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President: Mr. Lester B. PEARSON (Canada).

**Draft convention on the political rights of women:
report of the Third Committee (A/2334) (con-
cluded)**

[Agenda item 61]

1. The PRESIDENT: We shall continue our explanations of votes on this item with the seven-minute time-limit.

2. Mr. BIRECKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): The Polish delegation considers that the conclusion of a convention on the political rights of women might represent a step in the direction of improving the status of women throughout the world. The effect of such a convention might be to increase the participation of women in the political life of their countries, but only if it does not remain a mere declaration on which no action is taken, and only if it is accompanied by two essential conditions.

3. First, it should recommend that the signatory States assume specific obligations to ensure that women enjoy political rights in practice. We are only too well aware that in many capitalist countries, and even in highly developed countries, women do not exercise political rights, although these are sometimes recognized in writing. True exercise of political rights can be guaranteed only if the State ensures that women enjoy the economic, social and cultural status corresponding to their political rights. My delegation explained its views on this matter in detail in the Commission on the Status of Women and in the Economic and Social Council. During the discussions in the Third Committee, we cited the example of Poland where, before the war, women did not really exercise political rights and where they now participate in large numbers in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the country.

4. Secondly, if a convention is really to guarantee the political rights of women and thus serve the cause of progress, it must apply to all women and not just a handful of the privileged. This means that the convention cannot exclude any woman, whatever the colour of her skin, be it red, yellow or white, whether she belongs to a national majority or minority, whether she is rich or poor. It means that such a convention should apply to all countries, be they independent, dependent or Trust Territories. We know that it is in the dependent territories that the position of women is worst and that it is precisely there that they are deprived of fundamental human rights. Hence, it is there that the convention is most necessary. Accordingly, the adoption by the Third Committee of the amendment excluding women of dependent or Trust Territories from the scope of the convention is unjust and harmful.

5. Nor can my delegation accept the strange argument, which some representatives have adduced here this morning, that discrimination against men justifies discrimination against women.

6. The Polish delegation stated briefly the principles on which the convention must be based if the political rights of women are to be exercised effectively. These principles form the substance of the amendments [A/L.137] submitted by the USSR delegation, and my delegation whole-heartedly supports those amendments,

as it has done at every stage in the discussion on the draft convention.

7. The draft convention approved by the Third Committee is a mere declaration of no practical consequence, which is why my delegation abstained from voting on it in the Third Committee. We shall vote for it if the USSR amendments, which give real value to the principles set forth in the convention, are adopted.

8. Mrs. AFNAN (Iraq): My delegation welcomes the draft convention on the political rights of women as a successful effort to formulate a legal instrument based on a principle of the Charter. In this draft convention the United Nations has reaffirmed its faith in a concrete manner in the equal rights of men and women. We are certain that this will reaffirm the faith which the world has placed in the United Nations. The draft convention is one example of the quality of world leadership which this Organization can achieve through collective action. Here, without bloodshed and without conflict, equality is recognized in respect of the political rights of half the population of the world.

9. My delegation believes that political rights, however important, remain of little value unless they are accompanied by social, cultural and economic rights. We look forward with impatience and great faith to the covenant on human rights, in which we hope to see definite and precise articles recognizing women's equality in all the fundamental human rights.

10. My delegation deeply regrets that the Third Committee approved, by a slight majority, article VIII. This article, in the opinion of my delegation, is opposed to the purposes and spirit of the Charter. This article discriminates against a category of people on the basis of their political status. As non-self-governing people, millions of human beings are denied the benefits of this convention, for the administering Power alone will decide at its own discretion to which people the convention will be applicable.

11. The administrative reasons advanced by the colonial Powers do not satisfy my delegation. We do not minimize their importance, but we cannot overlook the fact that these same administering Powers can declare war in the name of all the people they administer. They can and do influence every aspect of their lives by legislating on a matter such as to whom they may sell and from whom they may buy. On the other hand, we appreciate the practical difficulties faced by the administering Powers, as these difficulties are very much like those faced by all under-developed countries. We are not asking, nor shall we ask of them any more than we ask of ourselves.

12. In the League of Nations conventions, some such article was always included. The Charter, in the name of "the peoples of the United Nations", has determined the universality of its principles. Various resolutions of the General Assembly have declared that the old colonial claims are incompatible with the spirit of the Charter, and have replaced the colonial clause by an article stipulating that the provisions of a given convention should be made applicable to all Non-Self-Governing Territories, Trust Territories or colonial territories under the administration of a signatory State. In the Third Committee the delegations of Afghanistan, Yugoslavia and Iraq proposed that same article, which

is already included in various United Nations conventions.

13. Article VIII, which has been proposed as a compromise, in fact compromises a principle. It takes us back to where unilateral agreements were concerned only with the interests of States. According to the Charter, the human person is a party to our obligations as States. Can we maintain intact the integrity of the Charter while we compromise the interests of the human person for political expediency or practical reasons? It is proposed here that we should compromise to the extent of defining a State. All Non-Self-Governing Territories are considered as Trust Territories or colonial territories. However, legal opinion has stated that all are included in the term "international responsibility".

14. We shall have other conventions on other rights—the right of the human person to health, the right of the human person to receive an education and the right of the human person to enjoy a good standard of living. Are we going to create such a wide precedent?

15. My delegation respectfully suggests that these are very serious considerations which necessitate grave decisions, and that a two-thirds majority on article VIII is absolutely necessary.

16. We shall vote in favour of the phrase "without any discrimination" and also in favour of the USSR amendment [A/L.137] defining types of discrimination. While providing for equality of political rights of women with men, we must make sure that all women shall equally, without discrimination, enjoy and exercise these rights. The argument that all women are women and can therefore not be discriminated against does not satisfy my delegation, for all men are also men and, because discrimination may unfortunately arise, the Charter stipulates that there must be no discrimination.

17. Mr. JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): During the discussion in the Third Committee, I had the honour to explain the considerations which influenced my delegation's votes for or against or abstentions from voting on the draft convention on the political rights of women and the various amendments to it. Accordingly, I need not restate them on this occasion. I should only like to say that my delegation's attitude will be governed by the same principles when the documents before us now are put to the vote.

18. With regard to the draft convention as a whole, as I had the honour to state before in the Third Committee, my delegation will vote *ad referendum*, because that instrument contains some clauses with which my delegation does not agree, and also because it contains very important principles.

19. This will not, of course, in any way influence the resolve announced by the President of the United States of Mexico to grant full political rights to women, in addition to facilities for supplementing their technical and professional training, as well as other types of education.

20. In conclusion, I should like to associate myself with the clear and concise views expressed here this

morning [408th meeting] by the representative of the Dominican Republic on the legislative provisions enacted in Libya and on article 20 of the Constitution of Eritrea, which deprive women of political rights in both those countries. My delegation, like that of the Dominican Republic, hopes that these provisions will be amended in the near future.

21. Mr. HSIA (China): In normal circumstances, when dealing with an instrument of this importance, my delegation would have insisted upon having a correct Chinese text accompanying the draft convention. However, in view of the record ending of this part of the session, my delegation will vote for the draft convention on the understanding that, before the convention is opened for signature, we shall have an opportunity of carefully examining the Chinese text. This is one of the reasons why my delegation has decided to support the amendment proposed by France and Greece [A/L.140] which, in our view, will give the governments concerned more time to study the text of the convention.

22. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to take a decision in regard to the draft resolution, the draft convention attached to it and the amendments to both. We shall deal first with the amendments.

23. There is only one amendment to the draft resolution as such, and that is amendment 1 proposed by the delegations of France and Greece (A/L.140). We shall vote on that amendment first.

24. Mrs. AFNAN (Iraq): I should like the President to rule on whether, under rule 84 of the rules of procedure, a two-thirds majority is required in this matter.

25. The PRESIDENT: In reply to the request that has just been made, I would rule that this draft resolution and the draft convention attached to it constitute a question of importance under rule 84 of the rules of procedure and therefore require a two-thirds majority. If there is no objection, they will be considered as such.

26. The amendment to be voted on first is amendment 1 proposed by the delegations of France and Greece [A/L.140].

The result of the vote was 36 in favour, 1 against, and 12 abstentions.

The amendment was adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority.

27. The PRESIDENT: Several amendments have been submitted to the draft convention attached to the draft resolution. I shall deal with these amendments as they come in relation to the articles of the draft convention.

28. The Assembly will vote first on amendment 1 submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union (A/L.137), relating to article I of the draft convention.

The result of the vote was 6 in favour, 27 against, and 15 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected.

29. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on amendment 2 submitted by the delegations of France and Greece (A/L.140). A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Iceland, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Against: Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Nicaragua, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Bolivia, Brazil, India, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Venezuela.

The result of the vote was 23 in favour, 24 against, and 8 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

30. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on the first part of amendment 2 submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union (A/L.137), relating to article II.

The result of the vote was 7 in favour, 31 against, and 16 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected.

31. The PRESIDENT: The second part of amendment 2, which also relates to article II, comprises two amendments. A separate vote has been asked in respect of each of these amendments.

32. The first vote will be on the insertion of the words "State and public" before the word "bodies" in article II of the draft convention.

The result of the vote was 5 in favour, 26 against, and 20 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected.

33. The PRESIDENT: The next vote will be on the insertion of the words "both central and local" after the word "bodies" in article II of the draft convention.

The result of the vote was 6 in favour, 26 against and 16 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected.

34. The PRESIDENT: Two amendments have been moved to article III of the draft convention.

35. We shall vote first on amendment 5 submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/L.137].

The result of the vote was 7 in favour, 31 against, and 16 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected.

36. The PRESIDENT: We shall vote next on the amendment submitted by the delegation of Indonesia [A/L.138]. It proposes the addition, at the end of article III, of the words "without any discrimination". A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China.

Against: Mexico, Paraguay.

Abstaining: Ecuador, Greece, Iceland, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Peru, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Australia, Belgium, Brazil.

The result of the vote was 38 in favour, 2 against, and 16 abstentions.

The amendment was adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority.

37. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the other amendments to the articles of the draft convention proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union (A/L.137).

38. We shall now vote on amendment 4, proposing two new articles IV and V.

The result of the vote was 8 in favour, 29 against, and 14 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected.

39. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on amendment 5 submitted by the Soviet Union (A/L.137), relating to article X.

The result of the vote was 7 in favour, 35 against, and 11 abstentions.

The amendment was rejected.

40. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on article VIII of the draft convention (A/2334). A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Israel, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden.

Against: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Mexico, Philippines.

The result of the vote was 32 in favour, 18 against, and 7 abstentions.

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

41. The PRESIDENT: A separate vote has also been requested on article VII. I therefore put that article to the vote.

The result of the vote was 35 in favour, 2 against, and 14 abstentions.

The article was adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority.

42. Mr. BARTOS (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): As article VIII of the draft convention has not been adopted, article XI, which contains a reference to article VIII, should be amended.

43. The PRESIDENT: It is to be assumed that as a result of the deletion of article VIII, amendments will have to be made to the draft convention wherever article VIII is mentioned.

44. I now put to the vote the draft resolution and annexed draft convention, as a whole and as amended. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Poland, Saudi Arabia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Afghanistan, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, Iran.

The result of the vote was 46 in favour, none against, and 11 abstentions.

The draft resolution and annexed draft convention, as a whole and as amended, were adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority.

45. Mrs. SPERANSKAYA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Six years have elapsed since the General Assembly at its first session, on 11 December 1946, noted that the principle of equal rights of men and women, laid down in the Preamble and in Article 1 of the Charter, was not observed by some Member States of the United Nations and recommended that all Member States should grant to women the same political rights as to men [*resolution 56 (I)*]. As we know, however, in many Member States of the United Nations women still have no political rights at all. It is obvious that even

the recommendations of an organ like the General Assembly of the United Nations are not enough to ensure for women equal rights with men. Commitments by States are required.

46. The draft convention on the political rights of women, which was discussed in the General Assembly today, was supposed to achieve that end. The draft just adopted, however, will not serve its purpose, because of serious shortcomings.

47. The first shortcoming is that it does not provide that contracting States must assume the obligation of taking all necessary measures, including legislative measures, to ensure for all women a genuine possibility of exercising the political rights provided for in the articles of the convention. Without an article to this effect, the convention is a mere declaration, having no binding force whatever. Legislative measures are essential because, as the experience of many countries has shown, even where the political equality of men and women has been formally proclaimed, women in fact remain without rights or with only partial rights because of discriminatory laws and practices in those countries. Thus, in the country in which this seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly is being held—the United States—such laws still exist. These laws prohibit women from holding certain governmental offices and from serving on juries, and limit their civil and economic rights. In the United Kingdom, too, there are property, educational and other restrictive qualifications which apply to elections to the central organs of government. The list of countries which have such laws could be continued. A convention which does not make it mandatory upon the States which accede to it to take all necessary measures, including legislative measures, to ensure for women a possibility of exercising the rights laid down in the articles of the convention will in no way alter the position of women in those countries.

48. The second major shortcoming is that the articles of the convention on the political rights of women do not provide for a clear commitment on the part of governments that these rights will be granted to women, without any discrimination on grounds of race, colour, national or social origin, property status, language or religion. The fact that the convention does not contain an enumeration of forms of discrimination enables those in whose interest it is to discriminate against women—something which can be highly profitable, according to the statements of trade union leaders in the United States, for example—to circumvent and disregard the convention.

49. The third important shortcoming of the convention is that it does not contain any obligation on the part of States to extend the provisions of the convention to all the territories under their jurisdiction, including Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, with the least possible delay. Because of the absence of such an article, the whole convention is of doubtful value, since in most colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories women are deprived of even the most elementary political, economic and social rights. The metropolitan countries, in an endeavour to maintain the existing state of affairs in the colonies where women are deprived of rights, deliberately set obstacles in the way of women's cultural and political development. It is

made difficult for women to find work; girls are dismissed when they marry; and the shameful practice of parents selling their children into slavery still exists.

50. The vote on the relevant USSR amendment showed that the States responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories have no intention of extending the application of the convention on the political rights of women to those Territories, although it is precisely there, where women have no rights at all, that such a convention would do the most good.

51. The delegation of the Soviet Union endeavoured to improve the draft convention on the political rights of women by submitting amendments which would eliminate the shortcomings I have listed. Unfortunately, those amendments were rejected. The colonial Powers bear the primary responsibility for the rejection of these additions, which were in full conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and corresponded entirely to the interests of many women who are still deprived of their legitimate and inalienable rights.

52. That is why the USSR delegation, while voting for the principles enunciated in the preamble of the convention and for certain of its clauses, abstained in the vote on the draft convention as a whole.

53. Mr. BARTOS (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): The Yugoslav delegation voted in favour of the draft convention as a whole, although it voted against the article dealing with reservations. We voted for this convention, not only because in my country there is no distinction in law between men and women and because efforts are being made to wipe out all traces of the past in this respect, but also because we feel that, in spite of the provision for reservations, of which we for our part will never make use, the convention does represent a step forward. It is very important that the international community should have established the principle of non-discrimination between the sexes and should have done so in law, making its observance mandatory on the States parties to the convention. We are convinced that this constitutes progress; none of the great changes of which history tells us was achieved overnight. We are confident that the United Nations will continue the struggle for the equality of the sexes, and we are happy to have taken part in the adoption of a measure which, though but a first step, is a decisive one.

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly: (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions; (b) Committee on Contributions; (c) Board of Auditors; (d) Investments Committee, confirmation of the appointment made by the Secretary-General; (e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal; (f) United Nations Staff Pension Committee: reports of the Fifth Committee (A/2314, A/2315, A/2315/Add.1, A/2316, A/2317, A/2318 and A/2319)

[Agenda item 44]

The draft resolutions contained in the reports of the Fifth Committee were adopted without discussion.

Co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Administrative and budgetary co-ordination: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2324)

[Agenda item 26(a)]

The draft resolutions contained in the report of the Fifth Committee were adopted without discussion.

Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies of technical assistance funds allocated from the Special Account: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2321)

[Agenda item 40]

The draft resolution contained in the report of the Fifth Committee was adopted without discussion.

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters IV and V (except section II)): report of the Third Committee (A/2333 and Corr.1)

[Agenda item 11]

54. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolutions A and B contained in the report.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 49 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 38 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters I, V (section II), VI (sections II and III), VII, VIII and IX)

[Agenda item 11]

55. The PRESIDENT: It will be recalled that the General Assembly decided earlier [382nd meeting] to consider certain parts of this report in plenary meeting without reference to a committee. Those parts were chapter I; chapter V, section II; chapter VI, sections II and III; chapters VII, VIII and IX. Those parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council are now open for discussion.

56. Since no delegation wishes to speak on the report, and as no draft resolutions have been submitted in respect of these sections of the report, I suggest that we only need to take note of these parts of the report and proceed to the next item on our agenda.

It was so decided.

Co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Programme of conferences at Headquarters and Geneva: reports of the Special Committee on Programme of Conferences (A/2323) and the Fifth Committee

[Agenda item 26 (b)]

Mr. Brennan (Australia), Chairman of the Special Committee on Programme of Conferences and Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of the Special Committee (A/2323), and then spoke as follows:

57. Mr. BRENNAN (Australia), Chairman of the Special Committee and Rapporteur of the Fifth Com-

mittee: It will be found in the draft resolution that the Committee suggests that the General Assembly, in the resolution it adopts, might lay it down as a general rule that no other meetings of United Nations bodies should be held in Geneva during the summer session of the Economic and Social Council. This expression "United Nations bodies" of course refers to those organs which require some substantial measure of servicing. It does not refer to bodies which are administrative in character, such as the Administering Tribunal, which do not require a heavy load of conference servicing.

58. The Committee has asked me to put before the General Assembly the fact that its proposals, which are embodied in the draft resolution contained in its report, should be looked at as a pattern. The draft resolution, when finally approved, attracted considerable support, although it probably does not reflect exactly the views of a number of delegations. It was a compromise proposal that was worked out after consideration, discussion and exchange of views, and the Special Committee would be glad if the General Assembly would look upon it in that light.

59. As Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, I should now like to present to this Assembly the report of the Fifth Committee, in accordance with rule 152 of the rules of procedure, on the financial implications of the draft resolution of the Special Committee.

60. The matter was raised in the Fifth Committee this morning, and verbal statements were made by the representative of the Secretary-General and by the Chairman of the Advisory Committee. It was pointed out that since this conference pattern, if it were adopted by the Assembly, would not commence until the year 1954, its adoption could have no effect on the budget for the year 1953. It would, however, have an effect on the budgets for 1954 and succeeding years.

61. The Secretary-General was not in a position, in the short time at his disposal, to work out precise details concerning the financial implications, but drew attention to the fact that some of the elements in the conference pattern were in a sense reflected in the budget for 1953, since the Economic and Social Council will hold its summer session in Geneva in 1953, the International Law Commission will hold a session in Geneva in 1953, and the Commission on Human Rights will also hold a session in Geneva in 1953. The Secretary-General suggested that the financial implications would probably not exceed \$223,000 a year.

62. The Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions pointed out in a verbal statement that the fact that the pattern of conferences which the Special Committee was recommending would not come into effect until 1954 did not diminish the importance of the financial implications of what was recommended to the General Assembly. At a rough estimate, the Advisory Committee considered that an annual additional expenditure of some \$200,000 would be involved.

63. In the event of the adoption of the proposed draft resolution, the Advisory Committee, in the exercise of its normal budgetary functions, would give careful consideration to the relevant 1954 estimates, taking account both of the views expressed by the Special

Committee and of its own findings as a result of a study of the facilities of the Geneva Office, which the Fifth Committee had asked the Advisory Committee to undertake.

64. The Chairman of the Advisory Committee drew attention to paragraph 9 of the report of the Special Committee [A/2323] in which that Committee stated its belief that "it had not the time, the facilities or the authority to examine the precise budgetary implications of specific proposals" which it was putting before the Assembly. The same paragraph also drew attention to a suggestion which was made "that any proposals brought forward by the Committee should be considered by the Advisory Committee . . . in conjunction with the survey which that Committee proposes to make next year as to the utilization of services and facilities in Geneva".

65. The Chairman of the Advisory Committee also suggested that the attention of the Assembly might be invited to paragraph 8 of the Special Committee's report, which states that the Special Committee's decisions are "based on the assumption" that there will be no change in the present date of the sessions of the General Assembly.

66. M. AHSON (Pakistan): I wish to make a very brief statement with regard to the report of the Special Committee on Programme of Conferences (A/2323) and the draft resolution which that Committee has recommended to the General Assembly for adoption.

67. My delegation wishes to make it clear that we are lending our support to the recommendation of the Special Committee in a spirit of compromise. Our own stand has generally been in favour of holding the meetings of Headquarters-based bodies at Headquarters and of all Geneva-based bodies in Geneva. As long as we did not have the present permanent home of the United Nations, we were forced occasionally to agree to meet in Europe and elsewhere. But now that the United Nations has a permanent home here, we feel that we owe it to ourselves to stick to an arrangement which is most economical, most convenient and most efficient. In other words, we regard it as imperative that unnecessary and constant expenditure on travel and the consequent loss of efficiency arising from repeated moves of substantive and technical staffs between New York and Geneva should be held to the barest minimum.

68. I think that this is a principle with which no one can find fault. The Special Committee on Programme of Conferences has done well to base its long-term pattern of conferences on this fundamental principle and to have treated any departures therefrom as so many exceptions, each of which has to be justified on special grounds.

69. Under the pattern of conferences now suggested by the Special Committee, the Geneva Office will be kept fairly busy practically all the year round. In deference to the wishes of European countries, we have agreed that the summer session of the Economic and Social Council will be held in Geneva each year. Since a session of the Economic and Social Council represents an enormous work-load which would tax the Geneva facilities to the limit, it is natural to stipulate that no other meeting of a United Nations body should be held simultaneously with the Economic and Social Council session.

70. The provision of a five-week period from mid-March to the end of April for sessions of a functional commission or commissions would leave it to the Economic and Social Council to decide which functional commission should meet in Geneva in a certain year. The Special Committee expressed its own preference in favour of holding the session of a single functional commission in any year. Nevertheless, it has been recognized that the Council may wish two functional commissions to meet in a particular year. In the latter case, however, the total period available for a session would still not exceed five weeks, and there should be no overlap, in our opinion.

71. The International Law Commission has heretofore met in Geneva in a somewhat leisurely fashion. The programme of conferences was such that lengthy sessions of this Commission could not be held in Geneva without overlapping with the Economic and Social Council. And since an overlap with the Economic and Social Council would have had calamitous results, the Special Committee came to the conclusion that if the International Law Commission still desired to meet in Geneva, it could do so provided its sessions did not exceed six weeks.

72. This is the outline of the pattern recommended by the Special Committee by a vote of 9 in favour and 2 against, as has been reported by the Rapporteur. This represents the maximum measure of agreement in the Committee. Other proposals have not had anything like the same backing in that Committee.

73. As I have said, our own initial stand did not go as far as this, and we had suggested a much smaller number of meetings for Geneva. In backing the recommendations of the Special Committee, we wish it to be known that any departure from the pattern which would increase the work-load at Geneva by cutting down the number of meetings at Headquarters would be unacceptable to us, and we should be forced to vote against it.

74. We very much hope that this pattern will be adhered to and that all organs of the United Nations will see their way clear to arrange their meetings accordingly. In particular, we hope that the Trusteeship Council will continue to hold all its sessions at Headquarters. That Council has never shown any pronounced preference for meetings away from Headquarters, and it would be undesirable to provide for Geneva meetings of that Council in a long-term pattern of conferences. Undoubtedly this first pattern will have an experimental element, and we should have preferred it to be for a shorter period on that account. However, we shall not press our own views on the Assembly, and shall instead watch with interest the results during the next few years.

75. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution (A/2323).

The draft resolution was adopted by 45 votes to 2, with 5 abstentions.

76. Mrs. SAMPSON (United States of America): My delegation supported the resolution just adopted because it seemed to represent the solution which came closest to bringing together a number of widely differing opinions and judgments. The Special Committee deserves our appreciation for the long hours of negotiation

devoted to this task, and the compromise agreement which it succeeded in reaching. I am certain that I reflect the feelings of many others when I state that my delegation regrets the fact that more time was not given so that this report could get the attention it deserves.

77. The many considerations involved in this report require careful examination by all Member States. This is particularly true when one recalls two other decisions taken in the course of this session of the General Assembly, decisions which are definitely related to the question of the programme of conferences at Headquarters and Geneva. I refer to the question of fixing a date in the spring for sessions of the General Assembly [406th meeting] and to the instructions given by the Fifth Committee [353rd meeting] to the Advisory Committee to study and report upon the use of Geneva facilities and the maximum staff requirements of the United Nations at that location. Each of these matters has a bearing on others, and care should be exercised in order that these separate decisions are implemented with the whole in mind.

78. My delegation assumes, therefore, that our decision on the matter of the programme of conferences is without prejudice to the consideration of a spring session of the Assembly or to the scheduled study of the Advisory Committee in Geneva. We gave our support to the draft resolution proposed by the Special Committee with this assumption in mind.

79. Mr. GARCIA (Philippines): In explaining our negative vote on the draft resolution, my delegation wishes to take this occasion to felicitate the Special Committee for the clear and concise report which it has presented to us. But while we in the Philippine delegation compliment the members of the Committee on their labours, we cannot compliment them on what they have recommended.

80. Our traditional policy is clear. My delegation is opposed to the principle that Headquarters-based bodies of the United Nations should meet elsewhere, unless special circumstances are present which may make such a course desirable. This is specially true of the Economic and Social Council. Allow me to restate these reasons very briefly.

81. We consider that sessions of the Council in Geneva involve financial expenditures that can very well be put to better use. This expenditure arises not only because of the movement of staff, but also because of the hidden cost involved for delegations, which must spend thousands of dollars every year as a result of the approval of the resolution.

82. We believe, furthermore, that the construction of this headquarters building at a huge cost, with a special chamber for the Economic and Social Council, is a powerful argument in favour of meeting at Headquarters as frequently as possible.

83. My delegation is informed, as was stated by a representative of the Secretary-General at the meeting of the Fifth Committee this morning, that a summer session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva every year would entail an expenditure of \$200,000 from the annual budget. Multiply this by four, if the conference pattern is approved, as we have approved it, and we have the over-all figure of \$800,000, which is about equal to a respectable technical assistance

programme in a good sized under-developed country. At a time when the humanitarian programmes on behalf of under-developed countries need every cent that can be spared, it is unwise to commit the General Assembly in advance to an appropriation equivalent to this amount. In the opinion of my delegation, this action does not comport with our responsibility towards the small under-developed countries, which require every assistance they can secure from the United Nations.

84. We consider as unacceptable the argument that the Economic and Social Council should meet in Geneva in the summer of every year because of the close relationship between the Council and the specialized agencies. In the past, sessions of the Council in New York were attended by representatives of these specialized agencies. Allow me to point out, furthermore, that the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization have offices right here in New York. This arrangement has worked out well in the past, and there is no reason to believe that it has been an obstacle to the work of the Council.

85. We note also, with regret, that the conference pattern in the resolution fails to take account of the sessions of the Trusteeship Council. It is for this reason that we consider the resolution deficient.

86. From the point of view of atmosphere, which is invariably mentioned during debates on this question, I should say that some, if not most, of the constructive achievements of the Council were conceived and born right here in New York. If the Council has the will to achieve its objectives under the Charter, it certainly does not need the hospitable temper of Geneva to be able to accomplish whatever it is trying to do.

87. To say this is not to bar forever, as it were, the possibility of meeting in Geneva. We consider, however, that the resolution as it stands, and as adopted, closes the door for four years to a summer session of the Council in an under-developed country. We have had the precedent of a session in Santiago, Chile, which was most useful and which has been repeatedly commended by representatives because it brought the Council closer to an appreciation of the situation of under-developed countries.

88. Permit me to make it clear that the term of office of the Philippines on the Council expires on 31 December 1953. As the recommended pattern of conferences will take effect in 1954, it will not directly affect our own representation. At the same time, however, the Philippines is one of the Members of the United Nations paying its annual assessment to the regular budget, and it is in this light that we wish to record our views.

Question of an appeal to the Powers signatories to the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943, for an early fulfilment of their pledges towards Austria: report of the First Committee (A/2339)

[Agenda item 63]

89. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution contained in the report of the First Committee (A/2339).

The draft resolution was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 2 abstentions¹.

90. Mr. TYABJI (Pakistan): The stand of the delegation of Pakistan was explained in some detail in the First Committee by our Foreign Minister. Although we whole-heartedly support and shall continue staunchly to uphold the just aspirations of the people of Austria for independence, we have considered it necessary on this occasion to abstain from voting on the resolution as a protest against the inconsistency of some of its present supporters on allied questions embodying similar principles, such as the questions of Morocco and Palestine. We have adopted this stand out of our deep regard and friendship for the people of Austria and in the hope that, should any of the supporters of the present resolution wish in the future to change their avowed attitude, they will be reminded of the protest of Pakistan today.

91. Mr. ARZE QUIROGA (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): Through the United Nations, the world expresses its concern for the fate of Austria, urging the great Powers which were victorious in the Second World War to fulfil the formal undertakings which they entered into to allow the Austrian State to resume its normal activities in the community of nations.

92. Since the dismemberment of that old and solid structure, the Austro-Hungarian Empire—the last remnant of the Holy Roman Empire in Europe—that continent has undergone great changes in its political structure, which unfortunately have not contributed to the strengthening of peace. At the expense of the fragmentation of the nationalities forming the Hapsburg empire, nazi Germany, in 1938, initiated its policy of open aggression because its ambitions were not adequately curbed. Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in turn, at the conclusion of the Second World War, entered the Soviet orbit without any obstacle being placed in their way. A *de facto* status which is vexatious and costly for the Austrian people and contrary to the lofty interests of peace is maintained in Austria by the will of one of the occupying Powers.

93. The world wishes this situation to be brought to an end, and my delegation associates itself with all the hopes expressed during the debate in the First Committee that the Powers responsible for the peace treaty should fulfil the terms of the Moscow Declaration and enable Austria to make its important contribution to European politics. This is an essential and indispensable step to rectify an unjustifiable situation.

94. It was in that spirit that Bolivia supported the draft resolution submitted by Brazil, Lebanon, Mexico and the Netherlands in the First Committee; and today confirms its view that the system of collective security shows its defects only when there are situations where States which, like Austria, are important members of the international community, are excluded.

Administrative unions affecting Trust Territories: report of the Fourth Committee (A/2337)
[Agenda item 31]

95. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution on this matter is included in the report. We have decided not

¹ Five delegations, the Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, did not take part in the vote.

to discuss the reports of the Fourth Committee, and observations will therefore be restricted to explanations of vote.

96. Mr. ZARUBIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The USSR delegation wishes to explain its vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee on the item "Administrative unions affecting Trust Territories".

97. Under the pretext of forming so-called administrative unions, the Administering Authorities have effected the unification of seven Trust Territories under their administration with the adjacent colonies. Under the pretext of unification, they have in fact annexed the Trust Territories, setting up there a system of colonial administration subordinate to the administrative organs of the adjacent colonies. In the view of the USSR delegation, such unification of Trust Territories with adjacent colonies and the subordination of the Trust Territories to the administrative organs of the adjacent colonies is illegal and constitutes a violation of the Charter and of the General Assembly resolutions, as well as of the trusteeship agreements.

98. When the International Trusteeship System was set up under Chapters XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter, the primary intention was to ensure the political, economic, social and other advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence. Accordingly, it was in this spirit that Article 76 of the Charter was adopted, stating the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System, one of which is to promote the development of the inhabitants towards self-government or independence.

99. If this objective is to be achieved, it is essential that legislative organs and organs of self-government should be created and brought into operation in the Trust Territories which should be independent of the colonial administration established by the Administering Authorities through a union between Trust Territories and adjacent colonies. The progress of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence must be ensured by creating legislative and executive organs in those Territories.

100. The trusteeship agreements say clearly that administrative unions may be created provided such measures are not incompatible with the objectives of the International Trusteeship System. However, in so far as such unions are conducive to the strengthening of the colonial régime and the colonial administration system in Trust Territories—thus preventing the political advancement of the inhabitants towards self-government or independence—such unions are in direct contradiction with the objectives of the International Trusteeship System.

101. In its resolution 563 (VI) of 18 January 1952, the General Assembly recalled that, at its fourth session, it had "noted that the trusteeship agreements do not authorize any form of political association which would involve annexation of the Trust Territories in any sense, or would have the effect of extinguishing their status as Trust Territories, and affirmed the view that measures of customs, fiscal or administrative union must not in any way hamper the free evolution of each Trust Territory towards self-government or independence". This permits us to conclude that the so-called administrative unions—that is to say, the political

union of Trust Territories with colonies—are illegal and that the action of the Administering Authorities in creating such unions is contrary to the Charter and the trusteeship agreements.

102. It is self-evident that the so-called administrative unions delay the political, economic and social development of the Trust Territories. The policy of the colonial Powers is to preserve the administrative unions, which the Administering Authorities use to camouflage the annexation of the Trust Territories, and is aimed at reinforcing the colonial régime in those Territories. It is hardly necessary to say that such unions were created without any consultation with the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and to the detriment of their interests.

103. The draft resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee on the item "Administrative unions affecting Trust Territories" not only fails to provide for any measures to abolish the illegal practice of subordinating Trust Territories to the administrative organs of adjacent colonies, but opens the way to an extension of this practice. It proposes in effect that the General Assembly should approve the Administering Authorities' policy of annexing Trust Territories and making them subject to the adjacent colonies, in contravention of the Charter, the trusteeship agreements, and the resolutions of the General Assembly. This draft resolution offers no solution to the most important question of the so-called administrative unions, whose existence constitutes a violation of the United Nations Charter and undermines the whole International Trusteeship System. Worse still, it virtually approves the illegal practice of creating the so-called administrative unions. Thus paragraph 5 of the operative part states that the General Assembly "expresses the hope that the Administering Authorities concerned will consult with the Trusteeship Council concerning any change in or extension of existing administrative unions, or of any proposal to establish new administrative unions". Thus this draft resolution, far from condemning the illegal practice of setting up such administrative unions, even allows for the possibility of an extension of the existing administrative unions.

104. In view of the foregoing considerations, the USSR delegation regards the draft resolution in question as unsatisfactory, since it serves to camouflage the Administering Authorities' policy of illegal union of Trust Territories with colonies; it will therefore vote against this draft resolution.

105. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution (A/2337) on administrative unions.

The draft resolution was adopted by 49 votes to 5, with 1 abstention.

106. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): The struggle of the colonial peoples for independence and freedom is one of the most significant factors in today's international situation. In order to meet these aspirations of the colonial peoples for freedom, the United Nations created a system of international trusteeship under its jurisdiction for the administration and control of the territories which fall within the Trusteeship System on the basis of specific agreements. The principal and fundamental objective of the International Trusteeship

System is expressed in Article 76 of the Charter, and particularly in paragraph b: "To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence . . .".

107. The Powers which, on the basis of agreements, have been entrusted with the administration of Trust Territories and which have accepted the duties of implementing the fundamental principles of the trusteeship system, do not exercise their administration in the spirit of the Charter or of its purposes, nor in the spirit of the agreements themselves. The Administering Authorities are joining the Trust Territories under their charge to their own adjacent colonies within the framework of administrative unions. Their purpose in this respect is to chain the Trust Territories—which, according to the Charter, are to advance individually towards self-government or independence—to the neighbouring colonies, and thus to integrate them into the colonial system of the parent States. This signifies that the Administering Authorities are frustrating the individual development of Trust Territories towards self-government or independence, since they intend to annex and are annexing the Trust Territories and incorporating them politically and economically into their own colonial systems. It is evident that the administrative unions are a step backward and that they are incompatible with the interests of the indigenous populations. The procedures of the Administering Authorities are contrary to the Charter and to the principles of the International Trusteeship System embodied in it, since the transformation of the Trust Territories into colonies frustrates their development and constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter.

108. The United Nations, under whose jurisdiction the Trust Territories have been placed and to which the Administering Authorities are responsible for the administration of these territories, is bound to adopt such decisions as will eliminate these interventions of the Administering Authorities and ensure to the Trust Territories the attainment of real self-government or independence.

109. From this point of view, however, the draft resolution approved by the Fourth Committee concerning the administrative unions offers no guarantee that the administrative unions will in future further the advancement of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence, but, on the contrary, gives the Administering Authorities a free hand to continue their violations of the principles of the International Trusteeship System and their policy of transforming Trust Territories into their permanent colonies. For these reasons the Czechoslovak delegation voted in favour of the Soviet Union proposal in the Fourth Committee. The adoption of that proposal would help to eliminate the circumstances of which I have spoken and would also help to accelerate the advancement of the Trust Territories towards independence or self-government.

110. Since the Committee did not accept this solution, but on the contrary—and this in opposition to the principles of the International Trusteeship System—approved and submitted the present draft resolution to the General Assembly, the Czechoslovak delegation

voted against it, as the adoption of such a resolution constitutes a serious infringement of the principles of the Charter.

Cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter in respect of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam: report of the Fourth Committee (A/2331)

[Agenda item 37]

The draft resolution contained in the report was adopted by 55 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

111. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): With the permission of the President, I wish to explain the vote of my delegation on the draft resolution approved by the Fourth Committee (A/2331) on the question of the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter in respect of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles by the Government of the Netherlands.

112. My delegation voted in favour of that draft resolution without prejudice to the question whether the Netherlands Government is still under an obligation to transmit information on Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles under Article 73 e of the Charter. The cessation of the transmission of information to the Secretary-General, in respect of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, prior to any decision of the General Assembly, has therefore been a unilateral decision. It is the considered opinion of my delegation that the transmittal of information under Article 73 e of the Charter could be terminated only with the concurrence of the General Assembly, for such an act, in the final analysis, entails the suspension of a provision of the Charter which cannot and should not be a matter to be decided upon by a Member alone. Since no decision has yet been taken by the General Assembly on the question of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, the Government of the Netherlands is still under the obligation to transmit information to this Organization concerning those territories. This obligation will remain in force until the General Assembly has made a clear decision on the question.

113. In this regard, I should also like to call attention to paragraph 1 of the operative part of the resolution [648 (VII)] adopted by the General Assembly at its 402nd meeting on 10 December 1952, on the question of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not one whose people have not yet obtained a full measure of self-government. Paragraph 1 of that resolution reads as follows:

"Approves provisionally the annexed list of factors which may serve as a guide, both for the General Assembly"—I repeat the words "both for the General Assembly"—"and for the Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in deciding whether a Territory has or has not obtained a full measure of self-government."

I should like to quote another paragraph, paragraph 5, of the same resolution. It reads:

"Recommends that, provisionally, the annexed list of factors should be taken into account in any case which the General Assembly examines resulting from

any communication received by the Secretary-General in virtue of General Assembly resolution 222 (III) concerning the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter . . .”

114. These paragraphs clearly established the fact that the question whether an administering Power should or should not cease to send information under Article 73 e is a matter of common concern both to the General Assembly and to the administering Power, and not to the administering Power alone. That being the case, and although the draft resolution on the cessation of information in respect of Surinam and the Antilles recommended by the Fourth Committee for adoption by the Assembly does not touch upon this all-important question, my delegation feels bound to make its position on the subject quite clear.

115. Finally, in view of the record of my country on colonial problems, it goes without saying that the reservation expressed at this time by my delegation does not in any way prejudice our genuine desire to see the peoples of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles achieve full self-government and independence in the shortest possible time.

Question of South West Africa: report of the Fourth Committee (A/2336)

[Agenda item 38]

The draft resolution contained in the report was adopted by 45 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions.

The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: report of the Fourth Committee (A/2335)

[Agenda item 32]

The President presented the report of the Fourth Committee (A/2335).

116. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): The unification of Togoland raises the same issue as any other matter relating to territories which are not yet fully self-governing. The goodwill of the Administering Authority concerned is essential to its peaceful solution.

117. Yet it should be pointed out that, so far as the colonial problem in general is concerned, the negative attitude of the Administering Authority concerned would prevent only a peaceful settlement, but not the solution of the problem itself. What has been—and continues to be—unfortunate is that, if the people of a dependent territory has reached a certain stage of development and the metropolitan government postpones recognition of the capacity of that people to assume full responsibility for self-government, the result is effective clandestine activity, and then violence to achieve what could not be achieved amicably. But any result achieved by other than peaceful methods raises far-reaching and serious problems for the apparent victors.

118. The United Nations was established precisely to prevent these evils. That is the noble, although difficult, aspect of its functions. It has to solve problems while abiding by its obligation not to create new causes of suffering and anxiety.

119. In Africa, Asia and America, wherever there are territories inhabited by human beings who are not

citizens of any particular country, the dilemma to which I have just referred exists in latent form and becomes daily more acute. The metropolitan governments realize that nowadays the colonial system no longer has any justification. They are therefore trying to find the surest way of ending the system with the least possible loss of prestige and harm to metropolitan interests.

120. The unification of the two Togolands—as is recognized in the recent Visiting Mission's report on that Territory [T/1034]—is the aspiration of the great majority of the Togolanders. Opinions differ—at least such is the impression which the Visiting Mission gathered—only about the method and the appropriate time for achieving that objective. This situation is in keeping with normal modern trends. If the crisis which threatens the world becomes more acute, no one can foresee where the expression of these internal differences will lead.

121. What should the United Nations do in the face of this threat, which is basically international in character, and in the face of this problem which affects collective security? Article 1 of the Charter provides the answer. Every possibility of negotiation, of reconciling legitimate interests by common effort, must be exhausted before any other step is taken.

122. The amendment which my delegation is submitting jointly with the Argentine delegation (A/L.139) seeks to apply to the case of Togoland the spirit which virtually permeates the entire Charter. What, indeed, in the problem of the unification of Togoland, is the first question to be faced? It is the refusal of the groups represented with such great dignity by Mr. Olympio and Mr. Antor during the discussions in the Fourth Committee to participate in the Joint Council. What is the reason for their refusal? They feel that the only way to set up a joint council in which the different opinions would be equally represented is to hold elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage and the secret ballot.

123. The Administering Authorities, on the other hand, consider that the Territory, particularly its northern areas, is not yet ready to respond, with a full understanding of the implications and effectively, to that system of popular elections.

124. In view of this difference of opinion, the procedure most in keeping with the role of the United Nations is to arrange, at least provisionally, for those holding opposite points of view to confer with a view to working out a satisfactory solution. At present there is the Joint Council which, despite all the defects from which it may suffer, is an agency which, if it develops along the proper lines, may facilitate the exchange of opinions and even the preparation of a co-ordinated plan for guiding, during a preliminary period, the measures for solving the political, economic, social and educational problems of Togoland.

125. Of course, among the political problems to be settled, there would be the matter of organizing elections on a sound basis, with universal adult suffrage and a secret ballot, with a view to constituting, according to the results, the Joint Council or some other similar body which would assume responsibility for leading Togoland to full self-government or independence in conformity with Article 76 of the Charter.

126. My delegation feels that the present amendment, far from weakening the draft resolution before us, will adapt it to the need for unifying Togoland and leading it to self-government. My delegation considers, furthermore, that the other clauses of the draft represent an encouraging development in the dynamic and flexible interpretation of the trusteeship agreements and of the relevant Chapters of the Charter. The terms of those agreements are not so important as the way in which they are implemented. The important point is that the progress of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence should become a living fact and not simply remain embodied in a document.

127. For that reason my delegation feels little enthusiasm for paragraph 6 of the operative part of the draft, which suggests the possibility of revising the trusteeship agreements relating to Togoland with a view to placing both Territories, if possible, under the administration of only one of the present Administering Authorities. On the contrary, my delegation feels that the combination of the two Administering Authorities and of the representatives of the various indigenous groups will lead to more practical and quicker results. Moreover, we have heard from the petitioners who spoke before the Fourth Committee about the differences of opinion among the population regarding which of the two Administering Authorities should be chosen. If the problem is pursued along those lines, new disputes will probably arise.

128. If the Assembly adopts our amendment, I think that it will improve the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee. The draft resolution will become more effective, more balanced and in closer conformity with the principle, so dear and so indispensable to the small Powers, that efforts should be made to settle every dispute or difference peacefully, by negotiation and by reconciling the legitimate interests of the parties concerned.

129. Thus we shall again prove that the interest of the small Powers and the interest of the administering Powers in solving the colonial problem, far from weakening the front against international subversion, is a genuine result of our conscious and spontaneous support of the cause espoused these days primarily by the great Western Powers.

130. Mr. LÉSCURE (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): The statement just made by the representative of Venezuela, whose arguments I fully share, makes it unnecessary for me to enlarge on the reasons which influenced my delegation, jointly with the Venezuelan delegation, to submit the draft amendment which is before the General Assembly.

131. I asked for the floor only to address the most friendly and warm appeal to those representatives who could not join us in casting an affirmative vote in the Fourth Committee. The sole object of my appeal is to ask them to reconsider their position with regard to a solution which, we feel, is directed towards the only objective that should guide all our thoughts: the co-operation of all Member States in observing the principles of the United Nations Charter.

132. To achieve that objective it is essential to compromise. Accordingly, the Venezuelan delegation and the delegation which I have the honour to represent

are joining their efforts, in the proposed formula, in an attempt to obtain, if not unanimous support, at least the support of a substantial majority for this draft resolution, including, we hope, the favourable votes of the Powers which, under Chapter XII of the Charter, have the difficult duty of administering territories.

133. In conclusion, let me once again reiterate the appeal to my fellow representatives to consider the possibility of giving their full support to the amendment which we have submitted, as it represents a genuine compromise.

134. Mr. JESSUP (United States of America): My delegation initiated this draft resolution in the Fourth Committee. However, certain amendments were introduced there which obliged us to vote against the proposal in its present form. We regretted the necessity for this because we were anxious to see a concrete step forward taken in this matter. We are therefore particularly happy to welcome the initiative of the delegations of Argentina and Venezuela to improve the draft resolution.

135. We agree that paragraph 5 of the operative part should be amended as they have suggested, in order to provide greater flexibility with respect to the procedure for re-establishing the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. I shall not attempt to repeat the arguments for that amendment [A/L.139], since they have been so fully and ably stated by the representative of Venezuela, supported by the representative of Argentina.

136. We also agree with what has been indicated by the representative of Venezuela, namely, that paragraph 6 of the operative part should be deleted as being much too far-reaching and quite in conflict with the spirit of the remainder of the draft resolution. If the draft resolution is improved in this way, its passage will, in the view of the United States delegation, lead to a constructive forward step towards the solution of a complex problem.

137. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): I request that paragraph 6 of the operative part of the draft resolution should be put to the vote separately, and by roll-call.

138. The PRESIDENT: I take it that the request for a roll-call vote applies both to the draft resolution and to the separate vote on paragraph 6 of its operative part.

139. First, however, we shall vote on the amendment submitted by the delegations of Argentina and Venezuela (A/L.139) to paragraph 5 of the operative part of the draft resolution [A/2335]. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian

Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Guatemala, Mexico, Yugoslavia, Belgium.

The amendment was adopted by 55 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

140. The PRESIDENT: A vote by roll-call has been requested on paragraph 6 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Liberia, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt.

Against: France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador.

Abstaining: Ethiopia, Greece, Iceland, Indonesia, Iraq, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia.

The paragraph was rejected by 22 votes to 18, with 18 abstentions.

141. The PRESIDENT: A vote by roll-call will now be taken on the draft resolution as a whole, as amended.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic,

Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Norway, Peru, Belgium.

The draft resolution was adopted by 55 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

142. Mr. PIGNON (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation voted for the draft resolution submitted to us. It did so only because of the attempt at realism reflected in the amendment submitted by the delegations of Argentina and Venezuela. This amendment will make it possible, if our goodwill—for which we can vouch—meets with goodwill in other quarters, to put the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs into operation again as soon as possible, while the governments concerned undertake the necessary consultations for the implementation of the resolution as a whole.

143. Moreover, the French delegation did not wish to dissociate itself from the manifestation of a conciliatory spirit too remarkable and too rare to go unappreciated.

144. My delegation is obliged, however, to recall, as it did in the Fourth Committee, the practical difficulties which will be met with in putting into effect the recommendation contained in paragraph 5 of the text, even as amended—since these difficulties will remain even though the amendment submitted by Argentina and Venezuela has been adopted. My delegation is therefore in duty bound to make every reservation, in entire good faith, with regard to the practical results of the complete, fair and thorough consultations with the peoples concerned which are to be undertaken as soon as possible.

Question of the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: election of members of the Committee [Agenda item 34]

145. The PRESIDENT: I should like to report on the election of four members to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Consequent upon the adoption by the General Assembly at its 402nd meeting of the the resolution [646 (VII)] renewing this Committee, the Fourth Committee at its 306th meeting, on behalf of the General Assembly, elected Brazil, China, India and Iraq as members of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.