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*President:* Mr. Nasrollah ENTEZAM (Iran).

**Former Italian colonies; (a) reports of the United Nations Commissioner in Libya and (b) reports of the administering Powers in Libya: reports of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee (A/1457) and the Fifth Committee (A/1509 and Corr.1) (*concluded*)**

## [Agenda item 21]

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The general debate on the report of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the former Italian colonies is closed, but it was understood that delegations would have an opportunity of expressing their opinions and observations on the statement made to the Assembly yesterday [306th meeting] by Mr. Pelt, the United Nations Commissioner in Libya. The first speaker on my list is the representative of Syria.

2. Faris EL-KHOURI Bey (Syria): After listening to the statement made yesterday [306th meeting] by the United Nations Commissioner in Libya, Mr. Pelt, on what has already been done and what is going to be done during the next year to achieve the independence of Libya in accordance with General Assembly resolution 289 A (IV) of 21 November 1949, the Syrian delegation wishes to note with appreciation the sincere efforts made last year by the Commissioner and his co-workers and the efforts which are promised for next year to accomplish the task assigned to them by the General Assembly resolution.

3. But we cannot overlook certain very disappointing facts, which he reluctantly admitted, namely, that an assembly has been appointed, that it is composed of sixty members—twenty from each of the three territories of Libya—and that it is to convene on 25 November to draw up the constitution of the Libyan State. We also understand that these members consider themselves as constituting the national assembly referred to in the General Assembly resolution of 21 November 1949. It must be noted here that the people of Tripolitania, who represent more than 75 per cent

of the whole population of Libya, are thus to have only one-third of the votes in this non-elected and arbitrarily appointed assembly.

4. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to make certain remarks before the General Assembly proceeds to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

5. The delegation of Syria considers that the people of Libya must not be prevented from exercising their fundamental right of self-determination. This means that there must be due representation of all the inhabitants of Libya as a whole, through general elections conducted in accordance with established democratic methods.

6. Paragraph 3 of section A of resolution 289 A (IV) provides as follows: "That a constitution for Libya, including the form of the government, shall be determined by representatives of the inhabitants of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan meeting and consulting together in a national assembly". The words "representatives of the inhabitants" can only mean deputies elected by the inhabitants on a parliamentary basis; an appointed body cannot be said to fulfil that condition. Furthermore, the words "representatives of the inhabitants" are not synonymous with "representatives of the territories". Had it been intended that Libya should be divided into three territories for purposes of representation, the resolution would have referred to "representatives of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan". It was not intended that the territories should be represented; it was intended that the inhabitants should be represented.

7. The United Nations Commissioner in Libya—I quote from the Press release<sup>1</sup>—said the following:

"That the constitution to be prepared should be a draft constitution, to be enacted in provisional form and finally approved by an elected parliament.

<sup>1</sup> See United Nations Press Release GA/704, Take No. 15.

"That . . . that body should consist of two elected chambers; one based on equal representation of the provinces and the other based on popular representation of the whole of Libya. The popular chamber should have control of the budget.

"That the provisional government should be responsible to the popular chamber."

8. Furthermore, paragraph 3 (a) of the draft resolution now before the General Assembly provides "that a national assembly duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya shall be convened as early as possible". That paragraph confirms paragraph 3 of section A of resolution 289 A (IV), which provides for the representation of the inhabitants of Libya as a whole and not for the representation of the territories separately, as is the case with the body which has already been set up in Libya.

9. The delegation of Syria wishes to recall, moreover, that all the speakers who participated in the general discussion on this matter expressed the view that the national assembly should be elected and should not be appointed by anybody. If this body is appointed, it cannot be said to represent the inhabitants of Libya.

10. Taking all these points into consideration, the delegation of Syria reaffirms that the body of sixty persons which has been established is not and cannot be considered to be the national assembly referred to either in paragraph 3 of section A of resolution 289 A (IV) or in paragraph 3 (a) of the draft resolution now under discussion. It can be regarded only as a drafting body, as the Commissioner stated yesterday, charged with the task of preparing a working paper to be discussed and decided on by a duly elected parliament or constituent assembly representing the whole population of Libya in proportion to the number of inhabitants in the various constituencies.

11. My delegation also takes note of the solemn promise of the Commissioner that he will make this position clear to the sixty members of the body which is about to convene and will advise them to prepare only a draft constitution providing for the establishment of a two-chamber national assembly.

12. I believe that all the members of the General Assembly take the same view of the situation. I believe that their purpose, in voting in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, is not that the General Assembly shall recognize the body composed of sixty non-elected members which is to convene shortly as the national assembly referred to in resolution 289 A (IV). Their purpose, I believe, is that that national assembly shall in due course be elected in accordance with established democratic principles and methods. Only in this way can the people of Libya be duly represented, and only in this way can they determine their constitution.

13. WAHEED RAAFAT Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): My delegation is in complete agreement with the statement just made by the representative of Syria. In our turn, we shall make the following statement on behalf of the Egyptian delegation.

14. The statement made yesterday before the Assembly by Mr. Pelt, the United Nations Commissioner in Libya, has not in any way allayed our fears. On the

contrary, it has once more confirmed the fact that the national assembly which is to draw up the Libyan constitution will be appointed rather than elected. It has also confirmed the fact that Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan will each have twenty representatives in the national assembly, so that they will have an equal number of votes in spite of the tremendous difference in the size of their respective populations.

15. Practically all those who have spoken here, from this very rostrum, have strongly criticized such a composition for an assembly which is supposed to be national. They have indicated clearly that an assembly appointed in such a way and with such a membership cannot be considered democratic or representative. The representatives of Libya and Pakistan in the Council for Libya have already objected strongly to this strange and scandalous way of establishing the Libyan national assembly. And, what is more, we heard yesterday from the United Nations Commissioner, Mr. Pelt, himself, that he too had never agreed with such undemocratic methods. He stated [*306th meeting*]:

"I believe that I have said enough to make it clear that, personally, I have never liked either the idea of an appointed assembly or the idea of equal representation as a permanent principle, and I wish to make it particularly clear that I have never considered it desirable—as a matter of fact, I consider it undesirable—that these two features should be incorporated in the Libyan constitution which is now to be elaborated."

16. It is hard to understand how the idea of an appointed assembly based on equal representation has won the day. Mr. Pelt of course explained to us that both Cyrenaica and the Fezzan had made equal representation a *sine qua non* for their participation in the work of the national assembly. I do not believe, however, that it would be going too far to say that the attitude of Cyrenaica and the Fezzan would have been quite different had they been free from all foreign influence.

17. Be that as it may, the discussions in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee during this session of the Assembly<sup>2</sup> and the numerous statements we heard from this rostrum yesterday prove quite clearly that it is the almost unanimous view of the Members of the United Nations that a Libyan national assembly duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya should be convened; I emphasize the words "duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya". Those are the actual words of the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, which, as we all know, was approved by 53 votes to 1 with only 5 abstentions. Moreover, this text itself refers to a preceding resolution on Libya, resolution 289 A (IV) dated 21 November 1949.

18. The interpretation given in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and in the Assembly to the words "a national assembly duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya" leaves no room for any doubt whatsoever. These words refer—and they can only refer—to an assembly elected in proportion to the size of the populations of the three component units of Libya. They

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, 7th to 17th meetings inclusive.*

cannot refer to an appointed assembly based on equal representation.

19. We confidently hope, in view of this almost unanimous desire on the part of the Members of the United Nations, that the Council for Libya, the United Nations Commissioner in Libya and the administering Powers will do their utmost to follow the instructions given them by the Organization and not to impede or distort those instructions. In this connexion, we cannot but state our full agreement with the views expressed by Mr. Pelt in the statement he made yesterday when he spoke of the scant authority an appointed assembly would have for the elaboration of a final constitution for Libya. We solemnly take note of the statement by the United Nations Commissioner that a constitution prepared by such an Assembly could only be a provisional document, a preliminary draft, which would require final approval and, if necessary, could be amended by a parliament to be elected by the Libyan people as a whole.

20. But, if that is the case and if that is really our purpose, why do we not begin where Mr. Pelt would like us to end? Why not convene a truly national, representative and constituent assembly without further delay, instead of convening this appointed assembly of sixty members which, though apparently based on the principle of equality, is in fact an expression of the most flagrant inequality?

21. We believe that there is still time to find a better solution for this question. Today more than ever before, in view of the almost unanimous desire of the Members of the United Nations, a desire that has been expressed both in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and from this very rostrum, we strongly urge the competent bodies and the administering Powers to respect this desire of the United Nations. We urge them to remember that only a democratic and truly representative Libyan national assembly will be capable of preparing a democratic and lasting constitution for Libya.

22. In conclusion, I should like to point out that, in his statement, Mr. Pelt touched upon the question of the composition of the future parliament of Libya and mentioned its functions and its responsibilities. We should not, however, attempt to anticipate events in the constitutional field, for it was the view of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee that the composition of the future Libyan parliament, the question whether it should be made up of a single chamber or of two chambers, etc., should be left entirely to the decision of the representatives of the Libyan people meeting in a national assembly to discuss the matter.

23. Mr. JORDAAN (Union of South Africa): I wish to propose a small drafting change in paragraph 4 of the operative part of the draft resolution on Libya, a change which I hope the General Assembly will accept without discussion. Paragraph 4 now reads as follows:

*"Urges the Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to extend to Libya such technical and financial assistance as it may request in order to establish a sound basis for economic and social progress."*

24. It seems to my delegation that the words "as it may request" are a little too broad and perhaps rather unreasonable as they stand. What the paragraph says, in effect, is this: let Libya ask whatever it pleases, regardless of necessity or possibility, and it shall be granted. I am sure that the original sponsors of the draft resolution and those who voted for it in the Committee never had any such intention in mind.

25. For that reason, I venture to propose the following drafting change: after the words "as it may request", add the words "and so far as they may be in a position to do so". The paragraph would then read:

*"Urges the Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to extend to Libya such technical and financial assistance as it may request, and so far as they may be in a position to do so, in order to establish a sound basis for economic and social progress."*

In that way, I feel, our intentions will be clarified.

26. I have spoken to some of the original sponsors of the draft resolution, and the words that I have suggested are acceptable to those to whom I spoke.

27. Mr. ZEINEDDINE (Syria): The Syrian delegation is of the opinion that the amendment presented by the representative of the Union of South Africa is sound, and it will therefore support it.

28. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Has the representative of Egypt any objection?

29. WAHEED RAAFAT Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): We have another amendment to submit.

30. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Does it relate to the amendment submitted by the delegation of the Union of South Africa?

31. WAHEED RAAFAT Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): No, Mr. President.

32. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): In that case I shall invite the Assembly to vote on the amendment of the Union of South Africa. I shall then call upon the representative of Egypt to submit his amendment which does not apply to the same part of the text.

33. The amendment proposed by the delegation of the Union of South Africa and supported by the representative of Syria is, I think, simple and straightforward. I shall now put it to the vote.

*The amendment was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.*

34. WAHEED RAAFAT Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): I apologize for submitting a last-minute amendment on behalf of my delegation, but the President himself has allowed us more or less to open the door to the submission of amendments.

35. Our amendment is very short and expresses the general feeling of the Assembly and of the Committee. It simply calls for the addition of the words "elected and" in paragraph 3 (a) of the operative part of the draft resolution, so that the text would read: "That a national assembly duly elected and representative of the inhabitants of Libya . . .", the remainder being unchanged.

36. I am sure that no one will object to an amendment which is in line with all the speeches we have heard.

37. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the United Nations Commissioner in Libya.

38. Mr. PELT (United Nations Commissioner in Libya): I shall limit my remarks to the amendment just proposed by the representative of Egypt. If I understood him correctly, paragraph 3 (a) of the draft resolution would read:

“That a national assembly duly elected and representative of the inhabitants shall be convened as early as possible, and in any case before 1 January 1951”.

39. Today is 17 November, which means that there are exactly forty-four days left between now and the end of the year. It is absolutely out of the question to have a national assembly elected within that short time.

40. When elections were held in Cyrenaica, which is a much smaller territory—at least with a smaller population—it took three months of hard work to prepare an electoral law, to draw up the list of voters, to allow time for the presentation of candidates and the raising of objections, to establish the organization which is required to conduct an election, such as polling places, and to take the necessary measures to guarantee proper balloting.

41. When I considered this matter in Tripolitania together with the British Administration and with the political leaders, we came to the conclusion that the same work in Tripolitania would last at least four months. On top of that, of course, we should have to allow time for an electoral campaign. At the shortest, that would be another month.

42. If the General Assembly, therefore, were now to suggest that the national assembly, which is going to convene on 25 November, must be elected, there would be no national assembly until far into next year, and in that case I must point out that the possibility of achieving independence by the end of next year would become a dream. The date of 31 December 1951 for independence would in that case be out of the question.

43. Among other reasons, it was in order to avoid that danger of losing the main object of the original resolution of the General Assembly that I suggested yesterday that when the national assembly met on 25 November, I should advise its members to consider the constitution they prepared as a draft to be provisionally enacted so that a provisional government—as another paragraph of this draft resolution demands—could be duly elected by the national assembly, and then at a later date the constitution would be submitted to an elected parliament. That procedure has the advantage of giving satisfaction to democratic feelings, which I share, and to the desire to ensure the establishment of a democratic Libyan State. Furthermore, no time would be lost in establishing the State.

44. I most strongly urge the General Assembly not to diverge from this plan and this schedule. I must predict and warn that if this amendment is adopted, there is a risk that Libya may not become independent by the end of next year.

45. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I have a number of speakers on my list and I shall recognize them in turn. I regret that a new debate seems to be about to start. The Egyptian amendment has wide implications and should perhaps have been submitted to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. However, as it has been presented to the Assembly, I have no choice but to put it up for discussion.

46. I must ask representatives who speak to be as brief as possible and not to embark on a new discussion.

47. Sir Frank SOSKICE (United Kingdom): I simply want to say one or two words with regard to the amendment which has just been proposed. I shall most certainly respect the President's wish that my address should be short.

48. In opposing the amendment I should like to say, as a representative of one of the administering Powers, that it would be completely impracticable to try to hold elections if there is not to be an almost interminable delay in achieving the ultimate purpose which everyone has in mind.

49. I should simply like to summarize my argument in one sentence. Mr. Pelt has already given reasons for opposing the amendment. Those reasons commend themselves to the United Kingdom delegation as being completely unanswerable. I sincerely hope that we shall not at this late hour adopt an amendment which is of a controversial character and which is bound to entail considerable delay and would impose upon all those concerned a burden which they could not possibly discharge within the time at their disposal. I cordially hope that the Assembly will not accept this amendment which is bound to lead to far-reaching complications and to unfortunate consequences.

50. Mr. CASTRO (El Salvador): I feel very reluctant about speaking at this time, but I do so because I feel that there is a clear duty before me to express the opinion of the delegation of El Salvador concerning the amendment which has been proposed by the representative of Egypt. I was ready to raise a point of order concerning this question, because it is absolutely necessary that the General Assembly should know what is the substance of the matter upon which it is voting.

51. There are two divergent opinions in the General Assembly concerning paragraph 3 (a) of the draft resolution, which provides “that a national assembly duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya shall be convened as early as possible”. On the one hand, that paragraph is interpreted in a literal sense to mean that a duly representative assembly is to be elected. On the other hand, it is interpreted in the light of the fact that a national assembly already exists—an assembly which has not been elected but appointed; and in that case it is this body which is to draft the future constitution for Libya.

52. We do not feel—and I think that is the view of a number of delegations—that this appointed national assembly is representative of the inhabitants of Libya. It is not at all representative. It may be representative of the interests of those who have appointed it, but it is not representative of the will of the people of Libya. We understand that the *Ad Hoc* Political

Committee, in approving the draft resolution, had in mind that the national assembly should be elected by the people. To say "duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya" implies, undoubtedly, that the inhabitants of Libya are to have a voice in designating the members of the national assembly.

53. For that reason, if this draft resolution is put to a vote without clarifying the situation, some of the members of the General Assembly will be acting on the assumption that they are voting for a national assembly duly elected, and the others will be acting on the assumption that it is the national assembly already appointed which is going to draft the Libyan constitution.

54. The delegation of El Salvador supports the amendment of the representative of Egypt, because it is absolutely necessary to establish the fact that the national assembly should be elected by the people of Libya.

55. Some objections have been raised by the United Nations Commissioner in Libya with respect to the question of time only. The question of time is not so important when we are trying to establish the future structure of a new State; the question of time is entirely secondary. Therefore, in order to make the proposal of the representative of Egypt fully practicable, I am going to suggest two amendments concerning only the question of dates and time.

56. I propose that sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 3 should be amended by substituting the date "1 March 1951" for "1 January 1951", and that sub-paragraph (b) of the same paragraph should be amended by substituting the date "1 June 1951" for "1 April 1951". Thus two more months are allowed for the convening of the national assembly and for the establishment of the provisional government of Libya.

57. It is a very important problem and a point of substance. But we are not reopening the debate held in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. A number of representatives did not know that there was any intention to call upon this appointed national assembly to draft the Libyan constitution—we only learned of that at our meeting yesterday—and they will naturally oppose the proposal that this appointed body should draft the future constitution of Libya which will determine the political structure of the new State.

58. Mr. KYROU (Greece): I shall be very brief. The original sponsors of the draft resolution which is now before the Assembly charged me with the task of submitting that draft to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, where it received almost unanimous approval. It constituted a compromise solution arrived at in a spirit of conciliation. The main objective in considering this question must be to secure co-operation among all the interested parties. If I am not wrong, another principal organ of the United Nations has extolled the success achieved on this question of Libya and, more generally, on the whole question of the former Italian colonies, a question which the four great Powers concerned had failed to settle.

59. On the basis of this compromise, and on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, I asked the different delegations which had submitted amendments

in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to withdraw them; and they did so. If we are now to start submitting amendments again, I very much fear that this whole compromise solution will be upset. All of us appreciate the spirit in which the representatives of Egypt and El Salvador have submitted their amendments. But I very respectfully request them to limit themselves to having their remarks entered in the record.

60. Faris EL-KHOURI Bey (Syria): I had wanted simply to say that the point raised by the Commissioner for Libya with regard to the time limit was a sound one, since it would not be possible in the month or so between now and 1 January 1951 to establish a duly elected, representative national assembly. For this reason I had intended to suggest that the time limit should be extended slightly so that the task could be accomplished within the period provided. The representative of El Salvador, however, has made it unnecessary for me to submit a proposal to that effect, since he has moved that "1 March" should be substituted for "1 January"—an extension of two months; and that "1 June" should be substituted for "1 April". I think it would be very convenient if the matter were dealt with in that way.

61. To leave the time limit at 1 January and to follow the suggestion of the representative of Greece would certainly be neither correct nor practicable. According to the present wording, "a national assembly duly representative of the inhabitants of Libya shall be convened as early as possible, and in any case before 1 January 1951", but we understand "duly representative" to imply also that the national assembly should be elected, and it would be impossible for an election to be completed by 1 January 1951. For this reason my delegation supports the three amendments proposed by the representatives of Egypt and El Salvador.

62. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The representative of Egypt informs me that he wishes to speak. There is another speaker on the list before him. If the representative of Egypt wishes to say that he withdraws his amendment, I can call upon him immediately.

63. Since that is not the case, I shall call upon him after the next speaker.

64. Mr. GROSS (United States of America): The proposal of the representative of Egypt and the further amendments submitted by the representative of El Salvador precipitate a very difficult issue indeed. From the standpoint of principle it will be obvious that few, if any, would wish to record themselves as opposing the idea of elections. We hold it dear in our own traditions, and this gives rise to a very difficult dilemma indeed. However, there is another matter involved here. Those of us who followed the development of this draft resolution through the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee will realize, I am sure that, as has been expressed so well by the representative of Greece, the Vice-Chairman of the Committee, who spoke a few minutes ago, very difficult problems were posed when the Committee was faced with two draft resolutions, one sponsored by eight States and the other by four, and that through the highest degree of statesmanship on the part of all twelve of those delegations,

stimulated by the Vice-Chairman, who presided at the meeting of the sponsors, an agreement was thrashed out which resulted in unanimous approval by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the draft resolution now submitted to the General Assembly.

65. It seems to my delegation that to reopen this entire question here in the General Assembly involves a danger and that we should be failing in our duty if we did not draw attention to that danger and point out that one of the essential principles which was discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee was whether or not there should in fact be any reference at all to dates and whether or not any time limits or target dates should be set. That matter was discussed, an amicable agreement was reached, all the sponsors—including the delegations of Egypt and Syria—participated in the agreement, and a date was set. The question which is now raised by the representative of Egypt in his amendment was also discussed. Various viewpoints were held; the draft resolution which was approved reflected the desire for harmony and unanimity in the Committee.

66. I think in a sense perhaps it was somewhat regrettable that the Union of South Africa should have proposed an amendment which happened to be in substance the same as an amendment which the United States delegation submitted to the Committee, and then withdrew in the interest of harmony and unanimity. I think it unfortunate that the entire issue, which caused so much debate and so much difficulty and which was finally resolved with such complete harmony in the Committee, should now have been raised in the Assembly.

67. It is very difficult indeed for me to understand how it would be possible, even in a fairly lengthy debate in the Assembly, to go through all those fundamental issues which were thrashed out in days and days of meetings of the sub-committee and working groups of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. I think it could only result in doing less than justice to the problem.

68. I therefore most earnestly add the support of my delegation to the comments made by the Commissioner in Libya and to those other speakers before me who, I am sure, would agree with me in principle that a vote against these amendments is not a vote against the principle of elections. On the contrary, it would be a vote for the orderly and effective execution of the work of the United Nations itself and would vindicate the persevering work that was done by the representatives of the twelve sponsors who happily reached agreement in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. I therefore urge the Assembly to vote against the amendments which have been proposed.

69. WAHEED RAAFAT Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): My delegation cannot understand this opposition to such a mild and restrained amendment. Actually, it is not even an amendment. It must have been evident that all my delegation was trying to do was to bring some clarity into an extremely ambiguous text. As I said in my previous statement, I believe it is the view of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and of the General Assembly that the Libyan national constituent assembly should be an elected body and not an appointed one. I feel sure that the United States

representative, in his statement a few minutes ago, did not really oppose such a democratic solution. I am certain that Mr. Gross, himself a democrat, would not object to an elected constituent assembly in Libya instead of an appointed one.

70. Furthermore, there is no discrepancy between the solutions proposed by Mr. Pelt and ourselves. On the contrary, we want to gain time. Mr. Pelt, however, told us yesterday that the proposed constitution would not be a final one. The constitution to be prepared by the so-called Libyan national assembly would be only a preliminary draft constitution. A truly democratic parliament would later be convened to reconsider the constitution.

71. Our aim is to simplify this unusually complicated procedure and to save both time and labour. What we ask is what Mr. Pelt's method itself would be bound to achieve in the end. We merely ask for a duly elected and representative national assembly. Why such a commotion about the two words "elected" and "representative"?

72. Is the majority here really opposed to the idea that the Libyan assembly, a national constituent assembly, should really be an elected assembly? If so, we are ready to withdraw our amendment. If, however, the authors of the draft resolution wish the assembly to be truly elected and not appointed, why should they object to this proposal?

73. I should like to remind the Assembly that it was my delegation, with the other Arab delegations, which urged speed in convening the assembly and proposed that it should not be convened later than 1 January 1951. What are the objections now? Some say that the question is controversial and that what the Egyptian amendment calls for cannot be carried out, but our reply to that is that the majority in the Assembly is in favour of this amendment—or at least, that is what we hope. As for the practical scope of the amendment, our course is quite clear. The representative of El Salvador has asked us to postpone the date for convening the assembly from 1 January 1951 to 1 March 1951. He has also proposed that the provisional government which, under paragraph 3 (b) of the operative part of the draft resolution, is to be convened before 1 April 1951, should not be convened until 1 June 1951. The question solves itself.

74. We objected, originally, to the convening of the assembly later than 1 January 1951; but we agree to the amendment submitted by El Salvador. Consequently there can be no serious objection to our amendment on the ground either of its substance or of its implementation. I appeal to such a democratic Assembly as ours to vote for my amendment.

75. Sir Frank SOSKICE (United Kingdom): Since I requested permission to speak, what I desired to say has been very much better said by Mr. Gross, the representative of the United States. I most cordially endorse what he said.

76. If we oppose the group of amendments now before us, it does not mean that we are against elections or against due democratic process. On the contrary, it means that we are asking the Assembly not now to reopen the debate and to canvass again the labours of

the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, which Mr. Gross described.

77. The draft resolution before us was carefully worked out to reconcile conflicting views in the course of a number of debates in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. The United Kingdom delegation feels that it would be extraordinarily unfortunate if now, at the last moment, because these amendments are raised—may I say without any preliminary intimation to a number of us who would have liked to have had such an intimation—we were to go into the whole of these controversial questions again. But that is not all; these amendments raise far wider issues still.

78. My delegation listened yesterday with attention and pleasure to the statement of the United Nations Commissioner in Libya. He told us that he proposed to ask the views and guidance of the United Nations Advisory Council for Libya upon certain advice which he was considering tendering to the Libyans regarding the formulation of their constitution. If these amendments are adopted, or indeed discussed in their entirety, we shall really be questioning and going into that advice which the Commissioner indicated that he proposed to tender.

79. May I say at once that the United Kingdom delegation questions very much whether it is right and proper for us to comment now upon this advice at all. We think it would not be proper to do so. First, as the Assembly knows, my government is one of the administering Powers; secondly, it is represented on the Council for Libya. In a sense, therefore, the matter is *sub judice*. But I would go further than that and submit to the Assembly that it is not wise for us now to comment upon the advice which the United Nations Commissioner may at some future date tender to the Libyans.

80. After all, the Assembly has set up the Council for Libya for this very purpose. It is for the Council to discuss and comment upon proposals of the United Nations Commissioner, when they are put to it. Any discussion of the matter in this Assembly can only prejudice future discussions which will, no doubt, take place in the Council for Libya, in which—and I would emphasize this particularly—not only certain countries represented in this Assembly have representatives but in which the people of Libya themselves are represented. I really should like to suggest to the Assembly that it would be far wiser to leave discussion of this matter to the very body which, after all, the Assembly has created for just this purpose and which has a far closer and more detailed knowledge of the actual conditions in Libya than we can have here.

81. As regards any suggestion that the Assembly should go further and express an opinion in any form on the substance of the advice which the Commissioner may suggest he should give to the Libyans, I can only say that to do so would seem to me to be entirely inconsistent with the attitude taken by the Assembly in its resolution 289 A (IV), of 21 November 1949 and reaffirmed in the draft resolution which we are now discussing. I am most anxious not to enlarge the scope of this debate, but it seems difficult, in view of the amendments that have been proposed, not to remind the Assembly of the circumstances to which I have been referring.

82. After all, last year the Assembly expressly stated, in paragraph 3 of section A of its resolution, “. . . that a constitution for Libya . . . shall be determined by representatives of the inhabitants of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan meeting and consulting together in a national assembly”. The Libyans, that is to say, are to determine their constitution and their form of government. The United Nations Commissioner is, of course, perfectly free—indeed, it is his duty—to assist the people of Libya in this task, and he will no doubt do so by tendering such advice as he thinks fit. But we are sitting here some 4,000 miles away from Libya. If we try to tell the Libyans how to manage their affairs, there must be a danger that we may stir up antagonisms and call into play forces of which we have no first-hand knowledge.

83. My delegation sympathizes very much with what has been said about the desirability of having elected bodies in Libya, created in accordance with due democratic processes. But it is not always so easy to hold elections. The representatives of Tripolitania themselves have gone on record as saying that they do not wish elections to be held there. Let us not forget that the principle of nomination for a Committee of Twenty-One was adopted upon the advice of the Council for Libya itself. Let us not forget that it was the Committee of Twenty-One which decided to set up the national assembly upon the basis of equal representation for each of the three territories and appointed by means of selection. The Committee of Twenty-One decided this unanimously. I would repeat that: it decided it unanimously. However much we may sympathize with the idea of elections—and, incidentally, I should mention in passing that the British Administration in Tripolitania prepared an electoral law some six months ago, but dropped it in deference to the views of the Tripolitans themselves—we should surely not be wise to ignore this unanimous decision of the Libyans themselves in the Committee of Twenty-One, which was set up by the Commissioner upon the advice of his Council.

84. I have sought to submit—once more I am afraid, because they were thoroughly discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee—certain general considerations, but it is impossible to state a case against the amendments which have been proposed without reminding the General Assembly of the general scope of the task which confronted the Committee and of the result of the Committee's deliberations. I had profoundly hoped, as I said before and I am sorry to reiterate it, that we should not now disturb what has already been done and what has resulted in a compromise which represents, in what my delegation regards as a nicely balanced form, conflicting points of view which were reconciled before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

85. If we are really to consider these amendments, my delegation cannot help thinking that it is a little unfortunate that after the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee has completed its deliberations these amendments should, right at the very eleventh hour, be proposed to the General Assembly without any sort of prior warning. I do hope that, in view of the considerations which I and previous speakers have advanced before the General Assembly, we shall not accept these amendments.

86. Mr. ARUTIUNIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union supports the Egyptian delegation's amendment to the effect that the draft resolution should provide "that a national assembly duly elected and representative of the inhabitants of Libya shall be convened as early as possible".

87. The principle that a national assembly must be elected is one of the generally recognized principles of democracy. Even those representatives who have spoken against the establishment of a national assembly in Libya by means of elections have had to say that they cannot take exception to the principle of elections in general.

88. Mr. Gross, the United States representative, began by saying that it was hardly possible to object to the principle of establishing an assembly of a representative character, but he ended with an appeal to the General Assembly to vote against the principle of the election of the Libyan national assembly. As we say in my country, that is tantamount to toasting someone's health and then drinking to the repose of his soul.

89. How does Mr. Gross explain his very strange application of the elective principle which, according to him, is good for America and bad for Libya? He explains it by the need to ensure harmony and collaboration in the General Assembly and by the fact that the Committee's draft resolution represents a compromise.

90. The delegation of the USSR has always objected to such compromises which mean sacrificing the interests of the people; in this case it is sought to base the compromise on the rejection of one of the fundamental principles of democracy by which alone the creation of a truly independent and sovereign Libya can be ensured.

91. To reject the elective principle in the case of the establishment of the Libyan national assembly would be tantamount to trying to set up a body in Libya which would be labelled "national assembly" but would in fact be a puppet body manipulated by the administering Powers.

92. Sir Frank Soskice, the representative of the United Kingdom, has given us one of the best illustrations of this. In support of his objection to the elective principle he referred to a decision of the Committee of Twenty-One, appointed by the United Nations Commissioner in Libya to draft a number of bills. He said that that Committee had unanimously rejected the elective principle. That is quite true. But the question arises why the Committee of Twenty-One, called upon to represent the people of Libya, objected to the elective principle. The explanation is very simple. The Committee of Twenty-One was appointed by the Commissioner; it is not composed of representatives who express the true interests of the Libyan people but of representatives who were specially picked to cover up the actions of the administering Powers in Libya, whose purpose is to dismember the country and to keep Libya under the control of the colonial Powers.

93. That is the Committee to whose decisions Sir Frank Soskice referred. His idea undoubtedly is that a new body called a "national assembly" should be

set up, selected in the same way as the Committee of Twenty-One, from among those who are obedient. Of course, the representative of the United Kingdom is prepared to vote for a national assembly of this sort because, like the Committee of Twenty-One, it will be a puppet in the hands of the administering Powers.

94. It cannot be denied that the elective principle is generally recognized as the principle governing the establishment of any national assembly. It is regrettably true that, as Mr. Castro, the representative of El Salvador has said, when the question of a national assembly was being discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, many people were unaware that the national assembly would be appointed by the Commissioner. That makes it even more essential to make it quite clear that the national assembly must be elected and not appointed.

95. Since it is the United Nations General Assembly which recommends that a national assembly should be convened in Libya, it is obvious that the General Assembly must itself issue a basic directive stating whether the national assembly is to be an appointed or an elected body. We are told to leave the decision to the Commissioner. That is what the representative of the United Kingdom said. It is common knowledge, however, that so far the Commissioner's activities have served simply to camouflage the policy of the administering Powers, which is to dismember Libya. The Commissioner's selection of the Committee of Twenty-One is the best proof of this. Can we really entrust this basic directive to the Commissioner? No, the General Assembly itself must define the nature of the Libyan national assembly when it recommends that such an assembly should be convened within a given time.

96. One of the most serious objections raised particularly by the United Nations Commissioner in Libya was that the date of 1 January 1951 proposed in the draft resolution would not allow sufficient time to convene the assembly.

97. The representative of El Salvador therefore introduced an amendment designed precisely to meet the objections of the Commissioner. The Commissioner said that it would take approximately four months to prepare the elections. This of course is arguable but, even if it is true, the amendment proposed by the representative of El Salvador and supported by the Egyptian representatives meets the Commissioner's wishes. Thus, on this point, there can be no objections. All objections on grounds of practicability are thus disposed of; the Commissioner will have the time he requires to organize elections for a Libyan national assembly.

98. Apart from all this, the Commissioner's statement at this meeting had a very strange ring. He ended his speech with the assertion that if the national assembly were to be an elected body, he could positively say that Libya's independence would not be achieved by 1 January 1952. Such a statement by the United Nations Commissioner in Libya is quite unacceptable since it is his duty to bring about the creation of an independent and sovereign Libya by 1 January 1952.

99. It is clear from what I have said that there is absolutely no reason for voting against the Egyptian proposal, the purpose of which is to ensure that the

elections to the Libyan national assembly are conducted on a democratic basis and that the national assembly is convened in accordance with the elective principle. The delegation of the Soviet Union will therefore support this amendment and vote in favour of it. We hope that a majority of the Assembly will follow this example and support the amendment of the Egyptian delegation.

100. Mr. PLAISANT (France) (*translated from French*): In view of this discussion on a series of amendments and the dimensions our debate seems to be assuming, I should like to make a general observation on the character of the discussion we are trying to initiate today on the future status of Libya.

101. The French delegation certainly listened with keen interest to the different views of the representatives who spoke yesterday without, however, always obtaining a completely clear picture of their intentions.

102. The statement made by Mr. Pelt also seemed to us to deserve attention. While rightly leaving him full personal responsibility for his statements, we must pay tribute to the good will he has displayed in a very delicate situation.

103. That is why the French delegation would now like to elucidate a few points. First of all, we believe that in accordance with the spirit of the draft resolution on Libya which is now before us, we should leave the Libyan people free to determine the form of their future government and of the institutions that will provide its constitutional framework.

104. As regards the question of elections—which might have been submitted with a little more detachment—I should like to point out that the French representative on the United Nations Council for Libya has never objected to the principle of the election of representatives. Since, however, we always praise here the aspirations to freedom of the people concerned, we should also remember that it is the heads of the political parties in Tripolitania who have proposed the method that would seem to be criticized.

105. My delegation is extremely surprised at the various criticisms levelled in the General Assembly against the equal representation of the three parts of Libya in the national assembly. This equality of representation is no innovation in constitutional law; it is always adopted in the case of the establishment of a State whose component parts enjoy equal rights at the time when they bind themselves by agreement. The Republic of the United States provides the most striking example; regardless of the very great differences in population between the States of New York and Montana, for instance, each State has two representatives in the Senate of the United States. I could give many more examples, but I must not be pedantic or take up too much time, to show that the Constitutions of many States recognize the principle of equal representation with all the advantages it may entail.

106. Lastly, the French delegation wishes to emphasize that at yesterday's meeting there was a great deal of misrepresentation of the role of the administering Powers. We shall not embark on a discussion on that point, as we have always been anxious to avoid any controversy, but merely state that France has always deemed it its duty to respect the will of all peoples.

107. At a moment when it would seem we are about to improvise some constitutional legislation, I should like to state that the opinions expressed by various delegations naturally commit no one but themselves; confirming the reservations it has already made, the French delegation wishes to stress its belief that in the last resort it is for the populations concerned to decide themselves on the kind of régime they want. That régime cannot be imposed on them from outside; it can be based only on freedom.

108. Mr. SARPER (Turkey): I beg leave to request the Commissioner in Libya, Mr. Pelt, to give the General Assembly the benefit of his opinion as to whether it would be possible to hold normal elections within the time limit proposed in the amendment of the delegation of El Salvador. Such information might clarify some of our doubts and would, in any event, be helpful to my delegation in reaching a decision.

109. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): This suggestion is a most reasonable one; indeed, the information furnished by the United Nations Commissioner may help delegations in deciding how to vote. If Mr. Pelt is prepared to give the Assembly explanations on that point, I shall call upon him to do so.

110. Mr. PELT (United Nations Commissioner in Libya): I hope this debate will not degenerate into a quarrel over a democratic or non-democratic Libya. I do not believe for a moment that that is the issue. I have not heard anyone in the General Assembly oppose the desirability and the necessity of Libya becoming a democratic State and, as I hoped I had made it clear yesterday, I have always taken that view myself.

111. What is really under discussion is how to attain our goal, taking into account the local conditions existing in Libya. What has happened up to now in Libya, whether one does or does not like it—and, as I indicated yesterday, there are certain aspects in the situation which I, personally, do not like—is the result of a carefully worked out compromise among the Libvans of the three territories. To upset this compromise would not only mean considerable loss of time—and in the matter of the time limit to be observed I shall reply in a few moments to the question of the representative of Turkey—in connexion with the proposed meeting of the national assembly on 25 November, but also it would also have the most serious political consequences, consequences so grave that one must even take into account the possibility of a break-down of the Libyan unity which has so far been achieved.

112. I should like to impress upon the representative of Egypt, who knows so well what conditions are in Libya, that if he presses his amendment he risks rendering the greatest possible disservice to Libya.

113. The representative of Turkey has asked whether elections could be held within the time limit now proposed by the representative of El Salvador. My reply must definitely be in the negative; this is impossible. The date of 1 March for the convening of the national assembly would leave just under three and a half months. When I mentioned in my previous intervention that it took three months to organize elections in Cyrenaica, I was talking about a territory with a population of 300,000 inhabitants. When I mentioned four months for elections in Tripolitania, I based my-

self conservatively on the fact that Tripolitania has two and a half times more inhabitants than Cyrenaica, and I added only one more month for the preparation of elections in Tripolitania.

114. The organization of elections in the Fezzan, although the population is much smaller, is going to be a complicated affair owing to the size of the territory and the extremely difficult communications. Let us not forget that the territory of the Fezzan alone is larger than the territory of France.

115. What we are discussing here are not Tripolitanian elections, or Cyrenaican elections or Fezzan elections, but general Libyan elections, elections for which no machinery has ever existed in the history of Libya, a machinery which has to be created from top to bottom.

116. I do not think I am justified in making a guess which might or might not have a chance of being correct. If, however, the Assembly wants me to make an approximate estimate, I should say that at least four months are required for the preparation of general elections in Libya, not counting the time to be allotted for an electoral campaign.

117. If you change the date of 1 January 1951, you must change the date of 1 April 1951, as the representative of El Salvador has already observed. But then you must also change the date of 1 January 1952, because the time schedule for Libyan independence is so tight that if you prolong the essential phases by one month, two months, three months or four months, you must postpone the date set for the independence of Libya by an equal number of months.

118. The representative of Egypt has presented his amendment as an innocent one as to its repercussions. I regret to say that I cannot agree with him. What I suggested yesterday would achieve exactly the goal we are all seeking here—including the representative of Egypt. It would achieve this, that a provisional constitution would be worked out and could be so far advanced by 1 April 1951—and perhaps even before then—as to enable the national assembly to establish a provisional government, as the draft resolution asks. The provisional government would then have the time and the duty to organize the State. In the meantime, the draft provisional constitution having been established, we should have time to organize elections and elect a parliament. That elected parliament would have the duty to approve and ratify and even to amend, if it liked, the provisional constitution. The final result would be exactly the same, but we should not lose a great deal of time in organizing the State and we should not endanger the establishment of Libyan independence by the end of next year.

119. Finally, there is the point of the General Assembly's general behaviour towards Libya. The General Assembly has granted the Libyan people the right to determine their own fate. We want them to behave democratically, but charity begins at home. If we want them to behave democratically, let the General Assembly behave democratically towards the Libyans.

120. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the representative of Egypt for the last time. After that we proceed to the vote.

121. Mohamed SALAH-EL-DIN Bey (Egypt): I wish to apologize to the President and to the General Assembly for starting this discussion, but we had to do it. I call attention to the fact that it was not the Egyptian delegation which really opened the door for an amendment. An amendment was put forward and we felt that we were then entitled to submit another amendment which we considered to be a small one and one on which all could agree.

122. I am very much astonished at the discussion which has taken place concerning an amendment on which we thought all could agree. No one who has spoken today has said that he opposes an election. We all agree on an election. If we all agree, then why should we not have an election? Why should we hear all these speeches opposing an election? If there is any practical difficulty, then let us consider it.

123. As you all know, the representative of El Salvador resolved this difficulty by changing the dates with respect to the convening of the national assembly and the establishment of a provisional government in Libya.

124. Mr. Pelt said that the Egyptian delegation knows very well about the conditions in Libya. That is right, but it is because we know the conditions in Libya very well that we have put forward our amendment for free elections as the basis upon which the national assembly of Libya must be constituted. It is my turn to ask Mr. Pelt and the delegations of the United Kingdom and the United States to give up their opposition, which I really cannot understand, and to vote for our amendment. I am confident that our democratic General Assembly will not reject such a simple and democratic amendment.

125. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (*translated from French*): At the close of this discussion, I should like to express my wholehearted support for the amendment submitted by the Egyptian delegation and I hope the representative of Egypt will allow me to tell him that there is no need for him to apologize for his amendment. It should not be considered simply as an Egyptian amendment, but rather as the expression of the views of all those who are anxious that democratic principles should be put into practice. We are all supporters of these principles and we all want them to be applied in their entirety in Libya, particularly at a time when that country is at a turning-point in its history.

126. What are, after all, the objections made to this amendment? There is, first of all, the question of the time limit. The United Nations Commissioner told us a few moments ago that it would be impossible for Libya to reach independence during the coming year. This question of the time limit is not really as important as it might appear to be; what matters is the principle itself. Mr. Pelt took the floor again to speak of an extension of the time limits. I gathered that the time limits proposed in the second amendment submitted by the delegation of El Salvador were not long enough. If that is so, instead of an extension of two months, we could agree to a four months' postponement of the elections or of the convening of the national assembly.

127. What seems to have attracted most attention, however, is the compromise achieved in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. This compromise had as its sole aim the application of the principles we are defending. It should not be confined to the *Ad Hoc* Political Com-

mittee but should be accepted in the Assembly itself. I appeal to those who were parties to it to abide by it now and supplement it with the alterations that have just been proposed, for these alterations are fully in accord with the spirit which originally inspired the compromise.

128. The objection which I fear may be raised is that something has already been done in Libya, that an organ already exists there and has been convened, that we are thus faced with a *fait accompli* and that it would be difficult to go back on what has already been done. In my opinion, and in the opinion of my delegation, such a consideration cannot be allowed to weigh with us. That is an issue which is rather of a personal nature and it cannot be taken into account.

129. That is why I strongly urge that what has been done should be undone; that the convening of this organ—which has been called a national assembly—should be revoked. Basically, I think I am in agreement with Mr. Pelt himself. He admitted at yesterday's meeting and this morning that the constitution of Libya could be prepared in its final form and adopted only by an assembly which would be truly representative of the inhabitants of the country, having been convened as a result of free elections based on proportional representation. Not only did he admit that, but he even added that he had expressed the same view in the Council for Libya when the question had been discussed and a decision taken, and that he had not agreed with that decision.

130. In these circumstances, what would be the result of the adoption of the Egyptian amendment? Simply this, that instead of entrusting the preparatory work of drafting the Libyan constitution to an organ convened prior to the constituent assembly, that assembly would be convened straightaway after the holding of free elections based on proportional representation, and it would be that assembly which carried out the whole task of preparing the draft constitution. That would be the result of the Egyptian proposal. My delegation, therefore, cannot but support it and hopes that it will receive general approval. Our hope is all the more firm since the proposal does not actually entail the difficulties which some have been pleased to raise.

131. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): My delegation feels very grateful to the delegations of Egypt and El Salvador for the amendments which they have introduced. I am very happy that the General Assembly is to face the issues and the facts as they really are. We in the United Nations cannot afford to compromise on certain fundamental principles. We have to abide by the Charter. We cannot compromise on principles such as that of self-determination; we cannot compromise on principles of democracy or on the principle of elections. No United Nations action or undertaking should ever be permitted to run counter to the fundamental principles of the Charter which establish certain laws and certain human rights which should guide us in all our actions.

132. In the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee my delegation was very frank in pointing out to the United Nations Commissioner that it did not consider the establishment of the Committee of Twenty-One to have been a wise measure. We saw no reason for the appointment of a committee merely for reasons of expedience and, probably, as the result of the influence exerted by cer-

tain interested quarters. We are surprised that the United Nations Commissioner and his Council took a course which led to the establishment of a national assembly which is in fact not a national assembly and which is not duly representative as it is supposed to be.

133. The only course open to us now is to depend upon the wisdom and good judgment of the Commissioner himself to find a way out, to undo the mistakes which have been made so far, and to see to it that henceforth the foundation is sound and that democracy is the guiding spirit of all actions of the United Nations, its agencies and representatives.

134. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now proceed to the vote. We shall vote first on the Egyptian amendment, and then, if it is adopted, on the amendment submitted by the delegation of El Salvador.

135. The Egyptian amendment proposes the insertion of the words "elected and" in sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 3, so that the text would read: "That a national assembly duly elected and representative of the inhabitants of Libya shall be convened as early as possible, and in any case before 1 January 1951".

136. I now put this Egyptian amendment to the vote. A roll-call has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador.

*Against:* Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador.

*Abstaining:* Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Israel, Liberia, Nicaragua, Thailand, Turkey, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, France.

*The result of the vote was 24 in favour, 20 against, and 15 abstentions.*

*The amendment was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.*

137. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I do not think it is necessary now to put the amendment of El Salvador to the vote.

138. I put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole, with the amendment submitted by the Union of South Africa which has already been adopted.

*The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.*

139. Mr. SARDER (Turkey): My delegation abstained in the vote on the amendment submitted by the delegation of Egypt. We did this not because we are

opposed to elections in principle, but because the explanations of the Commissioner could not dispel our doubts regarding the practicability of holding such elections; moreover—and this is more important still—we felt that the complexity of the problem might further delay the independence of Libya. We wanted to avoid any complication which might involve a delay in the establishment of an independent and unified Libyan State.

140. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution submitted by the USSR delegation [A/1511].

141. The delegation of Iraq has requested that we should vote on this draft resolution in parts. I therefore put to the vote paragraph 1, which reads:

*"The General Assembly recommends*

*"1. That the parts of Libya—Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan—be united in a single State and that legislative and executive organs for Libya be established."*

*The result of the vote was 23 in favour, 21 against, and 10 abstentions.*

*Paragraph 1 was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.*

142. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now vote on paragraph 2 of the USSR draft resolution.

143. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): I request that the second paragraph should be divided and voted on in two parts.

144. The first part to be voted on would read: "That all foreign troops and military personnel be withdrawn from the territory of Libya within three months".

145. The second part to be voted on would read: "and military bases dismantled".

146. Those are two different concepts, the one of evacuation and the other of dismantling military bases. Some of us might like to support the first concept, but might feel that the dismantling of the bases should be left to the Libyan people. They might not wish to dismantle the bases.

147. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I put to the vote the first part of paragraph 2, which reads: "That all foreign troops and military personnel be withdrawn from the territory of Libya within three months".

*The first part of paragraph 2 was rejected by 36 votes to 11, with 5 abstentions.*

148. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now put to the vote the second part of paragraph 2, which reads: "and military bases dismantled".

*The second part of paragraph 2 was rejected by 36 votes to 7, with 11 abstentions.*

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*