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**President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK**  
(Afghanistan).

## AGENDA ITEM 33

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (continued)

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE  
(A/6603)

1. The PRESIDENT: The first two items of the agenda this morning relate to questions that were considered by the Special Political Committee. However, I should like to inform the Members of the Assembly that, with respect to the first item listed on our agenda this morning, agenda item 33, a number of delegations have approached me with the suggestion that we take up this item this afternoon, in view of consultations which are going on in the hope that a new draft resolution may be able to provide a broader basis of agreement. That is the situation, according to what I have been informed by the delegations that approached me this morning. I should like to know whether the Assembly agrees to this suggestion that has been made to me.
2. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): I move that the question relating to item 33 be settled by the application of rule 77 of the rules of procedure.
3. We are faced with an apparent desire by some Members to postpone the discussion of this item until this afternoon—not for the purpose of reaching agreement on our draft resolution, but for the purpose of introducing a motion to postpone consideration of the report of the Special Political Committee until the special session of the General Assembly next spring. I already explained at our last meeting why the original sponsors of draft resolution B [A/6603, para. 24] oppose postponement.
4. Canada—a nation based on two nations and living between two of the most powerful nations on earth—is notoriously given to compromise. But what we are being asked to compromise on is a one-way street.
5. There has been no offer of compromise from the other side since this matter has been debated, for over a year now.
6. The criticisms levelled at our draft resolution go to the very heart and roots of this Organization as an instrument for peace. What we are being asked to do is to withhold from the Assembly the power to express its views in the only way in which delegations can express their views, that is, by voting on a draft resolution. We are being asked to bury that draft resolution in a committee that failed to produce a report to this Assembly.
7. For the reasons that I stated at the last meeting and for the reasons that I repeat today, I oppose further postponement and demand that that draft resolution and the report be dealt with in the normal manner, that is, that the Rapporteur present the report and that the Assembly then pronounce itself on the draft resolutions contained in that report.
8. The PRESIDENT: I should like to say that objection has been made to the request of certain delegations of which I informed the Assembly. At this stage, therefore, if the delegations that made that request do not insist on maintaining it, we shall proceed to the consideration of agenda item 33. If, however, they do insist on the maintenance of their request, I shall call on two

representatives to speak in favour of it and two to speak in opposition to it, after which the matter will immediately be put to the vote. In fact, one representative has already spoken in opposition.

9. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): My delegation does not understand the present situation very clearly. The President has been approached by a number of delegations which have suggested that item 33 of the agenda be discussed this afternoon. I thought that the problem was very simple and that the Assembly could perhaps have agreed to this approach, as it does not in any way affect the substance of the question. However, the representative of Canada seems to have raised an objection to this request on a hypothetical basis, the basis of a hypothetical draft resolution. We still do not know whether there will be such a draft resolution asking that the report of the Special Political Committee on item 33 of the agenda be deferred to the special session. For the time being, possibly because of the rather complex nature of this problem, it is merely a matter of deferring its discussion until this afternoon.

10. If that is what the representative of Canada objects to, the Assembly will probably have to take another decision, although with an agenda like this, which includes a proposal from the Secretariat, we did not really see any difficulty in deferring a discussion of this item until this afternoon.

11. If, however, the Canadian delegation's objection applies to a hypothetical draft, we would like, first, to have an opportunity of seeing the draft. This would precisely justify the need for deferring the discussion of this item until this afternoon, so that we might be able to study this draft and see whether or not to give it our support or, on the other hand, to oppose it.

12. I would, therefore, appeal to my friend from Canada to allow the Assembly to take up questions which are not controversial, so that we may adopt, as quickly as possible, during this morning's meeting, decisions on this question and thus be able, this afternoon, to deal with item 33, if necessary, as the first item.

13. If, however, the Canadian delegation objects to carrying over this question to this afternoon, my delegation will, unfortunately, have to take the opposite view and oppose the Canadian motion.

14. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to clarify the situation with regard to one point, by referring Members to the verbatim record of the 1497th meeting, paragraphs 253-255. In the proposal to postpone the vote made at that meeting, the afternoon was not mentioned; the proposal was to postpone the vote on draft resolutions B and C in document A/6603, paragraph 24, until Monday, 19 December.

15. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): A large number of delegations which are interested in fulfilling their duty, under Article 1 of the Charter, to take the necessary effective collective measures to keep the peace, want this Assembly to have the right to discuss and to vote upon all issues arising under that Article. The question of the financing of peace-keeping has been before this Assembly for a long time now. Last year it was discussed exhaustively by the Special Political Com-

mittee and a vote was taken denying to members who wanted to put certain proposals to the Committee the right to have a vote thereon. This year again the Special Political Committee discussed several draft resolutions related to this subject, and again an effort was made not to have these questions put to a vote.

16. Now, we know that if the Assembly were to decide to postpone the question of financing peace-keeping operations in all their aspects until the special session of the General Assembly which is to take place next April on the question of South West Africa, the same tactics would again be adopted as were adopted last year and this year in the Special Political Committee, that is to deal with the question of apartheid to the exclusion of all other questions before the Committee.

17. Next April there will be the very special and very important question of South West Africa. The resolution that was adopted here on that question [resolution 2145 (XXI)] marks a very significant step forward in the development of our Organization. It will be claimed in April that it is essential that discussion of that matter should not be interrupted, or that public attention should not be taken from it by introducing other questions at that session.

18. I would appeal today to the representative of Guinea to realize that there have been many representatives going around these corridors for the last several days trying to put their heads together to see what could be done so that this Assembly would be defeated in its right to bring this matter to a vote.

19. We trust, therefore, that all those who believe that this question of peace-keeping is the most important question the Assembly has to face—it is given priority in the Charter itself by its inclusion in Article 1 of that document—will have no further hesitation about bringing it to a vote. During recent days, those delegations which intend to put forward a motion this afternoon that this matter should be referred to the special session in April or to the twenty-second session could easily have put it down on a sheet of paper and submitted it so that it would have been before us this morning in the form of a motion. We are in the usual difficulty that people are going around saying "this delegation agrees" and "that delegation agrees". This morning, I consulted a couple of delegations that were supposed to have agreed to these various propositions, and they told me they did not agree. We are all adult people; if we have differences that is no wonder. But if we want to resolve our differences, we have to be allowed to debate them and to vote on them here in the open, and we should not allow this Assembly to be manoeuvred into taking decisions or accepting conclusions on which the Members are not in fact agreed.

20. I strongly oppose any further postponement of this question, even for an hour. It has been debated now for two years, and the Assembly, if it is going to make any progress for peace or for the other purposes for which the United Nations was established, should be determined to see that its business is run in an orderly way and that the Members are not denied the right to decide what shall be done on various matters that come before it.

21. The PRESIDENT: We can hear one more speaker in favour of the suggestion that this item should be taken up this afternoon.

22. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia): I have listened very carefully to the arguments advanced by the representative of Ireland in opposing a suggestion to postpone consideration of this very important item, on which negotiations and mutual understanding have been necessary for the last two years and are necessary now if we want to achieve results which would respond to the desires of both those who think that a solution should be taken within minutes and those who think that a little more time would make it possible for us to try to find a solution which would be acceptable to all of us and, even more important, would enable us to continue our common efforts to achieve positive results.

23. I do not think this is a time to speak about manoeuvring, or to engage in any such arguments; that would help none of us. It is precisely because of that that I limit myself to appealing to all representatives here to show co-operation with the President and to continue in the spirit which has prevailed during this session under his able guidance so that we may conclude this session on that same note and not with a division which might have quite serious consequences.

24. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the motion that the item should be taken up at this afternoon's meeting.

*The motion was adopted by 41 votes to 32, with 36 abstentions.*

25. The PRESIDENT: Now that the General Assembly has decided that item 33 will be taken up as the first item this afternoon, we shall proceed to the consideration of the next item on our agenda, item 36.

### AGENDA ITEM 36

Peaceful settlement of disputes: report of the Special Political Committee (A/6617)

26. Mr. GONI DEMARCHI (Argentina), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee (translated from Spanish): May I, as Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, introduce the Committee's report (A/6617) on agenda item 36, "Peaceful settlement of disputes"?

27. Although a seven-Power draft resolution was presented, the Special Political Committee did not take a decision on it. A motion to suspend the debate under rule 117 of the rules of procedure was adopted by 50 votes to 26, with 6 abstentions, thus concluding consideration of the item.

28. The PRESIDENT: No action is required of the General Assembly on this item except to take note of the report of the Committee. In the absence of any objections, I shall take it that the Assembly decides to take note of the report of the Special Political Committee.

*The Assembly took note of the report of the Special Political Committee.*

## AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council [chapters XIII (section IX), XVI and XVII] (concluded)

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6606)

## AGENDA ITEM 54

World social situation

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6614)

## AGENDA ITEMS 59 AND 61

Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance:

- (a) Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance;
- (b) Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance

Creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6615)

## AGENDA ITEM 60

Freedom of information:

- (a) Draft Convention on Freedom of Information;
- (b) Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6616)

## AGENDA ITEM 63

International Year for Human Rights:

- (a) Programme of measures and activities to be undertaken in connexion with the International Year for Human Rights;
- (b) Report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Human Rights

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6619)

29. Mrs. PONCE DE LEON (Colombia), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (translated from Spanish): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its approval the Third Committee's reports on three items assigned to it. The reports are on item 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council" (A/6606), item 54, "World social situation" (A/6614), and item 63, "International Year for Human Rights" (A/6619).

30. The Third Committee devoted most of its time during the session to the examination and completion of the International Covenants on Human Rights, and consequently had insufficient time to study all the items on its agenda, some of which it decided to postpone to the twenty-second session. These items were: item 59, "Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance", the report of which is contained in document A/6615; item 60, "Freedom of information", the report of which is contained in document A/6616, and item 61, "Creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights", the report of which also appears in document A/6615.

31. The Third Committee examined the sections of the report of the Economic and Social Council assigned to it as separate items on the agenda. A few comments were made on the remaining parts.

32. As this is the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Children's Fund, the Third Committee devoted a meeting to the subject and adopted a draft resolution, which is the Committee's only recommendation on the item (A/6606, para. 24).

33. On item 54, "The world social situation" (A/6614), the Third Committee, for the reasons given, was unable to find time for full consideration. During the debates, various delegations made important statements regarding the programme of future activities in the social development field formulated by the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council itself. During the discussions, reference was made to the possibility and advisability of preparing a declaration on social development as envisaged in General Assembly resolution 2035 (XX).

34. By 86 votes to none against with 3 abstentions, the Third Committee adopted a draft resolution (A/6614, para. 19) for consideration by the General Assembly in which certain important guidelines are laid down for future work in the field of social development, including the question of a draft declaration on social development. In connexion with this item, the Third Committee considered it appropriate to refer to the draft resolution to be presented to the Assembly by the Second Committee in which reference is made to the possibility and advisability of preparing a development charter which would serve as a guide for international co-operation to promote economic, social and cultural development. The objectives of the two drafts are closely related.

35. On item 63, "International Year for Human Rights", the Third Committee recommends four draft resolutions (A/6619, para. 361) to the Assembly for adoption.

36. Draft resolution A contains a further programme of measures and activities envisaged for Member States, the specialized agencies and national and international organizations for the celebration of the International Year for Human Rights in 1968. It also requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session on the plans, preparations, arrangements, measures and activities referred to in the draft resolution.

37. Draft resolution C accepts with appreciation the invitation of the Government of Iran to hold the 1968 International Conference on Human Rights at Teheran. It takes note of the first progress report of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference and invites States Members of the United Nations, States members of the specialized agencies, States Parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and States that the General Assembly decides specially to invite to participate in the Conference. The General Assembly will of course receive a more detailed report of the preparations for the Conference at its next session.

38. Draft resolution D recommends that the membership of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference should be increased from 17 to 23 and requests the President of the General Assembly to appoint six additional members: two from Africa, two from Asia and two from Latin America.

39. Under draft resolution B the General Assembly would call upon the Governments of all countries and the peoples of the world to intensify the struggle to safeguard fundamental freedoms and human rights and ensure the complete and immediate elimination of such violations of human rights as racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.*

40. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will proceed to the consideration of agenda item 12. Under that item the General Assembly is seized of the report of the Third Committee [A/6606] relating to certain chapters of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

41. In the absence of a request for a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee [A/6606, para. 24]?

*The draft resolution was adopted, without objection.*

42. The PRESIDENT: Before we move on to agenda item 54 I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/6303] to be dealt with directly in the plenary meeting. These parts are chapters XIII (section IX), XVI and XVII. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly takes note of those parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

*It was so decided.*

43. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to agenda item 54 and shall proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee [A/6614, para. 19].

44. Mr. OWONO (Cameroon) (translated from French): I wish to point out, Mr. President, that the machine did not register my vote. I voted in favour of the draft resolution.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 163 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.*

45. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to agenda items 59 and 61. The Third Committee recommends [A/6615, para. 3] the postponement of the consideration of these items to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt that recommendation.

*The recommendation was adopted.*

46. The PRESIDENT: The next recommendation of the Third Committee appears under item 60. The Third Committee unanimously recommends the adoption of the draft resolution contained in its report [A/6616, para. 5]. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

47. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider agenda item 63. I invite Members to turn their attention to the draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in its report on this item [A/6619, para. 36]. We shall first vote on draft

resolution A and its annex, and then on draft resolution B.

*Draft resolution A was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.*

*Draft resolution B was adopted by 91 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.*

48. The PRESIDENT: With regard to draft resolution C, the financial implications which would result from the adoption of this recommendation of the Third Committee are based on the decisions of the Economic and Social Council and will be taken into account in the budget estimates. I shall now put to the vote draft resolutions C and D.

*The result of the vote on draft resolution C was 109 in favour and none against.*

*Draft resolution D was adopted by 103 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.*

49. The PRESIDENT: Under operative paragraph 2 of resolution D just adopted, the President of the General Assembly is requested to appoint six additional members of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Human Rights—two from African countries, two from Asian countries, and two from Latin American countries. I hereby appoint the following countries to serve on the Preparatory Committee: Colombia, Kenya, Lebanon, Mauritania, Pakistan and Panama.

## AGENDA ITEM 39

United Nations Development Decade: report of the Secretary-General

### REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6602)

50. The PRESIDENT: I invite Mr. Reisch of Austria, the Rapporteur of the Second Committee, to present the report of that Committee [A/6602]. The Rapporteur is not present. However, since the report is before the Assembly in his name, we shall proceed with the consideration of that report. If he arrives before we have voted upon the item and he wishes to make any elaboration on the report, he will have the opportunity to do so.

51. Mr. ABE (Japan): The Japanese delegation abstained on draft resolution A [A/6602, para. 22] because of misgivings about its approach, which, in the view of my delegation, seemed somewhat too theoretical and premature.

52. I think we are all aware of the enormous difficulty involved in the kind of task envisaged by this draft resolution. Of course, here I am referring to the task which will come after the stocktaking exercise requested by its operative paragraph 1. In the field of trade and development, for example, we have not been able to reach agreement on UNCTAD principles, because there is no adequate consensus among the members of UNCTAD on how the basic guidelines should be laid down. The difficulties will be no less when the scope is widened to cover the entire field of economic, social and cultural development, in the absence of a consensus on which we could formulate "a consolidated statement of the rights and duties of peoples and nations" or "a charter of development".

However, in view of the wide support given to the draft resolution in the Second Committee and since it deals only with procedure at the present stage, my delegation voted in favour of it here, reserving the right to express fully its views on matters of substance when they are discussed at a later stage.

53. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to turn their attention to the two draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee [A/6602, para. 22]. I would draw the attention of the Assembly to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6612] on the financial implications of the Second Committee's recommendations.

54. I shall put to the vote draft resolutions A and B.

*Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously.*

*Draft resolution B was adopted by 103 votes to none, with 1 abstention.*

### AGENDA ITEM 52

General review of the programmes and activities in the economic, social, technical co-operation and related fields of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United Nations Children's Fund and all other institutions and agencies related to the United Nations system (concluded)\*

55. The PRESIDENT: By its resolution 2188 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, the General Assembly requested the Economic and Social Council

"... at its resumed forty-first session ... to enlarge its Committee for Programme and Co-ordination by five additional Member States, to be designated by the President of the General Assembly for a period not exceeding three years and with due regard to equitable geographical distribution ...".

56. The Economic and Social Council has now enlarged the Committee and, in pursuance of that resolution, I designate the following Member States as members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination: Czechoslovakia, Jordan, Malta, Trinidad and Tobago, United Arab Republic.

57. With this designation, we have completed consideration of all the items of the Second Committee.

### AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly (concluded):\*\*

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

58. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria), Rapporteur of the Credentials Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Credentials Committee to the twenty-first session of the Assembly [A/6620].

59. The Assembly will note that, subject to the reservations made by certain Member States, which are recorded in the report, the Committee found the credentials of all representatives to be in order. The Credentials Committee, therefore, recommends

to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

"The General Assembly,

"Approves the report of the Credentials Committee."

60. Mr. DEVENDRA (Nepal): The views of the delegation of Nepal on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China are well known. In presenting our observations on the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation wishes to state for the record that it cannot accept the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Republic of China, since they represent an entity which is not a State in international law and practice. Under the Charter, a State is a member of the United Nations, and Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, cannot be considered as a separate State. Taiwan may be a State only for those countries which, for the sake of their narrow interests, wish to keep the great continent of Asia divided.

61. My delegation cannot—I repeat cannot—accept the credentials of the so-called representatives of Taiwan who, if they are to be described as representatives, can best be called representatives of the western monopolies in Asia.

62. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (translated from French): During the recent debates which have been held on the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the delegation of Romania has made a full statement of its views regarding the representation of China [1480th meeting]. On that occasion it joined together with a large number of delegations in proving that the Government which has the legal right to represent China in the United Nations—a founding Member and one of the five permanent members of the Security Council—is the Government of the People's Republic of China and that the island of Taiwan, temporarily occupied by a foreign force, is an integral part of the territory of China.

63. Inasmuch as the credentials of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek do not emanate from the legitimate and representative Government of the Chinese people, they are in contravention of the provisions of rule 27 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure and should, therefore, be deemed null and void.

64. Accordingly, the delegation of Romania denies any validity to credentials communicated to the Secretary-General by an authority which claims, arbitrarily and unlawfully, to represent China in the United Nations.

65. For the reason I have just given, my delegation will abstain when a vote is taken on the report as a whole [A/6620] as submitted by the Credentials Committee.

66. I should also make it clear that the delegation of Romania shares the reservations expressed regarding the credentials of the delegation of South Africa.

67. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): Last year my delegation had occasion [1407th meeting] to deplore the fact that the report of the Credentials Committee was debated by our Assembly only at the

\*Resumed from the 1492nd meeting.

\*\*Resumed from the 1409th meeting.

end of our proceedings. Thus, if it were found that a delegation was not representative and that its credentials were valueless, this would be well after that delegation had taken a full part in our proceedings and had cast votes which decide important questions on which we have to give a decision. We recognize that certain delays, due to the transmission of credentials, explain this delay on the part of the Credentials Committee, but we hope that, in the years to come, this question can be discussed in the Assembly on a date not quite so close to the end of our proceedings as at present.

68. This year my delegation had the honour to take part in the debates of the Credentials Committee. On that occasion it expressed, unequivocally and most emphatically, its reservations about the credentials of the delegation of Chiang Kai-shek, as well as of the Pretoria delegation. In the case of the Chiang Kai-shek delegation, my delegation reasserts that this group of individuals cannot represent the Chinese Government in our midst. Taipei is not Peking; the island of Taiwan cannot be regarded as China. The credentials submitted on behalf of the Chinese Republic are, therefore, quite valueless in the eyes of my delegation and they should be rejected.

69. As regards the team from Pretoria, my delegation has said on several occasions that that team represents a minority of usurpers, a minority of racial oppressors, and that its credentials are absolutely illegal, as are their Government and all their institutions. The Pretoria delegation cannot represent the South African people as a whole and the South African State, as constituted, does not represent for my delegation a State worthy of presenting to us credentials for a delegation such as that which is taking part in our proceedings.

70. Last year my delegation had, along with other Afro-Asian delegations, submitted a proposal according to which the General Assembly decided not to take any decision on the credentials of the Pretoria representatives.<sup>1/</sup> This proposal was adopted by a substantial majority and we thought that this year there was no need to renew that decision since, as far as we were concerned, the situation had not changed. The representatives of the apartheid régime are still unworthy of submitting credentials to us. We preferred this year merely to express the most formal reservations and to say that, for our part, we did not accept those credentials.

71. With those reservations, and in the hope that they will be faithfully entered in the record of this discussion, my delegation will vote in favour of the recommendation of the Credentials Committee (A/6620, para. 23), on the understanding, of course, that, as I have just said, we do not accept the credentials either of the apartheid régime or of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

72. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The illegality and the injustice that are being committed in allowing a clique of renegades who represent nothing to occupy the seat in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China are reflected also in

the report which the Credentials Committee submits to the General Assembly at each of its sessions. The decision, taken once again by that Committee at the present session with the effect of recognizing the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, is as illegal and contrary to the Charter and the rules of procedure as the fact of depriving China of its lawful rights in the Organization.

73. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania energetically rejects the decision of the Credentials Committee, which is one of a series of acts arising from the manipulation of the United Nations by the United States of America and seriously impairing the authority of the Organization and its ability to perform the task entrusted to it under the Charter.

74. It is a blatant absurdity for a clique of traitors in the pay of the United States to claim that they represent here the great country of China with 700 million inhabitants; the absurdity of it is recognized by all the peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples and countries.

75. China is one and indivisible. By winning, seventeen years ago, the great historic victory of the socialist revolution, the Chinese people proclaimed its People's Republic to the world. Since then the only government which has the requisite authority and right to represent China in foreign affairs, in the United Nations and in all international institutions and conferences is the Government of the People's Republic of China. The island of Taiwan is a Chinese province; it is incontestably an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The fact that the United States of America has militarily occupied that island and that it has installed and is maintaining there under its protection the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek gang, which has been permanently rejected by the Chinese people, cannot in any way serve as a pretext for justifying denial of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations.

76. As we have on many occasions argued here, the loss sustained by the United Nations of the co-operation of the largest State in the world, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, can only be detrimental to the United Nations, to its prestige and its ability to discharge its mission in support of international peace and security. So far as the People's Republic of China is concerned, nothing will hinder it, as in the past, from moving speedily forward along the glorious road of the construction of socialism and the uninterrupted strengthening, both internally and externally, of the great socialist China.

77. The inability of the United Nations to make an effective contribution to the settlement of the major problems of our time, and the deplorable situation prevailing in it as a result of the hold which the United States of America has over it, merely highlight still further the absence of the People's Republic of China. The continuation of such a state of affairs can only lead to the ruin of the Organization.

78. As regards the credentials from the régime of the white minority in South Africa, the delegation of Albania fully supports the reservations entered by the delegation of Guinea. We consider that the clique of

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 3, document A/L.481.



white racists which is pursuing a policy of colonial oppression based on apartheid and terror, in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, cannot in any way be deemed the lawful representatives of the South African people.

79. For the reasons I have just given, my delegation will abstain from voting on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

80. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): My delegation would like to make clear its position on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6620].

81. The Government of Afghanistan recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of the Chinese people. We therefore regard the representatives of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representatives of China in the United Nations. Consequently, we cannot recognize as valid any credentials except those issued by the Central Government of the People's Republic of China.

82. With this reservation, my delegation accepts the draft resolution proposed by the Credentials Committee.

83. U MAUNG MAUNG GALE (Burma): I wish briefly to explain my delegation's vote in connexion with the draft resolution which is now before us.

84. From the time the Government of the People's Republic of China was established, my delegation has consistently supported every move to seat the representatives of that Government as the lawful representatives of China. Therefore, any credentials which come from sources other than the Government of the People's Republic of China cannot be recognized by my delegation as being valid.

85. It is with this reservation that my delegation will vote to approve the report of the Credentials Committee.

86. Mr. KLUSAK (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): In connexion with the discussion of the Credential Committee's report, submitted to us in document A/6620, the delegation of Czechoslovakia considers it necessary once again to express the views of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on the question of the representation in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China.

87. The Government of Czechoslovakia recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representative of China in the United Nations. The so-called credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek clique cannot have any legal value. Accordingly, the delegation of Czechoslovakia resolutely protests against recognizing as valid the credentials submitted by the Chiang Kai-shek delegate. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the activities of the United Nations is undermining the authority of the Organization and is a serious obstacle to progress in the efforts to increase its effectiveness in conformity with the United Nations Charter, as we have already had occasion to point out at this meeting in connexion with the discussion of the corresponding question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the representa-

tive of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

88. Without the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations it is impossible successfully to resolve the urgent international problems which arise in the world and which are examined in the United Nations. The delegation of Czechoslovakia, therefore, declares once again that it is absolutely necessary to put an end to this abnormal and unhealthy situation and to remove the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

89. The delegation of Czechoslovakia associates itself also with a number of representatives who raised here, before we did, objections of principles against recognizing the credentials of the representative of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and, in particular, with the motives and reasons advanced and emphasized here by the representative of Guinea, Ambassador Achkar Marof.

90. The Government of the Republic of South Africa is systematically and grossly violating the obligations arising from the Charter and is flouting the appeals and recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council to stop practising the policy of apartheid. Accordingly, it cannot lawfully represent the people of the Republic of South Africa in the United Nations and the delegation of Czechoslovakia will not vote in favour of approving its credentials.

91. For the reasons I have indicated the Czechoslovak delegation cannot support the report of the Credentials Committee and intends to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Committee [A/6620, para. 23].

92. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): My delegation would like to make clear its position on the report of the Credentials Committee.

93. There are certain persons present at this Assembly who do not represent the peoples of their countries and whose credentials therefore cannot be considered as valid under the rules of procedure. First, there is a group of usurpers which claims to speak here on behalf of the Chinese people and State. As is well known, the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the activities of the United Nations for the last seventeen years has been a direct result of the obstructive position taken by the United States on this question that is so vital to our Organization.

94. The absence of the Chinese People's Republic from our midst is a serious obstacle in the way of solving urgent international problems and has to be ended as soon as possible. That is why we emphatically reject the recommendation of the majority of the members of the Credentials Committee to recognize the so-called credentials of the persons falsely claiming to represent China in this Organization.

95. Secondly, my delegation cannot recognize the documents presented by the delegation of the South African Republic as being valid credentials. The racist Government of that country represents only a small minority of its population. It governs on the basis of the inhuman policy of apartheid and of the suppression



of the will of the people of the land. Those who are responsible for that policy and who are guilty of blatant violations of the basic norms of international law cannot pretend here to be the lawful representatives of their people.

96. For those reasons, the Polish delegation will not support the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

97. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In connexion with the recommendations submitted for the Assembly's consideration by the Credentials Committee [A/6620], the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to make the following statement.

98. Like the delegations of many other countries Members of our Organization, the Soviet delegation does not recognize the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek group, which arbitrarily designates itself as representing China in the United Nations. The credentials it submits do not satisfy the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

99. The position of principle taken by the Soviet Union on this question was explained in the speech made by the representative of the Soviet delegation at the General Assembly's meeting on 21 November [1472nd meeting]. We confirm that position. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China in the United Nations.

100. For those reasons the Soviet delegation proposed in the Credentials Committee an appropriate draft resolution [A/6620, paras. 5-13], inviting the Committee to consider invalid the credentials of the persons calling themselves the representatives of China.

101. With regard to the Soviet delegation's position on the question of the credentials of the representative of the Republic of South Africa, we resolutely support the position expounded here, in the General Assembly, and also at the meeting of the Credentials Committee [*ibid.*, paras. 14-18] by the representatives of African States.

102. The overwhelming majority of the population of the Republic of South Africa—its real masters—continue to be the victims of a colonial oppression that is unbelievably cruel, of racial discrimination and of open terror on the part of the Pretoria authorities.

103. The policy of apartheid, which deprives the country's indigenous population of elementary human rights and freedoms, has been frequently condemned by the United Nations, which rightly called for this to be immediately stopped. These demands, however, have still not been complied with.

104. The Soviet delegation entirely shares the view of a large number of States that the Pretoria régime, which is grossly violating the elementary rights of many millions of people, cannot properly represent the people of that country.

105. Inasmuch as these considerations, however, were not taken into account when the question was considered in the Credentials Committee and were not, in our view, properly reflected in the report, the Soviet delegation is unable to support the recommenda-

tions of the Committee [*ibid.*, para. 23] and will abstain for the above reasons in the vote on those recommendations.

106. Mr. PASHA (Pakistan): The Government of Pakistan has all along maintained that the lawful and genuine representative of China is the Government of the People's Republic of China. The entity which has usurped in the United Nations the rightful place of the People's Republic of China has no locus standi, in the view of my delegation. The so-called Government of the Republic of China is a phantom which is being allowed unlawfully to occupy the seat of one of the founders of this world Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council, in flagrant violation of the norms of international law. We have accordingly refused to recognize the representative character of the so-called Republic of China, and we shall continue to maintain this position until it is expelled and replaced by the representatives of Peking.

107. As regards the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Government of the Republic of South Africa, my delegation fully explained its views during the consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee at the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The so-called Government of the Republic of South Africa continues to maintain its flagrant disregard of fundamental human rights and to violate them by denying to the indigenous people of South Africa its rightful place in the Government of that country. The present rulers of South Africa are usurpers and have no right to be represented in the United Nations. Moreover, they have maintained their defiance of the Charter of the United Nations by flouting its basic principles and the resolutions of this world Organization. The Pakistan delegation cannot approve the credentials of the usurpers in Pretoria.

108. With these reservations, my delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6620].

109. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): I shall be extremely brief. My delegation will, of course, vote in favour of the recommendation of the Credentials Committee [A/6620, para. 23] but it proposes to enter the strongest reservations regarding the credentials of the Pretoria delegation. The systematic refusal of the authorities in South Africa to let the African majority share in the exercise of authority and in decisions on public affairs, based on racial discrimination that is disapproved by this Assembly, would not allow my delegation to accept that delegation's credentials. Subject to these reservations, as I have said, my delegation will vote in favour of the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

110. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia): Our vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee cannot be interpreted as constituting any change in our position of the representation of China in the United Nations. We have stated—and I repeat today—that the only Government which is entitled to represent that country in the United Nations is the Government of the People's Republic of China.

111. Mr. ARORA (India): The Indian delegation would like to state its position briefly that its vote in favour of the adoption of the report of the Credentials

Committee does not derogate from its well known position regarding the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations.

112. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes to reaffirm the position that it adopted last year and confirmed here in the General Assembly regarding the following points of the report of the Credentials Committee.

113. First, we reaffirm our position that the representatives of China can be only the representatives of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, we wish to state once again that we support the right of the lawful representatives of China, the People's Republic of China, to be represented in the United Nations.

114. Secondly, we object very strongly to recognition of the Government of South Africa, because of its racist attitude and its policy of apartheid against the majority of the people of South Africa.

115. Thirdly, we wish to make another reservation, and I am making this reservation in the name of the Arab States members of the Arab League. This reservation is made in accordance with a decision adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States, namely our non-recognition in any way whatsoever of the so-called State of Israel. In doing so, we once more reaffirm that the State of Israel was created in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The whole Arab population of Palestine has been deprived of the right of self-determination enshrined in the Charter and denied its birthright to its home country. For the last eighteen years they have been living in a most tragic situation and in inhuman conditions.

116. The existence of the State of Israel is a continuous denial of the rights of the Arabs and represents a continuous act of aggression, and our reservation and the reservation of the States of the Arab League will remain as long as that aggression continues to exist. Therefore, on behalf of the members of the Arab League and of the Arab States Members of the United Nations, not only do we make this reservation, but we also appeal to all Members of the United Nations to make similar reservations, asking them to understand this problem as a colonial problem and to recognize that the existence of Israel represents a continuous act of aggression and a denial of the United Nations Charter.

117. Mr. DELEAU (France) (translated from French): France recognized the People's Republic of China on 27 January 1964. It maintains diplomatic relations with the Peking Government, which it regards as the only legitimate authority of China and, therefore, as the only authority entitled to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations.

118. Consequently, my delegation cannot accept the validation of the credentials of the representatives from Formosa and will abstain in the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/6620].

119. Mr. MALECELA (Tanzania): I would like to express the views of the United Republic of Tanzania with regard to the report of the Credentials Committee.

120. As far as Tanzania is concerned, we do not recognize South Africa. We do not think that a régime

in which the majority of the people are virtually slaves under just a handful of whites could be said to represent South Africa in the United Nations.

121. Our objection applies equally to the representation of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, we contend that a small minority group of hardly ten million cannot be said to represent the 700 million people of China. As a matter of fact, those people have never even been to the mainland for the last, I think, eighteen years, and therefore cannot possibly claim that they represent the People's Republic of China. As far as we are concerned Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China and therefore cannot claim here, at the United Nations, to represent the population of China.

122. Mr. NSANZE (Burundi) (translated from French): The document [A/6620] submitted to us by the Credentials Committee makes it necessary for my delegation to take the floor. My Government finds itself unable to recognize the validation of the credentials of the Pretoria Government. We would have preferred to have a document presenting the question of the South African delegation separately from that of the other delegations which authoritatively represent their countries. In this connexion, we would like to inform the General Assembly that the Government of Burundi is opposed to the Pretoria Government.

123. Accordingly, although we are going to vote in favour of the document before us, our vote will not in any way signify that we recognize the South African delegation as a representative delegation. The reasons are that this Government, which represents people trafficking in racism, cannot in any way be deemed to represent the whole of the South African people.

124. We must also deplore the fact that the white minority in South Africa is a calamity of our time. All delegations should realize that coming generations of Whites will themselves revolt against apartheid because, in a world destined for world-wide international co-operation, they will not tolerate support being given to such an outrageous and criminal scourge.

125. Mr. MOUANZA (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): The reason that has led my delegation to ask for the floor, even though it has praised the efforts of the members of the Credentials Committee, is that in the Committee's report [A/6620], recognition as representatives is given to intruders such as those from South Africa and from Taipei.

126. For those reasons and, I repeat, even though we have praised the efforts of the Credentials Committee, my delegation is obliged to say that this report, though drawn up with every possible care, is spoiled by a blemish, like a basket of good oranges into which one rotten orange has been tossed.

127. For those reasons my delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

128. Mr. BARROMI (Israel) (translated from Spanish): The representative of Syria has once again chosen to disturb the orderly conduct of this Assembly by repeating his obsessive and rather monotonous attacks against my country. My delegation wishes solemnly to protest against this new infamous attempt to sow confusion in the Assembly and to spread crude

and baseless charges against my country—charges which we reject with all the contempt that they deserve.

129. The PRESIDENT: I was at the end of my list of names of representatives who have been inscribed to speak on the report of the Credentials Committee. That is why I thought I should call on the representative of Israel to speak in exercise of his right of reply. But now I have received two more requests to be allowed to speak, and therefore I think I should make it clear that if there are any other rights of reply they will be exercised after the next two representatives have spoken.

130. Mr. THIAM (Mali) (translated from French): The delegation of Mali will be very brief. It would like to pay tribute to the Credentials Committee for the report [A/6620] which is submitted to the General Assembly.

131. But the delegation of the Republic of Mali would like to make it clear here that the representatives of what is here called China do not represent the great Chinese people. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the only one that can speak on its behalf; it is established in Peking and it is there that it exercises real control over the whole Chinese people.

132. As regards also those who speak in the name of the racist régime of Pretoria, my delegation cannot accept their credentials. For these two reasons, the delegation of Mali will abstain in the vote.

133. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): My delegation also will be very brief as regards the vote about to be taken. We wish to emphasize that we enter the most explicit reservations regarding the representative nature of those who allegedly represent South Africa in our Assembly. Consequently, our vote will not in any way imply that we approve that representation in the United Nations.

134. Mr. LIU CHIEH (China): The General Assembly, on 29 November, decisively upheld the rightful position of my delegation in the United Nations. The credentials of my delegation have been found by the Credentials Committee to be entirely in accord with the applicable rules of procedure. Those credentials are therefore not open to challenge in any form or manner.

135. It is of course no surprise that the few delegations which champion the cause of the Chinese communist régime of Peking in the United Nations should make such reservations as they have been in the habit of making. But it is another matter when they go beyond whatever reservations they may choose to make and touch upon the substance of the so-called question of Chinese representation. On that question they have already had occasion to make their positions abundantly clear. It is difficult to understand why they should feel called upon at this late stage to reiterate the arguments which are well known to all. My delegation does not have to reply to those out-worn arguments.

136. This is no time to start anew the debate on this question—a question on which the General Assembly took a clear decision only three weeks ago. Any attempt to reopen the debate on the question of representation or to call into question the credentials of my delegation must be regarded as a deliberate

effort to interrupt the orderly proceedings of the Assembly, and must therefore be considered out of order.

137. The PRESIDENT: We shall proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee [A. 6620, para. 23].

*The draft resolution was adopted by 87 to none, with 25 abstentions.*

138. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of South Africa to speak in explanation of vote.

139. Mr. MATTHYS BOTHA (South Africa): Mr. President, I thank you for giving me the opportunity of explaining the vote of my delegation. I do not intend to reply to the statements concerning my Government and its policies which were made this morning, except to reject them in their entirety.

140. My delegation had the occasion last year to place on record our arguments on the validity of our credentials, and it is not necessary to repeat them today. My delegation has no doubts that its credentials are in order. Therefore, we have voted for the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee. Our vote does not, of course, imply concurrence with the views expressed by individual members of the Committee as contained in the report.

#### AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (concluded)\*

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART II)  
(A/6529/Add.1)

#### AGENDA ITEMS 30, 89 AND 91

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Conclusion of an international treaty on principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, the moon and other celestial bodies

Treaty governing the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6621)

#### AGENDA ITEMS 31 AND 93

The Korean question: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea

Withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE  
(A/6618 and Corr.1)

\*Resumed from the 1494th meeting.

## AGENDA ITEM 96

Status of the implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE  
(A/6598)

141. Mr. CHERNUSHCHENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Rapporteur of the First Committee (translated from Russian): Allow me to present the four reports of the First Committee in the order in which they are shown in the agenda of the plenary meeting.

142. The first report [A/6529/Add.1] relates to the "Question of general and complete disarmament" and is part II of the report dealing with the draft resolution submitted by Iran, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Tunisia and the United Republic of Tanzania (*ibid.*, para. 2).

143. In this connexion I would like to draw attention to paragraph 3 of the report which states that on 17 December the Chairman informed the Committee that the sponsors of the revised draft resolution had agreed not to press it to a vote.

144. The next report [A/6621] relates to the items: "International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space"; "Conclusion of an international treaty on principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, the moon and other celestial bodies"; and "Treaty governing the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies".

145. It is noted in the report that the item "International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space" was included in the provisional agenda of the twenty-first session by the Secretary-General on the basis of resolution 2130 (XX) of 21 December 1965 [*ibid.*, para. 1].

146. The item "Conclusion of an international treaty on principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, the moon and other celestial bodies" was included in the provisional agenda of the current session at the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics transmitted to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of the USSR at the United Nations in a letter dated 30 May 1966 [*ibid.*, para. 2].

147. Finally, the item "Treaty governing the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies" was proposed by the Government of the United States of America in a letter dated 17 September 1966 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of the United States [*ibid.*, para. 3].

148. In connexion with the submission of the latter treaty, we would like to deal more especially with the question connected with the draft resolution "International conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space". The relevant draft resolution was submitted by a large number of countries and its text will be found in paragraph 7 of the report.

149. Subsequently, an amendment to this draft resolution was submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, the United States of America and a number of other countries [*ibid.*, para. 8], which proposed that paragraph 4 of the said draft resolution should be amended as follows:

"Invites States Members of the United Nations, States members of the specialized agencies, States Parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and States that the General Assembly decides specially to invite to participate in the Conference."

150. The delegations of Ethiopia, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia submitted a sub-amendment to the amendment [*ibid.*, para. 9], which proposed that the text should be amended to read:

"Invites all States to participate in the Conference."

151. In explanation of their sub-amendment, these countries stressed the need to make the conference world-wide.

152. The following was the result of the voting on the sub-amendment and the amendment [*ibid.*, paras. 12 and 13]: for the sub-amendment stating that the General Assembly invites all States to take part in the conference, there were 31 votes in favour, 44 against and 15 abstentions. After the rejection of the sub-amendment by a majority of votes, the amendment submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, the United States and a number of other States, was adopted. With this amendment by a number of Western countries the draft resolution regarding an international conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space was adopted [*ibid.*, para. 14].

153. Both resolution I and resolutions II and III were adopted unanimously [*ibid.*, paras. 17 and 18].

154. I should like here to note the fact that draft resolution II, regarding the Treaty governing the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, approves the treaty submitted on the principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies. The draft of this treaty, as you are aware, is annexed to this report [*ibid.*, para. 19].

155. This treaty, as was noted during the discussions in Committee by representatives of different countries, has a great positive significance for the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. The treaty also excludes the use of outer space, the moon and other celestial bodies for military purposes, which will undoubtedly contribute to the further strengthening of the peace and security of peoples. At the same time, during the debates the representatives of many countries pointed out that this treaty was a success for the work of the United Nations and its bodies.

156. The First Committee, therefore, recommends to the General Assembly that it adopt the three draft resolutions which are to be found in paragraph 19 of the report.

157. Further, I should like to submit the report on the First Committee's consideration of agenda items 31 and 93 [A/6618 and Corr.1]. These questions are

entitled, respectively; "The Korean question: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"; and "Withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

158. As noted in the report, the item: "The Korean question: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" was included in the Agenda in conformity with previous decisions of the General Assembly [*ibid.*, para. 4]. The item: "Withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" was submitted by the representatives of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The letter on the subject addressed by the representatives of the above-mentioned countries to the Secretary-General is contained in document A/6394 [A/6618, paras. 3 and 4, and Corr.1].

159. As will be seen from the First Committee's report, quite a lot of time was spent during the Committee's work on the question of inviting representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion of the Korean question [*ibid.*, paras. 6 and 7]. This question of inviting representatives of the two parts of Korea was discussed twice during the Committee's work. First, as the report shows, this question was discussed on 2 December and at a series of subsequent meetings. Later, after a lengthy discussion and a procedural vote, a vote was taken on 13 December on the question of inviting representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea.

160. From the report it will be seen that representatives of twelve countries, including Bulgaria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mongolia, Syria, and Yugoslavia, tabled a draft resolution, in which it was proposed to invite, unreservedly and simultaneously the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the Republic of Korea—the parties directly concerned—to participate in the discussion on the Korean question.

161. In another draft resolution, submitted by nine countries, including Bolivia, Colombia, Japan, Madagascar, Philippines, Thailand, Togo and the United States of America, it was proposed:

(1) To invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion of the Korean question without right of vote;

(2) To reaffirm its willingness to invite a representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion of the Korean question without right of vote, provided that it first unequivocally accepted the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean question.

162. The proposal submitted by the representatives of twelve countries—to which I referred above—was rejected by 53 votes, 34 delegations voted in favour, 20 delegations abstained. The nine-Power draft resolution was adopted by 63 votes to 24, with 21 abstentions. The delegations which voted against this draft resolution noted that operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution—with the reference to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—bore a discriminatory character in respect of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

163. As you see, in paragraph 17 of the report the First Committee recommends for the consideration of the plenary meeting the draft resolution adopted on the Korean question. That draft resolution was adopted in a roll-call vote by 66 votes to 19, with 24 abstentions.

164. Another draft resolution, which was submitted by a large number of countries and whose main provisions are set forth in paragraph 6 of the report, was rejected by the First Committee. In this draft resolution it was proposed, *inter alia*:

"(1) That United States and all other foreign military personnel deployed in South Korea under the title of 'United Nations Forces' or in any other guise should be withdrawn in their entirety, with their weapons and equipment, within a period of six months following the adoption of this resolution;

"(2) That the 'United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea' should be dissolved immediately;

"(3) That the 'Korean question' should not in future be discussed in the United Nations."

165. That is the content of report A/6618 and Corr.1.

166. Finally, may I present the last report of the First Committee, on the "Status of the Implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty" [A/6598].

167. The Committee's report [*ibid.*, para. 1] shows that this item was introduced in connexion with a letter dated 23 September 1966 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. A draft resolution was also annexed to the explanatory memorandum which is contained in document A/6397. The operative part of the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet Union [*ibid.*, para. 5] contained the following provisions:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"Deems it to be its bounden duty:

"(a) To urge the immediate cessation of intervention, in any form whatever, in the domestic affairs of States and peoples;

"(b) To call upon all States to carry out faithfully their obligations under the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on non-intervention (resolution 2131 (XX));

"(c) To condemn all forms of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and peoples, as a basic source of danger to the cause of world peace;

"(d) To warn those States which, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on non-intervention, engage in armed intervention in the domestic affairs of other States and peoples that, by so doing, they assume responsibility for all the consequences which may ensue, including consequences to themselves."

168. Amendments to this draft resolution of the Soviet Union were tabled by a large number of Latin-American countries and were later revised and subsequently co-sponsored by a number of countries of Asia and Africa [*ibid.*, paras. 6 and 7].

169. These amendments were subsequently incorporated in the draft resolution and the latter was adopted by the Committee by 99 votes with 2 abstentions; no one voted against [*ibid.*, para. 9].

170. At the request of a number of Latin-American delegations, I would like to draw the attention of the plenary session to the fact that in the text of the resolution recommended by the First Committee for adoption (this refers only to the English text), the English word "domestic" is used. The delegations using the Spanish language said that the English

word "internal" would be more in conformity with the original Spanish wording of the amendments to the resolution. In addition, it should be noted that the word "internal" was used in the Declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty previously adopted by the United Nations.

171. In conclusion, we would like to point out that the First Committee welcomed the initiative of the Soviet delegation in introducing this question, as witness the lengthy debates held on it, in which fifty-seven delegations took part. This is also testified to by the resolution itself, which will have positive significance for the future activities of the United Nations.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.*

172. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider part II of the report of the First Committee on item 27 [A/6529/Add.1]. There is no action required of the Assembly except to take note of this part of the report of the First Committee.

*The Assembly took note of part II of the report of the First Committee.*

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



1499th  
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 19 December 1966,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak (Afghanistan).*

## AGENDA ITEM 33

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (concluded)

## REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/6603)

1. The PRESIDENT: As decided by the Assembly this morning, we shall now consider agenda item 33, concerning the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects.
2. Mr. GOÑI DEMARCHI (Argentina), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee (translated from Spanish): At this stage, there is no need for me to go into great detail on the Special Political Committee's report [A/6603] on item 33, "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations". I should however like to say that this is one of the most important items referred to the Special Political Committee for discussion.
3. During the discussion, many suggestions and proposals were made, as the report [A/6603] shows. Six draft resolutions and a number of amendments were formally submitted. Despite the divergence of views and positions, the number of draft resolutions is evidence of the great interest taken by delegations in this crucial question. Not all the documents I mentioned were put to the vote in the Committee.
4. As the outcome of its deliberations, the Special Political Committee adopted draft resolutions A, B and C in paragraph 25 of the Committee's report. It remains for me to present the draft resolutions on behalf of the Special Political Committee, and to recommend their adoption by the General Assembly.
5. The PRESIDENT: The Special Political Committee recommends three draft resolutions [A/6603, para. 25]. The Assembly has now received the following additional proposals under this item: a draft resolution submitted by several Members [A/L.515], and two amendments to draft resolution B recommended by the Special Committee, one proposed by the delegation of Cyprus [A/L.512] and the other proposed by the delegation of Jamaica [A/L.513].
6. I call on the representative of Algeria to introduce the draft resolution submitted by his delegation and several others.
7. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): Recent experience has shown that it was not a vain effort to appeal to the wisdom and spirit of conciliation which have prevailed in this Assembly—in a fashion that has become almost traditional. Only by appealing to that spirit of conciliation was it possible to surmount the serious crisis that shook the nineteenth session.
8. A special committee to study the whole question of peace-keeping operations was set up at that time

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[resolution 2006 (XIX)]. While not wishing to gloss over the difficulties encountered by that Committee, we feel bound to note that its work has, to a large extent, made it possible to clarify the situation. It had in fact, the merit of having been a meeting-ground for the different points of view during these past two years; it has become an indispensable tool in the search for a solution that requires both patience and ingenuity. On that solution will largely depend the future of our Organization, and this compels us to acknowledge that only in a forum in which both the great Powers and the different political families of the United Nations express themselves can a common denominator be found between positions that are apparently divergent.

9. Our debates in the Special Political Committee are the best illustration of that fact.

10. While we were entitled to expect that the discussions would help to bring the points of view closer together, their developments, unfortunately, demonstrated that it was not necessarily so; on the contrary, they merely brought to light serious differences of opinion.

11. The General Assembly is now called upon to take a decision on texts that emerged from that situation. Their adoption will certainly lead to a crystallization of positions, the direct consequence of which will be a return to the situation which existed during recent years. Thus, all the sustained efforts made in the last two years will be virtually destroyed. We are convinced that the General Assembly, whose major concern is the strengthening of that irreplaceable instrument of international peace and co-operation, more particularly, at the present moment in world history, will forestall any hasty action.

12. It was in the light of all those considerations that a number of countries, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, felt that a draft resolution should be submitted for the Assembly's consideration [A/L.515]. In doing this, our only concern is to avoid hasty action of any kind which, in our opinion, could only be prejudicial to a real solution of the complex problem of peace-keeping operations.

3. In this connexion, we believe that certain views expressed in the Special Political Committee deserve a more thorough examination and therefore require more time. The draft resolution contains a proposal that was thought reasonable and likely to enable us to take stock of the situation. It provides for referring the Special Political Committee's report on the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects [A/6603] to the fifth special session of the General Assembly, which is to be held not later than 30 April 1967.

14. Furthermore, our draft resolution requests the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue, in the interval, the examination of the whole question of peace-keeping operations, and to report to the General Assembly at its fifth special session. That Committee must necessarily exert every possible effort to discover the basis for a solution of the complex problem of peace-keeping operations between now and the convening of the fifth special session of the General Assembly. This brief respite should

encourage us to redouble our efforts to find a solution which should soon be forthcoming.

15. As this is a draft resolution concerning the procedure to be followed regarding the report of the Special Political Committee, my delegation, and the other sponsors of the draft resolution which I have just introduced, would like to secure priority for the vote on this draft.

16. Mr. RICHARDSON (Jamaica): The delegation of Jamaica spoke for the group of non-aligned nations at our meeting on Saturday evening [1497th meeting] when it proposed the adjournment of the debate on this item and the postponement of the vote on the draft resolutions appearing in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/6603, para. 25]. Our purpose was to see whether, even at that late stage, it might be possible to reach agreement upon a draft resolution which could command the support not of a bare majority but of the overwhelming majority of the Members of this Assembly.

17. Since then there have been discussions, but it appears that our aim has not been achieved. Agreement on a draft resolution capable of securing an impressive majority has not been obtained.

18. The delegation of Jamaica, on behalf of the group of non-aligned nations, takes note of the fact that a new draft resolution has just been introduced [A/L.515] the purpose of which is to refer the report of the Special Political Committee to the fifth special session of the General Assembly, to be held some time in April 1967. The delegation of Jamaica is not in a position to anticipate the results of the vote on this draft resolution. We are obliged, therefore, to take into account the possibility that the Assembly will vote on draft resolutions B and C in the report of the Special Political Committee. On the assumption that the Assembly will vote on these draft resolutions this afternoon, the delegation of Jamaica would like to propose an amendment to draft resolution B, namely to delete sub-paragraph (c) of operative paragraph 5. This amendment would remove the duplication and overlapping which appear in the present texts of draft resolutions B and C. The purpose of our amendment is not to register any disagreement with that sub-paragraph, but merely to remove the duplication which now exists. With the deletion of sub-paragraph (c), the way would be clear for those delegations wishing to support both draft resolution B and draft resolution C to do so without violating proper voting or other procedures in the Assembly.

19. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to appeal to all members to make their interventions as brief as possible. The item under discussion has been thoroughly discussed in the Special Political Committee. The new proposals before the Assembly are, I believe, quite clear to delegations. There is always the possibility of procedural questions arising, and my appeal relates particularly to procedural discussions. The rules of procedure will be applied if such questions do arise, but I appeal to members to refrain as far as possible from engaging in procedural discussions.

20. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I do not wish to enter a lengthy procedural

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discussion, as I feel it would be out of place at this time to do so, seeing that the situation is clear. I would, however, like to explain the position of my delegation on the question under discussion in the General Assembly.

21. On behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I would like briefly to explain why, if the draft resolution submitted in document A/SPC/L.130/Rev.4, which appears now in the report of the Special Political Committee as resolution B [A/6603, para. 25], is put to the vote, my delegation will vote against it.

22. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always contended that the maintenance of international peace and security is the essential task of the United Nations. To this end, my country has given, and will continue to give, its support to any effort and any measure aimed at enabling the United Nations truly to play the role assigned to it under the Charter, so that it may become a more effective instrument for peace. That is a position of principle, deriving from the commitment which we assumed as a Member of this Organization.

23. It is also for the fundamental reason that we have always strenuously opposed, and will continue to oppose, certain Powers, first among them the United States of America, which are trying to convert the United Nations into an instrument for their imperialist and colonialist policies, the tragic consequences of which, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are constantly being felt and are causing the peoples the most dreadful sufferings.

24. The effectiveness of our Organization is not weakened by constitutional defects, as some would have us believe; it is weakened, above all, by the policy of imperialist aggression and colonial oppression which certain powers continue to practise through their acts of interference in the domestic affairs of countries.

25. Those same Powers do all they can to oppose the legitimate aspirations of peoples to genuine national freedom and independence and assume officially one particular position, while, in practice, they act in a contrary fashion, which is opposed to the defence of the peoples' interests. Sometimes they are in favour of the peaceful settlement of problems and against the use of force—officially, of course; sometimes, they have no hesitation in employing the most brutal methods. But, in every case where they intervene, it is in order to defend their imperialist interests to the detriment of the peoples' aspirations for freedom and a better life.

26. There is no need to comment on the fact that the country whose policy is at the root of our Organization's present difficulties—I refer to the United States of America—and that behind the camouflage of a hypocritical concern for the effectiveness of the United Nations in the sphere of peace-keeping, is the same country whose Government is waging a barbarous war against a people whose only demand is to have the right of self-determination.

27. To strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations is, first and foremost, to oppose the policy of imperialist aggression and colonial oppression, to

fight resolutely for respect for, and implementation of, the purposes and principles of the Charter.

28. The delegations which are trying to undermine the foundations of the Charter (headed by the United States delegation) and also those which, for one reason or another, have shown themselves prepared to give their support to the Canadian text [A/6603, para. 6] should realize the heavy responsibility they are assuming.

29. The idea that the effectiveness of the United Nations could be strengthened by infringing its Charter must be rejected, for the tragedies of Korea and the Congo have dispelled all illusions on that point.

30. The General Assembly now has before it the report submitted by the Special Political Committee and a draft resolution dealing with so-called peace-keeping operations in all their aspects. This draft resolution has one main feature: without offering any solution to the problem under discussion within the framework of the Charter, it directs the future work of the United Nations on this subject onto a path that is inevitably leading to a new crisis for the Organization.

31. The draft resolution was submitted to the Special Political Committee by certain small countries which are not, however, involved in a policy which could lead to the destruction and disintegration of the United Nations. Yet this draft as a whole, and its various parts, represent a time-bomb laid at the very foundation of the United Nations structure.

32. Some speakers, in defending this draft resolution, have tried to represent it as well-balanced. That term "well-balanced" has not only, by this time, lost its original meaning but, in the light of certain developments within the Organization, is beginning to assume a completely opposite connotation.

33. Only a few days ago, it will be remembered, in an important body of the United Nations we were witnesses of a vote on another draft resolution which, according to certain Western Powers, was described as "balanced"; I refer to the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom and adopted by the Security Council [resolution 232 (1966)] on the question of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the purpose of which was to prolong the colonial régime in that country. After that, they go so far as to describe as well-balanced a draft resolution such as the one which has been presented here.

34. If a draft resolution on the perpetuation of the apartheid régime and the colonial régime in Southern Rhodesia can be described as balanced, why not then use the description "balanced" for the draft resolution submitted by Canada and a number of other countries, a draft which will undermine the work of the United Nations. One may well ask.

35. According to the Charter, it is always the Security Council which deals with peace-keeping operations. That is a basic principle of the Charter and one of the best principles embodied in it. The Security Council has never imposed an intolerable financial burden on the small countries; it has never taken any decision that would have been detrimental to the interests of the peoples, particularly, those fighting

for their freedom, and those of the newly independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

36. If, in the past, wrong decisions have been taken, they were decisions taken, and operations carried out, in violation of the Charter and as a result of a decision of the General Assembly; that is to say, in the name of the so-called majority, but always, as the representative of France quite rightly pointed out the other day [14:7th meeting], in the interest of a single country or group of countries.

37. In expressing its objections to the Canadian draft resolution, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria denounces any attempt to give to the General Assembly responsibilities which are of the exclusive province of the Security Council.

38. During the discussions in the Special Political Committee, the Bulgarian delegation stated its views [526th meeting] regarding the authorization, control, conduct and financing of future peace-keeping operations. Those views are based on the clear-cut division of powers between the Security Council and the General Assembly, and, primarily, on Article 11 (2) of the Charter, which provides:

"Any such question"—that is, one which relates to the maintenance of peace—"on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion."

39. Any decision which might contravene the provisions of the Charter, as is the case with the Canadian draft resolution, would be illegal. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, like other countries, incidentally, which have already stated their views, could never recognize such a decision, which would be contrary to the provisions of the Charter.

40. On the other hand, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to support any draft resolution which would be consistent with the Charter and likely to increase the effectiveness of our Organization in the sphere of maintaining peace, in conformity with the principles of the Charter. This applies to the draft resolution submitted by Jamaica, which appears in the report of the Special Political Committee in the form of draft resolution C [A/6603, para. 25].

41. It would be in the interest of our Organization to adopt a formula which would enable us, in an atmosphere of serenity, to go on seeking a solution that would strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining peace, while respecting the provisions of the Charter.

42. The Bulgarian delegation invites those delegations which sincerely believe it possible to achieve a better solution by disregarding the Charter, to reflect on the serious consequences of such an attitude. Like many other delegations, the Bulgarian delegation trusts that the United Nations will be able to overcome the difficulties it is now experiencing.

43. There can be no doubt that the future of our Organization depends to a large extent on the decision we shall adopt. That is why we think that the draft resolution just submitted by a number of countries, with Afghanistan at their head, [A/L.515], which would

refer the Special Political Committee's report on the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects to the fifth special session of the General Assembly to be held not later than 30 April 1967, deserves our support. We consider that that would be a wise decision on the part of the Assembly, because it would enable all delegations to make their position clear and weigh once more all the responsibilities that a delegation might have to shoulder by voting on draft resolutions which are not sufficiently prepared and which run counter to the United Nations Charter. Those are the reasons why we are going to support this draft resolution.

44. The PRESIDENT: With the consent of the representative of Guinea, who is next on my list, I shall call on the representative of Cyprus to introduce the amendment presented by his delegation.

45. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): On Saturday [1497th meeting], listening to the debate on this question of peace-keeping operations, I was very much impressed by what the representatives of the Soviet Union and France had said. They put forward the view that a crisis might result in the United Nations if what has become known as the Canadian draft resolution—that is draft resolution B now recommended by the Special Committee [A/6603, para. 25]—were to be adopted by the General Assembly because it contained what were called flagrant violations of the Charter and amendments to the Charter through a draft resolution which was in fact illegal as it was put forward. That was the view put forward by both the representative of France and the representative of the Soviet Union.

46. Looking at those statements we found that the really objectionable part of the draft resolution in question was paragraph 4, under which the General Assembly

"Invites Member States to communicate to the United Nations information concerning the kinds of military or civil forces or services which they might be in a position to provide, if they so decided, in response to a request to participate in a duly authorized United Nations peace-keeping operation".

47. I see that the representative of France has said that operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution goes beyond the competence of the General Assembly when it invites—and I emphasize the word "invites"—Member States to make known to the United Nations and so on. Also, the representative of the Soviet Union says that a provision that States should communicate to the United Nations the types of personnel and equipment, as well as services which they might be in a position to provide in response to a request to participate is contrary to the Charter, and that that is quite clearly a prerogative of the Security Council.

48. I have not found any other specific mention in either statement with regard to this draft resolution. Hence, as the draft resolution in question was adopted by a sizable majority in the Special Political Committee, and probably would be adopted here, I therefore thought it my duty to bring to the notice of this Assembly that there could be an amendment to it which would make it compatible with the Charter in the view of everyone.