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Agenda item 69: Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and with the International Atomic Energy Agency: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions Report of the Fifth Committee		2. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): At the end of its important debate on the question of Angola several days ago, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [1819 (XVII)] in which it once again confirmed the realities of the situation in Angola and, <i>inter alia</i> , requested the Security Council to take appropriate measures to secure Portugal's compliance with all previous resolutions on the subject.
Agenda item 18: Appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (concluded) Reports of the Fifth Committee		3. Nor is this the first time that the United Nations has taken up this question and recognized that the situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security. At its meetings in March 1961, the Security Council felt that the information in its possession was sufficient—and sufficiently disturbing—to justify an immediate debate on the situation—a debate which ended with the adoption of a resolution.

1/ Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4835.

5. Several times during the past two years, the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, the Committee of Seventeen^{2/} and the General Assembly itself have found it necessary to return to this question and to devote long and serious discussion to it. I should like to refer in particular to the work of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, whose two reports, submitted at the sixteenth^{3/} and seventeenth [A/5286] sessions, earned its members the appreciation and praise of the General Assembly.

6. The same may be said of Mozambique, the situation in that territory having been admirably described in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration [A/5160 and Add.1 and 2].

7. We may say, then, that at every level, both through its permanent bodies and through its ad hoc organs, the General Assembly has held—and its debates and resolutions have shown—that the information assembled concerning the situation in these territories was sufficient to enable us to reach conclusions and define our attitude.

8. The African-Asian Governments, in whose name I have the honour to take the floor today, have continued to furnish illuminating information on this situation and have tried to contribute actively to the search for means of putting an end to a crisis which is becoming increasingly acute and whose only possible outcome is now the granting of independence to the Angolan people. This conviction on our part has found expression in various past resolutions, and, in particular, in the resolution adopted by the Assembly a few days ago.

9. However, we are confronted today with a new draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation [A/L.420], a draft resolution which does not seem to take account of either the realities of the situation or the Assembly's recommendations. On the contrary, its probable effect would be to direct the consideration of this question towards new goals which seem to us very different from the objective so frequently repeated and spelled out by the General Assembly.

10. No one has been more persistent than the members of the African-Asian group in addressing fervent appeals, both here and elsewhere, to Portugal's allies and guardians to use their influence with the Portuguese authorities to induce them to take an attitude of respect for the United Nations Charter. One single way of showing such respect would, of course, have been a willingness on the part of the Portuguese Government to co-operate with the United Nations and permit the Committee of Seventeen to visit Angola and Mozambique. Unfortunately, we all know what attitude Lisbon has adopted towards that Committee, even though it is the authentic voice of the General Assembly.

11. The draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation represents, without a doubt, a very commendable effort to bring Portugal round to a point of view in line with the objective we seek to achieve. It is most regrettable, however, that the concrete expression of this effort does not accurately reflect

^{2/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 16.

the worthy and sincere intentions which inspired it. Moreover, this resolution does not lie within the framework and context within which the question of the territories under Portuguese administration has been examined by the United Nations up to the present time. For example, it remains totally and rather disturbingly silent about all the resolutions previously adopted on the subject and makes no mention of the essential objective of any action we take, which must be the attainment of independence by these territories in accordance with inter alia, resolution 1514 (XV).

12. The United States draft resolution has been studied closely for several weeks by both the African group and the African-Asian group. I can assure you that it has been studied with a genuine sense of responsibility and that the discussion has been conducted with most commendable seriousness.

13. Although the African-Asian group has made every effort to respond to the sincere gesture of the United States, it has been unable to give the draft resolution the support to which the United States delegation felt it could look forward. In particular, we noticed the absence of any reference to the fact that the situation in Angola has been before us for two years and of any mention of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, which, in our opinion, must be cited since they provide the basis for our present endeavours.

14. We applaud the efforts of the United States delegation. We remember in particular, in the context of the anti-colonial struggle, the statement made by that delegation at the sixteenth session, which clearly reflected a determination that the United States should not stand too far from the African-Asian and other delegations which take a liberal position on this issue.

15. For the sake of consistency and in order to give this praiseworthy effort its due place, my delegation has joined with eighteen others in submitting some amendments [A/L.423] which, although they are not altogether satisfactory from our point of view, at least serve to fill in the gaps in the United States draft resolution by referring, inter alia, to resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1742 (XVI) and to the Security Council resolution.

16. We appeal to the United States delegation—so that we will not be forced to take a position on a matter concerning which there should be unanimity in this Assembly—to make a second gesture, this time not only in line with the wishes of Portugal but in line with those of the Angolan people and of the United Nations. We should be deeply grateful if the United States delegation could respond to our appeal by withdrawing its draft resolution, so that the only document of which the Assembly need take account will continue to be the resolution adopted several days ago, which, it is agreed by all, is sufficiently explicit and reflects the general view on the question of the territories under Portuguese administration.

17. Mr. BINGHAM (United States of America): I take the floor to respond very briefly to the statement just made by the representative of Morocco, who, speaking in his capacity as Chairman of the African-Asian group for December 1962, and on their behalf, has informed the Assembly that the draft resolution sponsored by my delegation [A/L.420], is not acceptable to the great majority of the African and Asian delegations. On behalf of the group, he has appealed

to my delegation not to press for a vote on this draft resolution.

18. As most representatives know, the draft resolution was the result of a series of discussions carried on at the highest level between my Government and the Government of Portugal. Earlier this week, the representative of Portugal affirmed from this rostrum [1196th meeting] his Government's agreement to this proposal. In our view, this response was a gesture of goodwill toward the United Nations and a hopeful sign of even more meaningful co-operation in the future.

19. We have believed that the adoption of this draft resolution would represent a significant event for the people of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese territories. True, it would have been only a first step, and there was no assurance as to what the second step might have been. But we had hoped that the implementation of this resolution, which in our view could in no way have contributed to a deterioration of the situation, would have led to additional constructive developments.

20. As representatives well know, my Government has consistently supported the principle of self-determination for the peoples of the Portuguese territories. We will continue to work for peaceful solutions to the problems of Angola and the other territories. To the many representatives who have so willingly given their earnest and sympathetic consideration to our proposal, I wish to express the thanks of my delegation. We fully recognize the extent of their efforts and we are grateful for the public and private expressions of appreciation for our efforts and particularly for the words of appreciation so eloquently expressed just now by the representative of Morocco.

21. Before closing, I should like to quote briefly from Mr. Stevenson's speech in the general debate at this session. While speaking of the General Assembly's responsibilities, Mr. Stevenson said:

"Indignation and outrage have been powerful enemies of injustice since the beginning of history. It would be surprising if they had no place in the proceedings of the United Nations. But the test of resolutions presented to this Assembly must surely be whether they promise to bring us closer to rational solutions of real problems and thereby closer to justice." [1125th meeting, para. 66.]

22. We believe that our draft resolution offered an opportunity to bring us close to a rational solution of a very real problem and thereby closer to justice. It is, therefore, with great regret that we have been advised of the decision taken by the African-Asian group. Under the circumstances, my delegation has no choice but to respond affirmatively to the appeal made by the representative of Morocco. My delegation will not press for a vote on the draft resolution [A/L.420].

23. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): I am truly happy to be able to express, both on behalf of the nineteen delegations which submitted the amendments [A/L.423] and on behalf of the entire African-Asian group, our appreciation to the United States delegation for responding to our appeal and heeding our request in a matter on which we feel very strongly.

24. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): My delegation will be very brief. We should

not have had any objection to considering the United States delegation's proposal if it had been submitted during the discussion of the report of the Committee of Seven. Technically, I think that the proposal would have been more appropriate in a debate of that nature.

25. As we know, three bodies have, at various levels, tried to solve the problem of the Portuguese colonies: the Sub-Committee of Five, the Committee of Seven and the Committee of Seventeen.

26. Whatever may be one's position on the problem of the Portuguese colonies, and more specifically of Angola, it must be admitted that, when so many problems are dealt with together, the only possible result is a hardening of attitude on the part of the Portuguese delegation.

27. With regard to the problem of Angola, when we adopted the resolution [1742(XVI)] which asked the Security Council to keep the problem under review and went so far as to suggest a line of action to it, my delegation did not wish to ask for a separate vote because it had already stated its position in the Fourth Committee. I do not think that the General Assembly can tell the Security Council how it should proceed.

28. As we conclude the debate on this item—in which my delegation has taken part during the past two years—I would simply like to make a few comments.

29. Firstly, I am not quite clear about the present status of the Sub-Committee of Five, which has direct responsibilities to the General Assembly and the Security Council. I do not know whether it has been suspended sine die. That is a question which is still undecided.

30. As we finish considering this difficult problem, in which we have tried to discharge to the best of our ability the responsibility entrusted to us, I should simply like to say this: referring to the draft resolution [A/L.420] which his delegation has just withdrawn, the United States representative said that it would have been only a first step. I am not sure whether we need any preliminary steps. The central problem is this border conflict—whether it be a small conflict or a great one. In that regard, I noted the last few words of the United States representative, Mr. Bingham, when he said: "We will continue to work for peaceful solutions".

31. I feel I should say here that, at both the first and the second stage of the Sub-Committee's work, the United States delegation co-operated actively in the approaches through which the Sub-Committee attempted to modify Portugal's stand on this problem.

32. I think that all my delegation can do in connexion with a conflict of this kind—bearing in mind that it represents a small Latin American country—is to urge the permanent members of the Security Council to leave aside everything that relates to the cold war and in dealing with these problems—which, though serious, are capable of solution—place the higher interests of the United Nations above present-day rivalries. I think that if the situation becomes more serious in the future the Security Council, which on one occasion was able to obtain a unanimous decision on this problem, should seek means of solving it in a constructive manner.

33. All I can ask of the Portuguese delegation in this situation is that it should adjust to current trends in the world. There are unquestionably various solutions to be found in a constructive dialogue between Portugal

and the United Nations, and I think that among them there is a truly honourable one.

34. I should like to thank the representatives once again for everything that has been said in this Assembly concerning the report of the Sub-Committee of Five [A/5286], of which I had the privilege of being Chairman for two years. I should like to thank the Assembly for the confidence which it placed in us, and, as I have already said, I want to point out that in the first report^{4/} we afforded Portugal every opportunity for co-operation. The only recommendation which we finally made to that country was that it should seek the path of co-operation and not try to solve by force a problem which can be solved by peaceful means.

35. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): Since the position of all the African and Asian delegations has been set forth clearly and effectively by the chairman of our group, I shall make only a brief statement.

36. First of all, I take great pleasure, on behalf of my delegation, in congratulating the United States delegation on having heeded our appeal and thus enabled us to avoid, at the end of this session, a discussion which might well have resulted in the complete repudiation of all the work of decolonization undertaken by the United Nations.

37. We should particularly like to commend the United States delegation on its method of approach. Nearly two months ago, that delegation established contact with us; a dialogue began, in the course of which we stated that the draft resolution [A/L.420] was, in both form and substance, so completely out of proper context that it was not susceptible of amendment.

38. We appreciate the fact that the United States delegation, accepting the viewpoint of the party most directly concerned in this problem—the representatives of the peoples of Africa and Asia—did not press for a vote. We also appreciate the fact that, although the United States delegation learned with regret of the Afro-Asian group's decision, it seems to have taken its own decision ungrudgingly.

39. This willingness to consult is particularly important in the eyes of my delegation, for what we object to—and will continue to object to—is the attempt to go on, just as in the past, thinking for us and saying what is good for us without consulting us. No one, during the long and difficult discussions which have taken place, ever questioned the good intentions behind the draft resolution which has just been withdrawn.

40. However, we felt, and still feel that the problem with regard to Angola, Mozambique and all the Portuguese colonies is no longer one of obtaining information, of understanding the situation or of deciding what to do; all those stages are past. It is now merely a problem of implementation, and, in the light of that fact, we say that the United States delegation's declared objective of inducing Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations—an objective completely in keeping with all the resolutions adopted by this Organization—can be pursued by a wide variety of methods. In particular, when it is a question of implementation, the Secretariat can lend its good offices.

41. In other words, our stand on this problem is not purely negative. We believe that, on a bilateral or

multilateral basis or with the assistance of the Secretariat, the substantive issue—namely, Portugal's fulfilment of its obligations as a Member State, more specifically its compliance with the various United Nations decisions in regard to decolonization—can be resolved.

42. For that reason, we earnestly hope that the example set by the United States, in adopting the method of consultation and displaying a willingness to accept the decision of those directly concerned, will prove an inspiration to the Portuguese delegation. Portugal should stop, once and for all, telling the Africans: "This is what is good for you and this is what is bad." The Africans alone must decide what is good or bad for them. And the Africans, all of them, with all the strength of their being, have decided that what is good for others is good for them. Independence is good for others, and it is therefore good for us.

43. In conclusion, I wish to address myself not just to Portugal but to all the members of the Assembly, and particularly to the representatives of Western Europe. As I said to them from this rostrum some days ago [1195th meeting]: Help us to forget a period heavily laden with humiliation, misery and suffering of every kind. The time has come to start a new page. The time has come to co-operate rather than to dominate. In 1885, the Colonial Conference was held in Berlin. What we are asking this Assembly, what we are asking first and foremost of the representatives of Western Europe, is that they should take the initiative in calling a second conference, a conference for decolonization and co-operation.

44. In any event, the African peoples for their part are determined to become free. Indeed, they are determined because, mentally, they have already freed themselves. The rest is but a matter of time. One thing is certain now: 1963 will be a year of fundamental importance for our decolonization. It is our heart-felt desire that every representative in this hall and every Government represented here should help to ensure that the decisive events soon to carry Africa towards total liberation follow a peaceful course.

45. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): My delegation had the opportunity to inform the Assembly on 18 December 1962 [1196th meeting] that it would be prepared to support the draft resolution [A/L.420] as it was presented by the representative of the United States. Our purpose, as we have stated, was to enable the Assembly to obtain objective, factual and detailed reports on political, economic and social conditions in Angola and Mozambique, based on evidence and information gathered from within those territories. This acceptance, on the part of my Government, was prompted by the desire to remove the difference of opinion that has been manifested on this subject. Indeed, in past years, and in the debates held in this Organization on the matter, some delegations have repeatedly made allegations of a grave nature as to those conditions. My delegation has consistently denied the veracity of those allegations, but it is evident that a great number of delegations have continued to base their attitudes on them. The proposal made by the delegation of the United States would have greatly contributed to removing the difference of opinion. It seemed, therefore, that this should have been considered a non-controversial suggestion, since, as we believed, truth is the necessary and indispensable prerequisite and ought to be the cornerstone of all discussions.

46. In this context, my delegation sincerely regrets that the firm disposition of my Government to give full co-operation to the representatives of the United Nations for the purposes envisaged in the draft resolution of the United States has not been availed of.

47. On behalf of my delegation, I thank the many delegations that were ready to support the draft resolution, and thus were prepared to show appreciation of our attitude.

Sir James Plimsoll (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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

AGENDA ITEM 61

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1962
REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5384 AND CORR.1)

AGENDA ITEM 62

Budget estimates for the financial year 1963 (concluded)*
REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5391)

Construction of the United Nations Building in Santiago, Chile

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5386)

AGENDA ITEM 67

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5392/REV.1)

AGENDA ITEMS 63 AND 32

United Nations operations in the Congo: cost estimates and financing

United Nations Emergency Force:

(b) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5393 AND CORR.1)

AGENDA ITEM 32

United Nations Emergency Force:

(a) Report on the Force

AGENDA ITEM 68

Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:

(a) Earmarkings and contingency allocations from the Special Account of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance;

(b) Earmarkings and allotments from the Special Fund

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5389)

AGENDA ITEM 69

Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and with the International Atomic Energy Agency: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5394)

AGENDA ITEM 18

Appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (concluded)**

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5324 AND ADD.1)

48. Mr. QUAO (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly a series of reports of the Fifth Committee on agenda items 61, 62, 67, 63, 32, 68, 69 and 18. With your permission, Mr. President, I propose to submit the nine reports in a single intervention.

49. I do not think that the Assembly would wish me to offer detailed comments on the various reports at this late stage and accordingly I confine myself to submitting for the approval of the General Assembly the reports of the Fifth Committee to which I have just referred.

50. The PRESIDENT: The first report of the Fifth Committee concerns agenda item 61. The Assembly will now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in the report [A/5384 and Corr.1]. May I take it that it is adopted without objection?

The draft resolution was adopted.

51. The PRESIDENT: We pass to the consideration of item 62 of the agenda. The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions A to C recommended in annex I of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5391].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 88 votes to 11, with 2 abstentions.

52. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution B. This was adopted in Committee without any votes against or abstentions. May I take it that it is adopted again without objection?

Draft resolution B was adopted.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 91 votes to 11, with 2 abstentions.

53. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution in annex II of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5391].

The draft resolution was adopted by 93 votes to 11, with 1 abstention.

54. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolutions A and B in annex III of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5391].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 91 votes to 11, with 3 abstentions.

* Resumed from the 1191st meeting.

** Resumed from the 1182nd meeting.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 96 votes to 11, with 1 abstention.

55. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of the Soviet Union in explanation of vote.

56. Mr. SOKIRKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): My delegation voted against the adoption of the United Nations budget estimates for 1963 submitted to the General Assembly for its approval because we feel that these estimates, which total \$93.9 million, are excessive and could be considerably reduced without prejudicing the normal functioning of the United Nations. Expenditure on the salaries of Secretariat staff can and must be substantially curtailed. This can be achieved by improving the organization of the Secretariat, simplifying its unwieldy structure, and eliminating needless duplication of effort. Drastic streamlining of all aspects of the Secretariat's work is essential in order to reduce the cost and increase the effectiveness of the arrangements for servicing the United Nations. A number of other steps must also be taken in order to reduce this expenditure.

57. My delegation finds unacceptable and improper the inclusion in the budget estimates of appropriations for various missions established in violation of the Charter, including in particular such bodies as the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We also object strongly to the inclusion in the budget estimates of appropriations to cover interest and principal payments on United Nations bonds. My delegation considers that the General Assembly's decision to float the loan was unlawful and a violation of the Charter, so that the inclusion in the budget estimates of appropriations to cover repayment of the loan is also unlawful.

58. My delegation cannot agree to the inclusion in the regular budget of considerably increased appropriations for technical assistance. The procedure which many States find most appropriate and acceptable is for technical assistance to be provided not through the regular United Nations budget but through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, on a voluntary basis and in national currency.

59. This method of financing technical assistance is found most acceptable by many States Members of the United Nations and affords unlimited possibilities of expansion. So much for the budget estimates for 1963.

60. My delegation voted against the draft resolution [A/5391, para. 66] to increase the Working Capital Fund from \$25 million to \$40 million in 1963 because we feel that such a substantial increase in the Fund is not justified by actual requirements.

61. My delegation also voted against the draft resolution relating to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses of the United Nations for the financial year 1963 [ibid.], under which the Secretary-General is authorized, with the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to spend up to \$10 million on the maintenance of international peace and security.

62. My delegation considers that neither the Secretary-General nor the Advisory Committee has the right to decide questions relating to the financing of measures for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under the Charter, only the Security Council has that right. The General Assem-

bly cannot, therefore, without violating the Charter, deprive the Council of that right.

63. Those are the considerations that prompted my delegation to vote against the draft resolutions on the budget estimates, on the increase in the Working Capital Fund, and on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses.

64. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5386] concerning the construction of the United Nations Building in Santiago, Chile. No action is required of the General Assembly, except to take note of the Committee's report and recommendations. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that it is agreed.

The Assembly took note of the report.

65. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to agenda items 63 and 32 (b). The Assembly will now vote on the three draft resolutions A to C contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5393 and Corr.1].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 76 votes to 11, with 8 abstentions.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 75 votes to 12, with 13 abstentions.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 77 votes to none, with 21 abstentions.

66. The PRESIDENT: As regards agenda item 32 (a), I understand that the only action required from the General Assembly is to take note of the report of the Secretary-General [A/5172]. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to take note of that report.

The Assembly took note of the report.

67. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with item 68, the Fifth Committee has recommended two draft resolutions in its report [A/5389]. I put to the vote draft resolutions I and II.

Draft resolutions I and II were adopted.

68. The PRESIDENT: On item 69, the Fifth Committee has recommended a draft resolution in its report [A/5394], which I now put to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted.

69. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to agenda item 18. The recommendations of the Fifth Committee in this respect are contained in the reports [A/5324 and Add.1]. May I take it that the Assembly adopts these recommendations?

The recommendations were adopted.

70. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution in the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 67 [A/5392/Rev.1] was adopted unanimously by that Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also wishes to adopt the draft resolution unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

71. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union in explanation of vote.

72. Mr. SOKIRKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): A flagrant injustice is being committed in the determination of the scale of assessments. The Soviet Union's assessment is unjustifiably increased every year, while the assessments of other countries, particularly the United States, are reduced without any reason. This is all the

result of a violation of the fundamental principle that assessments are to be determined on the basis of ability to pay. This principle has in effect not been applied in the case of the United States, the country with the highest per caput income in the world. That is why we have always insisted, and continue to insist, that the unjustly established ceiling for the contribution of any one Member State should be abolished, for the only country to gain from it is the United States, which already enjoys many other advantages. I need only point out that, because of the presence of United Nations Headquarters in New York, the United States receives substantial payments in dollars for the supply of various goods and services to the United Nations and to the large staff working for the Organization and the various missions. Yet, assessments are levied on all the other States, and the Soviet Union's burden is particularly heavy.

73. My delegation expects the Committee on Contributions, in the light of the debate in the Fifth Committee and in accordance with the request contained in the resolution just adopted by the Assembly [A/5392/Rev.1, para. 19], to give serious consideration, as a matter of priority, to the question of abolishing the ceiling on contributions and to formulate recommendations based on the principle of the actual ability to pay of every State, including the United States.

AGENDA ITEM 78

Rwanda and Burundi: report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1746 (XVI) (concluded)*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5374)

74. The PRESIDENT: The final report of the Fifth Committee [A/5374] relates to resolution 1836 (XVII) adopted by the General Assembly at its 1197th plenary meeting, on 18 December 1962, in connexion with technical assistance to Rwanda and Burundi.

75. The Fifth Committee decided to inform the Assembly that the financial implications of that resolution would be met if the following text was added to the resolution as operative paragraphs 5 and 6:

"5. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board and the specialized agencies concerned, where necessary, to seek means under all appropriate existing technical programmes to obtain allocations of funds sufficient to execute the projects initiated in 1962 for which funds are not as yet allocated;

"6. Authorizes the Secretary-General, in the light of paragraph 5 and as an exceptional procedure, to incur, with the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative Budgetary Questions, expenses necessary to assure execution of the 1962 projects, to the extent that other resources are not available, up to an amount of \$200,000."

May I take it that the Assembly agrees to the addition to resolution 1836 (XVII) of these two paragraphs, as suggested in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5374]?

Paragraphs 5 and 6 were adopted.

The meeting was suspended at 4.40 p.m. and resumed at 5.15 p.m.

* Resumed from the 1197th meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly (continued):**

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

76. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (translated from French): The Members of the Assembly now have before them the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395], which met this morning. I should like to draw attention to paragraphs 5-9, which relate to the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China. Paragraphs 10-18 deal with the question raised in connexion with the credentials of the representatives of Hungary. Finally, I would draw the Assembly's attention to paragraphs 19-25 of the report, which relate to the credentials of the representatives of Yemen.

77. The Assembly will be called upon to take a decision on the report as a whole when the draft resolution with which it concludes is put to the vote.

78. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Guinea on a point of order.

79. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): Having had the honour to be a member of the Credentials Committee, and having consulted some of my friends who took part this morning, with my delegation, in the Committee's work, which is the subject of the report now before the Assembly [A/5395], my delegation suggests that the vote should be taken immediately and that explanations of vote should be reserved until after the voting.

80. The PRESIDENT: That is not a point of order. Certain representatives have asked to explain their votes before the voting takes place and I have no power to overrule such requests.

81. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): Thank you for giving me the floor, Mr. President. I am going to explain the position of my Government on the report before the Assembly.

82. We have before us the report of the Credentials Committee [A/5395]. My delegation believes that the recommendation contained in this report regarding the credentials of the Yemen delegation is not in conformity with the rules of procedure and does not reflect the exact situation in Yemen.

83. As to the applicability of these recommendations to our rules of procedure, I should like to make the following observations. The Credentials Committee met today, 20 December 1962, to examine the credentials of the delegations of Member States to the seventeenth session of the Assembly. The meeting of the Credentials Committee took place one day before the closing date of the session, and actually, on the last working day; hence, its recommendations were submitted at the last moment before this session will complete its work. Rule 27 of the rules of procedure states the following:

"The credentials of representatives, and the names of members of a delegation shall be submitted to the Secretary-General if possible not less than one week before the date fixed for the opening of the session..."

** Resumed from the 1122nd meeting.

Rule 28 continues:

"A Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session... It shall examine the credentials of representatives and report without delay."

84. The reasons given, in the rules of procedure, for demanding that credentials of representatives shall be submitted before the opening of the session, that a Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session, and that it shall examine the credentials of representatives and report without delay, are very obvious. Each delegation must be reported duly constituted and properly appointed before it can assume its responsibilities and functions at the session of the Assembly and in its various Committees. Therefore, the report on the credentials of representatives should be submitted at the beginning of the session and should include recommendations on the credentials of the representatives issued at the opening of the session. Otherwise, how could the General Assembly, for example, elect a Chairman of a main Committee or any other officer from among the delegations if it found later on that the credentials of that Chairman or that officer were not correctly issued? And how would the vote of a delegation be considered after it had been cast, if that delegation were found afterwards not to be duly accredited? What could be the fate of a resolution which had been either adopted or rejected by one vote if the delegation casting that vote appeared to be not a duly accredited representative of its Government?

85. Therefore, it is clear from the rules of procedure referred to that the Credentials Committee must meet early in the session to examine the credentials of delegations which were received prior to the convening of the session. This does not mean that the Credentials Committee cannot, in certain cases, report on subsequent credentials of delegations which might be presented to it at any stage during the session. Certainly it could do so on the admission of a new Member to the United Nations, and it is requested to do so after an objection had been raised under rule 29 of the rules of procedure which reads as follows:

"Any representative to whose admission a Member has made objection shall be seated provisionally with the same rights as other representatives, until the Credentials Committee has reported and the General Assembly has given its decision."

86. It is not my intention to raise a point of order against the report under consideration or to seek a ruling or an action on it from this Assembly. I would simply wish to bring my point to the attention of the Members and to put my observations in this regard on record.

87. To be precise and specific, I wish to say the following: the Credentials Committee, which should have met at an early date in this session, in accordance with the rules of procedure, to examine the credentials of all Member States' delegations, should report only on the credentials which were submitted at the opening of the session. Since Yemen is a Member State and was not newly admitted during this session, and since no objection has been raised by any Member regarding the credentials of the Yemen delegation now sitting in the Assembly and assuming its full functions, I submit that the report of the Credentials Committee, which is the first report issued, should be confined to the credentials submitted by the Yemen delegation to

the Assembly before the opening of the present session and not to any letter submitted subsequently.

88. Turning now to the recommendation in the paragraph concerning the credentials of the Yemen delegation, I should like, on behalf of my Government, to express a reservation regarding this recommendation. I wish to say, first of all, that the report does not mention the grounds on which the Committee based its decision. Here we have a peculiar case, in which a decision along the lines suggested by the Credentials Committee creates a serious precedent. We are all aware of the situation in Yemen and the sad events which are taking place there. Reports on the situation in Yemen are not sufficiently reliable to give us a detailed picture of the developments and events there. Yet, what is definite and indisputable is the fact that there are two authorities in Yemen. One is the legitimate Government of Imam al Badr, who succeeded his late father, who died last September. The other authority is that of Brigadier al Sallal. The Imam has control over a large part of Yemen, while the other authority controls the other part. The forces of the Imam have not yet been able to march against the capital and some other cities and restore authority over them, while, on the other hand, the revolutionary authority has failed, since it started its military move three months ago, to come out of the cities it has occupied and extend its authority to other parts of the country.

89. This complicated military situation is not difficult to understand. To advance to the cities would be to expose them to destruction and heavy fighting and bloodshed, which no one, including the true sons of Yemen, would wish to see, while to attempt to come out of the cities and march against the inhabitants of the villages and the Imam's forces would mean fierce fighting, which would cause incalculable losses and lead to an unforeseeable result.

90. I am not trying to discuss the events or the situation in Yemen—how it started, why it started, what are the forces behind the current movements there, what are the potential and acquired strength of the two conflicting authorities, what are the implications and the repercussions of the present situation in Yemen and the prospects for the future. I am not touching on any of these subjects. All I wish to say is this: under such circumstances, how can we, as Members of the General Assembly, decide at this stage which delegation from Yemen should be seated in this Hall?

91. The report of the Credentials Committee does not indeed pass a valid judgement on this matter. Furthermore, I should rather doubt, in this connexion, whether the Credentials Committee is competent to recommend who in Yemen is the Head of State and which Government in Yemen is the legal Government. The Credentials Committee, in normal cases, examines the credentials of representatives to determine whether they are in good order and properly issued by the Head of State or Government or by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. But, in a situation such as the one now prevailing in Yemen, in which the Imam, the Head of State, is still there, and his Government and followers are still with him in his own country, and he still assumes power, how can the Credentials Committee judge that one of the two sets of credentials before it is the acceptable one? And how could the General Assembly pass a final judgement, since there are no certain and verified reports on the situation in Yemen?

92. On the other hand, I realize that the position of each delegation on this matter is determined by whether the Government of that delegation does or does not recognize one or the other authority in Yemen. There is, however, one important fact which should be taken into account. Those who recognize the revolutionary authority in Yemen do not deny that the Imam is still there in Yemen, exercising power; and those who are abstaining from taking a position base their abstention on the lack of clarity in the situation and are not convinced that the military régime is in full control over the country. In either case, the net result would not justify the decision of the Credentials Committee.

93. My delegation is therefore not in a position to support the report of the Credentials Committee as it stands. This is the situation as we see it, and this is the position which we feel in duty bound to put before the Assembly.

94. Mr. CHERMONT (Brazil): The delegation of Brazil wishes to repeat the declaration it made at the last two sessions of the General Assembly, to the effect that it will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee, subject to the reservation that the Government of Brazil recognizes the credentials of the representatives of the People's Republic of Hungary, a country with which Brazil maintains diplomatic relations.

95. Mr. CAIMEROM MEASKETH (Cambodia) (translated from French): My delegation wishes to make the following reservation: the Royal Government of Cambodia—which maintains diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and the Hungarian People's Republic—takes the view that the Governments of those two States are alone able to represent legitimately the Chinese and Hungarian peoples. Subject to that reservation, my delegation will vote for the draft resolution submitted by the Credentials Committee [A/5395].

96. Mr. ZABARAH (Yemen): The General Assembly has been convened to discuss the recommendations of the Credentials Committee and the status of the delegation of the Kingdom of Yemen and the request of a group claiming to represent a republican government in Yemen. We maintain that the so-called republican government in Yemen is only a front, subject to the command of the United Arab Republic, which has established its headquarters in San'a. This so-called republican government in Yemen has a very limited area under its control, confined to San'a, Taiz and Hodeida.

97. The so-called republican government in Yemen maintains its limited control through the support of a United Arab Republic military force of over 25,000 men, supported by an air force, tanks and the latest military armaments. The uprising in Yemen, which took place on 26 September 1962, was hatched in Cairo as a result of an understanding between the Government of the United Arab Republic and a group of Yemenite mercenaries. It was the intention of the conspirators to kill His Majesty the Imam, and liquidate all the advisers and officers in his administration. The Almighty God saved the Imam and he escaped the bullets of the assassins. The Imam is now fighting his way back to his capital in order to deal with the conspirators and throw the invaders out of his kingdom.

98. What took place in Yemen on 26 September 1962 was in fact a prearranged plan for the invasion of

Yemen, in order to clear the way for the United Arab Republic to establish a bridgehead for further aggression throughout Arabia. The failure of the assassins to kill the Imam upset the time-table of the United Arab Republic, and if the General Assembly were to recognize this impostor group, claiming to be the representatives of the so-called republican government in Yemen, then your action would encourage the aggressor to follow his plan in Yemen and throughout Arabia.

99. We wish to make it clear to the Assembly that the so-called republican government in Yemen has neither the support of the people of Yemen nor is it accepted by them. If, indeed, the so-called republican government in Yemen had, in fact, an effective hold over the area under its control, then it would not need to have a foreign force of more than 25,000 men to maintain its control. If it had the support of the citizens, then why does it need the assistance of a foreign force to protect it. No, if the citizens of Yemen were giving the necessary protection, there would not be any need for protection by a foreign force.

100. The truth of the matter is that the so-called republican government in Yemen is a dummy government which has neither active control nor support in Yemen. It is only a front for expansionist moves of the United Arab Republic in Arabia. We wish to attest, before the Assembly, that as soon as foreign troops are withdrawn from Yemen, the members of the so-called republican government will flee the country. Otherwise, they will suffer the fate of their many victims. The moment it became apparent to the citizens of Yemen that the Imam was alive, all the troops rallied to his cause and the cause of liberating Yemen from the foreign invaders. The fighting men under the leadership of His Majesty the Imam are winning their way to the capital, San'a, in spite of the concentrated air attacks of the United Arab Republic planes.

101. The act of aggression committed by the United Arab Republic against the people of Yemen is an act of war, and is contrary to the principles of the Charter and the accepted practice between nations. The United Arab Republic cannot maintain that this action was carried out in accordance with the recent treaty signed by the United Arab Republic and the so-called republican government in Yemen. If such an argument is to be accepted, then the action of the United Arab Republic would be a basis for would-be aggressors to encourage rebellion in any country, for the rebels to declare themselves the government, and to sign a mutual defence treaty with the would-be aggressor country.

102. If such an argument is to be accepted, then this will clear the way for the United Arab Republic to carry out its plan and encourage certain elements in many Arab countries to revolt and then to sign a mutual defence treaty and immediately to declare themselves the legitimate government, so that the United Arab Republic can proceed to widen its bridgehead.

103. I can think of many Arab countries where the United Arab Republic would like to follow the pattern of its action in Yemen. We appeal to the General Assembly to direct the Government of the United Arab Republic to withdraw its forces from Yemen and to cease its military operation against our people, in order to enable the legitimate ruler of Yemen to exercise his authority over the country. We appeal

to the United Nations to send a commission to Yemen to supervise the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country. We appeal to the Assembly not to take any action regarding the status of our delegation, pending a report by a United Nations Commission on the conditions prevailing in Yemen. We wish each and every representative here to search his heart before casting his vote.

104. It must be remembered that the Imam of Yemen is not only the Head of State, but also the spiritual leader of Yemen, of the people of Yemen. Remember, therefore, that, whatever action is taken by this august body, the people of Yemen will continue to fight until the country is cleared of the foreign aggressor and until the Imam is restored to his rightful position.

105. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The Credentials Committee has finally submitted its report to the General Assembly in accordance with the rules of procedure.

106. My delegation takes exception to certain discrepancies in that report. The Credentials Committee, by a vote of six, with three abstentions, decided to consider the group of men behind the alleged Republic of Yemen as the lawful Government which should occupy the seat of that country in the United Nations.

107. Let us examine carefully, and with utmost objectivity, the factors which led the Credentials Committee to take such a decision. In accordance with at least two basic principles of international law or the prevalent codes of conduct among States, for that matter, no régime or government may be recognized inside a given country or territory unless that régime or government is in a position to exercise effective authority over a large part—if not the whole—of that country or territory. But this is not enough, as, indeed, another fundamental condition must be fulfilled before any régime or government may deserve de facto recognition by other States. The régime or government must have the support and loyalty of the substantial majority, if not of the whole population.

108. Consequently, two questions arise: first, has the Government of the self-proclaimed Republic of Yemen effective control over that country? Secondly, has it concomitantly won the support and loyalty of the substantial majority of the Yemeni people? The answer is "No" to both these questions.

109. Had the self-proclaimed Government been able to exercise sufficient authority over the land, and had the so-called Republicans won to their side the bulk of the Yemeni people, then, and only then, would their claim to recognition be considered legitimate and just. But what is the actual situation prevailing in Yemen today?

110. Thousands upon thousands of imported foreign troops, equipped with some of the most lethal weapons, are being deployed against large masses of the Yemeni people because they have refused to recognize the San'a authorities as the lawful successors of the Mutawakilité Government, whose effective control due to tribal support and loyalty is very much in evidence over large sections of the country. These foreign troops, aside from killing those whom they could not subjugate, are setting one Yemeni against another, to the extent that Yemen may find itself one day on the brink of civil war.

111. With all due respect to the members of the Credentials Committee who voted in favour of

recognizing the self-proclaimed Government, have they considered the fact that, but for the presence of foreign troops on Yemeni soil, the San'a authorities would not have had even a very slim chance of surviving to this day?

112. Have the members of the Credentials Committee, in arriving at their decision, applied the acid test of recognition as prescribed by the precepts of international law? Or is it not more likely that their decision has been predicated on the recognition of the two world Powers which are represented on that Committee?

113. May I, on the other hand, draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that a number of small States, Members of our Organization, who, hitherto, never had any diplomatic mission in Yemen, nor any other sort of representation, seem to have lost no time in automatically recognizing the self-proclaimed San'a authorities, without verifying the actual internal situation in Yemen, as if, indeed, some of them chose to accord recognition by proxy. Like all of us here, I am familiar with marriage by proxy; but hasty recognition by proxy is quite novel—at least to me. Political developments which are not carefully assessed may well prove that such recognition in absentia may become invalid and may have to be reversed overnight.

114. Would it not, therefore, be wiser, in the light of what is occurring in Yemen, not to precipitate a decision as to who will ultimately survive as the lawful Government of Yemen? Would it not be a dangerous precedent in the United Nations to recognize any government or régime in Yemen or elsewhere in the world, whose existence may depend solely on the presence of foreign troops? In what way would it be wrong or unjust to postpone the issue of United Nations recognition of the lawful Government of Yemen until such a time as the Yemeni people themselves decide what they believe to be best for them, without the pressure of belligerent foreign troops on their soil?

115. Would it, on the other hand, be reasonable to base the decision pertaining to United Nations recognition on the extraneous interests of certain States, many of whom are quite unfamiliar with the current situation in Yemen? Would it likewise be equitable to base such United Nations recognition on the special interests of some other States who may wish to bring Yemen into the orbit of their influence? Should not the Assembly be a little more scrupulous and, perhaps, in its wisdom, dispatch a fact-finding mission, consisting of a few members enjoying high moral integrity, to examine the situation in Yemen on the spot before allowing itself to be swayed by certain Powers who may, indeed, be vying with one another for extending their political influence—if not ultimately their supremacy over Yemen and eventually over the whole Middle East?

116. Should Yemen be left to work out its own destiny, or be made the arena of power politics, whilst small nations here watch as spectators, unmindful at the moment that they may become the victims of similar developments? I do hope that the Assembly will not act with undue haste, but ponder at least some of the cardinal points I tried to raise. This I hope the Assembly will do, if for no other reason than that a small nation like Yemen is involved.

117. I have confined my statement to the procedural aspect of the issue confronting us and have endeavoured as best I could not to delve into the substance of the

tragic situation in which the people of Yemen find themselves. I hope I have not failed in keeping aloof from resorting to accusations and inculpations which would lead us nowhere in this Assembly.

118. In conclusion, my delegation is in no position to support the report of the Credentials Committee. However, I feel it is my duty to remind the Assembly that the early history of the Arabs is lost in the mists of antiquity. The Arab peninsula has throughout the ages witnessed many invaders who attempted to subjugate its people. The desert sand, the mountain slopes and valleys were drenched with the blood of the Arab and invader alike. But the invader either vanished, or when he somehow survived, was assimilated.

119. About fourteen centuries ago a great Arab prophet appeared on the scene. He founded the religion of Islam which proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man and exhorted all men to be merciful and compassionate. The Arab peninsula hence became the cradle of a great religion and a

great civilization, as you all know. The vicissitudes of time could neither destroy the sturdiness of the tribal Arab nor dampen his spirit. Like any other human being he has his faults and virtues. He does not claim perfection, but from one thing he has been known never to swerve: the defence of his homeland. For thousands of years—yes, for thousands of years—he has with singular courage stood as a relentless sentinel over the peninsula. Yes, for thousands of years he valiantly sacrificed his life in repelling the invader, and today he is neither cowed nor intimidated by the military plane or even the atom bomb, should, God forbid, the leaders of nuclear Powers run amuck.

120. This self-same tenacious Arab of the peninsula is ready now to throw his life away in defence of his homeland, for he still ardently believes that there is no sweeter and more rewarding death than when he repels the invader, from wherever he may come.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.