

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records



1396th
PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 15 December 1965,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 16:</i>	
<i>Election of members of the Economic and Social Council</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 36:</i>	
<i>The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (continued):</i>	
<i>(a) Reports of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa;</i>	
<i>(b) Reports of the Secretary-General Report of the Special Political Committee . . .</i>	3

President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 16

Election of members of the Economic and Social Council

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Article 61, paragraph 3, of the Charter, as amended by General Assembly resolution 1991 B (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, reads:

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

2. Active consultations took place last week and I understand that the Assembly is now ready to elect six members to replace the following States, which are at present members of the Council but whose term of office will expire at the end of this year: Argentina, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Japan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom. The six seats occupied by these members existed before the Charter was amended and consequently the members who will be elected to fill those seats will remain in office for three years. Retiring members are eligible for re-election at this election.

3. After electing the six members, we shall elect nine members to fill the additional seats created as a result of the amendment of the Charter. However, the procedure to be followed in choosing the three members who will remain in office for three years

and the three members who will remain in office for two years will be decided upon at a meeting to be announced later. At that time we shall apply the procedure agreed upon.

4. If there are no objections, we shall proceed this afternoon in two stages: first, to elect six members to fill the existing seats; then, to elect nine additional members, in accordance with operative paragraph 3 of resolution 1991 B (XVIII) which established the following geographical distribution:

"(a) Seven from African and Asian States;

"(b) One from Latin American States;

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

5. I understand that the African and Asian States are agreed that among the seven African and Asian States there will be five African States and two Asian States. If there are no objections, I take it that the General Assembly approves this arrangement.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Members of the Assembly will now elect six members to replace the retiring members of the Economic and Social Council. Ballot papers will be distributed. I would ask representatives to write on the ballot papers the names of the six countries to fill the seats which will become vacant upon the expiry of the term of office of Argentina, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Japan, the USSR and the United Kingdom. The term of office of the six members to be elected will be three years. Ballot papers containing more than six names will be declared invalid.

Mr. Vizcaíno Leal (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

At the invitation of the Vice-President, Mr. MacLaren (Canada), Mr. Solano López (Uruguay) and Mr. Bota (Romania) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	112
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	1
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	111
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	111
<i>Required majority:</i>	74

Number of votes obtained:

Panama	100
Sweden	95
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	95
Czechoslovakia	94
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	93

Philippines	86
Syria	10
Iran	9
United Republic of Tanzania	6
India	4
Morocco	4
Sierra Leone	4
Cameroon	3
Dahomey	3
Greece	3
Albania	2
Austria	2
Japan	2
Venezuela	2
Argentina	1
Belgium	1
Burundi	1
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	1
Chile	1
China	1
Cuba	1
Ethiopia	1
Guatemala	1
Ireland	1
Iceland	1
Libya	1
New Zealand	1
Sudan	1
Turkey	1
Uruguay	1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Czechoslovakia, Panama, the Philippines, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland were elected members of the Economic and Social Council for three years beginning 1 January 1966.

Mr. Fanfani (Italy) resumed the Chair.

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have now reached the second stage of our procedure and we are going to elect the nine additional members of the Economic and Social Council.

8. As I said before, operative paragraph 3 of resolution 1991 B (XVIII) lays down that the nine additional members shall be elected according to the following pattern:

"(a) Seven from African and Asian States;

"(b) One from Latin American States;

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

9. I repeat that I have been informed that the States immediately concerned have agreed that of the seven members to which sub-paragraph (a) refers five will be African States and two Asian States. I am sure representatives will bear this in mind when voting. Ballot papers taking this distribution into account are being circulated at this moment. I would ask representatives to write on the appropriate lines of their ballot papers the names of the countries to be elected to fill the nine additional seats.

Mr. Vizcaíno Leal (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

At the invitation of the Vice-President, Mr. MacLaren (Canada), Mr. Solano López (Paraguay) and Mr. Bota (Romania) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers: 113

Invalid ballots: 0

Number of valid ballots: 113

Abstentions: 0

Number of members voting: 113

Required majority: 76

Number of votes obtained:

Greece 104

Dahomey 102

Venezuela 101

Cameroon 100

Morocco 99

Sierra Leone 98

United Republic of Tanzania 97

India 80

Iran 70

Syria 70

Ghana 4

Madagascar 3

Guatemala 2

Guinea 2

Libya 2

Mali 2

Thailand 2

Tunisia 2

Afghanistan 1

Albania 1

Belgium 1

Central African Republic 1

Ethiopia 1

Haiti 1

Ivory Coast 1

Japan 1

Kenya 1

Liberia 1

Malawi 1

Malaysia 1

Maldives Islands 1

Mauritania 1

Nepal 1

Netherlands 1

Niger 1

Nigeria 1

Paraguay 1

Senegal 1

Somalia 1

Turkey 1

Uganda 1

United Arab Republic 1

Upper Volta 1

Uruguay 1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Cameroon, Dahomey, Greece, India, Morocco, Sierra Leone, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela were elected members of the Economic and Social Council.

Mr. Fanfani (Italy) resumed the Chair.

10. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since one seat remains to be filled, we shall now proceed, in accordance with rule 96 of the rules of procedure, to a first ballot restricted to two candidates, Iran and Syria, the non-elected countries which obtained the greatest number of votes.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. MacLaren (Canada), Mr. Solano López (Paraguay) and Mr. Bota (Romania) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	110
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	110
<i>Abstentions:</i>	1
<i>Number of Members voting:</i>	109
<i>Required majority:</i>	73
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Syria	55
Iran	54

11. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As neither of the two countries obtained the required majority, the General Assembly will now proceed to a second restricted ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. MacLaren (Canada), Mr. Solano López (Paraguay) and Mr. Bota (Romania) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	109
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	109
<i>Abstentions:</i>	1
<i>Number of Members voting:</i>	108
<i>Required majority:</i>	72
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Iran	54
Syria	54

12. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As the last vote has yielded no result, we are going to proceed to a third restricted ballot. The only candidates are Iran and Syria. Any ballot paper containing the name of another country will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. MacLaren (Canada), Mr. Solano López (Paraguay) and Mr. Bota (Romania) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	106
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	106
<i>Abstentions:</i>	2
<i>Number of Members voting:</i>	104
<i>Required majority:</i>	70
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Iran	55
Syria	49

13. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As the third ballot has been indecisive, we must now, in accordance with rule 96 of the rules of procedure, proceed to a series of three unrestricted ballots, but if the Assembly has no objections I suggest we postpone the voting to the next meeting.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 36

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (continued):

- (a) Reports of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa;
- (b) Reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/6159)

14. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now resume consideration of agenda item 36 and hear those who wish to speak in explanation of their vote on the question.

15. Mr. CABRERA MUÑOZ-LEDO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The Mexican delegation's attitude towards all forms of racial discrimination has been so resolute, unequivocal and consistent that today it is only natural that it should confirm and reiterate its repudiation and condemnation of the inhuman policy of apartheid which the Republic of South Africa, in reprehensible perversity, continues to practise despite the repeated appeals, urgings, exhortations and decisions of the United Nations.

16. This Mexican position, the reasons for which I shall not repeat here since I have already explained them on earlier occasions and in clear and conclusive terms during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly [see 1128th meeting, paras. 172 to 185], has been confirmed by the affirmative vote by which my delegation has contributed to the adoption of all the relevant resolutions, from resolution 44 (I), adopted on 8 December 1946, to the most recent substantive resolution, adopted on 11 October 1963, namely resolution 1881 (XVIII).

17. Firm in its support of this irreversible process towards the absolute elimination of apartheid, and in keeping with the position I have outlined, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A and B in document A/6159, which we adopted at the 1395th meeting. My delegation feels obliged, however, to place on record, firstly, its reservations with regard to certain points in resolution A and secondly, the interpretation it places on resolution B.

18. When draft resolution A was voted on in the Special Political Committee, the Mexican delegation abstained in the votes on operative paragraphs 1, 6 and 7.

19. Had there been separate votes on the two last preambular paragraphs of that draft resolution, my delegation would have abstained in those votes, too.

20. As far as operative paragraph 6 is concerned—and the same would have applied in the case of the two last preambular paragraphs—the Mexican delegation's abstention is based on the conviction that under a true interpretation of the Charter only the Security Council is competent to decide whether the situation prevailing in the Republic of South Africa is a threat to peace and, if so, whether the only means of countering and eliminating the threat is the establishment of international action and the consequent application of sanctions.

21. With regard to operative paragraphs 1 and 7, and specifically the parts that refer to economic sanctions and aspects of international trade, the Mexican delegation was again obliged to abstain, since freedom of trade is guaranteed in the Mexican Constitution and it would require a long and complicated process to amend our laws in such a way as to make it possible in given circumstances to restrict the right of free trade to certain commercial or industrial firms.

22. I must also point out that my delegation voted in favour of operative paragraph 10 on the understanding that in sub-paragraph (b) the competence of the specialized agencies is strictly limited to the powers defined in the Constitution of each and always to the sphere of technical action that is theirs.

23. With regard to draft resolution B, the Mexican delegation is in full agreement with the humanitarian purposes set forth in the resolution and voted in favour of it in the knowledge that it would in no way compromise or change the position that I have just outlined.

24. Despite the foregoing reservations, my delegation considered it proper to vote in favour of the resolutions that we adopted this morning, because it fully and decisively approves and endorses the very essence of the two resolutions, namely, the condemnation of the régime of the Republic of South Africa and the concerted effort to eliminate all forms of racial segregation once and for all.

25. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): Now that we have adopted the two resolutions submitted by the Special Political Committee in its report [A/6159, para. 17], may I make some comments on the scope of those resolutions, since they are both based on the recommendations of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, of which I have the honour to be Chairman.

26. We note with keen satisfaction that an overwhelming majority voted in favour of these resolutions, thus signifying that there is widespread awareness of the problem of apartheid and a firm resolve to take urgent and effective action in order to rid the African continent of the gnawing evil of racism in southern Africa.

27. More particularly, I should like to extend my heartfelt thanks to the Danish Government for its courageous and progressive attitude on this matter, and also to all those who have shown exemplary realism.

28. We certainly have no illusions about the action which the General Assembly has just taken, because we have also noted the abstentions and reservations of the principal trading partners of South Africa, who bear a special responsibility in this question. However, we sincerely hope that these trading partners will have plenty of time to think over the views and positions of the great majority of Member States, so as to revise their own attitude in the future—we hope, the near future—and enable the Security Council, which will soon take up the question of apartheid, to offer us positive action and no longer mere speeches of inoperative and misleading resolutions.

29. Despite our urgent and repeated appeals, we note with the greatest regret that a great Power refuses to give us complete reassurances on the supply of weapons of murder to the South African racists—weapons which that Power continues to supply whenever it is asked to do so, and even when it is not asked. Nevertheless, we venture to hope that the main trading partners of South Africa will respond favourably to the appeal of the great majority of Member States to end their economic co-operation with South Africa, which only encourages the racist régime in South Africa to persist in its disastrous and wicked policies.

30. We also venture to hope that the great Powers will take these resolutions into account, so as to enable the Security Council to act in accordance with the realities of the situation and not with considerations of selfish interest.

31. The General Assembly has just expressed its appreciation to the Special Committee. It invites the Special Committee to continue its work and instructs it to inform the Assembly, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, the specialized agencies and world public opinion, on all the dangers inherent in the policy of apartheid and on United Nations initiatives to solve this problem. The measures which we have just adopted can serve as a new mandate for the Special Committee, enable it to work more effectively.

32. I should like to assure the General Assembly that we shall do everything in our power to see that these resolutions are strictly implemented, in order to encourage the international community to take decisive measures.

33. On this occasion, may I once more express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for his co-operation and help, and hope that we shall continue to benefit from his valuable advice.

34. The South African people, as well as all African peoples, will not rest until the racism practised in South Africa is completely eliminated. Today, there is a régime in that part of Africa which has elevated racism into a State policy and claims that the country which is crushed under its heel is made up of ten or eleven nations. The nation which has chosen this régime calls itself a white nation, and consequently cannot represent the entire South African people which is made up, to say the least, of an overwhelming majority of coloured people.

35. Not content with constantly acting against the principles of the Charter, this régime has also turned the white minority into a secret army, like the OAS in Algeria, and is preparing to launch a suicidal attack with the sole aim of preserving its domination based on racial factors and ill-acquired and exorbitant privileges. The policies of this régime are not merely a threat to peace in southern Africa; they could equally well set ablaze a racial war which would destroy any hope of international co-operation and world peace. The South African régime is waging a campaign in which we, who are seeking to put an end to racism, are accused of merely coveting the riches of South Africa and cherishing the hope of completely eliminating its white population.

36. May I recall here that the independent States of Africa are much to occupied with the need to rid their peoples of the sad heritage of colonialism, to develop their own wealth and to build up their nations, to have any thoughts of expansionist adventures. They have no time for that. However, we are ready to make every possible sacrifice to end the humiliation to which the South African people are being subjected and to end the exploitation of South Africa by foreign interests, which pull the strings of the puppets in the police Government of Verwoerd, for they are the puppets of these interests, and the puppets of the Government which are using this country as a source of unlawful profits.

37. We shall make this sacrifice because our freedom will not be complete as long as our brothers are enslaved and humiliated because of the colour of their skin. We abhor racism in all its forms and apartheid in all its manifestations. While fighting against the policy of apartheid of the racist South African régime, we do not seek to establish a different kind of apartheid. That is why we declare that Afrikaners and all other South African whites will have their place on the African continent, provided that they demonstrate their loyalty, however little, to Africa, and refrain from humiliating the African people.

38. As Chief Albert Luthuli, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, has stated: "We are not against the Pretoria régime because the members of the Cabinet have a white skin, but because it is an oppressive, anti-democratic and racist régime."

39. Africa is a black continent only in the imagination of colonialists and those who believe their propaganda. It is a multiracial continent, a non-racial continent, and has been such for centuries. The new Africa, for which so many human lives have been lost and where the shame of colonialism is represented by so many martyrs, is an Africa without racism, an Africa characterized by constructive work, inspired by the principles of national unity and international co-operation, a harmonious and peaceful Africa.

40. We solemnly invite the whites of South Africa to choose before it is too late, between a policy of suicide as preached by their present leaders and a sure and serene future in a free Africa. Africans have on many occasions shown that they do not wish to seek revenge for the evils which were inflicted upon them in the past, and they are ready to forgive and forget. But they can neither forgive nor forget the crimes committed today, despite the appeals and the warnings which they constantly issue. We believe that the whites in South Africa, with the exception of a few who deserve our admiration for their courage and realism, are no longer amenable to reason; indeed, they have lost all reason, they are a mass of madmen, unhinged in their minds, their whole being and their souls as a result of a despicable régime. These men must have the realities of the century imposed upon them. That is why we are inviting all countries of the world, and in particular those who are making the South African whites still more stubborn and blind by their co-operation, to join with us in order to save all South Africans, whoever they may be, from certain disaster, to put

an end to racism in South Africa and to avoid the danger of a racial war which would threaten the whole of mankind.

41. We cannot state too often that, if the Security Council does not help us in this task by taking coercive decisions, it will have encouraged recourse to the only remaining solution to this problem of apartheid, in other words, violence and war between the races in South Africa. If the Security Council encourages that and makes it possible, then neither the Security Council nor the Organization will survive.

Mr. Nyankiye (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

42. Mr. BEAULIEU (Canada) (translated from French): In explaining Canada's vote on the principal resolution on apartheid which the General Assembly had before it today [A/6159, para. 17, A], I should like to emphasize, to begin with, that Canada is unreservedly opposed to the South African Government's policy of apartheid. We consider this a loathsome policy which is an outrage to human dignity. We have made our point of view known to the South African Government in various ways. We feel that by its stubborn persistence in following this policy of apartheid in defiance of world opinion, the Government of South Africa is heading for disaster.

43. Furthermore, the racist policy of South Africa is not only contrary to human rights and to the most elementary principles of justice, but is a source of great bitterness and thus bears within it the germs of a conflict that could threaten the concept of multi-racial coexistence, to which Canada fully subscribes, throughout Africa.

44. In keeping with our position, we acquiesced in the Security Council resolution [181(1963)] of 7 August 1963. Mr. Paul Martin, the Canadian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking in the House of Commons on 21 October 1963, defined our policy in the following terms:

"It has for several years been the policy of the Canadian Government not to permit the shipment of arms to South Africa which might be used against the non-white population for the enforcement of the policy of apartheid.

"On 7 August 1963 the Security Council passed a resolution recommending that all States should cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. Taking into account the Security Council's recommendation and wishing further to express our disapproval of South Africa's apartheid policies, the Government has decided that it will not authorize the acceptance of any new orders from South Africa for items of military equipment, nor permit the shipment of such equipment to South Africa."

45. We are fully aware of the problems inherent in the existence of discrimination in its various forms, and successive Governments in Canada have always endeavoured to eliminate it. That is one of the primary objectives of both our domestic and our international policy.

46. Our position with regard not only to the policy of apartheid of the South African Government but

also to all forms of racial discrimination has been clearly stated by the Canadian representatives in the United Nations and at other international conferences where racial problems have been discussed.

47. While the discussion on this question was going on in the Special Political Committee, my delegation was taking part in the Third Committee's work of drawing up a declaration on racial discrimination. Addressing the General Assembly on 24 September 1965, the Canadian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs defined our country's position in the following words:

"Canadians attach particular importance to the maintenance and extension of individual rights, to the protection of the institutions of family and faith, and to the removal of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour, sex or religion." [1335th meeting, para. 136]

48. We are in full agreement with the valid objective of the resolution which was before us today, namely, the elimination of apartheid, and we subscribe to many of its provisions. We were, however, regretfully obliged to abstain in the vote on the resolution as a whole because we cannot accept certain provisions which, in our opinion, are not appropriate.

49. Mr. NORTON DE MATOS (Portugal): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity to explain very briefly our vote on the resolutions adopted this morning on the question of the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. As far as concerns resolution A of the report of the Special Political Committee my delegation cast a negative vote because, in our view, the situation we have been discussing does not fall within the scope of Chapter VII of the Charter, and consequently we could not give our support or acquiescence to the measures contemplated in the resolution, measures arising out of Chapter VII and belonging, as such, to the competence of the Security Council.

50. Regarding the resolution on the establishment of a United Nations trust fund, resolution B in the report of the Special Political Committee, my delegation abstained in the vote for the reason that, in our view, the resolution, in the way in which it is drafted, constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of South Africa at variance with the relevant provision of the Charter. For this reason my delegation has had to abstain in the vote on this resolution.

51. Mr. O'HARA (United States of America): I have asked for the floor to explain briefly the position of the United States on the votes taken today.

52. In the vote in the Special Political Committee on draft resolution A [A/6159, para. 17], the United States voted against paragraph 6 thereof. We appreciated having the opportunity to vote separately on this paragraph, and we voted against it because, as I said in the Committee, the United States does not believe that the situation in South Africa, deplorable as it is, constitutes at this time a threat to international peace and security within the meaning of Chapter VII. Accordingly, we do not consider a recommendation for coercive action appropriate under, or authorized by, the Charter.

53. Despite the vote we cast on operative paragraph 6, the United States abstained on the draft resolution as a whole. There are a number of provisions, particularly in its operative section, in addition to operative paragraph 6, to which we do not wholly subscribe. We nevertheless abstained, first, because we believe that the policies of apartheid present significant dangers to the continent of Africa and to the world community, and secondly, because apartheid is a policy which is totally repugnant to the concepts on which this Organization is founded and on which our own nation is based.

54. With these considerations in mind, we felt that we could not oppose this resolution which, despite provisions which we could not support, expresses this attitude unequivocally.

55. The United States supported fully and enthusiastically the other resolution just adopted by the Assembly. We voted for the establishment of a United Nations trust fund for the relief of victims of apartheid and we are prepared to consider seriously the question of a possible contribution. The United States hopes that the trustees will seek to ensure that programmes making use of these funds will be closely co-ordinated with existing programmes in order to prevent a duplication of effort and to assure maximum effectiveness. I am thinking particularly of the United Nations Refugee Programme and the Secretary-General's programme for the education and training of South Africans.

56. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): My delegation fully shares the concern expressed in the resolution that we have voted upon today over the situation created by the continued implementation by the South African Government of the policy of apartheid and by its refusal to heed the numerous resolutions condemning this policy adopted over the past years by both the Security Council and the General Assembly. We also share the conviction that the United Nations must not fail in its effort to put an end to the system of apartheid as well as to other forms of discrimination, indeed to all violations of human rights. Finland is ready and willing to do its share in that joint effort. My Government has, in fact, made it clear that we have fully complied with the recommendations so far made by the Security Council, and I have no doubt that my Government will follow other recommendations regarding this matter that may be similarly adopted by the Security Council. We do believe, however, that in dealing with the problem of apartheid, as with any other issue, we must adhere to the principles and procedures laid down by the Charter. It is quite clear to my delegation that, according to the Charter, it is the Security Council and only the Security Council that shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace or decide upon such measures as sanctions. The resolution now passed, in our view, exceeds the competence of the General Assembly by attempting to determine the fact of the existence of a threat to international peace and security, as well as by prejudging the choice of the means to be employed for solving that problem. For this reason, my delegation was unable to support the resolution.

57. Mr. SOBRADO (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the Costa Rican Government's well-known humanitarian and democratic policy, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A as a whole, appearing in document A/6159, which condemns the policy of apartheid and asks for the adoption of practical measures to ensure compliance, by the Security Council and the Member States which have not yet severed trade relations with South Africa, with the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

58. My delegation wishes also to draw attention to the interest my country has shown in bringing about international action which will ensure that the lofty principles and the human rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter may be put into effect throughout the world; we have given proof of this interest by our participation as a member of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

59. Similarly, my Government, aware of the responsibility and duty of the international community to help those who are persecuted or are refugees as a result of the application of the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, had the honour to join a large number of delegations in sponsoring draft resolution B, appearing in document A/6159, which calls for the establishment of a trust fund to help the refugees and victims of persecution.

60. Nevertheless, for formal reasons of a legal nature, my delegation wishes to place on record that it interprets operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A as expressing only the moral support of the United Nations for those who are combating the policy of apartheid, and the community of ideals that inspires those efforts.

61. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): By an unfortunate concatenation of circumstances, the representative of Madagascar was called to the telephone for an urgent long-distance call from overseas and was unable to take part in the vote on the draft resolution [A/6159, para. 17]. By the time he returned to his seat, the vote was over. As I do not want to take up the General Assembly's time, I shall simply state from this rostrum that Madagascar wholeheartedly supports this draft resolution and asks for a correction to be made to the record, to show Madagascar as having voted in favour.

62. Madagascar has had the honour of speaking from this rostrum on various occasions, as also in the various Committees and in the Security Council, to denounce apartheid. Madagascar supports the speakers who have just affirmed their adherence to the principles of the Charter, the corner-stone of which is respect for human rights and their absolute equality, without regard to origin or colour. We feel

that the sentiments of all Africans were expressed with eloquence, courage and determination by the representative of Guinea, who is Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and is an indefatigable fighter in exposing the dangers and evils of the policy followed by South Africa in defiance of the world conscience. I am sure that all Africans will associate themselves with the urgent and moving appeal that the Chairman of the Special Committee has today made to South Africa to take action, before it is too late, to bring about a multi-racial society in which Afrikaners and Africans will work in common, without hatred or any spirit of vengeance, in equality and brotherhood, to build a common future. If that path is not taken, no other course is possible and the present situation can only lead to disaster and failure.

63. Madagascar was among the first States to break off all relations with South Africa, as soon as Africa took that decision unanimously. My country is resolved to fight side by side with its African brothers to wipe racial discrimination off the face of the earth.

64. To sum up: Madagascar declares its vote in favour of draft resolution A and in any case intends to apply the resolutions without fail.

65. Mr. CAMPOS TORRES (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): This morning the delegation of Guatemala voted in favour of draft resolutions A and B, appearing in document A/6159.

66. We have no reservations with regard to draft resolution B, which previously appeared in document A/SPC/L.119 and Add.1 and 2.

67. We should like, however, to place on record our reservations with regard to operative paragraphs 1 and 6 of draft resolution A, which formerly appeared in document A/SPC/L.118/Rev.2. The delegation of Guatemala has some doubts about the necessity of the second part of operative paragraph 1. We feel that this idea is more suitably expressed in paragraph 7. With regard to paragraph 6, we shall simply say that we share the views of the delegations which have said that it is the prerogative of the Security Council to decide on this question and to determine the measures which it thinks should be adopted.

68. If draft resolution A had been put to the vote paragraph by paragraph, the delegation of Guatemala would have voted in favour of paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10 and would have abstained on paragraphs 1 and 6, for the reasons I have given.

69. The delegation of Guatemala is certainly very glad to have voted in favour of both draft resolutions as a whole and by its affirmative vote has once again declared its complete and absolute repudiation of the racial policy of South Africa.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.