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Chairman: Mr. Mihail HASEGANU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 30

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa: reports of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and replies by Member States under General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) (A/5405, A/5413, A/5414, A/5422, A/5424, A/5425, A/5427, A/5439, A/5449, A/5451, A/5452, A/5454, A/5457, A/5458, A/5472, A/5474, A/5497 and Add.1 and 2, A/5554, A/5563, A/5577, A/5583, A/5588, A/5614 and Add.1-3, A/SPC/80, A/SPC/81, A/SPC/82, A/SPC/83, A/SPC/84, A/SPC/85, A/SPC/86/Rev.1, A/SPC/94, A/SPC/L.95, A/SPC/L.102, A/SPC/L.103) (continued)*

1. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) noted that in the plenary General Assembly, the Special Political Committee and the Security Council there had been almost unanimous agreement not only on the condemnation of the policy of apartheid but also on the urgent need to take effective steps to dissuade the South African Government from continuing with that policy. The time had therefore come to put forward concrete proposals.

2. He stressed the responsibility borne by the *de jure* and *de facto* allies and great trading partners of South Africa, who alone held the key to a solution. At the 396th meeting, when he had proposed the adjournment of the debate, he had clearly indicated the necessity of awaiting the new factors which might emerge as a result of the many initiatives taken in various United

Nations bodies, in particular the Credentials Committee, the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretariat. Although the Credentials Committee had still not met, all the other initiatives had already led to conclusions on which recommendations and decisions had been based.

3. On 20 November 1963 (1261st plenary meeting) the General Assembly had unanimously adopted the Declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (resolution 1904 (XVIII)). The South African delegation alone had refused to take part in the vote, thereby showing once again its contempt not only for the United Nations and its Charter, but also for all declarations designed to give effect to the main provisions of the Charter. The members of the Committee, however, as also all those who were concerned about the serious situation arising from the policy of apartheid, could not fail to be pleased that the above Declaration included some important provisions which gave a clear indication of the vigorous steps which the international community should take with regard to the South African Government. Since such provisions as those in articles 1, 5 and 10 of the Declaration had been adopted unanimously, without the slightest reservation on the part of any State, it should be possible to undertake concerted action to give real effect to the noble ideal set forth in the Declaration.

4. It should also be recalled that on 13 November 1963 (1257th plenary meeting) the General Assembly had adopted, by a very large majority, resolution 1899 (XVIII) on the question of South West Africa, which reproduced and endorsed a number of recommendations put forward by the Special Political Committee on the subject of apartheid. That resolution stressed the need for an investigation by United Nations bodies of the activities of the finance companies, their economic and political influence and mode of operation and of the expediency of an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to the South African Government. On that last point members of the Committee would remember the statement of the representative of Iran (389th meeting) in which he had made it clear that the petroleum-exporting countries would be prepared to co-operate in the embargo, subject to the one condition that they were given an assurance that the measure would be effectively applied by the great petroleum companies. A serious analysis of the world petroleum market showed that, there again, only the great trading partners of South Africa could persuade those petroleum companies to co-operate with the United Nations in order to force the South African Government to abandon its policy of apartheid. It would of course be necessary to obtain also the co-operation of the great financial and trading companies which had invested in South Africa and whose activities extended to South West Africa. The Economic Commission for Africa, with the assistance of the

* Resumed from the 396th meeting.

specialized agencies, would certainly be able to provide all the necessary material to show the encouragement those companies were giving the South African Government, but there again the necessary action would have to be taken by the great trading partners of South Africa. Despite the appeals made in ECA and in the various United Nations resolutions, there was a constant increase in foreign investment in South Africa and in South African foreign trade. With regard to the latter, recent statistics for imports and exports in the first five months of 1963 showed an unusual increase over the previous years in South Africa's trade with Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Switzerland, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Thus, despite the great sacrifices made by a number of small States, South Africa's foreign trade was developing at an alarming rate. There again, only South Africa's trading partners could introduce the necessary changes to compel that country to abandon its policy of apartheid.

5. The third new factor which had appeared since the adjournment of the debate was the Secretary-General's report (A/5614 and Add.1-3) on the implementation of resolution 1881 (XVIII). Whereas that resolution requested the Pretoria Government to abandon the arbitrary trial in progress and to release immediately all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid, the representative of South Africa had had the audacity to inform the Secretary-General that no reply could be expected from his Government concerning that resolution, which it considered to be unlawful. That had provided absolute confirmation of the attitude which the United Nations had constantly condemned for the last eighteen years and which had gained the unanimous and unreserved disapproval of world public opinion. That reply had also shown that the time had come to undertake more energetic action against apartheid, the South African Government having shown itself to be deaf and indifferent to any condemnation on moral or political grounds. If, as the representative of the United States had asserted, apartheid was morally insupportable, politically unviable and economically unprofitable, there should not be a moment's hesitation about using all suitable means to get rid of it.

6. The last new factor was the consideration of the question of apartheid by the Security Council and the unanimous adoption, on 4 December 1963, of a resolution^{1/} reinforcing the embargo on arms and materials for the manufacture of arms in South Africa, calling upon all States to apply those measures and establishing a group of experts to examine methods whereby the objectives of the United Nations might be attained in South Africa. The African Ministers for Foreign Affairs delegated by the Organization of African Unity and the representatives of the African delegations had clearly defined their position with regard to that resolution, and his delegation entirely shared the point of view thus expressed. On 30 October 1963 (396th meeting) his delegation had expressed its hope that the trading partners of South Africa and the States which still maintained close relations with that country would take advantage of the adjournment of the debate in order to put forward concrete proposals designed to bring about the abandonment of the policy of apartheid. Although no concrete proposal had actually been submitted, the affirmative vote of

France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America in the Security Council was a most encouraging sign. That support seemed to indicate a new and important turn in events which placed the States concerned under a moral and political obligation to use their political, diplomatic, financial and commercial influence to bring the Pretoria Government to its senses. Indeed, the eighteenth session had already marked a great step forward in the struggle against apartheid: the General Assembly and the Security Council had both spoken out unanimously against that policy and had suggested a number of specific measures to put an end to it.

7. Despite all those encouraging factors, it should be remembered that the aim of the United Nations was not the adoption of resolutions but the effective application of the proposed measures. Their application should be ensured by all States without exception, but the practical outcome actually depended only on the States which continued to maintain close relations with the South African Government. His delegation had welcomed the unequivocal statements in the Security Council to the effect that the Council's most recent resolution should not lead to the paralysis of any United Nations body. That was particularly true with regard to the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which, like the Security Council, should keep their freedom of action and continue as usual to carry out their respective responsibilities in that field. It was to be hoped that the existence of a group of experts would not be taken as a handy pretext for inaction and that all States Members would redouble their efforts to put the proposed measures into effect without delay. In his delegation's opinion, the maintenance and intensification of international pressure on the Pretoria Government were essential to the success of the aims of the United Nations in South Africa: indeed, the most recent reports suggested that the situation in that country had become so serious that the slightest incident might unleash unprecedented racial violence, with unforeseeable consequences. The stockpiling of arms, the preparations for war in all fields, the intensification of repressive measures, the innumerable imprisonments and the despair of the majority of the population pointed clearly to the overriding need for rapid and vigorous action in order to ensure stability in Africa and international peace and security.

8. It was in the light of the new factors to which he had referred, in particular the Security Council resolution, that the appropriate decisions to be suggested to the General Assembly should be considered. His delegation, for its part, had a marked preference for the strongest possible action, which alone would make it possible to deal with the grave situation prevailing in South Africa. It would, however, agree, of necessity, not to press its demands for the moment, in order that the suggestions of other delegations which had the same objective in view might, for a limited time, be tried out. For that reason, in a spirit of sincere co-operation with the Nordic countries and their supporters, and encouraged by the hope that South Africa's trading partners would decide to act without delay along the lines called for by the United Nations, his delegation would agree not to press for political, diplomatic and economic sanctions to be taken again against the South African Government. It hoped that the great sacrifices made by the African and Asian delegations would meet with the under-

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1963, document S/5471.

standing they deserved and that they would not have been made in vain.

9. The General Assembly should take note of the resolutions of the Security Council on the subject and associate itself with the appeal to all States to implement those resolutions. It should also state its views on the report (A/5497 and Add.1 and 2) of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and invite that Committee to keep developments in the situation and the implementation of the various resolutions constantly under review. For that purpose, the Secretary-General, the specialized agencies and States should be called upon to give the Special Committee all the assistance and co-operation it needed for the normal fulfilment of its task. As the various recommendations of that Committee had been, so to speak, approved in the Special Political Committee, the General Assembly should also invite Member States to take the necessary steps, on the basis of those recommendations, to bring about the abandonment of the policy of apartheid. Since one of those recommendations concerned the need to launch an appeal to States to give relief and assistance to the victims of apartheid and their families, the Secretary-General might, through the competent international agencies such as the Red Cross, promote such humanitarian action by the international community.

10. Although such action could be no more than a palliative, it would help to some extent to alleviate the physical and moral sufferings of millions of oppressed people in South Africa. Nevertheless it should be borne constantly in mind that the only real remedy for the situation of the victims of apartheid was the abandonment of that policy and, first and foremost, the liberation of all persons detained because of their opposition to the Government's policy. Those various proposals had been embodied in two draft resolutions prepared by the officers of the Special Committee, whose main concern had been to avoid any controversial matter in order to obtain a unanimous decision at the eighteenth session. If Member States were prepared to address a solemn warning of that kind to the South African Government and if it was backed up by adequate political, diplomatic, financial and commercial measures, the United Nations would perhaps achieve one of the most decisive victories in its history. As consultations had not yet made it possible to collect the signatures of all the delegations which proposed to become sponsors of the two draft resolutions, their texts had been submitted to the Special Political Committee and all delegations wishing to join the sponsors would be welcome. Although some delegations might think, as did his own, that the draft resolutions fell short of what the situation in South Africa demanded, it would be appropriate to bring the debate on apartheid at the eighteenth session to a close on a note of total agreement.

11. If the steps taken by the General Assembly did not produce results quickly and if the Pretoria Government persisted in its evil ways, taking the wisdom of the United Nations for weakness, it would be necessary to convene a special session of the General Assembly as quickly as possible. There could be no doubt that in that event all the members of the Organization of African Unity would be ready to shoulder their responsibilities to the full.

12. Since everything depended on the concrete attitude of the allies and trading partners of the South African

Government, they should be reminded that the Heads of African States had already formally called upon them, at the Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa in May 1963, to choose between their friendship for the African peoples and their support of the Government which was oppressing those peoples.

13. His country was therefore submitting, for the Committee's unanimous approval, draft resolutions A/SPC/L.102 and A/SPC/L.103, which had been conceived and drafted in a spirit of conciliation, understanding and sincere co-operation among all the delegations.

14. Mr. MISHRA (India) suggested that the statement of the representative of Guinea should be reproduced as a Committee document.

It was so decided. 2/

AGENDA ITEMS 81, 82 AND 12

Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly (A/5519, A/SPC/L.101) (continued)

Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council (A/5520 and Corr.1) (continued)

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter XIII (section VI)) (A/5503) (continued)

15. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic) recalled that since the adoption of the Charter in 1945 many new nations had become Members of the United Nations. The countries of Africa and Asia wished to be equitably represented in the principal organs of the United Nations, not simply for the honour it implied, but so as to be able to perform a function and meet a challenge. They simply asked to be treated as equals, with equitable representation for all, and had no wish to infringe the rights and duties of other Members.

16. Draft resolution A/SPC/L.101, submitted by more than fifty States from Asia and Africa, aimed at changing the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly. That was, of course, a different matter from attempting to amend the Charter to increase the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, since all that was needed was a decision by the Committee and the General Assembly. The draft resolution differed in a number of respects from General Assembly resolution 1192 (XII). The proposed new texts of rules 31 and 38 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly referred to sixteen and not thirteen Vice-Presidents. Operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution referred both to the Vice-Presidents and to the Chairmen of the Main Committees, so that it replaced operative paragraphs 1 and 3 of resolution 1192 (XII). An annex was attached to show how the Chairmen and Vice-Presidents would be elected. The only change among the Vice-Presidents was that the number from Asian and African States would be increased from three to seven. The number of Chairmen of Main Committees from African and Asian States would be increased from two to three.

17. The proposed changes were dictated by a sense of justice and responsibility. More than half the

^{2/} The complete text of the statement was subsequently circulated as document A/SPC/95.

Members of the United Nations came from Asia and Africa. They might therefore feel that they should have half the posts in all the main organs of the United Nations. However, bearing in mind that the five permanent members of the Security Council had a special status, they considered that they were being very fair in asking for ten of the twenty-four seats on the proposed enlarged General Committee, with the proviso that when a representative of one of the African and Asian States was elected as President of the General Assembly, the number of Vice-Presidents would be reduced to six. He hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted soon, so that the Committee would have accepted principles on which to work in discussing the more complicated question of increases in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

18. Mr. MALHOTRA (Nepal) said that draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 had been informally before the various geographical groups for the past week. Document A/5519 had drawn attention to the increase in membership of the United Nations since the adoption of resolution 1192 (XII) in 1957. The new draft did not break new ground, but was in effect a revision of the earlier resolution. The sponsors had gained the impression that the various groups had found its contents quite modest, since only the minimum number of seats due was asked for.

19. Since the proportion of African and Asian States among the Members of the United Nations was actually likely to increase beyond the present 50 per cent, and since further independent States from Africa would soon be admitted, Africa and Asia might reasonably have asked for ten of the existing twenty-one seats on the General Committee. But that idea had been rejected, since it would have meant the re-allocation of seats already occupied by other countries. The sponsors had therefore sought expansion along the lines of resolution 1192 (XII) by the addition of three Vice-Presidents. The number of Chairmen of the Main Committees was fixed, so that re-allocation was the only way out in that case. However, the sponsors had again shown moderation by asking for only one additional chairmanship, although a total of four could have been justified on the grounds that the African and Asian group was a growing one.

20. There might be some feeling that the question should be linked to that of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. However, while the items were related, they were not interdependent. The composition of the General Committee was an old question which had been discussed several times before and was within the competence of the General Assembly. The second question had not before been the subject of a resolution, and would involve revision of the Charter. Draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 had been submitted in advance of the other two draft resolutions which were being prepared because of that difference and also because the Committee had very little time left. He hoped that attention could be concentrated for the moment on the present draft resolution so that the item could be disposed of. The Committee could then devote itself to the two very important items which remained.

21. Mr. QUARM (Ghana) said that the majority of delegations, in their statements in the general debate in the Assembly, had openly expressed themselves in favour of enlarging the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the General Committee.

All delegations unquestionably agreed that Africa and Asia were grossly under-represented in the principal organs, while the Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa in May 1963, had adopted a resolution declaring that Africa, as a geographical region, should have equitable representation in the principal organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies.

22. What was needed was a permanent solution which would correctly reflect the character of the United Nations as it stood today. For that reason the Ghanaian delegation did not favour any half measures, such as a redistribution of existing seats, which would merely entail taking seats away from certain regions, as though the Organization had lost and not gained Members. For that reason, too, his delegation had co-sponsored draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 on the composition of the General Committee. The formula proposed in that draft was the best one that could be devised and had only been submitted after consultation with all the delegations. He therefore urged that it be adopted by the Committee.

23. The delegation of Ghana could see no reason for the view taken by some delegations that the questions of the composition of the General Committee, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council should be considered together and solutions found as part of a package deal. If only one of those questions was resolved, the Organization's interests would be better served. As the representative of the Sudan had pointed out (420th meeting), the question was not one of interregional rivalry, but of upholding the Charter and the principle of equitable and balanced geographical distribution in order to ensure that the membership of the Organization was reflected properly in its organs. He therefore appealed to delegations not to insist on a package deal, which would deny the African-Asian countries their rightful representation even on the least controversial of the organs under consideration, namely the General Committee.

24. The remarks he had just made applied equally to the expansion of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. The Charter should be amended to permit an expansion of the two bodies. In that connexion it was worth remembering that two more African countries were likely to join the Organization during the current week and that still more could be expected in the near future.

25. The Ghanaian delegation sympathized with the concern expressed by the Soviet Union and other Eastern European States regarding attempts to expand the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council before the People's Republic of China had taken its legitimate seat in the United Nations. Ghana had always maintained that the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations was a mistake which must be corrected. That, however, was a political question, whereas the present issue was solely one of equitable geographical distribution, into which no political consideration should enter. The African and Asian countries were already Members of the United Nations and their presence would lose meaning if they were unable to participate fully in the life of all its organs. He therefore appealed to the Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries and the People's Republic of China to refrain from considering the question of Chinese representation and the expansion of the Councils as

one and inseparable. The United Nations, being a living organism, must always reflect in reality the evolution it had undergone. He therefore hoped that draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 would be adopted unanimously.

26. Mr. VEJAJIVA (Thailand) said that since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1192 (XII), of which Thailand had been one of the original sponsors, a large number of new Members, particularly Asian and African countries, had been admitted to the United Nations. As a result the present composition of the General Committee, as established under that resolution, no longer reflected the principle of equitable geographical distribution and had lost the representative character specified in rule 38 of the rules of procedure. At the same time the General Assembly, in which all Member States were equal and sovereign, had in recent years come to play an increasing part in the preservation of world peace and prosperity, and it was therefore all the more important that all regions of the world should be able to express their views equitably in the General Committee.

27. It was for those reasons that his delegation had co-sponsored draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 which, by providing for an increase in the number of Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and a redistribution of the chairmanships of the seven Main Committees in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution, would improve the representative character of the General Committee and contribute to the smooth working of the General Assembly. His delegation therefore hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.

28. Mr. GASPARINI (Italy) said that his delegation would reserve the right to speak on the substance of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 at a later stage. When it did so it would consider the text in the same spirit which had prompted it repeatedly to call for the enlargement of certain organs of the United Nations in order to ensure more equitable representation for the African and Asian countries. The draft resolution in question, however, dealt with only one aspect of a larger problem and it was evident that the legitimate aspirations of the various groups concerned would be achieved more satisfactorily through a comprehensive solution than through a piecemeal approach. Moreover, two draft resolutions were about to be submitted with reference to the enlargement of the Councils. It was therefore to be hoped that the African and Asian delegations would not insist on a separate discussion of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 and would heed that appeal in the spirit of harmonious co-operation which had been the hallmark of the Assembly's eighteenth session.

29. Mr. CORREA DA COSTA (Brazil) first of all expressed the deep regret of his delegation at the death of President Kennedy, which was a tragic loss for the entire world. No other statesman had in such a short time won so much respect, affection and confidence as had the late President in his three years in office. He would be remembered as one of the towering figures of the century. Recalling that his delegation had twice proposed on behalf of the Latin American group that a discussion of items 81 and 82 should be delayed in the hope that talks between the geographical groups concerned would make it possible to reach some kind of agreement, he said that the Latin American group had constantly stressed the need for a global approach to the three problems at

issue. The fact that the enlargement of the Councils would call for an amendment to the Charter whereas an enlargement of the General Committee would require only a change in the rules of procedure did not in itself justify separating the problems, since the essential purpose was the same in all three cases; to ensure adequate representation to all geographical groups. The matter was urgent and it would be regrettable if a decision was not taken at the current session. Those considerations had prompted the Latin American group, together with certain European delegations, to submit two draft resolutions which were identical with the texts circulated informally about three weeks earlier. An annex such as that attached to draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 might be added later. The sponsors hoped that with the widening of the field of discussion permitted by the circulation of those texts it would be possible to find a common meeting-ground. They felt that matters of such importance to all Members should not be decided simply by weight of votes, for such a practice would be unhealthy and perhaps damaging to the future of the Organization.

30. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America) thanked the Brazilian representative for his tribute to the memory of President Kennedy.

31. Mr. TINE (France) said that in the view of his delegation the Nepalese representative's suggestion that because it did not call for Charter revision the enlargement of the General Committee should be discussed separately from that of the enlargement of the Councils was contrary to the decision taken by the Committee to deal with those problems jointly. He fully endorsed the views first expressed by the Italian and Brazilian delegations that the enlargement of the three organs concerned should be dealt with as one issue, for that was the only way in which unanimity could be achieved.

32. Mr. CHAPDELAIN (Canada) noted that in the annex to draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 countries like his own were grouped under the heading "other States" and the reference to the Commonwealth which had been made in paragraph 3 of the annex to resolution 1192 (XII) was entirely omitted. Thus the text failed to take into account the fact that, even with the exclusion of the United Kingdom, which was adequately represented by virtue of its permanent membership in the Security Council, the Commonwealth had made and was making an important contribution to the United Nations. For example, the contribution to the general budget made by members of the Commonwealth other than the United Kingdom amounted to more than 8 per cent of the total and their contribution to the programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees amounted to 15 per cent. As a result of the increased emphasis in recent years on geographical distribution, almost to the exclusion of every other criterion, there had been a tendency to lose sight of the concept of the Commonwealth as a group within the United Nations. His delegation could not accept that situation. In its opinion, the Commonwealth embodied geographical and functional concepts in a way which made it particularly viable as a group. Its membership had increased from six in 1946 to sixteen and its ranks would in all probability soon be swelled by the accession of two new members. His delegation would be firmly opposed to any suggestion which failed to give full consideration to the Commonwealth and its contribution to the United Nations. It would be ironic to fail to grant recognition

to such a group, for it had devoted itself to international co-operation as a goal transcending regional and racial considerations, in accordance with the fundamental purposes of the Organization. He recalled in that connexion the statement made by the Prime Minister of Canada at the 1208th plenary meeting of the General Assembly earlier in the session that United Nations machinery and organization should adequately reflect the present membership without giving undue weight to any single factor, whether military or industrial strength, population, financial contribution, politics, race or geography. If geography was not to be the sole criterion it should be a simple matter to restore in the text of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 the substance of paragraph 3 of the annex to resolution 1192 (XII), for it was scarcely conceivable that in a committee of twenty-four members, or even twenty-one, there should not be a single member representing the Commonwealth. He therefore proposed the addition to the annex to draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 of a fourth paragraph to the effect that at least one of the Vice-Presidents of the groups mentioned in sub-paragraphs (a), (b), (c) and (d) of paragraph 1, or the President or one of the Chairmen of the Main Committees chosen from among the groups mentioned in paragraph 3 (a), (c), (d) and (e) should be from a Commonwealth country without altering the geographical distribution of seats in the General Committee as defined in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the annex to the draft resolution.

33. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) endorsed the remarks of the representatives of the United Arab Republic and Nepal that the increase in the membership of the General Committee proposed in draft resolution A/SPC/L.101, which Mali had co-sponsored, was justified by the increase in the membership of the United Nations. As to the distribution of seats on that Committee, the sponsors of the draft resolution had taken into account the numerical value of the political and geographical groupings within the Organization and had shown considerable objectivity regarding the redistribution of the posts of Chairmen of the Main Committees.

34. It had been suggested that the question of the composition of the General Committee should be settled simultaneously with that of the expansion of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. It had to be remembered, however, that those questions required settlement by different procedures. The question of the General Committee could be disposed of through a simple act of the General Assembly, whereas changes in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council required an amendment to the Charter and ratification by the Members of the Assembly and, in particular, by the permanent members of the Security Council. While his delegation would be glad to see all those questions examined and settled together, it felt that the modification to the composition of the General Committee need not await agreement on the other items. Indeed, adoption of the draft resolution now before the Committee would assist rather than hinder the effort being made to secure an expansion of the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. He therefore hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.

35. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic), clarifying his earlier statement, said that the fact that draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 referred only to the composition of the General Committee did not mean

that the sponsors wished to neglect the other two issues. On the contrary, they wished to dispose of that first item so as to pass on to the others. At the same time it had to be remembered that the composition of the General Committee could be changed through a mere modification to the rules of procedure, which could be done by the adoption of a suitable resolution by the General Assembly, whereas the question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council involved an amendment to Article 108 of the Charter, and that called for entirely different legal procedures. In fact, the Committee could do nothing to change the composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council; it could only take the first step by adopting the necessary resolution—and the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 intended to introduce such a resolution—which would then have to be ratified by all Member States, including the five permanent members of the Security Council.

36. While the African-Asian countries felt that they were entitled to half, or more than half, of the seats on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council in order to reflect their numbers in the General Assembly, they were also aware of the realities of the political world and were only trying to obtain half the number of seats minus the five occupied by the permanent members of the Security Council. That, in his view, was the only connexion between the first item under discussion and the following two items on the agenda. He therefore hoped that the Committee would adopt draft resolution A/SPC/L.101.

37. Mr. MALHOTRA (Nepal) expressed agreement with the representative of the United Arab Republic. The sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 would have liked to submit two other draft resolutions dealing with the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council at the same time; but owing to lack of time that had not been possible. However, there seemed no reason why delegations should refrain from commenting on the substance of draft resolution A/SPC/L.101 merely because the other two drafts had not yet been submitted.

38. Mr. MISHRA (India) observed that although the three issues to which the representatives of Italy, Brazil and France had referred were interrelated they were not inseparable. There was a closer connexion between the expansion of the Economic and Social Council and that of the Security Council than there was between the question of expanding those two and the question of expanding the General Committee. That was indicated by the fact that the expansion of the two Councils was the subject of a single agenda item. The distinction was also pointed up by the fact that whereas two draft resolutions with respect to agenda item 82 had been circulated informally during the past three weeks there had been no such informal draft resolution with respect to item 81. To delay consideration of the draft resolution on the General Committee would be to waste more of what little time was left and might result in the postponement of a solution of all three issues at least until the nineteenth session. There was no question of delaying the submission of the other two draft resolutions; he was simply appealing to those representatives who wished to consider the three draft resolutions as a single package not to insist but to allow the Committee to proceed at once with the draft resolution already before it.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.