked more than once whether the representative of Albania challenged my ruling based upon your own consensus. He said that he did. Thereafter I had no choice under the rules except to put the appeal against my ruling to the vote, as required under rule 73. The procedure was not of my choice but was rather a procedure which is laid down within the rules of procedure and which I was compelled to follow by the representative of Albania himself. I wish to say that at all times I will remain under the authority of the General Assembly, in accordance with the rules of procedure. I am the servant of the Assembly.

336. I now declare this part of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly adjourned.

*The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.*