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President : Mr. LUIS PADILLA NERVO (Mexico)

**Consideration of the various items on the agenda
of the meeting**

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : The first eight items on the agenda of to-day's plenary meeting consist of Committee reports. I shall consult the Assembly on the application of rule 67 of the rules of procedure which reads : " Discussion of a report of a Main Committee in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly shall take place if at least one-third of the Members present and voting at the plenary meeting consider such a discussion to be necessary. Any proposal to this effect shall not be debated, but shall be immediately put to the vote ".

2. I shall put it to the Assembly whether or not it wishes to discuss each item ; this will not, of course, prejudice the right of representatives to explain their votes and statements of not more than seven minutes.

It was decided not to discuss the first six items (agenda items 11, 28, 61, 41, 58 and 11).

3. Mrs. FIGUEROA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*) : The Chilean delegation has submitted an amendment in connexion with the seventh item on the agenda of the meeting. My delegation considers this subject to be one of the most important items on the Assembly's agenda and therefore formally moves that a debate should be opened on it in plenary meeting. We hope to obtain sufficient support from representatives for our motion.

4. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : It has been proposed that we should have a debate on the seventh

item [*agenda item 29*]. I shall put this proposal to the vote in accordance with rule 67 of the rules of procedure.

It was decided, by 23 votes to 18, with 6 abstentions, to discuss the seventh item (agenda item 29).

5. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : If there is no proposal to have a debate on the eighth item I shall take it that the Assembly does not wish to discuss it.

It was decided not to discuss the eighth item (agenda items 17 and 27).

**Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters I,
VII, VIII and IX) : report of the Joint Second and
Third Committee (A/2113).**

[Agenda item 11]

Mr. Zia-ud-Din (Pakistan), Rapporteur of the Joint Second and Third Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/2113).

6. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : The report of the Joint Second and Third Committee [A/2113] contains three draft resolutions. Will representatives who desire to explain their votes on one or more of these draft resolutions kindly do so in one statement.

7. If no representative wishes to explain his vote, we will proceed to vote on draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was rejected by 18 votes to 13, with 15 abstentions.

8. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution II. A vote by roll-call has been requested by the Dominican Republic.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Brazil, having been drawn by lot by the President, voted first.

In favour: Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia.

Against: Canada, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium.

Abstaining: China, Cuba, Thailand, Venezuela.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 40 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions.

9. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution III. The delegation of Ecuador has asked for a vote by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Ecuador, having been drawn by lot by the President, voted first.

In favour: Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Dominican Republic.

Against: Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium and Canada.

Abstaining: France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, India, Norway, Thailand, Turkey, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Cuba.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 31 votes to 10, with 13 abstentions.

10. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for an explanation of his vote.

11. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In voting in favour of draft resolution III, the USSR delegation interprets the operative part thereof as meaning that the General Assembly invites the Economic and Social Council to authorize the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities to continue its work and to convene sessions not only in 1952, but also in the years following. That was the interpretation of the draft resolution given by the USSR representative in the Joint Second and Third Committee and with which that Committee agreed.

12. Mr. BRENNAN (Australia): In the opinion of the Australian delegation resolution III which has just been adopted is one with budgetary implications and consequently, in accordance with the rules of procedure, should have been the subject of a report from the Fifth Committee. In view of the late stage of the proceedings we did not wish

to make any formal motion to this effect but we wish to go on record as expressing the hope that the procedure followed to-day will not be a precedent.

Co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies and report of the Economic and Social Council (Chapter VIII, Section I): report of the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee, meeting jointly (A/2107).

[Agenda items 28 and 11]

Mr. Asha (Syria), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee, meeting jointly (A/2107) and then spoke as follows.

13. Mr. ASHA (Syria), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to three passages in the report which the joint committees agreed to include in place of draft resolutions submitted to them and later withdrawn.

14. The first of these passages, paragraphs 35 to 40, relates to the control of the administrative parts of operational programmes of the United Nations and specialized agencies financed by voluntary contributions.

15. The second passage, paragraphs 41 to 44, relates to the transmission to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, as well as the Economic and Social Council, those portions of the reports of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination which deal with administrative and financial questions.

16. The third passage, paragraph 45, relates to a proposal for consideration of the constitutional and practical problems in connexion with the adoption of a consolidated budget for the United Nations and the specialized agencies. A balanced statement approved by the joint meeting, which sets out the attitude expressed by members for and against this proposal, is included in the report.

17. I may add that attention was also drawn to the practical value to be gained in this connexion by a comparative study of the financial procedures of the various organizations.

18. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As the Rapporteur has just stated, the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee, meeting jointly, recommend the adoption by the Assembly of four draft resolutions appearing at the end of the report [A/2107].

I would ask members who wish to explain their vote on these resolutions to do so in one statement. I shall then return to the vote separately, starting with draft resolution IA.

Draft resolution IA was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

20. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall vote on draft resolution IB.

Draft resolution IB was adopted by 45 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

21. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall vote on draft resolution IC.

Draft resolution IC was adopted by 45 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.

22. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall proceed to vote on draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 54 votes to none.

Questions concerning the liquidation of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation : report of the Fifth Committee (A/2109).

[Agenda item 61]

23. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : We shall now vote on the draft resolution which appears in the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 61 [A/2109].

The resolution was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Budget estimates for the financial year 1952 : supplementary reports of the Fifth Committee (A/2022/Add.1 and 2).

[Agenda item 41]

24. Mr. ASHA (Syria), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee : I have the honour to present to the General Assembly two supplementary reports of the Fifth Committee (A/2022/Add.1 and 2) dealing with the budget estimates for the financial year 1952.

25. When the General Assembly at its 357th plenary meeting on 21 December 1951 adopted the appropriation resolution authorizing a total budget of \$48,096,780 for 1952, it agreed to the inclusion on a provisional basis of a credit of \$5,500,000 in a new section 33, entitled " Investigations, Inquiries, and other activities ". This was done not only because the Fifth Committee was not in a position before the recess to examine in detail each budgetary requirement for 1952, but also to ensure that there would be no delay due to the prolongation of the session into a new financial year, in putting in motion the normal machinery for the collection of contributions in accordance with an authorized assessment. The appropriation resolution, however, contained a reasonable safeguard. It provided that no expenditures should be made from the \$5,500,000 credit until the General Assembly had specifically approved them in accordance with Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, allowing only for facility to continue the financing of missions in the field during January 1952. Since the recess, the work of the Fifth Committee on questions directly related to the 1952 budget has been in the main directed to the specific items for which the provisional credit was voted. It is to these items that the first supplementary report [A/2022/Add.1], refers in detail.

26. The attention of the General Assembly is drawn to paragraphs 51 to 57 of this report where the Fifth Committee's recommendations are summarized, the specific sums to be approved for expenditure from the global credit being clearly noted.

27. Draft resolution I has been prepared to authorize these expenditures in accordance with paragraph 3 of the General Assembly resolution [A/L.21] adopted on 21 December 1951.

28. The attention of the General Assembly is further drawn to paragraphs 3 to 35 inclusive, dealing with the Fifth Committee's discussion of a proposal for a cost-of-living allowance for the Headquarters staff, and to the recommendations of the Fifth Committee on this matter included in paragraph 24.

29. At its 328th and 329th meetings the Committee considered the budgetary provision for 1952 for the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and its recommendations are set out in paragraphs 64 to 71 of the report.

30. The Committee also discussed matters affecting the control and limitation of documentation and operational programmes under the responsibility of the United Nations financed by voluntary contributions to which draft resolutions IV and V on pages 28-30 respectively relate.

31. During the course of its discussions the Fifth Committee considered appropriate budgetary arrangements regarding specific programmes. The Committee's views are reported in various paragraphs of the report, and since in some cases the requirements from a financial standpoint cannot be determined at this stage, the Committee has prepared in draft resolutions II and III appropriate recommendations for additional sub-paragraphs in the resolutions on Unforeseen and Extraordinary Expenses, and on the Working Capital Fund as adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 1951.

32. The second supplementary report [A/2022/Add.2] deals specifically with the question of public information activities and sets forth certain conclusions and recommendations reached by the Fifth Committee regarding the policy and principles by which the Secretary-General should be guided in framing his relevant budget estimates. This document should be read in conjunction with the report of Sub-Committee 8 of the Fifth Committee [A/C.5/L.172] to which is annexed the text of the guiding principles referred to in the draft resolution now before the General Assembly.

33. I have the honour of presenting these reports and draft resolutions to the General Assembly for its consideration.

34. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : As the Rapporteur has stated, the Fifth Committee recommends the approval of five draft resolutions which appear at the end of the supplementary report [A/2022/Add.1]. I shall put each to the vote separately.

35. I call on the USSR representative for an explanation of vote.

36. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*) : The USSR delegation requests that paragraph 59 of the Fifth Committee's report [A/2022/Add.1] should be put to the vote separately. It objects to the recommendation contained in paragraph 81 to the effect that the General Assembly should include in the agenda of the seventh session the question of " Measures to limit the duration of regular sessions of the General Assembly ". The USSR delegation is opposed to that proposal since the question was not included in the agenda of the present session and was brought up in the Fifth Committee only a few days before the closure of the present session, namely on 30 January 1952. Delegations have not had an opportunity of giving the matter proper consideration and of taking appropriate decisions on it. It should also be pointed out that the question does not fall within the purview of the Fifth Committee since the General Assembly did not refer this question to it for consideration.

37. It would consequently be wrong, in the circumstances, for the General Assembly to take any decision whatsoever, even if only a procedural one. If any delegation considers that the matter should be included in the agenda of the seventh session, it is entitled to submit a proposal to that effect. There is no need for the General Assembly to take any decision, especially one that circumvents the relevant regulations under which recommendations are submitted by committees in the form of draft resolutions while the reports of committees are purely informative.

38. I would therefore repeat my request that paragraph 81 of the Fifth Committee's report [A/2022/Add.1] should be put to the vote separately.

39. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The USSR representative has requested a separate vote on paragraph 81 of the report, but what we are now voting on is the draft resolutions which appear in the report. I must ask the USSR representative to explain exactly what he desires me to put to the vote separately.

40. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The USSR delegation requests that paragraph 59 of the Fifth Committee's report be voted upon separately because the report contains a recommendation for including, in the agenda of the General Assembly's seventh session, the question of limiting the duration of General Assembly sessions.

41. The USSR delegation pointed out that, on the one hand, it was wrong for the Fifth Committee to submit a proposal which does not take the form of a draft resolution but is included in paragraph 81 of the report. That would mean taking a decision which would result in the question being included in the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly.

42. The USSR delegation further points out that the proposal was submitted only on 30 January. It was not considered either by the General Committee or the General Assembly; it was not included in the agenda. From the point of view both of substance and of procedure, therefore, it is incorrect to include proposals embodying recommendations in a committee's report. Up till now all recommendations have been adopted in the form of definite draft resolutions. In the present case, however, the question was not embodied in a draft resolution and the General Assembly is asked to approve a recommendation which is not even submitted in the form of a resolution.

43. Consequently, the USSR delegation objects, first, from the point of view of substance, since the question has not been sufficiently studied and, not having been included in its agenda, has not been examined by the General Assembly, and secondly because, in any case, the question must be put in the form of some kind of draft resolution, which has not been done.

44. For those two reasons the USSR delegation requests that a separate vote be taken on paragraph 81 of the Fifth Committee's report. It will vote against it for the reasons which have just been stated.

45. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): With the President's permission I shall not refer directly to the draft resolutions contained in the final part of the Fifth Committee's report, but to paragraphs 77, 78, 79, 80 and 81.

46. I realize that it is of course the draft resolution included in the final part of the report that leads to an Assembly resolution, but the problem dealt with in the paragraphs in question, on which I wish to explain the attitude and vote of my delegation, gave rise to what may be called a somewhat animated discussion on the last day of the Fifth Committee's meetings [340th meeting], in which I took part.

47. The fact is that my delegation, with myself as its modest mouthpiece, helped in some way to sustain that discussion. The question was whether the Fifth Committee, to which under the rules of procedure the study of budgetary and administrative questions had been assigned, was entitled to proceed without more ado to consider a matter, the sole and specific object of which

was to modify the time schedule of the General Assembly's work. In other words, could the Fifth Committee take up an item designed for the purpose of curtailing the duration of General Assembly sessions, changing the time schedule of our work, and alienating—who knows how far—the rights and prerogatives of the delegations who come here to represent the governments of Member States, without the General Committee, which consists of the officers of the Assembly, or the plenary meeting having first considered whether it should be placed on the agenda. My delegation therefore supported the view set out in clear terms in the report under consideration.

48. However, my delegation still wishes to place on record its opinion that, whether or not we approve paragraph 81 of the report before us, this is undoubtedly a point of major importance and significance. It has a certain background, having already been considered by the Special Committee on Methods and Procedures of the General Assembly, of which I was a member.

49. An immense number of modifications were considered, such as, limiting the length of statements and debates, and limiting the number of debates on specified items of the agenda. But limitations such as those cannot be continuously maintained, as if the Assembly's only task was to save time and we were justified in feeling aggrieved because our agenda is constantly growing each year. The fact that the Assembly has a very heavy agenda means that the peoples of the world are submitting to the authority and verdict of this Assembly their current problems and anxieties, matters affecting their every-day lives—as for instance, claims to rights—and appeals that have to be brought before the community of nations represented here. If the whole world is turning more and more towards the Assembly, if its peoples are referring to it more and more the problems of their anxieties and hopes, is that a bad thing? Must our answer to such expectations be that we came here simply to meet for the shortest possible period in order to solve problems by a summary vote, with no time for the explanation of votes; in a word, to curtail or limit or detract, even if it be in the smallest degree, from the prerogatives of representatives who come here, not for personal reasons but to express, as I am now modestly trying to do, the views of their respective delegations on behalf of their governments?

50. My object in explaining my delegation's position on paragraphs 77, 78, 79 and 80 is once again to make clear the attitude we took in the Fifth Committee on a question that involves the Committee's competence to deal with the matter brought before it; and with regard to paragraph 81, if that paragraph is approved, I should like to call the Secretary-General's attention to the various consequences I have mentioned this morning, so that in any new study of the Assembly's procedures the rights of delegations may be respected.

51. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call upon the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee for an explanation.

52. Mr. ASHA (Syria), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: The question of the competence of the Fifth Committee regarding the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Burma, Cuba, Ecuador, Iceland and Norway having been raised by certain representatives of the Committee, and now by the delegations of the USSR and Uruguay, may I briefly explain to the General Assembly the course of action which the Fifth Committee decided to follow with respect to the proposals of the five delegations.

53. Having been seized of the question of measures to limit the duration of the regular sessions of the General

Assembly, in the course of the consideration of the budgetary estimates for the financial year 1952, the Fifth Committee discussed, at its 340th meeting, the manner in which the proposals of the five delegations might be examined by the General Assembly. After an exchange of views, and having heard the representations of the Secretary-General, who reminded the Committee that, in conformity with paragraph 6 of resolution 362 (IV), the Secretary-General had been requested to carry out appropriate studies and to submit suitable proposals for the improvement of the methods and procedures of the General Assembly and its Committees, the Fifth Committee decided that the Rapporteur should report to the plenary meeting what in fact was the understanding of the Committee. The representatives of Brazil and the Dominican Republic proposed that the Committee should recommend to the General Assembly: "that the question 'measures to limit the duration of regular sessions of the General Assembly' should be included in the provisional agenda of its seventh regular session, and that meanwhile the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee, the permanent delegations and directly with member States having no permanent delegations, should prepare a working paper with appropriate comments and recommendations on this question, to be circulated as soon as possible in 1952 for consideration by the governments of Members". [A/2022/Add.1, para. 81].

54. The Committee felt that, in the circumstances, it was not necessary for it to adopt any formal resolution. The authors of the proposals indicated that they accepted this view. I may mention, however, that none of the representatives in the Fifth Committee felt it necessary to avail themselves of the faculty provided by rule 120 of the rules of procedure to present a motion calling for a decision on the competence of the Fifth Committee to take the steps I have just mentioned.

55. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As stated in paragraph 59 of the report, it was proposed in the Fifth Committee that a recommendation should be made to the General Assembly that the question of measures to limit the duration of regular sessions of the General Assembly should be included in the provisional agenda of its seventh session. Generally, the Assembly takes decisions on draft resolutions submitted to it as such by the various Committees. However, I have been informed that should the Assembly not take any decision with regard to this matter, some doubt would remain as to whether or not the Secretary-General is required to include it in the provisional agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly.

56. Consequently, in order that the Assembly may state its opinion in this respect, I shall now take a vote as to whether the question of measures to limit the duration of regular sessions of the General Assembly should be included in the provisional agenda of the seventh session.

It was decided by 44 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions, to include the question on the provisional agenda of the seventh session.

57. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall vote on the five draft resolutions contained in the Fifth Committee's first supplementary report [A/2022/Add.1].

58. The USSR delegation has asked for a separate vote to be taken on the authorization for section 34, contained in paragraph 1 of draft resolution I. We shall therefore vote first of all on that authorization.

The authorization for section 34 was adopted by 45 votes to 8, with 3 abstentions.

59. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution I as a whole.

The draft resolution was adopted by 48 votes to 2.

60. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution II. A separate vote has been requested on sub-paragraphs (d) and (e) of this draft resolution. I shall first of all put to the vote sub-paragraph (d).

Sub-paragraph (d) was adopted by 47 votes to 5, with 1 abstention.

61. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on sub-paragraph (e).

Sub-paragraph (e) was adopted by 55 votes to none.

62. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now put to the vote draft resolution II as a whole.

Draft Resolution II was adopted by 50 votes to 5.

63. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution III. A separate vote has been requested on sub-paragraphs (h) and (i). We shall now vote on sub-paragraph (h).

Sub-paragraph (h) was adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 1 abstention.

64. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on sub-paragraph (i).

Sub-paragraph (i) was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

65. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution III as a whole.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 48 votes to 6.

66. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution IV.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

67. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution V.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

68. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution which appears in the second supplementary report of the Fifth Committee [A/2022/Add.2].

The draft resolution was adopted by 42 votes to 5, with 7 abstentions.

Draft protocol relating to the status of stateless persons : report of the Third Committee (A/2110)

[Agenda item 58]

Mr. Azkoul (Lebanon), Rapporteur of the Third Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/2110).

69. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Israel to explain his vote.

70. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) (*translated from French*): The draft resolution before us contains no reference to priority for the examination of the question of stateless persons at the next session of the General Assembly. The Israel delegation ventures to draw the General Assembly's attention to the importance of the problem of the status of stateless persons.

71. As indicated during the discussion in the Third Committee, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution on the assumption that the draft protocol on

the status of stateless persons will be studied to good purpose at the next regular session and will not be deferred again.

72. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution which appears in the report of the Third Committee [A/2110].

The draft resolution was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

**Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter V):
report of the Third Committee (A/2111 and Corr.1)**

[Agenda item 11]

73. Mr. AZKOUL (Lebanon), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (*translated from French*): As you will see from a perusal of the Third Committee's report on chapter V of the Economic and Social Council's report (A/2111) and a comparison of the contents of the Third Committee's report with chapter V of the Economic and Social Council's report, the Committee did not have sufficient time to study all the points in the chapter that deserved consideration; it did, however, examine and discuss fully certain essential aspects and it has submitted draft resolutions thereon.

74. The Committee devoted most of its time to considering the joint draft resolution on the observance of human rights submitted by China, Chile and Colombia.

75. The Committee did not take up the problem of the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities because the question came rather within the competence of the Joint Second and Third Committee.

76. As to the problem of freedom of information, which the Committee was to have gone into thoroughly, the Committee found that it did not have time to carry through such a study, particularly as regards the draft convention on the freedom of information and the situation arising out of the fact that the question has been on the General Assembly's agenda for several years without any concrete and positive results being achieved. The Committee consequently decided to refer consideration of the question to the next session of the General Assembly, with emphasis on the urgency of the matter. The sponsors of this proposal stated that in their opinion the question of the freedom of information should not necessarily be the first item on the agenda for the next session; they merely desired—and the Committee accepted their proposal—that the question of the freedom of information should be one of the first to be taken up at the next session of the Assembly.

77. A number of amendments were tabled and ideas suggested and proposed as matters to be dealt with at this session. Unfortunately, and still for the same reason, the Third Committee has had to recommend that consideration of those suggestions, amendments and proposals should be deferred until the next session. The Third Committee hopes that the General Assembly will understand why it was not able to devote the necessary time and attention to the various problems referred to it and that the Assembly will adopt the resolutions and recommendations submitted.

78. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Third Committee recommends the adoption of the four draft resolutions which appear in its report [A/2111]. I would request members who wish to explain their votes on one or more of these resolutions to do so in a single statement.

79. Mr. PAVLOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to explain its vote on the draft

resolution approved by the Third Committee on the initiative of the Kuomintang, Chile and Colombia.

80. The Soviet Union has submitted amendments to this draft resolution. Their purpose is, first, to specify that the special efforts which Members of the United Nations are recommended to make for the observance of human rights and personal freedoms should be made by them in their territories and in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, and not throughout the world generally; and, secondly, and in connexion with this, to delete from the second paragraph of the preamble the words "individually and collectively", as applying to the responsibility of the Members of the United Nations, and also the abstract and meaningless words "throughout the world", at the end of that paragraph of the preamble.

81. Unless these amendments to the wording of the draft resolution are made, it will be unsatisfactory, and the USSR delegation will be unable to support it.

82. It is impossible to agree with the contention that a Member State of the United Nations can and should assume responsibility for what is done to ensure the observance of human rights and freedoms in another State, even one that is not a Member of the United Nations. To take an example, there are, as is well known, millions of negroes in a number of states of the United States of America who are deprived, wholly or partly, of many basic human rights, political, civil, economic, social and cultural. In these states racial discrimination, lynch law etc. prevail. Why should the responsibility for such a state of affairs fall on the other Members of the United Nations and not on the United States of America? There are no reasons at all why it should. The responsibility for such a state of affairs in its own country must be borne by the United States of America itself and its Government, not by the other Member States of the United Nations and their Governments.

83. On the other hand—and this is a second example—it would be wrong to recommend Members of the United Nations to assume an individual and collective responsibility for intensifying their efforts for the observance of human rights in other sovereign States, whether Members or non-Members of the United Nations. Such an approach to the question is contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and could result in certain States interfering in the internal affairs of other States on the pretext that they are carrying out the recommendation to intensify their efforts for the observance of human rights throughout the world. In this connexion it should be recalled that during the general discussion in the Third Committee the Kuomintang representative, for example, directly appealed to the United States of America to undertake armed intervention against the People's Republic of China on the false pretext of protecting and restoring human rights.

84. On the other hand, it is certainly necessary and legitimate for the Members of the United Nations to make special efforts to ensure wide recognition and observance of human rights in places where those rights are least recognized and most violated and where, in addition, the Charter directly places specific obligations on the Members of the United Nations. I am referring to the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories. But this is precisely what is not said in the draft resolution. The Soviet Union amendment fills this gap.

85. In addition, there are two serious defects in the preamble to the draft resolution: first, its phrasing gives a mistaken impression that there is a consequential connexion between "the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" and the violation of those rights;

secondly, an error of fact, in that, contrary to what is said in the draft resolution, the Economic and Social Council's report makes no mention at all of the fact that human rights have been violated since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed. Finally, what grounds are there for the General Assembly including in a resolution a reference to violation of human rights when that question has not been considered in the United Nations and when no decision at all has been reached on the substance of the only draft resolution on the subject, that concerning violations of human rights in Franco Spain which was submitted to the Third Committee by the Polish delegation [A/C.3/L.293] in connexion with the threat of death hanging over twenty-four participants in the Barcelona strike of 1951.

86. For these reasons the Soviet Union delegation will vote in favour of amending the draft resolution on the observance of human rights, and if these amendments are not adopted, it will vote against the draft resolution.

87. Mr. DE ALBA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with the President's suggestion, I shall speak only once on the four draft resolutions. At the same time as I shall explain my vote I shall comment on certain points of drafting which we consider particularly important.

88. Draft resolution I on observance of human rights commits in the first paragraph of the preamble a palpable absurdity by establishing a relation of cause and effect between the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the violation of those rights, when it states that since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights human rights have been violated, from which it might be inferred that that historic document has had a harmful influence by bringing about the violation of those rights. If the sponsors of this draft resolution are unable to amend the first paragraph of the preamble and give it a more or less acceptable form, either by saying "notwithstanding the proclamation" or "in spite of the proclamation of human rights, these continue to be violated", my delegation will be obliged to vote against the draft resolution as a whole.

89. With regard to draft resolution II on freedom of information, my delegation joined with the French and other delegations in sponsoring a proposal to refer this entire matter to the seventh session of the General Assembly for consideration, owing to the fact that we have had insufficient time to hold an exhaustive discussion on it.

90. My Government has an interest in this matter which may almost be regarded as historical, because as long ago as 1948, when the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information convened at Geneva, my Government sent representatives, experts and specialists to participate in it, and one of the Mexican representatives, Mr. Raúl Noriega, was Chairman of one of the Conference committees. When, subsequently, the General Assembly, in its resolution 426 (V), decided to resume study of the question and established an *ad hoc* committee to prepare a draft convention on freedom of information, it was also Mr. Noriega who presided over that committee in New York; it drew up a second draft convention, which contained provisions relating to the right of correction, and it strongly recommended the drafting of a code of professional ethics for journalists.

91. The whole of the important body of work thus accomplished was referred to the Economic and Social Council for study, but the Council too had insufficient time at its disposal to embody it in concrete form or to arrive at constructive agreements.

92. As a consequence, in now proposing that the subject be referred to the seventh session of the General Assembly, my delegation by no means fails to recognize the immense value of that material or proposing that consideration of it should be indefinitely postponed, but is, on the contrary, expressing the hope that at the seventh session agreement may really be reached on the draft convention and on the question of the right of correction, as well as on the drafting of the code of professional ethics for journalists.

93. Some of these subjects were included in the proposals submitted as amendments to the joint draft resolution of which the French delegation was the principal sponsor, and for that reason also we agreed in the Third Committee that the proposals of Uruguay and Ecuador, along with those of the USSR and Afghanistan, might also be referred for study to the seventh session, since there had been no opportunity to discuss them in detail at the present session. For the same reason my delegation will vote for draft resolutions II A and B since, in conformity with our views, they give high priority to this subject.

94. We shall also vote for draft resolution III, concerning human rights. The Mexican delegation believes that the convention on freedom of information and the covenant on human rights are to some extent parallel, complementary and inter-dependent, since some of the articles of the draft convention on freedom of information relate to questions already dealt with in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)]; moreover, some of the principles enunciated in the draft covenant on human rights are embodied in the draft convention on freedom of information. They are thus two cognate subjects and can, in my delegation's opinion, be appropriately dealt with if the seventh session of the General Assembly has sufficient time at its disposal.

95. For these reasons my delegation has joined with others in proposing that the subject should be deferred, without intending it to be understood thereby, as I said at the outset, that we fail to recognize the extreme importance of the United Nations adopting as soon as possible the international convention on freedom of information and the corollary agreements on the right of correction and on the code of professional ethics for journalists. All this material, to which reference is made in the draft resolutions upon which we are going to vote, can be properly studied at the seventh session of the Assembly, as I stated at the beginning of my remarks.

96. With regard to draft resolution I, on observance of human rights, my delegation will be obliged to vote against it unless the present wording is amended.

97. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador will vote for draft resolution I, on observance of human rights, but it agrees with the statements of the representative of Mexico with regard to an improvement in the drafting of the first paragraph of the preamble. If that improvement is not made I must respectfully request that a separate vote should be taken on the paragraph, so that my delegation can abstain on it.

98. The delegation of Ecuador will vote against draft resolution IIA on freedom of information. Although we are aware of the weighty reasons in favour of studying some of the important matters referred to in the draft resolutions therein enumerated in the course of this year and considering them at the next session of the Assembly, my delegation cannot support the draft resolution in its present form, because it includes postponement of a matter already approved by the General Assembly.

99. The amendment submitted jointly by the delegations of Ecuador and Uruguay [A/C.3/L.239] reaffirmed the

right to freedom of the Press. It contained no more than an almost literal recapitulation of article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in Paris in 1948. That article specifies that every person has the right to freedom of opinion and of expression, which implies the right to hold opinions without interference and to impart information through any media and regardless of frontiers. The amendment submitted by Uruguay and Ecuador requests that a paragraph should be inserted reaffirming the General Assembly's wish " that the exercise of the right to freedom of opinion and expression of thought should be strengthened in all countries ".

100. My delegation will vote against draft resolution IIA because it considers that the defence of the fundamental freedoms of the human person is indispensable to prevent the spread of methods and beliefs contrary to the democratic way of life. The attacks in recent years on Press correspondents, newspapers and journalists in general make it necessary to repeat as often as possible that the United Nations supports the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration. Haste or lack of time should not be valid reasons when fundamental questions relating to the hopes and rights of peoples are at stake. The exercise of freedom of the Press is the best guarantee of free discussion, of healthy criticism of government action and thorough analysis of conflicting international doctrines. There is no valid reason to avoid discussion of the problems arising from freedom of the Press, and even if it is agreed simply to reaffirm that freedom of thought should be protected, such a reaffirmation should not be purely formal and in that way entail dangerous or alarming consequences. Finally, the approval of a reaffirmation such as that to which we have referred would have been a logical demonstration of the will of the United Nations to draft and implement the international covenant of human rights as soon as possible.

101. The Reverend Father D'SOUZA (India) : My delegation voted, in the first instance, in favour of draft resolution I on the observance of human rights but my delegation realizes the force of the objection brought up by the representative of Mexico in regard to the wording of the first paragraph of the preamble. I wish to state here that it was in the sense indicated by him that my delegation voted for that part of the resolution ; there was no intention to imply that there was a relationship of cause and effect between the proclamation and the violation of human rights. It is not because of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that human rights have been violated. What we meant was that even after the Declaration or notwithstanding the Declaration of Human Rights, human rights had been violated. I do not know, not having been a co-sponsor of this resolution, whether I am entitled to ask if this verbal clarification can be made or not. I hope that one of the co-sponsors will put it forward in the interests of clarifying an important resolution. If it can be accepted I am sure all those who voted for it and those who are present here would be only too pleased.

102. I wish to say a word in regard to the amendment submitted, and still under discussion as I understand, by the USSR. My delegation voted for the present wording—the original resolution had undergone very considerable modifications in the course of the discussion in the Third Committee. I wish to state that my delegation, in voting for the words " individually and collectively ", has no intention of implying, in any way, a special right or authority as a result of this resolution for interference in the

legitimate autonomy of States. We conceive this collective right as understood and implied by our common subscription to the wording of the Charter and we do not intend to go beyond it or against its spirit.

103. I should like also to say something, if I may, with regard to another matter which will come up later ; namely, the machinery that we shall set up for carrying out these pacts concerning human rights which we are in the process of drawing up. There, too, the United Nations envisages a machinery by which complaints can be made, statements can be communicated and, within the limits and terms of the Charter, action may be taken to enforce the observance of human rights throughout the world and among all Member States without reference to territories of any kind, such as Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories. It is in that spirit of the Charter and of the covenants, which I presume many nations are going to sign, that this word " collectively " is understood by my delegation.

104. Lastly, in explanation of our vote on draft resolution IIB, which was co-sponsored by my delegation, I wish once again to explain that this request for an early discussion does not in any way imply an infringement of the sovereign authority of the next General Assembly to arrange its agenda. It is in order that this very important matter may not be relegated to the very end of a long session and be deprived of the legitimate time and attention which is its due, as in fact has happened this time, that we accepted this wording and agreed to change the words " and to give it priority " into " for early discussion ".

105. I wish also to refer again to the point raised by the representative of Mexico. In drawing up these covenants on freedom of information my delegation attaches very great importance to the drawing up of the code of ethics for journalists, by which while on the one hand legitimate freedom of information is safeguarded, on the other hand all dangerous licence and unfair use of this freedom may be obviated, if not entirely excluded.

106. Mr. GARIBALDI (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*) : My delegation wishes to explain its vote on draft resolution II contained in document A/2111.

107. My delegation was a co-sponsor in the Third Committee, together with the delegation of Ecuador, of an amendment proposing to reaffirm at this point the principle of freedom of thought and freedom of expression.

108. It seemed to us that if the General Assembly did not have an opportunity at this Session to take a decision on the convention on freedom of information, it should at least reaffirm a principle which we consider to be an essential prerequisite for human progress. If our request is not met and if the document in which we made our proposal is deferred for the consideration of the next session of the Assembly, it might be interpreted as a sign of vacillation by the General Assembly with regard to the very principle of freedom of thought, which is already laid down in article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We believe that this declaration contained in that article, which has already been accepted by all delegations of the United Nations, is an essential principle, and if we were not to reaffirm that principle at this stage, it might detract from the force of that declaration and the support which the United Nations gives to it.

109. That is why my delegation will vote against draft resolution II.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.