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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 18

Appointment of the members of the Peace Observation Commission

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/4476)

1. The PRESIDENT: I propose to suggest to the Assembly that it decide to reappoint for the calendar years 1961 and 1962 the present members of the Peace Observation Commission. If I hear no objection or comment, I will declare the present members of the Peace Observation Commission reappointed for the calendar years 1961 and 1962.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation raised no objection to the reappointment of the Peace Observation Commission as at present constituted. As we know, one of the seats in the Commission belongs to China.

3. It goes without saying that while it refrained from making any objection to the adoption of the decision just announced by the President, the Soviet delegation believes that China's seat should be occupied by a representative designated by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Soviet delegation feels compelled to emphasize once again, in connection with the decision just adopted, the irregularity of the fact that representatives of the Chiang-Kai-shek clique,

representing no one, should continue to occupy seats in United Nations organs which rightfully belong to representatives of the Chinese people.

4. Speaking at the very beginning of this fifteenth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Khrushchev, the President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, made the following statement:

"It is completely irregular that the great Chinese people, comprising one quarter of all mankind, should have no representatives in the Organization which should be the broadest of international forums and which is based on the principles of the universal representation of all countries in the world." [881st meeting, para. 73].

5. At this moment, as the first part of the Assembly's fifteenth session draws to its close, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to point out once again with all possible emphasis that the artificial exclusion of the People's Republic of China from participation in the work of the United Nations does our Organization considerable harm, constricts appreciably its sphere of activity, and renders more difficult the consideration of international questions whose solution requires the collective efforts of States. The sooner this anachronism is finally brought to an end, the sooner the representatives of the People's Republic of China take their rightful place in the United Nations organs, the better it will be for the cause of strengthening universal peace and security and for the execution of the tasks assigned to the United Nations under its Charter.

Decision concerning procedure

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

AGENDA ITEM 23

Question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/4626)

Mr. Sanz Briz (Spain), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

6. The PRESIDENT: Is there any Member of the General Assembly who wishes to speak on the report of the Special Political Committee concerning the question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council? There is no question of explanations of votes and interventions will therefore be limited to taking note of the report.

7. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): We all know that the subject of the increase in the membership of the two Councils is one which is very close to the hearts of many delegations here. When this subject was discussed in the Special Political Committee we found that a great majority—and I could say almost all of the delegations—were in theory in favour of an increase in these memberships but the fact that another more controversial question was mixed up with this proposal for an increase rendered it impossible for that Committee to come to an agreement on a resolution, and the result was that the Committee has no resolutions to propose to the General Assembly.

8. It seems to me that, now that the Security Council election has taken place and the election for the Economic and Social Council has been referred to the resumed fifteenth session, there ought to be time for the fires of controversy to die down, thus making it possible for some negotiations to take place between the various groups and finally for two draft resolutions to be submitted on which there would be unanimity or something very close to unanimity.

9. It is for that reason that I would propose that we leave this item on the agenda and take it up again at the resumed session.

10. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): Having represented my country in the Special Political Committee during the discussion of item 23, I am unable, to my regret, to share the optimism of the Netherlands representative. I do not think that any useful purpose can be served by refusing to face the facts. The Committee's report speaks for itself.

11. The Committee devoted as many as twenty meetings to this item—more than to any other item it examined. As stated in the report, it considered the item at its 186th to 199th meetings and again at its 214th to 219th meetings. The discussion was interrupted several times precisely in order to see whether it might not be possible to arrive, through negotiations, at a unanimous or nearly unanimous resolution. Yet here again the Committee's report is quite explicit, and all those who have read it will realize why the Committee reached the conclusion that it had no recommendation to make to the General Assembly on this agenda item.

12. My delegation would be greatly discouraged by the prospect of twenty more such meetings in March 1961 only two months hence. In its view, the proper action to take on the report would be for the Assembly simply to take note of it; or, if any delegation wishes to propose the inclusion of this item in the provisional agenda of the sixteenth session, let it do so. Perhaps when a year has elapsed circumstances will have changed.

13. Let us not forget that, as regards the second part of the fifteenth session, rule 15 of the rules of procedure which deals with additional items will apply, and that if the circumstances which made agreement impossible at this first part of the session are no longer present two months from now—and my delegation would be the first to rejoice at such a turn of events—it will be very easy, in accordance with rule 15, to ask for the re-inclusion of this item in the agenda. That can also be done by any delegation at the sixteenth session.

14. To repeat, if any delegation or group of delegations should wish to propose now that the Assembly should decide to include the item in the provisional agenda of the sixteenth session, my delegation would have no objection; but it would have very serious objections to any proposal that two months from now we should have another twenty meetings on this item, since I greatly fear the results would be the same as what the Special Political Committee achieved at this session.

15. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Netherlands on a point of order.

16. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): I wish to say only a few words on the legal position. The representative of Mexico has said that under rule 15 of the rules

of procedure this would be an additional item. I beg to differ with him. The item is included in the agenda of the General Assembly, and if we do not take a final decision at this meeting, the item will remain on the agenda and can be taken up again at the resumed session. It will not be an additional item, it will be the same item that is already on our agenda.

17. I would also like to say that the spectre that has been raised before us of twenty more meetings on this subject is not at all realistic, because we have a few months' time to negotiate, and if the negotiations should not lead to any result, then all that need happen is that the parties mention at the resumed session that they have not been able to agree, and that will be the end of it.

18. So I do not think that the Members of the General Assembly need have any fear that if this item remains on the agenda it will take up a great deal of time at the resumed session.

19. The PRESIDENT: The proposal has been made by the representative of the Netherlands that this item remain on the agenda of the fifteenth session. Exception has been taken to that proposal by the representative of Mexico. I am sure that at this late hour when the Assembly has so much work before it, it would be eager to avoid any kind of procedural debate. In order to avoid that, I would propose to put to the vote at once the proposal made by the representative of the Netherlands that this item remain on the agenda of the fifteenth session.

The proposal was adopted by 60 votes to 16, with 11 abstentions.

20. The PRESIDENT: The item will remain on the agenda of the present session. The Special Political Committee has made no recommendation to the General Assembly under this item, so it will be sufficient for the Assembly merely to take note of the Committee's report contained in document A/4626.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 24

Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/4659) AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4671)

Mr. Sanz Briz (Spain), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

21. The PRESIDENT: Since no one wishes to explain his vote on this item, we shall now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution in document A/4659.

22. The Special Political Committee adopted the draft resolution unanimously and, if I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly would also wish to do that.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM 27

United Nations Emergency Force

- (a) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force
- (b) Progress report on the Force

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4674)

Decision concerning procedure

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

Mr. Cutts (Australia), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/4674).

23. The PRESIDENT: Since no one wishes to explain his vote, I propose to put the draft resolution in document A/4674 to the vote now.

24. I call on the representative of Mexico on a point of order in connexion with the voting.

25. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): In connexion with the voting, I would request the President to put to the vote separately operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

26. The PRESIDENT: Since I hear no objection, I take it that the Assembly agrees to the request just made by the representative of Mexico. I shall first put to the vote operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution and then the draft resolution as a whole.

Operative paragraph 2 was adopted by 42 votes to 10, with 33 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 50 votes to 8, with 27 abstentions.

27. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it, in addition to the report of the Fifth Committee, a progress report of the Secretary-General, which is contained in documents A/4486 and Add.1 and 2. The only decision required of the Assembly in respect of this report is that it should take note of it. In the absence of any objections, I take it that the Assembly wishes to do so.

The General Assembly took note of the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force.

AGENDA ITEMS 67, 86, 69 AND 73

Disarmament and the situation with regard to the fulfilment of General Assembly resolution 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959 on the question of disarmament

Report of the Disarmament Commission

Suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests

Prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/4680)

Mr. Herrarte (Guatemala), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/4680).

28. The PRESIDENT: Since no one wishes to explain his vote on this item, we shall now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution I on the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. A roll-call

vote has been requested on each of the three draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 68 votes to none, with 26 abstentions.

29. The PRESIDENT: I now propose to put to the vote draft resolution II A on the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France, Spain, Turkey, United States of America, Belgium.

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 88 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

30. The PRESIDENT: I now propose to put to the vote draft resolution II B as contained in the report of the First Committee.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Spain, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United States of America, Belgium, China, France, Greece, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

Draft resolution II B was adopted by 83 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

31. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of India in explanation of vote.

32. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): In view of the heavy agenda which we are trying to complete as early as possible, it is not the intention of my delegation to go into anything that is not absolutely necessary. First of all, I should like to refer to draft resolution I on the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons.

33. I would request the Assembly to direct its attention to the fourth preambular paragraph which begins with the word "Believing". We voted for this resolution so that the general idea against the spread of nuclear weapons would receive some sanction from the Assembly. But this paragraph as it stands, may be interpreted to mean that those who now possess nuclear weapons may continue to make and possess them and, to that extent, it is against the policy of my Government and country and, I believe, of the United Nations as a whole, with regard to the relinquishment, destruction and prohibition of all nuclear weapons. Our understanding is that this resolution has a very limited purpose, and we voted for it with the foregoing reservation because it was the best we could obtain.

34. The same applies to the use of the word "temporary" in the fifth preambular paragraph, because it says "pending the conclusion" and then goes on to say "temporary". We explained in the First Committee that "temporary" does not mean that there could be any departure from this resolution pending the conclusion of an international agreement. With that reservation, we have voted for it.

35. The same applies to operative paragraph 1 with regard to the prevention of the wider dissemination of such weapons. Our vote on this should not in any way be interpreted to mean that the Government of India

has charged its position with regard to the total abandonment of nuclear weapons.

AGENDA ITEM 42

Election to fill vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4679)

AGENDA ITEM 45

Question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4672)
AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4673)

36. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of any request to open the discussion on items 42 and 45, interventions will be limited to explanations of vote.

37. In its report on agenda item 42 [A/4679], the Fourth Committee informs the General Assembly that, acting on behalf of the Assembly, it elected Mexico and Liberia to fill two vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. May I take it that the Assembly confirms this election?

38. In the absence of objection, I take it that the Assembly confirms this election.

It was so decided.

39. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee to present the Committee's report on the question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi [A/4672].

Mr. Boeg (Denmark), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

40. The PRESIDENT: Unless any representative wishes to explain his vote, I would invite the General Assembly to proceed to the vote on the proposals put before it by the Fourth Committee under this item, beginning with draft resolution I.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

New Zealand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Morocco, Nepal.

Against: Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

Abstaining: New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Peru, Sweden, Turkey, United States of America, Argentina, Austria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia,

Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 61 votes to 9, with 23 abstentions.

41. The PRESIDENT: In respect of draft resolution II I have a request for a separate vote on operative paragraphs 1 and 2.

42. I call on the representative of Liberia.

43. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): Under rule 130 of the rules of procedure I object to a division of the draft resolution for a vote. I take this position because this matter of the Mwami has been discussed thoroughly in the Fourth Committee, the members of which reached one compact whole in connexion with the draft resolution after negotiation with all sides. We feel, therefore, that to ask for a separate vote and to defeat any portion of it will distort the main purpose for which the draft resolution was drafted.

44. The PRESIDENT: The request for a separate vote on operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution having been opposed, the terms of rule 91 apply. Two speakers may speak in favour and two against the request for the separate vote. Does any representative wish to speak? If not, may I put the request to the Assembly without delay?

45. I call on the representative of Paraguay.

46. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish) I have no intention of either opposing or supporting the proposal for separate votes on the draft resolution. However, since it is stated in paragraph 23 of the Fourth Committee's report [A/4672] that separate votes on parts of the draft resolution were requested in the Committee by my delegation, and since the President has just said that a request for separate votes has been made in this Assembly, I wish to make it clear that this latest request did not come from my delegation.

47. We did ask for separate votes at the 1094th meeting of the Fourth Committee, for reasons which we explained at the time, but we did not intend to repeat the request in the Assembly.

48. The PRESIDENT: If the Assembly agrees, I shall now put to the vote the request that has been made for separate votes on operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of draft resolution II in document A/4672.

The request was rejected by 42 votes to 32, with 13 abstentions.

49. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will not vote on draft resolution II. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon,

Chad, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya.

Against: Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark.

Abstaining: Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Israel, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Thailand, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 50 votes to 24, with 19 abstentions.

50. The PRESIDENT: The Fourth Committee recommends in paragraph 25 of its report [A/4672] the appointment of Mr. Max Dorsinville of Haiti as Chairman and of Mr. Majid Rahnema of Iran and Mr. Ernest Gassou of Togo as members of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi.

51. If I hear no objection, I shall assume that this recommendation is approved by the Assembly and shall declare them duly appointed.

It was so decided.

52. The PRESIDENT: I congratulate them and I wish them success in their work.

53. I call on Mr. Max Dorsinville of Haiti.

54. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (translated from French): The General Assembly has just adopted a resolution regarding the future of Ruanda-Urundi; it did me the honour of appointing me Chairman of the Committee provided for in that resolution. Mr. Majid Rahnema and Mr. Ernest Gassou are also members of the Committee.

55. On behalf of Messrs. Rahnema and Gassou and of myself, I wish to thank the General Assembly for this great token of confidence in us and in our respective countries. We fully appreciate the difficulties implicit in the task with which the Assembly has entrusted us but we are firmly resolved to confront the responsibilities laid upon us. We trust that we shall be able to carry out our work successfully and thus be able, acting on behalf of the United Nations, to help ensure a happy and prosperous future for the people of Ruanda-Urundi.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

56. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) (translated from French): May I, on behalf of my delegation and of myself personally, thank the members of this Assembly, through the President, for electing me, as they have just done, to this appointment.

57. I am well aware of the wide scope of responsibility and of all the obligations which this generous, and in my case undeserved, token of confidence has placed upon me. They are responsibilities which, quite frankly, I would have found it difficult to shoulder, had I not been assured in advance of the invaluable participation in our team on the one hand, of our Chairman, Mr. Dorsinville, whose great experience in Togo has earned him an historic place in the annals of Togolese independence, and, on the other hand, of Mr. Gassou, whose great intelligence and clarity of mind we have

this year had occasion to appreciate in the Fourth Committee. I venture to hope, therefore, that, with the advantage of their co-operation and their experience, I shall be able to make my modest contribution to the tasks that await us.

58. I sincerely trust that, with the support and the effective and whole-hearted co-operation of all the parties concerned and, primarily, of the Administering Authority, the conditions requisite for the success of our undertaking will be assured. Strengthened by the support and confidence of this Assembly, we could then devote all our efforts unreservedly to helping the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi to take their first steps towards full independence and a completely unfettered future.

59. Our fondest ambition in the course of this assignment will be to execute the mandate with which the Assembly has just vested us; we shall seek unremittingly to ensure that the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi are enabled to enjoy at all times the conditions most conducive to the expression, without fear or hindrance, of their freely determined will; that will also, at the same time, be our finest reward.

60. Throughout the course of a man's life there can be no nobler purpose than that of serving a people struggling for their right to happiness and freedom, and no higher reward than the opportunity to assist, in however small a measure, in realizing the great hopes of the peoples.

61. I am extremely grateful to this Assembly for having afforded me the opportunity of devoting myself to a task at the end of which I envisage such a great reward. I would, therefore, like to assure the President, that, to the extent of my abilities, I shall spare no effort in trying to merit the confidence which the General Assembly has so generously placed in me.

62. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Belgium for an explanation of his vote.

63. Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) (translated from French): I am grateful to the President for allowing me to take the floor to explain the Belgian delegation's vote on the two draft resolutions concerning agenda item 45—Question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi.

64. Draft resolution I calls for the following remarks. In operative paragraph 2 the Administering Authority is urged: "to implement, immediately measures of full and unconditional amnesty, and abolish the emergency régime so as to enable political workers and leaders, who are in exile or imprisoned in the Territory, to resume normal, democratic, political activity before the elections".

65. As regards the amnesty, I should point out that all convicted or accused persons who are at present in custody in the territory or have fled, have been, or are being, prosecuted for common law offences or for actions in breach of the rights of their fellow-countrymen. Some of the offences may have been committed under the pressure of passionate feelings engendered by political differences; that, however, does not make them any less reprehensible. If they are to be regarded as automatically entitled to unconditional pardon that would be tantamount to vindicating assassination, violence and deliberate arson as methods of political competition.

66. The Administering Authority is responsible for carrying out in Ruanda-Urundi the aims of the United Nations as laid down in the Charter. Any infringement of human rights—and surely the most important of these is the right to live—is incompatible with the aims set before our Organization. As it is responsible for implementing in Ruanda-Urundi the international trusteeship system, the Belgian Government will continue to abide by the principles on which the United Nations is based. It is bound to promote the emergence in Ruanda-Urundi of a peaceful community where order and tranquillity are based on respect for the fundamental rights of the human being.

67. The Administering Authority is by no means opposed to measures of clemency but it is bound to keep a close watch to see that they do not jeopardize the achievement of the higher aims which I have just mentioned.

68. As regards the emergency régime, it was abrogated by an ordinance of 14 November 1960. The request made to the Administering Authority has thus been already overtaken by the facts.

69. Operative paragraph 6 gives rise to no substantive objections. I should, however, state that the recommendation to the Administering Authority "to refrain from using the Territory as a base...for the accumulation of arms or armed forces not strictly required for the purpose of maintaining public order in the Territory" would seem to impute, gratuitously and without any justification, intentions that it has never entertained. I must protest against such accusations, even though they are made indirectly.

70. Operative paragraph 7 deals with the date of the elections and invests the General Assembly with the right to fix that date on the resumption of the fifteenth session. The Belgian delegation cannot accept this provision. The Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement give the Administering Authority indisputably the right to organize and carry out elections on its own responsibility.

71. In its memorandum of 16 November, 1960^{1/} the Belgian Government invited the General Assembly to send a mission of observers to the spot in connexion with the legislative elections which it had scheduled, as this was an event of capital importance in the political life of the Territory. This does not imply in the least that it agrees to be divested of the powers entrusted to it under Article 81 of the Charter and Article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement for Ruanda-Urundi. The delay in the carrying out of the elections that would be involved by the implementation of operative paragraph 7 would probably make it impossible to give effect to the scheme for transfer of power envisaged as terminating the trusteeship. Furthermore, a continuance of the period during which the local authorities would be unsettled and a prolongation of their temporary status would not promote the reconciliation and pacification of peoples' minds in Ruanda.

72. In Urundi, even more than in Ruanda, everything militates in favour of elections at the beginning of 1961 and all the parties are asking for it. May I, finally, be allowed to point out that such a shilly-shallying attitude would not be consonant with resolution 1514 (XV) adop-

ted by the General Assembly at its 947th plenary meeting.

73. Operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of draft resolution I are very important and are very closely interconnected because they call for the setting-up of a commission for Ruanda-Urundi and define the mandate of that commission. In reply to the invitation in my Government's memorandum of 16 November, 1960, these paragraphs amount to proposing measures which constitute a real change in the Trusteeship Agreement, a change in the arrangements as laid down by this Agreement and in the operative rules it prescribes.

74. The proposal made is to add to the Administering Authority, for an indefinite period, a commission whose terms of reference would be "to lend its advice and its assistance, as appropriate, with a view to advancing peace and harmony", and to report to the Trusteeship Council or the General Assembly. That implies a regular division of administrative authority, a division of powers which goes much further than the supervision of the activities of the Administering Authority provided for by the Charter and by the Trusteeship Agreement, which my Government is still prepared to accept. A measure of this kind would call for much more thorough consideration.

75. A priori, the view of the Belgian delegation is that the Trusteeship Agreement should not be changed but implemented until the imminent termination of the trusteeship régime, and we see no point in amendments or additions for the short space of time that still remains. If, nevertheless, a majority of the Assembly felt that such a measure should be envisaged, the Belgian Government would not refuse to negotiate on this point; but the question cannot be settled by voting a simple resolution which divides responsibilities without making any division in the burdens of the trusteeship. I must, therefore, reserve my Government's position on operative paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 of draft resolution I which has just been adopted.

76. I come now to an explanation of my delegation's vote on draft resolution II.

77. Operative paragraphs 1 and 2 are based on an erroneous presentation of the facts. It was not the Administering Authority which took the initiative in barring the Mwami from the exercise of his powers. In the statement I made at the 1065th meeting of the Fourth Committee [A/C.4/460] I explained how the situation developed. Since the troubles began in November 1959 Mwami Kigeli has been criticized and the policy to which he had committed himself has been opposed. Spokesmen of very large sections of public opinion in Ruanda called for his dismissal. In July 1960 Kigeli himself chose to leave his country. He has been living abroad for five months past. It seemed to the Administering Authority that it would be hardly advisable to declare him deposed even though it was asked to do so. If it had taken such a step, it would certainly have been contested and the problem would not have been regarded as settled. It is essential that this question be considered and settled by the people of Ruanda themselves within the framework of the democratic institutions which will be set up following legislative elections.

78. The actual wording of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of draft resolution II, which has just been voted, reflects the lack of adaptation to facts which I have just emphasized, since in paragraph 2 it is requested

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 45, document A/C.4/455.

that the Mwami should resume his office—I quote and emphasize the passage—"pending the ascertainment of the wishes of the people on this question". That is an admission, to put it at its lowest, that the desires of the people are uncertain and that, consequently, the view expressed in paragraph 1 is rash and arbitrary.

79. The wording of operative paragraph 3, again, is faulty in that the absolute way in which it is drafted makes it encroach on the powers of the Administering Authority.

80. Taken as a whole, though, the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4 are not, in principle, objected to by my delegation. They are, however, an interference in a sphere which is too directly connected with the emotions and sentiments of the people of Ruanda to be decided on without knowing the views of the people as expressed through their freely-elected representatives.

81. The Belgian delegation, accordingly, finds itself obliged to vote against draft resolution II and reserves the attitude of its Government as regards its implementation.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 49

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1960

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4675)

United Nations activities in the Congo (ONUC)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4676)

AGENDA ITEM 50

Budget estimates for the financial year 1961

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4677)

System of travel and subsistence allowances to members of organs and subsidiary organs of the United Nations

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4608)

Payment of honoraria to the members of the Administrative Tribunal

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4609)

World Health Organization headquarters accommodation

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4610)

Control and limitation of documentation

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4611)

Architectural and Engineering Survey of the Headquarters building

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4678)

United Nations operations in the Congo

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4681)

AGENDA ITEM 61

United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4658)

Decision concerning procedure

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

82. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, Mr. Cutts, to present in one intervention all the reports of the Fifth Committee.

83. Mr. CUTTS (Australia), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present to the Assembly a series of reports by the Fifth Committee contained in documents A/4675, A/4676, A/4677, A/4608, A/4609, A/4610, A/4611, A/4678, A/4681, and A/4658.

84. There are one or two specific matters to which I think I should draw the Assembly's attention. These relate to agenda item 50 and to document A/4681.

85. The principal report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 50, budget estimates for the financial year 1961, is contained in document A/4677. Apart from the budget appropriations for 1961, which are set out in the report, there are three draft resolutions appended to the report recommended by the Fifth Committee for adoption by the Assembly.

86. It will be noted, that in draft resolution II relating to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses, there has been a departure from the form which has been used in previous years. It was the sense of the Fifth Committee, which is reflected in operative paragraph 3, that the traditional form of the draft resolution relating to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses could be improved and should be reviewed. Most members of the Committee, though, were reluctant to undertake the revision of such an important technical question at a late stage of the Committee's work. So the Committee, after a debate in which a number of constructive ideas were advanced, contented itself with adopting the traditional form of resolution with the rider set out in operative paragraph 3 that the whole question should be reviewed at the resumed fifteenth session of the General Assembly on the basis of a report which has been called for from the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budget Questions.

87. Draft resolution III relating to the working capital fund follows the form which has been adopted in previous years except for the fact that its final operative paragraph, that is, paragraph 5, adopts a formula conferring borrowing powers upon the Secretary-General. Under this formula the Secretary-General is authorized to borrow, should it be necessary, not only from the funds in his custody or on short terms from Governments, but also—in the terms of the draft resolution—"from other available sources".

88. In commenting on draft resolution III, I would inform the Assembly that during the lengthy discussions on this matter in the Fifth Committee, various views were expressed as to how the Organization's day-to-day expenses should be financed, pending payment by Members of their assessed contributions. However, all delegations agreed on the basic import-

ance to the future of this Organization that it should be able to meet its commitments from day to day and from week to week as they arose, and all delegations agreed that this problem would be at least greatly alleviated if Member States were to endeavour to liquidate their arrears of contributions and to make their contributions available promptly upon the presentation of assessments.

89. Finally, I should like to refer to document A/4681, which contains the Fifth Committee's recommendation in regard to the financing of the United Nations Force in the Congo in the ensuing months—that is, during the early part of 1961.

90. Although the debate on this subject was extensive, the report is extremely brief, principally because the Committee debate was concluded so very recently. The fact of the matter, which does not emerge from the report and of which I think I should inform the Assembly, is that the Secretary-General reported to the Committee that the continuation of the United Nations Force in the Congo on the present scale during the early months of 1961 would involve an expenditure of the order of \$10 million a month. He believed, however, that on certain assumptions, including delays in the presentation of accounts, the cash requirements for this period could be held at \$8 million a month.

91. The Fifth Committee has recommended the adoption of a draft resolution authorizing the Secretary-General, pending action by the General Assembly at its resumed fifteenth session, to incur commitments up to \$24 million for the period 1 January to 31 March 1961. I must report that this draft resolution was not adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee. Several delegations stressed the point, which had indeed been made clear by the sponsors of the draft resolution, that the draft resolution relates solely to the Secretary-General's authority to incur expenditure and does not prejudice or even touch upon the question of how that expenditure should ultimately be financed. That, too, is a matter which will have to be considered by the Assembly at its resumed fifteenth session.

92. The PRESIDENT: I now ask the Assembly to turn its attention to document A/4675, which is the report of the Fifth Committee on the supplementary estimate for the financial year 1960. I shall put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 78 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.

93. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will not turn to draft resolution II—schedule of post adjustments: classifications for United Nations Headquarters, and the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva. Does any representative wish to speak?

94. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I should like to speak in order to explain the Soviet delegation's position and its vote on this item.

95. We are at the moment considering a most important financial question on which we now have to take a decision, and which is directly bound up with a vitally important political question—the present situation in the Congo. The plenary General Assembly has before it for its approval a draft resolution adopted by the Fifth Committee on the financing of United Nations activities in the Congo in 1960.

96. The PRESIDENT: I would interrupt the representative merely to state that the Assembly has not yet come to the report of the Fifth Committee dealing with the financing of the Congo activities. Since, however, the Soviet Union representative is at the rostrum, he may wish to take the opportunity of explaining his vote on the draft resolution concerning the financing of the United Nations activities in the Congo [A/4676]. So far as I am concerned, it would be quite in order for him to do that.

97. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I think it would be best for me to continue my statement.

98. The draft resolution referred to us by the Fifth Committee in document A/4676 provides that the expenses of the Congo operation should be borne by the United Nations as a whole. The Soviet delegation considers that the General Assembly would not be justified in adopting such a decision on the financing of these activities.

99. Let me recall to you, in very general terms, the origins of these Congo expenses, and how they were incurred.

100. As you know, United Nations activities in the Congo were necessitated by Belgium's aggression against the Republic of the Congo. In order, precisely, to put an end to this aggression, the Security Council adopted on 14 July 1960 a decision calling upon "the Government of Belgium to withdraw their troops from the territory of the Republic of the Congo" and instructing the Secretary-General to take "the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide the Government with such military assistance as may be necessary...".^{2/}

101. But instead of providing assistance to the Central Government of the Congo, the "United Nations Command" did everything possible to hamper the activities of the Central Government of the Congo and of the country's Parliament. What was done in the Congo amounted to preventing the legal Government from carrying out its functions and thereby creating political and economic chaos in the Congo.

102. Since the question of the Congo and of the financing of the Congo activities is closely bound up with political considerations, I am obliged to speak in very general terms of these political considerations.

103. One of the reasons for the situation which has come about in the Congo is the fact that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, acting at his own discretion and without the authorization of the Security Council, arbitrarily set up in the Congo a "United Nations Command" consisting not of representatives of African and Asian countries which had dispatched units of their forces to the Congo in accordance with the Security Council decision, but in the main of nationals of the United States and other colonial Powers, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

104. At the same time, large numbers of logistic sub-units were sent to the Congo, and three-quarters of their personnel consisted of citizens of the United States or of other countries members of Western military blocs. Very large numbers of non-military offi-

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4687.

cials were sent to the Congo, and wielded substantial influence over the political direction of United Nations activities there. More than three-quarters of them were nationals of the United States and of other colonial Powers.

105. Even the information submitted by the Secretary-General on the subject shows that the personnel sent to the Congo consist in their overwhelming majority of Americans and citizens of the military allies of the United States. With a few exceptions, all senior posts are occupied by United States citizens. Even civilian services in the Congo are headed by American generals and colonels. For example, communications in the Congo are directed by Lieutenant-General Wheeler, with the rank of Under-Secretary. Ports and rivers in the Congo are under the direction of Colonel Gillette.

106. When the Soviet Union submitted a long list of Soviet citizens—engineers, agronomists and others—for employment in civilian services in the Congo, not one of them was directed to this work of technical assistance. We are making no claim in that connexion at this moment. But we do claim that personnel sent to the Congo should not consist exclusively of representatives of the colonialist countries, representatives of the United States and of other members of NATO.

107. That being the situation, the question we wish to ask is the following. Can the Congo operation be regarded as one organized on an international basis? In our view it cannot. We consider that the Congo operation has been carried out on a unilateral, not an international basis.

108. If the Secretary-General had been taking a genuinely impartial and objective line in this question, he would have forbidden the dispatch to the Congo of a single United States citizen, or representative of any other colonial Power. He would not have created what in fact amounts to an American or pro-NATO military staff in the Congo, or set up what amounts to an American civil apparatus in the Congo.

109. Now that the question of paying the bill for the Congo activities has come up, it is natural that we should ask who should meet these expenses, expenses which have been caused on the one hand by Belgian aggression in the Congo and on the other hand by the fact that the United States has shaped and directed the Congo operation in the interests of the colonialists, and in defiance of the Security Council's resolutions and of the interests of the Congolese people.

110. Who should pay for "activities" in the Congo which have obstructed the work of the country's legal Central Government and Parliament and have brought about a situation in which the head of this Government, Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister, has been subjected to brutal torture and imprisonment? Who should pay for the fact that the Congo's most elementary constitutional laws have been broken to permit the arming, by the efforts of the colonialists, of Mobutu's fascist bands, which are riding roughshod over the country and trampling under foot every precept of law and order?

111. The Soviet delegation's view is that there is absolutely no justification for calling upon the United Nations as a whole to bear these expenses arising out of the Congo activities. That would be contrary to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter. These expenses, as we stressed in the Fifth Committee and stress here again, should be met primarily by Belgium, and by the United States and those other

countries which are responsible for the present situation and for the conduct of operations in the Congo, operations which have led to the position we unfortunately witness today.

112. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution adopted by the Fifth Committee [A/4676], which provides for the expenses of the Congo operation to be borne by the United Nations as a whole.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

113. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution II contained in document A/4675—schedule of post adjustments: classifications for United Nations Headquarters and the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 82 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.

114. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before we proceed to the next item, I shall call on a number of representatives who have asked for the floor in order to explain their vote.

115. Mr. ALLENDE (Chile) (translated from Spanish): When the Fifth Committee considered the supplementary estimates for the financial year 1960 relating to the United Nations activities in the Congo, my delegation abstained, in the belief that it was not fair to apply the regular assessment scale to the financing of these expenditures. However, since we are in entire agreement on the action our Organization must take in the matter and since we differ only as regards the financing of the costs thereof, we prefer to express our agreement on the main point, leaving our objection aside for the moment, lest by voicing it here we should obstruct the continuation of the Congo operation, which we regard as essential and of major importance.

116. We have decided to support the draft resolution in document A/4676, with the reservation that if, by so doing, we impose yet another charge on Chile's very limited resources, our position, for constitutional reasons, must be subject to whatever decision is taken by the National Congress of Chile in approving the budget for 1962.

117. This should serve to explain both my delegation's vote and the reservation it will make in casting that vote.

118. Mr. XENOS (Greece): My delegation will cast a favourable vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in document A/4676. This vote reflects the belief of the Government of Greece in the very useful work which is being performed by the United Nations in the Congo. The delegation of Greece supports the efforts of the United Nations in the Congo and deems that Member States should participate in the financial burden caused by this operation. Our vote, therefore, is an expression of our belief in the principle of the universality of participation in the expenses of the United Nations operation in the Congo.

119. As regards the quantum of the financial participation of my Government in these expenses, I wish to put on record a formal reservation, as so far my delegation has not received specific instructions on this matter.

Mr. Boland (Ireland), President, resumed the Chair.

120. Mr. CUNHA d'EÇA (Portugal) (translated from French): I wish to explain the Portuguese delegation's vote on the whole series of draft resolutions concerning the financing of the activities of the United Nations in the Congo in 1960.

121. For reasons which I have already had the honour to state, and which will be found in the summary record of the 816th meeting of the Fifth Committee, the Portuguese delegation regrets that it cannot vote in favour of the draft resolution in question. We have therefore, decided to abstain. I would, however, like to emphasize that our abstention does not in any way affect the formal reservation of the Portuguese Government regarding the obligation for members to contribute to the expenses of ONUC. With its second development plan in force, my country is committed to an immense effort of economic and social development which entails not only the mobilization of all available domestic resources but also involves making a substantial call on foreign credits. In such circumstances we find it impossible to accept further international financial burdens. The fact that, when international peace and security are threatened, Member States are called upon to take and approve the measures required for safeguarding peace, cannot commit them to paying contributions which exceed their payments capacity.

122. Mr. VIAUD (France) (translated from French): To its great regret my delegation will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution before us concerning the financing of United Nations activities in the Congo [A/4676]. This abstention is due to specific reasons which were set forth in the preliminary proceedings in the Fifth Committee [813th meeting] and which I would like briefly to recall here.

123. As soon as this question of the Congo was brought before our Organization, the representative of France had stated, both in the Security Council [873rd meeting] and in the Fourth Emergency Session of the Assembly [861st meeting], the doubts, reservations, and apprehensions of all kinds which he felt about United Nations intervention, and the procedures therein involved, in the affairs of the new republic. Thus, he had felt unable to support by his vote either the resolution adopted on 14 July 1960 by the Security Council or the resolution adopted on 19 September 1960 by the Fourth Emergency Special Session of the Assembly [resolution 1474 (ES-IV)]. What has happened in the last three months shows, we think, how far these fears were justified.

124. In the budgetary sphere, which is the one with which the Assembly is dealing today, even before the draft resolution was put to the vote in the Fifth Committee, a group of States, whose assessment quotas in financing the expenses of the United Nations amount altogether to nearly 20 per cent, solemnly announced their intention not to accept any share in the financial costs of the Congo operations. This will mean a repetition and an aggravation, as regards United Nations expenses in the Congo, of the situation familiar to us for many years past in the case of the Special Account for the Emergency Force, to which in 1960 only a minority of Member States, including France, actually contributed. Yet successive Assemblies have never set themselves to deal realistically with such a troublesome problem. Faced with the refusal of the group of States to which I have just referred to carry their share of the common charges, my delegation can only conclude that the General Assembly is unable to pro-

duce a just and equitable method of financing the costs incurred by the Organization in the Congo.

125. For these reasons my delegation will abstain when the vote is taken, in the same way as it abstained in the Fifth Committee [819th meeting], and its abstention should be interpreted as a formal reservation regarding the share the French Government might have to carry in the expenditure covered by this resolution.

126. Mr. BRUCAN (Romania): I will, of course, be very brief. The only reason I asked for the floor was to emphasize a facet of the problem that has not yet been discussed during the rather exhaustive debate on the situation in the Congo. It is a facet which is very closely linked to the financing of the United Nations operation and is one of the most relevant facets of the problem in our discussion. We all know finally why United Nations money is being spent in the Congo. We know, however, very little about who is getting this United Nations money in the Congo.

127. The Times of London, a very respectable newspaper, recently published revealing correspondence from Leopoldville on this very subject. On 9 December 1960 The Times of London wrote the following:

"...the United Nations turned over the entire job of local purchasing to a Belgian firm called Damseaux-Frigos with headquarters in Leopoldville. The Belgian company is prospering under the United Nations operation. The company's monthly bill to the United Nations for food items alone is very close to one million dollars. In addition, the Belgian firm acts as United Nations purchasing agent for beds, blankets, tents and other items obtained in the Congo."

128. Thank God there is a bright spot in the Congo due to the United Nations operation. Belgian business is booming. As The Times of London puts it, "the Belgian company is prospering under the United Nations operation". What counts is that 200 Congolese are starving every day while Belgian companies enjoy all-time high profits. Now let us see what The Times of London has to say further on United Nations expenditure in the Congo:

"A number of United Nations technicians are drawing salaries (ranging from \$7,000 to \$15,000 a year) without doing any work. The fault is not theirs. Rather, by the time the United Nations completed a survey to see what technicians were needed and these technicians were recruited and transported to the Congo, the Belgian technicians in many cases had already returned to their old jobs."

129. We have been told by the Secretary-General that unless the United Nations provides the Congo with technicians and experts, the present Congolese authorities would have to resort to Belgian experts and technicians. Now we find out that the United Nations has actually sent experts and technicians into the Congo and that these technicians are drawing salaries, but that they are idle. They are not working because the Belgian technicians have come back and obtained these jobs, and we Member States are required to foot the bill. Is that not an interesting situation? Finally, The Times of London reveals that the Belgian companies which are doing good business these days are not alone, and I quote from the same correspondent:

"...Despite the flight of the Congo's white population and the diminution of economic activity, one

American oil company doing business in the Congo is doing 85 per cent of the volume it did in the busiest Congo days as a result of United Nations business."

130. As we can see, the United Nations Command already applied a long time ago the policy of "Buy American". There is a consolation in the most saddening circumstances. If there is no Central Government, no Parliament, no political independence, and no territorial integrity in the Congo, we may find comfort in the fact that Belgian and American businessmen in the Congo are doing well. They are booming. After all, one may notice that the United Nations operation has not been completely fruitless. The question arises: Why should we have to contribute to the financing of such an operation? Let those who enjoy the benefits of that operation foot the bill. In short, we have one sole desire: to be as clearly and as categorically as possible dissociated from any connexion whatsoever with that United Nations operation. We wish to have nothing to do with it as long as it remains an undertaking that exclusively serves colonial interests, both politically and economically. It goes without saying that for all these reasons Romania will vote against the draft resolution in document A/4676.

131. The PRESIDENT: As there are no further speakers, the Assembly will proceed to vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/4676.

132. Mr. MACHOWSKI (Poland): In accordance with rule 91 of the rules of procedure, I would like to ask for a separate vote on the third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution before us.

133. The PRESIDENT: I thought that the representative of Poland wished to speak, but he was raising a point of order which I accept.

134. Mr. CHELLI (Tunisia) (translated from French): My delegation has asked to speak in order to express its objection to the request for a separate vote which has just been made by the representative of Poland on the draft resolution contained in document A/4676, the adoption of which was recommended to the General Assembly by the Fifth Committee.

135. The reasons which impel us to invoke the provisions of rule 91 of the rules of procedure are, we consider, serious. As can be seen from paragraph 1 of the report [A/4676], the question we are dealing with was discussed at length in fifteen meetings of the Fifth Committee. The views of the different delegations certainly diverged but they were all vigorously expressed and are all registered in the summary records of the Fifth Committee.

136. The draft resolution before the General Assembly constitutes, we think, the only reasonable solution of the problem we are considering. It forms one whole and any change in any particular paragraph would inevitably call into question again some of the principles on which it is based.

137. Our objection to a separate vote should not be construed as an attempt to limit the freedom of expression of the members of our Assembly, still less to force their hand. It simply reflects our constant concern to impart the maximum of coherence and cohesion to our Organization's decisions.

138. The PRESIDENT: Do I understand the objection which has just been expressed by the representative of Tunisia to relate only to a separate vote on the

third preambular paragraph or to that paragraph and also to operative paragraph 4?

139. Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): Our objection refers both to the separate vote on the third preambular paragraph and to the separate vote on operative paragraph 4. We object in general to any separate vote on the draft resolution.

140. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation supports the Polish delegation's proposal for a separate vote on the third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution. The reasons for a separate vote are as follows. The Charter, as you know, provides that decisions on all questions of a financial nature require a two-thirds majority for their adoption. The third preambular paragraph is one of the most important points in this draft resolution, touching as it does on the matter of sources of financing. To be specific, the third paragraph provides that the Congo expenses are to be treated as expenses of the Organization as a whole within the meaning of the Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, and states that the assessment of these expenses against Member States creates binding legal obligations on such States to pay their assessed shares. This, therefore, is a vital financial provision of the draft resolution, which for its adoption requires a two-thirds majority. I must point out here that in the Fifth Committee [819th meeting] this provision failed to obtain a two-thirds majority vote. When a separate vote was taken on it in the Committee, 40 votes were cast in favour of the third preambular paragraph, with 27 votes against and 17 abstentions. Thus, the paragraph was not in fact adopted by the Committee within the meaning of the United Nations Charter. There is thus every justification for the view that a separate vote should be taken on this paragraph, representing as it does an independent and vital point of the resolution.

141. The representative of Tunisia asserted that the draft resolution constitutes a single indivisible whole. I must remind the representative of Tunisia of the following point. The draft resolution before us reproduces almost exactly the principles on the basis of which the United Nations Emergency Force in the Near East is financed. Yet the resolutions dealing with the United Nations Emergency Force lack, precisely, a clause corresponding to the third preambular paragraph of the present draft resolution. It is entirely logical, therefore, that a considerable number of delegations should insist that the financing of the Congo expenses should be carried out on the same basis as the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force, and that these expenses should not be regarded as a responsibility to be borne by the United Nations as a whole.

142. A number of speakers, in particular the representative of Romania, have demonstrated very cogently that these expenses are not expenses of the Organization as a whole. The Soviet delegation too has shown, both the Fifth Committee and here in the General Assembly, that these are not expenses of the United Nations as a whole, but expenses, firstly, of Belgium, and secondly, of the United States and a number of other countries which bear the main responsibility for the situation which has come about in the Congo.

143. We therefore call for a separate vote on the third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution

in document A/4676. Such a vote is justified by the general sense of the resolution. It is justified both on political grounds and on grounds of a juridical nature.

144. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation is opposed to the request for a separate vote on the third preambular paragraph and the fourth operative paragraph of the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in document A/4676 on the following grounds.

145. The draft resolution before us is a financing draft resolution. It comes to us from the Fifth Committee. It has been fully debated in that Committee and approved by a substantial majority of 45 in favour, 15 against and 25 abstentions. We ought not to start now to amend it; we ought to treat it as a consistent whole. Moreover, the third preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 4 are closely related. Operative paragraph 4 apportions the assessments against Member States, assessments as reduced by the waived airlift costs on the basis of the scale of assessment of the regular budget. The removal of the third preambular paragraph would raise serious doubt as to whether the whole operative part of the draft resolution would retain any meaning, for the agreement of certain States to waive part of their airlift costs and to make additional voluntary contributions was given on the assumption that the General Assembly recognized the collective nature of the obligation to finance the remainder of the costs. If that obligation is to be thrown into doubt, the whole basis of the draft resolution may be jeopardized. The Assembly can hardly run these risks at so late a stage in its discussions and create a situation which may well require the resumed fifteenth session to debate all over again the question of financing the 1960 expenses of the United Nations operation—not to speak of deepening the crisis in the Congo and in the United Nations.

146. Finally, the delegations opposed to the third preambular paragraph had adequate opportunity to make their views clear beyond any doubt. The whole issue, whether the expenses of the Congo operation in 1960 or the expenses of the Organization within the meaning of Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter, and whether the assessment of these expenses against the Member States constitutes a binding legal obligation to pay their share, has been debated exhaustively in the Fifth Committee. The opposing delegations have had not one, but two roll-call votes in the Committee on this very paragraph. The Fifth Committee has overwhelmingly endorsed the draft resolution as a whole. May we appeal to these opposing delegations to let the plenary also pass judgement on it as a whole?

147. The PRESIDENT: If no other representative wishes to speak, perhaps the Assembly will proceed to decide on the matter by a vote. A request has been made for separate votes on the third preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution in document A/4676.

The proposal was rejected by 40 votes to 24, with 22 abstentions.

The draft resolution was adopted by 46 votes to 17, with 24 abstentions.

148. The PRESIDENT: Two representatives have expressed a desire to explain their votes before voting on item 50—budget estimates for 1961. I shall call upon them when we come to the particular matters

on which they wish to make their explanation. I call first on the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to explain his vote in connexion with draft resolution IA in document A/4677.

149. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly has before it for consideration the draft budget estimates for 1961, which provide for expenditure amounting to over \$72,900,000. The outlay planned for the coming year of 1961 is unjustifiably high, exceeding the total appropriations for 1960 by nearly \$10 million and actual expenditure in 1959 by \$12 million. But as you know, these appropriations will be followed by further supplementary appropriations, bringing the total budget for 1961 up to a figure considerably exceeding \$75 million.

150. In a statement made before the Fifth Committee,^{3/} the Secretary-General tried to persuade us that the increase in the budget for 1961 represents merely a first and insignificant departure from the policy of stabilizing the United Nations budget. But the appreciable increases which have taken place in United Nations expenditure during Mr. Hammarskjöld's tenure of the office of Secretary-General, together with the higher appropriations requested for 1961, refute this claim of budget stabilization. In 1954 the Organization's total expenditure amounted to \$48,500,000. Now the total has already reached the figure of nearly \$73 million—which exceeds the earlier figure by more than \$25 million, or over 50 per cent.

151. All this shows that the policy actually being carried out is one of considerably and unjustifiably increasing expenditure year by year. The causes for this rise in the Organization's expenditure are to be found primarily in the unwarranted increase which has taken place in the cost of maintaining the Secretariat's numerous establishments and in the wasteful and uneconomic manner in which United Nations funds are spent.

152. As the discussion in the Fifth Committee on the supplementary estimates for 1960 showed, United Nations funds are spent wastefully and uneconomically in numbers of cases. For example, in order to provide Laos with technical assistance amounting to a relatively small sum—unfortunately the Secretariat has been unable to tell us precisely what the sum is—funds amounting to \$260,000 per annum are being spent for "co-ordination" of assistance alone, and a special staff of twenty-eight persons is being maintained in Laos to represent the Secretary-General for that purpose. That is one example of waste in the spending of the Organization's funds. In order to arrive at the conclusion that Guinea has no need of special United Nations assistance, a sum of \$39,300 is spent. In order to co-ordinate technical assistance to Guinea amounting to \$131,000, funds totalling \$56,000 per annum are laid out. Large sums of money are spent to maintain representatives of the Secretary-General in various countries, although in a number of cases the need for such representatives does not exist, or is a matter of doubt.

153. I should like, in passing, to draw attention to the wasteful expenditure of United Nations funds for travel expenses—for the Secretary-General himself

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 50, document A/C.5/828.

is somewhat careless of the need for economy. For the current year a sum of \$30,000 was appropriated for the Secretary-General's travel expenses; yet the Secretary-General actually spent upwards of \$100,000. That is another clear illustration of the way in which funds are wasted; and the same thing took place in 1959.

154. We also regard as wrong and irregular the present tendency to expand the United Nations Secretariat and to inflate its organizational structure by increasing the numbers of bureaux, offices, missions and so forth. Every new mission or task assigned to the Secretariat is carried out, not by the more productive and rational utilization of existing personnel, but by expanding the staff, requesting new appropriations and adding new expenditure to the Organization's budget.

155. The Secretary-General tried to convince us that the inordinate growth of the Secretariat's budget and expenses has been necessitated by the expansion of programmes of technical assistance to the under-developed countries and of United Nations economic and social programmes.

156. I should like to point out, in this connexion, that the Soviet Union has from the very outset strongly supported, as it still supports, United Nations activities in the field of technical, economic and other assistance to the under-developed countries, and has taken a considerable and active part in carrying out such activities.

157. We are bound to point out, however, that technical assistance activities in general, and the administration of all the various technical assistance programmes, have been carried out in the United Nations in a partial and one-sided way. They have in the main been assigned by the Secretary-General to nationals of the United States and the other NATO countries. For example, of the 530 members of the staff of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, which is responsible for technical assistance, 460, or 87 per cent, are nationals of the Western Powers.

158. Is this a proper situation? It is not. Can such an Organization really be regarded as operating on a multilateral and international basis? It cannot.

159. The policy which is being applied in this important field is in reality not a policy of the United Nations as a whole but the policy of a narrow circle of Western Powers, which are carrying out their plans of political and economic expansion under the United Nations flag. Evidence of this may be found in the manner of recruitment of the experts sent for technical assistance work to the various countries. In 1959, for example, 1,400 of the 2,200 experts who were sent out were nationals of NATO countries. Only 40 experts, or less than 2 per cent, were sent from the USSR, and only 12 from other socialist countries.

160. The misdirection of this entire important field of United Nations activity and the use of the Organization's funds in that connexion are at direct variance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

161. If this manifestly deplorable situation is to be brought to an end, the financial administration of the United Nations will have to be reorganized. With this end in view, the Soviet Union proposes that the United Nations budget covering the main fields of activity,

including, in particular, the services of the principal organs of the United Nations and maintenance of the Secretariat, should be fixed at a maximum of \$50 million net. This sum would be quite large enough to cover these requirements and to ensure the normal working of all United Nations organs, and would allow for considerable work in the fields of economic and social affairs.

162. If any Members of the United Nations were dissatisfied with the scale of the work carried on in the economic and social fields within the framework of such a budget of \$50 million, then any number of additional measures in these fields could be planned, on the understanding, however, that their costs would be defrayed from a separate budget financed out of contributions agreed upon between the States concerned.

163. The reorganization of United Nations financial administration which we are proposing would undoubtedly strengthen the Organization, and would put an end to the present highly irregular and indeed intolerable situation, in which United Nations funds are being used by one group of Members of the Organization against the interests of the United Nations as a whole. Accordingly, we make the following proposals:

(a) That the Organization's financial administration should be reorganized to prevent one group of Members from using United Nations funds to carry out their own political and economic expansion to the detriment of the interests of the Organization as a whole and in defiance of its fundamental purposes and principles;

(b) That no further increase in the staff of the United Nations Secretariat or expansion of its organization—departments, divisions and so forth—should be permitted;

(c) That the now established practice of increasing appropriations for United Nations expenditure from year to year should be ended and that the budget should be fixed at a maximum not exceeding \$50 million net. Supplementary activities of any kind of an operational character would be financed from a special budget constituted by separate agreement and after special discussion.

164. The 1961 budget proposals submitted to the General Assembly for its approval are unfortunately based on diametrically opposed principles. In particular, they are based on the assumption of a further very considerable and unwarranted increase in expenditure and a further expansion of United Nations staff. They are based on the practice of merging in a single budget the Organization's continuing administrative expenses and its operational expenses for the implementation of specific programmes—as a result of which individual Members of the United Nations, belonging to a particular group, are able to charge what are in reality their own expenses to other Members which are in fact barred from participation in these programmes, programmes which they take a considerable share in financing but from which they are nevertheless completely excluded.

165. This method of financial administration is something the Soviet delegation cannot condone. Accordingly, it will vote against the adoption of the draft resolution and against the inflated draft budget estimates for 1961, which appreciably exceed preceding estimates and preceding actual expenses, and which in our view cannot justifiably be approved.

166. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the Assembly to turn its attention now to the draft budget resolution for the financial year 1961, which is contained in document A/4677.

167. I propose to put to the vote first draft resolution IA concerning budget appropriations for the financial year 1961.

Draft resolution IA was adopted by 81 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.

168. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IB relates to the income estimates for the financial year 1961. Since this was unanimously adopted in Committee, perhaps I may take it as being also adopted by the Assembly. In the absence of any comments or objection I take it that draft resolution IB has also been adopted by the General Assembly.

Draft resolution IB was adopted unanimously.

169. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IC relates to the financing of appropriations for the financial year 1961. I now put this draft resolution to the vote.

Draft resolution IC was adopted by 77 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.

170. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the recommendation of the Fifth Committee relating to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses contained in draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 80 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.

171. The PRESIDENT: Before I come to draft resolution III I give the floor to the representative of India.

172. Mr. VENKATARAMAN (India): Draft resolution III relating to the working capital fund [A/4677], is a serious departure from the established financial practices of the United Nations.

173. According to resolution 1448 (XIV), on the amount of the Working Capital Fund, the Secretary-General is authorized to borrow from two sources only cash from special funds and accounts in his custody, and short-term loans from Governments. But the resolution proposed to the General Assembly this year in operative paragraph 5 authorizes the Secretary-General to borrow from three sources: from special funds and accounts in his custody, short-term loans from Governments and from other available sources. I quote the words "from other available sources". The term "other available sources" would cover borrowings from private agencies, banks, etc.

174. The delegation of India considers that is not proper for the United Nations to borrow from private agencies and other commercial bodies. It would be inconsistent with the dignity of the international Organization. It is also not clear whether in the case of Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, which mentions that the expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members, it is open to the Secretary-General to borrow from commercial and private agencies. It is also a matter of concern as to how the Secretary-General would be able to borrow from private agencies without offering security. What security the Secretary-General would be able to offer I leave to the imagination of the Members.

175. The decision to extend the authorization of the Secretary-General was taken at a late hour yesterday, and in the view of my delegation, without sufficient consideration of all the implications contained therein. The delegation of India, by an amendment, sought to replace the new paragraph 5 by the existing paragraph 4 of resolution 1448 (XIV) of the General Assembly, limiting the authorization of the Secretary-General to borrow only from special funds and accounts and from Governments as at present. But the amendment was not adopted, as twenty-five voted in favour and twenty-five voted against. The extreme closeness of the voting discloses the sharp cleavage of opinion in the Fifth Committee regarding the advisability of authorizing the Secretary-General to borrow from commercial and other private sources. My delegation feels that in these circumstances it cannot accept the words "or from other available sources" contained in paragraph 5 of draft resolution III.

176. I would request the President to take a separate vote on the words "or from other available sources" in paragraph 5 of the draft resolution.

177. The PRESIDENT: A request has been made for a separate vote on the words "or from other available sources" in draft resolution III in document A/4677. If there is no objection to this request, a separate vote will be taken on those words, and then on the draft resolution as a whole, with or without those words as the case may be.

178. I now put to the Assembly the words "or other available sources". The vote will be as to whether those words shall be retained.

The result of the vote was 38 in favour, 27 against, and 18 abstentions.

The words "or from other available sources" were not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

179. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the Assembly draft resolution III in document A/4677, without the words "or from other available sources".

Draft resolution III, as amended, was adopted by 71 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

180. The PRESIDENT: We come next to draft resolution IV on administrative arrangements under the draft Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. As this draft resolution was adopted without objection in the Fifth Committee, may I take it that it is similarly adopted by the Assembly?

Draft resolution IV was adopted.

181. The PRESIDENT: We come now to the report of the Fifth Committee which deals with the system of travel and subsistence allowances for members of organs and subsidiary organs of the United Nations [A/4608]. The Committee unanimously recommended the adoption of the draft resolution contained in this report. May I take it that the draft resolution is also adopted by the Assembly?

The draft resolution was adopted.

182. The PRESIDENT: The next report of the Fifth Committee relates to the payment of honoraria to members of the Administrative Tribunal. The recommendation of the Committee is contained in paragraph 10 of its report [A/4609]. I put that recommendation to the vote.

The recommendation was adopted by 78 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

183. The PRESIDENT: We come now to the report of the Fifth Committee concerning the World Health Organization headquarters accommodation [A/4610]. Since the draft resolution was unanimously approved by the Committee, may I take it that it is also approved by the Assembly.

The draft resolution was adopted.

184. The PRESIDENT: Next is the report of the Fifth Committee on the control and limitation of documentation [A/4611]. The recommendations are contained in paragraph 8 of that report. No action is requested of the Assembly except to take note of the Committee's report and its recommendations. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly notes the report and recommendations accordingly.

The General Assembly took note of the report of the Fifth Committee.

185. The PRESIDENT: The last sub-item under agenda item 50 relates to the architectural and engineering survey of the Headquarters buildings. The report is contained in document A/4678. The Assembly is requested merely to take note of this report, and if I hear no objection I will take it that it does so.

The General Assembly took note of the report of the Fifth Committee.

186. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee on the United Nations operations in the Congo, contained in document A/4681. A roll-call has been called for in respect of this draft resolution.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Gabon, Greece, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, Senegal, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Denmark, Federation of Malaya, Finland.

Against: Guinea, Hungary, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: France, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Togo, Union of South Africa, United Arab Republic, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Belgium, Bolivia, Burma, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 39 votes to 11, with 44 abstentions.

187. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/4658] on agenda item 61 — United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General.

188. I call on the representative of Uruguay in explanation of his vote.

189. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): It is either a little late or a little early to explain how my delegation will vote on the draft resolution before us. I should like to make it plain, however, that for constitutional reasons the special expenditures resulting from resolutions adopted here require parliamentary approval in my country.

190. Some of the provisions of this draft resolution were initiated by my own delegation. In this case, we are asked for a special contribution to the International School Fund. My delegation will cast its vote for this special contribution by the United Nations, as provided for in operative paragraphs 4 and 5 of the draft resolution before us. If I may be permitted a few words on a subject to which I have been particularly devoted all my life, I should like to say that the International School is beyond any doubt one of the noblest educational experiments of our times, an educational experiment on an international scale, which allows children and young people from all parts of the world, of all races and all creeds, speaking different languages—my own children among them—to come together. This educational experiment which is being tried out by the International School opens a new vista and offers new prospects of international solidarity—that international solidarity which is projected in the Charter and which is one of the fundamental aims of the United Nations.

191. My delegation therefore supports this draft resolution, and although, as I said, any extraordinary expenditure—whatever the Charter may say about it—requires parliamentary action in my country, my delegation, which has several times taken the initiative in this matter, feels that this expenditure for the International School is entirely normal and enters into the regular obligations of the United Nations.

192. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution which has been recommended by the Fifth Committee and is contained in paragraph 7 of its report (A/4658).

The draft resolution was adopted by 89 votes to none.

Adjournment of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly

193. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has now concluded the work before it, and I therefore adjourn the fifteenth session until 7 March 1961.

The meeting rose on Wednesday, 21 December 1960, at 1 a. m.