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President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 17

Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments. Conclusion of an international convention (treaty) on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction (*concluded*)

AGENDA ITEM 66

Measures for the further relaxation of international tension and development of international co-operation (*concluded*)

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3090)

1. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): I think that it is appropriate that a country like mine, which is one of the medium sized countries, should take part in this discussion in order to explain its vote on the Syrian proposal [A/L.209]. After following the disarmament problem in the United Nations with great interest for some years, we have come to the conclusion that there are some new factors which must be taken into account.
2. There would appear to be general agreement on what I have called the trilogy of prohibition, reduction and control, and it seemed natural that an agreement on these three points should lead us to the solution of

this very serious problem, which is of direct concern to the great Powers, but in which the small and medium Powers also have a very great interest, not only because certain principles to be adopted concerning disarmament will have to apply also to smaller countries, but for another reason which concerns us more closely: namely, that all the money saved as a result of disarmament should, in accordance with the General Assembly's unanimous wish [A/RES/383], be devoted to the development of the non-industrialized areas of the world.

3. Whenever difficulties have arisen in the General Assembly, we have renewed the Disarmament Commission's terms of reference and requested the Sub-Committee of that Commission to continue its work, taking into account, of course, all the proposals and suggestions which have been made so far and which may be made in the future. The First Committee and the Disarmament Commission itself, but more especially the former, have now found it necessary to issue new directives and to deal with the facts as they arise. Actually, one of these facts is not new at all, but it appears in a different light and bears the imprint of novelty.

4. I shall refer to these points very briefly in explaining my vote, for they are the reason for the draft resolution before us [A/3090] and explain why that draft obtained fifty-three votes in the First Committee, that is to say, almost unanimity. I am sorry that it did not achieve the same unanimity as did the General Assembly's previous resolution on this subject [*resolution 808 (IX)*], and that the Soviet Union and the countries associated with it voted against it instead of abstaining, as I had hoped they might.

5. The new fact is this. If in disarmament the prohibition of the atomic bomb — which is the universal ideal — the reduction of armaments and control are inseparable one from the other, it follows that, in order to achieve reduction and prohibition, there must first be control. If we are to prohibit the atomic bomb, to make sure that this prohibition is observed and that existing stocks of bombs are destroyed, and to reduce armaments, someone must supervise the carrying out of these measures. Thus, gradually, a principle has emerged which is crystal clear; in practice, control must have priority. It was already clear, too, that, if control was to be effective, the control organ must have wide powers including, of course, the right of inspection wherever necessary. But there was another difficulty; the right of inspection implied the unrestricted execution of inspection measures; it meant that if a decision of the inspectors was challenged, that decision would still be carried out, and that the sole purpose of an appeal was to ensure that any injustice was remedied and not to stay the execution of a just award, for that would make control quite ineffectual.

6. To these two difficulties a third was added: the scientific impossibility of controlling accumulated nuc-

lear stocks. Science has not yet shown us a way of discovering where such stocks are kept, and that being so it is obvious that control is impossible. The First Committee was thus aware of the fact that there were two obstacles to control which for the moment were insuperable, one of a contractual nature — that of obtaining the Soviet Union's agreement — and the other of a scientific nature.

7. I venture to say that the scientific difficulty, though it may not appear so, is really less serious than the contractual difficulty, for science is making such strides that it is not unlikely that in the course of the next few years — or perhaps in a few months' time — we shall have a type of radar which, just as radar now picks up the course and position of aircraft, will pick up and indicate by astronomical or geodesic lines the place where a nuclear deposit is hidden. Unfortunately for mankind — and this is the paradox — science advances with the speed of an eagle and legal formulae with the speed of a tortoise, and sometimes with the backward movement of a crab. That is the difficulty.

8. While, therefore, I hope that scientists will soon tell us that they have discovered a way of detecting nuclear stocks, I have little hope — and I say this with great sadness — that we shall be able to achieve agreement on a system of control, organized in advance, endowed with adequate powers and able to impose measures which will not be set aside, for if a measure is unjust, it can be revoked, whereas a just measure which is set aside might bring about a tragedy for mankind.

9. In any case, it will be the Security Council, in the last resort, that will settle questions of control, and no sanctions will be possible so long as the right of veto can be used in the Council in matters of nuclear energy. We see how difficult it is — like squaring the circle or trisecting an angle, which seems, however, to have been achieved. It is almost impossible — I will not say that it is wholly impossible because nothing is impossible — to achieve the total abolition of the veto in the matter of atomic control, as Mr. Sandoval Vallarica, an eminent Latin American, proposed in 1946.¹

10. Faced with this difficulty, which makes it illusory to think of an immediate agreement or an effective convention providing us all with guarantees on the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of armaments, the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, had a magnificent idea. This idea was that, until such time as agreement could be reached on what so far was both scientifically and contractually impossible, something should be done to restore confidence and create a new state of mind. The United States Government was therefore prepared to allow Soviet aircraft to fly over its territory in order that they might detect anything there was on American soil, not only *de visu* but also by means of photographs, which would afford far more cogent evidence. Those photographs should confirm the information exchanged in good faith between all countries.

11. That idea was supplemented by another, advanced by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Bulganin, who suggested establishing control posts — which would be relatively effective — at strategic points such as railway junctions, certain airports and ports.

12. This, of course, opens the way to a temporary solution which, though incomplete, would be effective.

13. We must resign ourselves to the logic of life, which demands that things shall be done by stages; we cannot sacrifice what is possible and practicable merely because we wish to proclaim at all costs what is at present impossible, though it might be better. That might be a dream, but it could also be a delusion. Nothing is further from Utopia, and particularly from the deceptive consolations of a verbal and purely theoretical Utopia, than a true, practical, timely and immediate goal.

14. It was in this spirit that the draft resolution before us was approved. But the manner of its approval must be explained. All my colleagues of the First Committee will remember how it happened. After lengthy discussion, the sponsors of the draft resolution, in a spirit of co-operation that deserves the highest praise, accepted the amendments submitted by India and the Soviet Union. The draft was revised not once but twice, giving it the greatest possible breadth, so that when we achieved a final text I was full of enthusiasm and of hope that we would achieve a unanimous resolution.

15. We did not reach that goal, but the draft resolution before us corresponds to the immediate ideal: it urges the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission to continue its work and does not debar it from studying other suggestions. On the contrary, all the old proposals and all the new ones will be presented to the Sub-Committee. The draft resolution urges that body to reach agreement on these two fundamental measures which complement each other and have a symbolic meaning of union and harmony, because one of them was proposed by the President of the United States of America, and the other by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.

16. For that reason I am sorry that the Soviet Union voted against this draft resolution. For the reasons I have given, and remembering the wonderful way in which this text was evolved, the Peruvian delegation wishes to express its enthusiasm, which I feel is shared by other delegations, as the voting has shown.

17. I am always favourably disposed towards the initiative taken by other countries whose views we do not share. I always have an open mind on such matters. I must say, however, that the amendments submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.207] do not add to, perfect or improve the draft resolution which we approved by fifty-three votes; they are not really amendments so much as the expression of a radical and theoretical attitude, an attitude which at the moment is Utopian, and would destroy the realistic, practical and dynamic character of the draft resolution which was adopted by fifty-three countries, and make it unworkable. That is why the Peruvian delegation cannot vote in favour of the Soviet amendments.

18. I am glad that the Soviet Union was realistic enough not to maintain its other proposal [A/L.206], which was even more theoretical. I wish to say, with all respect but in all sincerity, that these theoretical declarations are useless so far as measures for relaxing tension and achieving international harmony are concerned. Today the small countries, and indeed the peoples of the whole world, are not waiting for theoretical declarations; unfortunately we have so abused the latter that they have fallen into bad repute. Mankind is hoping for deeds, for practical and positive measures, not for merely symbolic gestures. In this connexion I note with sorrow certain happenings which run counter to

¹ Official Record of the Atomic Energy Commission, No. 2, p. 32.

spirit of co-operation; I hear expressions used which take us back to the time when it was rightly said that we were revising the language of diplomacy, in which hitherto only precise terms and courteous words were to be found.

19. All this prompts me to make an appeal. We are told that the cold war is beginning again. Well, what can we, the lesser nations, say except that this cold war must cease, or at least freeze, so that we may return to the spirit of friendliness, for courtesy begets charity and understanding. Let us therefore cease to make theoretical declarations; rather may there be a sincere wish in our hearts for understanding and generosity on all sides.

20. I always view with sympathy any initiative taken by countries with which we have so many sacred ties, such as the Arab States. Consequently my delegation is sorry that it cannot vote in favour of the Syrian draft resolution [A/L.209], and I am going to explain briefly why.

21. The Syrian draft resolution either repeats what is said in the draft resolution approved by the First Committee, in which case it is superfluous, or it has another intention, namely, that the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, setting aside the directives dictated by the degrees of expediency and urgency, for urgency also has its degrees, should return to the stage at which it was on 29 August, disregarding the new facts and directives which the General Assembly has examined. If that is the meaning of the Syrian draft resolution, it would be contrary to the spirit of the draft resolution which we have adopted. Consequently the Syrian draft resolution seems to me to offer two possibilities: if it is repetitive, it is superfluous, and if it is not repetitive it is contrary to the spirit and purpose of the draft resolution which we have adopted.

22. Mr. BIRECKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): The Polish delegation would like to explain its vote on the draft resolutions and amendments before the General Assembly in connexion with its consideration of the report of the First Committee [A/3090] on the problems of disarmament.

23. In concluding the debate on that subject, the majority of the First Committee, after rejecting a number of amendments submitted by the USSR, India and Syria, adopted a draft resolution submitted by Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

24. The Polish delegation voted against that draft resolution because it felt that, by postponing indefinitely the chances of concluding an international convention on disarmament, it departed from the purposes of the United Nations work on disarmament. The draft resolution thus constituted a step backward in relation to resolution 808 (IX), which the General Assembly adopted unanimously last year and which placed upon the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission the clearly defined responsibility of preparing an international convention providing for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as for the establishment of effective international control and the implementation of those measures.

25. What do we propose to do about those recommendations? The draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by the First Committee [A/3090] ignores those directives, which are equitable and in line with the provisions of the Charter concerning dis-

armament, and which were given to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in resolution 808 (IX).

26. The effect of this draft resolution would be to give priority in the Sub-Committee's work to the question of inspection and control, and to divorce it from the question of effective disarmament. The representative of Peru spoke just now of logic. One of the basic requirements of logic would surely be, when speaking of control, to speak first of all about the objective of control.

27. The Polish delegation, like several other delegations, pointed out in the debate on disarmament in the First Committee that such an approach to the problem — that is, restriction of the work of the Sub-Committee to the consideration of the question of inspection and control — led to control without disarmament, and that control without disarmament could never remove the threat of war. Control without disarmament does not lead to the elimination of the growing stocks of atomic and hydrogen weapons and can in no way check the armaments race. On the contrary, it might serve as fresh encouragement to the fight for arms supremacy.

28. Such an approach to the problem is therefore contrary to the demands of the peoples, who expect practical action by the United Nations on disarmament, action which would create conditions favourable to peaceful international co-operation and would free humanity from the heavy burden of military expenditure.

29. The adoption by the General Assembly of the USSR amendments [A/L.207] would endow the First Committee's draft resolution with a very different significance. The amendments are intended to establish an equitable basis for the future activities of the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee. They adopt as their point of departure the directives laid down in resolution 808 (IX). They are based on the understanding reached by the great Powers in the Sub-Committee.

30. The Polish delegation considers that the substance of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee should be revised. According to that paragraph, priority in United Nations work on disarmament should be given to measures dealing solely with inspection and control. Of course the consideration of these measures for inspection and control within the scope of a general plan for disarmament would be useful, but it would be wrong and harmful to give them priority in United Nations work on disarmament while disregarding the problems of the reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. It is claimed, this time, that the solution of these problems cannot be achieved for technical reasons, though in the past various other arguments were adduced to show that the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons was impossible.

31. The Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission should give first consideration in its future work to proposals for an over-all disarmament plan, including effective control, which would make impossible a surprise attack of one country on another. Such control has been advocated by the Soviet Union and other Powers.

32. Moreover, the USSR proposal for enlarging the membership of the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee reflects the desire expressed by quite a few delegations during the earlier debate on disarmament.

33. The Polish delegation fully supports the Syrian draft resolution [A/L.209], which provides that the Disarmament Commission should convene the Sub-Committee to continue the work it started on 29 August 1955.

34. It is a fact that the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission achieved very significant results in relation to a part of its work. An understanding was reached on a number of controversial questions relating to disarmament on which the great Powers had been divided for years. That was true, for example, of the important question of fixing the levels of the armed forces of the great Powers, where the Soviet Union accepted the Western proposals. Similarly, the Soviet Union agreed to the Western proposals regarding the timing of the application of the ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons. Moreover, many other divergencies of opinion between the great Powers with regard to disarmament—including the important matter of the need for establishing effective international control—were ironed out.

35. Consequently it is of the utmost importance that this work should be continued, and the Syrian draft resolution would allow it to be continued with a view to reaching an understanding on other points. By adopting the Syrian draft, the Assembly would be helping to reduce international tension. It would be demonstrating its determination to continue its efforts towards the conclusion of an international convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. The conclusion of such a convention is generally desired by the peoples of the world.

36. The Polish delegation appeals to the Assembly to adopt the Syrian draft and, in that way, to seize the opportunity offered it to help reduce international tension in these last days of its current session, by making it possible for the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission to achieve positive results in an area most vital to peaceful relations among nations.

37. Mr. MENON (India): My delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the President for the interpretation of the rules of procedure which he made this morning [558th meeting]. That interpretation enables us, on the one hand, to save time and, on the other hand, to say in a small compass what we have to say about the important subject now before the Assembly.

38. I should like to inform the General Assembly that my delegation did not avail itself of the opportunity to explain its vote during the First Committee's consideration of the present item. Today, however, a new draft resolution has been submitted to the Assembly. Hence, in addition to explaining our position on the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee [A/3090]—which means explaining our position on the subject as a whole—we shall have to define our attitude towards the new draft resolution.

39. It is always more pleasant, and it is often more convenient, to concur than to dissent. Yesterday and the day before, the Assembly witnessed the spectacle of speaker after speaker joining in what, I suggest, resembled a testimony meeting. This is, however, a political gathering, and we are now dealing with a vastly important subject—the most important subject, in fact, which the Assembly has before it. We are dealing with a topic on which the foundation of the United Nations, and indeed the future of the world, must rest; that is, the issue of war or peace. We may call it “disarmament” or “the limitation of armaments”, or whatever we like, but the issue which we are really

facing is this: is humanity to move forward towards the elimination of war as an instrument of policy, and are the policies being followed likely to lead us in that direction or in the reverse direction? That is the situation which we are facing and, shorn of all its details, it is the problem to which we are addressing ourselves.

40. On 2 December of this year, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States introduced a draft resolution on this subject, following the usual practice. First of all, it is necessary to point out that this subject had taken a somewhat healthier turn last year, with the result that an agreed draft resolution was introduced at a later stage by the five countries principally concerned in this matter [A/C.1/752/Rev.2]. My delegation has always held that, on the one hand, disarmament is a matter for all nations, great and small, in whatever continent they may be and in whatever climate, and that, on the other hand, it is impossible to bring about agreement on disarmament unless the great Powers—and now we say principally the United States of America and the Soviet Union—come to an agreement. Therefore any constructive step forward would be greatly assisted if there were such agreement.

41. It did not appear—and I say this with great deliberation—that such agreement was intended or sought this year as it was last year. But, in any case, a draft resolution was introduced on 2 December, and my delegation wishes to look at the genesis of this and at its principal characteristics. At best it is by way of a “stalling” draft resolution, beginning the abandonment of the principles that have been accepted by this Assembly.

42. I want to say deliberately that the approach made by the sponsors of this draft resolution to the whole of this problem on 2 December 1955 created grave apprehensions in our minds, that this was not a question whether this year the proposals that were made were adequate or inadequate, or whether they were well phrased or could have been better phrased. And some of these apprehensions have appeared in the observations of the representative of Canada.

43. We are deeply concerned lest we might be beginning the burial of this problem. Indeed, one has only to look back at the history of the previous Disarmament Conference, in the thirties of this century.

44. Thus, when this text was presented it was found, on the one hand, to contain the slightest possible reference to our decisions of last year. It left other matters very much as they were, concentrating on two things—the inspection plan proposed by Mr. Eisenhower, and the plan for control posts proposed by Mr. Bulganin. These are the two matters concerning us. All the rest appears to be just so much verbiage, and even in the case of that verbiage all the important things are omitted.

45. Then other delegations intervened, and although such intervention in this debate has not always been welcomed by the experts on this subject, the amendments proposed by those delegations salvaged—again I use this word deliberately—some of the purposes which we had developed and implemented during the last two or three years. I say this with strict reference to the texts of the two drafts which must be before representatives.

46. As a result—and I can only speak about my own delegation's part in the matter—it was possible to reintroduce certain provisions of resolution 808 (IX),

thanks to the spirit of accommodation of the sponsors. That is to say that the draft resolution now recalls that there must be total prohibition, that there must be effective control and that there must be major reductions of all so-called conventional armaments. Incidentally, we shall soon have to abandon this term, "conventional armaments", because atomic armaments are becoming the conventional ones. Therefore, as I say, that was a first salvage operation.

47. The second point was that the sponsors agreed to include in another part of the draft resolution a provision to the effect that all essential matters set out in resolution 808 (IX) would equally be under consideration. I must, however, confess that this is a very weakly worded statement, and also that it is in a place which is not of the very greatest importance, but still, this is part of the process of give and take and of argument and counter-argument; what is more, amendments come sometimes from the smaller Powers, so that the impact they can make on the greater ones is always limited.

48. We were also able, in the course of that debate, to introduce two essential points in the draft resolution. The first was that implementation was possible only if there was agreement—it was no good saying merely that the provisions of the text should be implemented; a resolution reflecting the views of only one side would share the fate of a great number of resolutions that had been adopted by this Assembly by considerable majorities but had remained a dead letter. The second was that the steps indicated in the draft were not a substitute for disarmament but the initial steps in a comprehensive plan.

49. Again, as I said in the Committee, we are not totally satisfied with the improvement that has been brought about in this matter, but it is arguable that the two steps to which priority has been given are now, in the terms of this draft resolution, merely initial steps and that there is no abandonment of the greater plan. But of course there will be abandonment, or not, of the plan according to the time taken and the attention given to its consideration. Thus it is possible to say that something is not abandonment, but if it is put off *sine die* it really becomes abandonment. Therefore the salvaging operation here may be merely technical or it may be real, and in a moment I shall examine to what extent we can adjourn with confidence and to what extent our confidence has been shaken by the speeches we have heard today.

50. The sponsors of the draft resolution were also good enough to accept suggestions relating to a standstill in the armaments race—there is no harm in calling it by its proper name—and to consider the problem of suspending experimental explosions of nuclear weapons. Here again, the acceptance is only partial. What my delegation asked for was that conversations should begin between the countries with great facilities for the production of nuclear and thermonuclear power, with a view to suspending such experimental explosions. Evidence of the effects of these explosions, as I pointed out, comes in as each day goes by from various sources all over the world—not sources which are antagonistic to one side or the other, whether it be the United States or the Soviet Union, but even sources on their own side.

51. Since the conclusion of the disarmament debate, there has been a statement by a United States naval doctor, Commander Eugene P. Cronkite, concerning last year's explosions in the Pacific area and areas

which are part of Trust Territories for which the United Nations is responsible. He said that the fallout material consisted of pulverized and incinerated coral coated with radioactive fission products. That material, he said, had been forced high into the atmosphere by the explosion and spread out by winds over neighbouring inhabited atolls. In a prepared talk, Commander Cronkite told doctors attending the forty-first annual meeting of the Radiological Society of North America that, while most injuries had been slight, some of the atomic burns were deep and had become infected. However, he added, the exposed persons were generally in good health a year later.

52. According to Commander Cronkite, some scientists had expressed the opinion that the nuclear device tested was a hydrogen-uranium bomb yielding thousands of times the radioactivity produced by atomic bomb tests. It is interesting that in this particular case the doctor also said that radiation from a nuclear device tested the previous year in the Pacific had caused temporary skin eruptions and loss of hair in 90 per cent of some sixty-four Marshall Islands natives. Whether loss of hair is a very serious calamity or not depends upon why and how and so on, but the fact is that in this case the effect was so widespread as to affect 90 per cent of the population. I shall say nothing about the fact that these are Trust Territories entrusted to our care: that is a separate proposition.

53. Finally, in this draft resolution that is now before us, the sponsors accepted the idea of requesting the Disarmament Commission to give careful study to these views.

54. Therefore I would like to express the fullest appreciation of the extent to which these suggestions have been accepted. But when all that is said and done, we have to strike the balance as between the gains and losses in this endeavour for disarmament.

55. We are in the ninth year of this disarmament debate and we have to ask ourselves whether, as a result of our endeavours, a single weapon of war has been abandoned, whether there has been the limitation of any of the stocks, conventional or otherwise, and whether there has been any progress in the agreements in regard to this. And the answer is "no"; that is to say, the disarmament debate, so far as we are concerned, is only an annual performance.

56. The world's armaments have increased by something like 4,000 per cent, we are told. The most gruesome weapons of war have been devised and we have now reached the stage when humanity has the knowledge and capacity—certainly some people have—of exterminating all life on this planet. Therefore, while the Assembly talks about disarmament, the world prepares for war. It may be called defensive war, it may be called defence against aggression, or it may be called preparation by one because the other fellow is preparing, but as far as humanity is concerned the position is that on the one hand we talk about disarming, and in fact we are arming.

57. I would like to ask the members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission what their answer is to this question? What is the answer to world public opinion? I admit that you can collect votes here, but would you mobilize the opinion of the world by saying that it is right that, while we talk of disarmament, under the comparative comfort that the United Nations has taken this subject under its protection, the great Powers of the world and the small

Powers of the world — to which I shall refer in a moment — will go on arming?

58. But over and above this increase in armaments, we have now come to another situation where, on account of the political arrangements made by great Powers, of East or West, with their alliances with other countries, atomic weapons have now become more widespread.

59. Mr. Moch, the representative of France, reminded us in the First Committee that if steps had been taken earlier, control would have been easier; and he warned us about that. But he did not make any reference to the fact that when military arrangements extend all over the world, it follows, as night follows day, that it is not possible to exclude any nation from the possession of atomic weapons, if that nation is the ally of countries which possess them. Therefore, as the result of the political arrangements made, not only are there more arms but a more widespread use and knowledge of them, and less capacity to control them.

60. We are told that one of the main features of the draft resolution before us is the appeal to us to be what is called "realistic". None of us have any objection to being realistic, but the definition of realism is nobody's monopoly. It is no use trying to cover up what is in fact our judgement, our desire, our prejudice, by giving it the name of realism or idealism.

61. What does being realistic mean? Is it realistic to prepare things in such a way that it would not be possible for an individual or a nation to control the catastrophic consequences of this preparation? This is the answer that the members of the Sub-Committee were particularly responsible for, and the answer which the sponsors of the draft resolution and the great Powers and the Assembly as a whole must make not only to our generation but to posterity.

62. Among the realistic arguments — and here I hope I will be forgiven if I speak with great frankness — we are told that certain new technical difficulties have been discovered.

63. I say that this statement has no relation to fact. No new technical difficulties have arisen. Is it suggested that at any time the scientists of the world knew everything about methods of detection? Is it not a basic feature of scientific knowledge that there is always a margin of error? Has it not been proved, for example, in the Pacific, that the scientific calculations with regard to the range of infection or radiation was miscalculated? Did anybody ever suggest that the scientists had found a method of discovering where the detonable weapons lay?

64. So why this new idea of new technical difficulties? We are told that the Soviet Union said on one occasion that it was possible to store these arms clandestinely. I am sure it was really revealing no new fact. I am not speaking of who stored them clandestinely; there is no need for secrecy now, because there is no control. My submission is that this is not a new factor at all. There have always been difficulties about detection, and that has been so in all wars. Every weapon of aggression creates a weapon of defence. Every weapon that is open creates machinery for concealment. Every fortress has a machinery of camouflage, and every camouflage has some kind of an instrument to discover it. And so the race goes on.

65. While there are technical difficulties, I think it is entirely unrealistic to suggest in this draft resolution that new and special technical difficulties have been dis-

covered. I would like to ask the following, particularly of the representative of Canada, who tells me that he takes a position rather different from that of a partisan in this matter: if it is not possible to detect an atomic weapon, is it possible, by photographing from the air, to detect what is under ground? It is not. Therefore every machinery that is suggested for inspection has some defect in it. You cannot detect radioactivity, nor can you detect from the air what is hidden underneath.

66. If we are told that it is possible to see arms factories, has it not been the experience in the Korean war, and so on, that factories for war exist underground? Is it not within the experience of the Western nations where, in the context of the bombing by Hitler's forces, there were factories working underground the whole time?

67. Therefore, if there is a defect in one thing, there is a defect in another. I would be the last person to discount the value of aerial photography, but I would be the last person equally to subscribe to a new religion. There are no panaceas for this. Aerial inspection is only one of the things than can be done. Therefore, while we should contribute to and support these plans, whether it be Mr. Eisenhower's plan for inspection from the air or Mr. Bulganin's plan for control posts, I do not think either of these are free from the bedevilment of leaving loop-holes. It is easy, quite easy, to avoid all the inspection posts. It is equally easy, or at least possible, to hide from these air inspection cameras whatever a country wishes to hide.

68. It is argued that the purpose of these plans is not to discover in quantity but to create confidence. I say that the creation of confidence is a very good thing, but does anybody imagine that the creation of confidence is dependent merely upon mechanical processes, and not upon the political developments which cause one side to have confidence in the other, upon the degree of abandonment of fear and of threats? Unless both sides abandon that position, and, what is more, bring into the context of this discussion all the available forces in the world which reach out towards reconciliation, it is not possible to achieve these results.

69. This is a very, very public item. It is one of those things which people everywhere, irrespective of nationalities or religious affiliations or continents or cultures, are equally concerned with, or should be so, because the problem is one of survival — the problem of the advance of civilization or the extermination of humanity.

70. I repeat, with great modesty, that the whole approach to this question that is being made is the approach of a mind that has lived in the age of the cross-bow and the cannon and things of that kind. The Sub-Committee's approach to the disarmament problem does not take into account the present atomic age. The draft resolution which has been put forward does not take into account the great contribution that is being made under the aegis of this Assembly towards the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy because, while on the one hand we are helping people to use atomic energy to produce water and power and light and cures for diseases, we are also placing in the hands of humanity — the ordinary people of the world the capacity to use the same energy for purposes of destruction. Thus the whole approach to this problem is retrogressive. It is at best a stalling operation.

71. On the whole, the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee is a vast improvement over what existed before. My delegation voted for it in the Com-

mittee and we will vote for it today. Why? Not because we think it satisfactory, but partly because it is an improvement, and also because we want the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission to get its marching orders to go on towards disarmament. To vote against the draft resolution would be to proclaim to the world that we all abandon hope, and if we abandon hope of disarmament, that I think is the worst contribution we can make, and perhaps it is a prelude to war.

72. For those reasons, we shall vote for the draft resolution, but our voting for it is not an expression of confidence in its substance; it is not a withdrawal by one iota from the positions we uphold, to which I shall refer in a moment.

73. My country will never subscribe at any time to the idea that atomic weapons may be used for any purpose whatsoever. We will not subscribe to the doctrine that atomic weapons may be used if a country is the victim of aggression. There are other weapons. We are not for a moment advocating what is called a pacifist doctrine. We are saying that there is only one thing to do with the atomic weapon, and that is not to use it. We should discontinue its use, suspend its production, suspend experiments, not make any more and dismantle whatever exists. Therefore any idea that there can be a gentlemen's agreement about using atomic weapons or that there can be limited uses to us is fantastic. What is more, this is not only because the weapon is a horrible one; it is also because the minimum that is permitted for these purposes is over the maximum that will be required for the purpose of total destruction. What is the difference between possessing 100 atomic explosive weapons or 10,000 of them?

74. Therefore, my Government has instructed me to state categorically, in public, and as publicly as possible, that we shall never in any circumstances, even if we happen to be pushed into the position of being a minority of one, subscribe to a doctrine which says that the atomic weapon may be used as an instrument of war.

75. We also suggested in the First Committee that there should be an expansion of the Disarmament Commission. I hope that in spite of the fact that the amendment was defeated — and defeated, it must be recalled, not by a large number of votes — the sponsors of the draft resolution will bear in mind that a victory by a small margin of votes in the United Nations is not necessarily an index of public opinion in the world. In opposition to my amendment, the sponsors of that draft were able to rally just more than one half the votes in the Committee, in spite of all the political circumstances that exist in this context.

76. We firmly believe that the Sub-Committee, which was appointed in 1953 [*resolution 715 (VIII)*] for a specific purpose — to meet in private in order to overcome certain difficulties — has gradually slipped into the position of being almost a body plenipotentiary. It has unseated the Disarmament Commission, which has become a rubber-stamp body that merely passes on information. Is it without some significance that there was no member of the Disarmament Commission to stand up and defend its position in the Committee? We heard today a spirited defence by the representative of Australia [*558th meeting*]. Of course, he is new to the Security Council. He will be there next year and he will find out.

77. We say that even the Disarmament Commission is not sufficient for this purpose. For a long time my

delegation pursued the idea of a world conference on disarmament so that the problem might be before the world. Let the world know who is doing the obstructing. Let the world know what are the obstructions. We recently had instances in this Assembly where the impact of world opinion helped to get over many deadlocks. Therefore I do not agree with this element of secrecy; with putting everything before the Assembly just before it meets so that it may not discuss or present proposals; with having finally a full-dress debate for two or three weeks; and then with going home until the next year and hearing no more about it.

78. My delegation made humble efforts in this direction. We asked that certain proposals should be considered. The Assembly was generous enough to accept them. It said that those proposals would be considered, but that the body to consider them was the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. The Sub-Committee took no notice of them, and this year, instead of the First Committee including them in a separate draft resolution, it has referred to them in this draft resolution. What guarantee or assurance is there that anything will be considered? We are told that the only assurance is that the draft resolution submitted by India in the First Committee will be placed side by side with the suggestions of the Prime Minister of France and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. We are deeply honoured, but it does not change the facts.

79. We think that the Disarmament Commission should not be a closed cabinet in this way, and I think that the resistance offered by the sponsoring Powers in this direction is unseemly. The Assembly is entitled to information on this question. The Assembly is entitled to know what the Disarmament Commission does. The Assembly is entitled to know why it is that, in a body which has been appointed by it, which includes the members of the Security Council, plus Canada, whose contribution in this matter we regard as vital, there has been no discussion and no report during the twelve months that have passed. What steps are being taken in this direction?

80. We shall give support to the Syrian draft resolution [*A/L.209*]. My delegation deeply regrets the aspersions cast upon it. I would ask the representative of Australia to feel that he is very much a part of our part of the world, and, just because there is no agreement on a draft resolution, it is not necessary to question the motives underlying it. We may be all wrong. We have no monopoly on wisdom, but the view of my delegation with regard to the Syrian draft resolution, which we warmly support, is that it is not in opposition to the draft resolution of the First Committee. It is not inconsistent with it. It does not contradict a thing which has been said here. It supplements the draft, and that is all. You may ask: why should it supplement it? We have only to turn to the oration of Mr. Belaúnde for an answer. What does he say? He says: "If it is good, there is so much good in it that you do not want any more good. If it is bad, we should not have it. In either case, we should not have it." That means that, like the poor, we are always in the wrong.

81. There is nothing in the Syrian draft resolution which the four Powers cannot accept, unless there are political reasons. It does not take away from the priorities listed in the other draft resolution.

82. It may be that our fears arise because we do not know the facts, but we have apprehensions that the

whole matter is going to be narrowed down to finding out whether inspection posts can be built and whether photographs can be taken. We are concerned with the purposes of these posts and of these photographs. It is one thing to ask for discovery, but what is the purpose of the discovery? The purpose is control, why do we not say that? Why do we abandon all other proposals? Why do we shut our eyes to a great many things that may come in the next twelve months? That is all that the Syrian draft resolution asks for, nothing else.

83. I hope that the General Assembly will take this draft resolution into account. Especially on this matter of disarmament I hope that it will be possible for us, the representatives of the Member States, to abandon what is in my view only the smaller considerations of political alignment, and concentrate on this matter.

84. I regret that I cannot share either the optimism or the enthusiasm expressed by the representative of the United States in the First Committee, when he said that this was a great beginning, I am afraid it is not a great beginning. If it is the beginning, it is the beginning of a recession, and that is what we have to resist. We believe that we are going back. We ought to let the people know we are going back so that they will not allow us to go back.

85. Disarmament is not one of those problems which should be the plaything of our political forces. War is far too serious a matter. Those of us who live in parts of the world where, for millennia, there have not been opportunities for civilized existence in the material sense or in the sense of having the fullest opportunity for the people, want to be rid of the fears of war, of all economic diversion that takes place through war and of being made the plaything of rival forces.

86. For those reasons, we say that we will not vote against the draft resolution; we will vote for it as an act of faith. I want to tell the members of the Subcommittee that it is an act of faith.

87. We will vote for the Syrian draft resolution. If any amendments are put, my delegation will cast its vote in the same way as it did in the First Committee.

88. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As I have no other speakers on my list, we shall proceed to the vote. In accordance with the rules of procedure, we shall vote first on the amendments submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.207] to the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee [A/3090].

89. At the request of the representative of Yugoslavia, I shall put to the vote separately the first and second paragraphs contained in the first Soviet amendment [A/L.207].

The first paragraph was rejected by 38 votes to 12, with 10 abstentions.

The second paragraph was rejected by 39 votes to 11, with 10 abstentions.

90. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now put the second, third and fourth Soviet amendments [A/L.207] to the vote in succession.

The second amendment was rejected by 43 votes to 9, with 10 abstentions.

The third amendment was rejected by 37 votes to 11, with 12 abstentions.

The fourth amendment was rejected by 32 votes to 16, with 11 abstentions.

91. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee [A/3090]. At the request of the representative of the Soviet Union, the vote will be taken paragraph by paragraph after the fourth paragraph of the preamble.

The first four paragraphs of the preamble were adopted by 70 votes to none.

The fifth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 57 votes to none, with 7 abstentions

The sixth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 55 votes to 7.

The seventh paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 52 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.

The eighth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 54 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

92. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): At the request of the representative of the Soviet Union, each part of paragraph 1 will be voted upon separately.

The first part of the paragraph, as far as and including the words "Disarmament Commission", was adopted by 62 votes to none.

Sub-paragraph (a) was adopted by 61 votes to 1.

Sub-paragraph (b), down to and including the words "implementation of", was adopted by 56 votes to 7.

Clause (i) of sub-paragraph (b) was adopted by 57 votes to 7.

Clause (ii) of sub-paragraph (b) was adopted by 62 votes to none.

93. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): A vote by division has been requested on paragraph 2 of the operative part.

The first part of the paragraph, as far as and including the words "inspection and control", was adopted by 63 votes to none.

The remainder of the paragraph was adopted by 55 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

94. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the remaining paragraphs of the operative part.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 64 votes to none.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 56 votes to 7.

Paragraph 5 was adopted by 56 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Paragraph 6 was adopted by 63 votes to none.

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

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 56 votes to 7.

96. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We must now take a decision on the draft resolution proposed by Syria [A/L.209].

97. The United States representative has moved [558th meeting], under rule 93 of the rules of procedure, that this draft resolution should not be put to the vote. I shall put this motion to the vote first.

The motion was adopted by 35 votes to 18, with 7 abstentions.

98. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now give the floor to representatives who wish to explain their votes.

99. Mr. SANDLER (Sweden): The main observations that I have had to offer this year on behalf of the

Swedish delegation as regards this matter are on record in the proceedings of the First Committee. From that statement it may easily be concluded that we should have preferred not to include controversial matters in the directive to the Disarmament Commission.

100. It follows from the vote, first in the Committee and now in this Assembly, that it has not been possible this year, as it was last year, to achieve unanimity on a resolution on this subject. This we regret. We are aware, like so many others, that the prerequisite to any substantial measure of disarmament established by means of a multilateral treaty is unanimity among the great Powers, and first of all between the United States and the Soviet Union.

101. We have noted with satisfaction and some hope that the minority, while maintaining its point of view, has declared its readiness to continue to collaborate in further negotiations. Perhaps — I only say "perhaps" — on some future day Mr. Molotov's finale and Mr. Eisenhower's overture will be in some way linked with each other in a symphonic whole.

102. In view of the fact that there is nothing in the resolution — a text greatly improved during the debate in the First Committee — which is objectionable to my delegation, we have cast our vote here in favour of it, not gladly, because the unanimity of last year is regretfully lacking, but without hesitation, as it may be considered to be a step forward towards a synthesis and for no other reason.

103. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): This hall is full of distinguished men — men with records of accomplishment behind them, men who are doing important work today, men who will do big things in the future. With all this in mind, I say this: nothing anyone here has ever done, or may do, is likely to work so powerfully for peace as what we have just done here today in giving world-wide endorsement to President Eisenhower's "open sky" plan, which is linked with Mr. Bulganin's plan for ground control posts.

104. When this plan was proposed at Geneva last summer, the world welcomed it because it was fresh and new and bold. Over the years the world had become disillusioned and confused — and, if the truth be told, dangerously bored and cynical — by the endless disarmament talks. Undoubtedly many persons suspected that we here in the United Nations had succumbed to ritual, that we had become so proficient in the old arguments and so dominated by traditional concepts that we had lost touch with the bewildering speed of scientific development.

105. By our action today, we have shown that the United Nations can move ahead with the times. We have stepped out of the squirrel's cage.

106. Our endorsement of the "open sky" plan by such an overwhelming majority will now mobilize the irresistible force of world opinion. No Government can long stand out against that great force. Our action today will make the "open sky" plan a household word in every land, and eventually behind the Iron Curtain. The people of the world will demand that this plan be put into operation — and I am confident that the Soviet Union will join it, as it joined the "atoms for peace" programme.

107. Thus the plan will go into effect, and the "sentinels of peace" will fly over the United States. They will fly over the Soviet Union and over other lands which eventually take part in this plan. This in

turn will make major surprise attack impossible because of the impossibility of concealing preparations for it. This will remove the menace of a third world war. In its turn, this will make possible comprehensive disarmament and all the other blessings of peace and prosperity.

108. This resolution directs that we start now towards that goal. It also calls on the nations, at the earliest moment, to take those steps towards the reduction of armaments which can be surely and safely taken under an efficient system of international inspection. It is the most significant resolution on disarmament which the General Assembly has yet adopted.

109. There is an old proverb uttered by one of the earliest American statesmen and diplomats, Benjamin Franklin. It goes something as follows: "For want of a nail, the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe, the horse was lost; and for want of a horse, the rider was lost." Thus the rider did not arrive and the battle was lost.

110. We today in the air-atomic age are putting the reverse of this old proverb into effect. Instead of losing a battle because of a nail, we are on our way to winning the peace by using air power for peace now that modern science has made this possible. The United Nations thus becomes the place where both air power and atomic power are directed to man's life rather than to man's death.

111. What we have done here today can change the lives of babies now in their cradles. In and of itself, it alone justifies our existence and that of the United Nations.

112. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation cast its vote in favour of the proposal that the States which bear the main responsibility for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, together with the establishment of effective international control, should take active steps to reach the necessary agreement.

113. The United Nations has been concerned with the problem of disarmament for nine years. During that period, many proposals have been submitted by various States, especially by those which are members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. Some of these proposals were very constructive and on some of them agreement was reached in 1954. It would therefore seem that it would be feasible to proceed from general discussions and the expression of general wishes to the final establishment of a programme which would effectively ensure the reduction of armaments and the cessation of the armaments race. Unfortunately, however, we are now in approximately the same position as we were nine years ago.

114. Hitherto, all practical proposals relating to disarmament have been rejected one after another. As soon as matters reach the stage at which the possibility of agreement seems to be within sight, pretexts are found to prevent such agreement; that has happened again this year, after the introduction of the Soviet proposals, which stressed the *rapprochement* that had taken place on a number of basic points. Those who had previously submitted proposals have failed to maintain them, and we now unfortunately find ourselves in the same position that we were in several years ago.

115. Meanwhile, the peoples are expecting the United Nations, and particularly the States which possess large quantities of armaments, to take the necessary measures

to reach agreement. The attitude of the peoples of the world was strikingly expressed on 13 December in the joint statement issued by Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Bulganin. I quote from that statement:

"In order to establish world peace and to eliminate conditions leading to the inconceivable disaster of another world war, there is no course open but that of disarmament. Increasing or even continuing the present scale of armaments is a constant invitation to war and leads to fear and competition in the production of the latest type of weapons for mass destruction. The urgency of disarmament grows in proportion to the invention and accumulation of weapons of ever-increasing destructive potential. The widespread desire that war should be totally ruled out necessitates that positive, adequate and early steps should be taken towards disarmament. There has already been a large measure of agreement on this subject and there appears to be no reason why the remaining obstacles should not be overcome soon if enduring peace is the aim."

116. The Soviet delegation expresses its firm belief that the States concerned will take urgent measures to bring about a substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of strict international control to ensure observance of this prohibition and of disarmament.

AGENDA ITEM 65

The question of West Irian (West New Guinea)

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3093)

117. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): If no one wishes to explain his vote, I shall take it that, in view of the First Committee's decision, the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Committee [A/3093] without objection.

The draft resolution was adopted. 915

~~Membership of the Trusteeship Council~~

118. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): This question has been included in the agenda of the meeting as a result of the General Assembly's decision [555th meeting] to admit sixteen new Member States.

119. Article 86 of the Charter lays down the constitution of the Trusteeship Council and provides that those Members administering Trust Territories shall be members of the Council. As Italy is now a Member of the United Nations and is also the Administering Authority of a Trust Territory, it is automatically entitled to a seat on the Trusteeship Council.

120. Article 86 further provides that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council shall be equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer Trust Territories and those which do not. Consequently the General Assembly must now elect a member of the Trusteeship Council which does not administer a Trust Territory to maintain the balance for which the Charter provides.

121. In accordance with the rules of procedure, there will be no nominations and the election will take place by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	65
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	65
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	65
Required majority:	44
Number of votes obtained:	
Burma	37
Liberia	20
Cambodia	7
Iraq	1

122. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): None of the candidates has been elected. We shall now hold another ballot, this time restricted to the two candidates which received the greatest number of votes on the first ballot, that is, Burma and Liberia.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	66
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	65
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	64
Required majority:	43
Number of votes obtained:	
Burma	41
Liberia	23

123. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Neither of the candidates has obtained the necessary majority, and we shall therefore take another ballot, again restricted to Burma and Liberia.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	66
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	66
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	66
Required majority:	44
Number of votes obtained:	
Burma	42
Liberia	24

124. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): This ballot has also been inconclusive and we shall therefore take a third restricted ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	66
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	66
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	66
Required majority:	44
Number of votes obtained:	
Burma	42
Liberia	24

125. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We now have to begin a new series of ballots. The first three ballots in this series are unrestricted, that is,

Members may vote for any country except the countries which are now members of the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	67
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	67
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	67
Required majority:	45
Number of votes obtained:	
Burma	41
Liberia	15
Cambodia	7
Bolivia	1
Finland	1
Israel	1
Romania	1

126. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): This ballot has also been inconclusive. We shall now proceed to the sixth ballot, which is the second unrestricted ballot in this series.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	67
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	67
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	67
Required majority:	45
Number of votes obtained:	
Burma	44
Liberia	15
Cambodia	8

127. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): This ballot has also been inconclusive. We shall therefore proceed to a further ballot, which is the third unrestricted ballot in the series.

Mr. Le Gallais (Luxembourg), Vice-President, took the Chair.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	67
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	67
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	67
Required majority:	45
Number of votes obtained:	
Burma	48
Liberia	11
Cambodia	6
Hungary	1
Romania	1

Burma, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, was elected a member of the Trusteeship Council.

AGENDA ITEM 37

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1955

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3101)

AGENDA ITEMS 38 AND 47

Budget estimates for the financial year 1956

Organization of the Secretariat

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3103)

128. Mr. MENDEZ (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly for its consideration the reports for the Fifth Committee relating to agenda items 37, 38 and 47.

129. In its report relating to agenda item 37 [A/3101], on the supplementary estimates for the year 1955, the Fifth Committee recommends that the amount of the budget approved by General Assembly resolution 890 (IX), of 17 December 1954, be increased by an amount of \$3,264,200.

130. The main reasons for this increase are the necessity for additional appropriations arising, on the one hand, from the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, which was held in Geneva in August 1955, pursuant to resolution 810 (IX) of the General Assembly, and, on the other hand, from the necessity to provide for the reimbursement of national income taxes.

131. The remaining increase arises from expenditures incurred during 1955 under resolution 891 (IX), relating to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses. It was possible for the Secretary-General to provide some savings on the original appropriation to contribute towards the expenditures of this latter group of items, so that it may well be said that the new appropriation which is being requested is designed, in total, to meet new items.

132. Accordingly, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, I commend for the consideration of the General Assembly the revised draft resolution contained in this report.

133. I turn now to the report relating to agenda items 38 and 47 [A/3103], dealing with the budget estimates for the financial year 1956 and the organization of the Secretariat.

134. These items on our agenda represent the end of a long and arduous journey by the Fifth Committee. It is perhaps not without reason that the report is fairly lengthy, and members will note by glancing at the table of contents of this report the principal questions which occupied the Fifth Committee throughout a period of twenty-one meetings.

135. In draft resolution A, the Fifth Committee recommends the budget appropriations for the year 1956, in the gross amount of \$48,566,350. If these appropriations are approved, then the basis of assessment on Member States in 1956 would be in accordance with the summary table contained in the introduction to the report.

136. The General Assembly is also requested to take action upon draft resolution B, relating to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses, and on draft resolution C, relating to the Working Capital Fund.

137. Members will note that draft resolution B follows very closely the form of resolutions approved by the Assembly in prior years.

138. Members will also note that draft resolution C provides that the Working Capital Fund be established for the year ending 31 December 1956 at an amount of \$20 million. For the last year or so, the Working Capital Fund has been established at the amount of \$21,500,000; but consequent on the action approved yesterday by the General Assembly [557th meeting] in the establishment of a Tax Equalization Fund, it has been found possible to revert to the former level of \$20 million.

139. In reaching its final recommendations on the budget estimates, the Fifth Committee paid close attention to a number of major factors, each of which in varying degree affects the budget total, and all of which have a direct bearing upon the administrative and budgetary policies of the Organization. The aim of the Fifth Committee, both in its examination of the estimates and of these questions, and in its particular recommendations to the General Assembly, has been to see to it that the budgetary and administrative affairs of the Organization are secured upon a sound basis of principle, and presented to Governments in such a manner that their support, and the support of public opinion in each of the Member States, might be the more readily obtained.

140. In particular, the Fifth Committee paid close attention to the estimates relating to economic and social activities and to the public information activities of the Organization. The Committee expressed preference for a new presentation of those important questions which affect the revenue-producing activities of the Organization, and also, having examined the intricate and technical question of reimbursement rates for services rendered to the specialized agencies, agreed on a policy in this connexion which could be developed in the different related fields of its application within the framework of resolution 210 (III), adopted by the General Assembly on 18 November 1948.

141. The Committee received an important report [A/3041] from the Secretary-General bearing specifically upon certain reorganization proposals regarding the activities of the United Nations offices overseas and the relationship between those activities and those of Headquarters departments, which had been developed by his Survey Group. The Committee reached the conclusion that the Secretary-General might be authorized to apply, in a limited and experimental manner, the recommendations made by the Survey Group for bringing about a closer relationship between the Technical Assistance Administration and the secretariats of the regional economic commissions by posting certain TAA personnel at the headquarters of the Economic Commission for Latin America, and that the results of such an experiment should be reported to the General Assembly at its eleventh session. In view, however, of the significance of the Secretary-General's recommendations as a whole and the necessity for a thorough examination of them before final decisions could be taken, the Fifth Committee reached the conclusion that the consideration of these recommendations should be deferred to the General Assembly's eleventh session.

142. The Committee gave further consideration to the question of the erection of headquarters buildings for the International Telecommunication Union and the World Meteorological Organization. The result of its deliberations is contained in draft resolution D, which the Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly.

143. I could not finish these remarks without expressing on behalf of the Fifth Committee the warm appreciation which members of the General Assembly owe to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. The Chairman of the Advisory Committee, Mr. Aghnides, who participated in all the Fifth Committee's discussions, gave invaluable help this year, as in the past, to the clarification of the many technical and intricate matters discussed by the Committee. It was a noteworthy contribution for which, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, I would wish to express our special thanks. Indeed, the members of the Advisory Committee have been of great assistance in finding effective and economical ways of handling the financial and administrative affairs of the United Nations, and the prior expert examination of the details of all the estimates considered by the Advisory Committee at the current session permitted the Fifth Committee to direct its discussion to the broader policy implications of the financial administration of the United Nations, and greatly facilitated the completion of the agenda.

144. The Fifth Committee also recognized that the close co-operation between the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee was a factor which guaranteed a sound policy in the administration of the United Nations budget, and the present evidence of such effective co-operation was a source of encouragement.

145. In conclusion, I must state that the Fifth Committee recognized that the efforts which the Secretary-General had made to eliminate wasteful expenditure, extravagance and inefficiency, represented a forthright and courageous act on his part. Members of the Fifth Committee were not unmindful of all that the Secretary-General and his collaborators had done in recent years to perfect the organism and working of the Secretariat as an effective tool devoted towards the attainment of the purposes of the United Nations in the most efficient manner possible.

146. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution of the Fifth Committee relating to agenda item 37 [A/3101].

The draft resolution was adopted by 54 votes to 7.

147. The PRESIDENT: I shall now give the floor to any representatives who wish to explain their votes on the report of the Fifth Committee relating to agenda items 38 and 47 [A/3103].

148. Mr. SAKSIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Fifth Committee proposes in its report [A/3103] that budget estimates for 1956 in the total amount of \$48,566,350 should be approved. Such a budget for the financing of United Nations activities is excessive. It should be noted that, taking into account the supplementary estimates for 1955, the total amount of United Nations expenditures (the so-called net budget) to be assessed against Member States in 1956 is about \$43 million, or \$3,600,000 more than the corresponding figure for the previous year. The net expenditure proposed by the Fifth Committee for 1956 is thus the highest of all budgets ever assessed against Member States in all the eleven years of United Nations history.

149. Such a state of affairs is inadmissible and indicates badly planned and uneconomical expenditure of United Nations funds.

150. When the budget estimates for 1956 were discussed in the Fifth Committee, the Soviet delegation submitted detailed information showing that the in-

creased expenditure requested by the Secretary-General for the maintenance of an unduly cumbersome Secretariat was quite unjustified. Despite the Secretary-General's measures for the reorganization of the Secretariat, the number of posts in all departments will continue to be very high in 1956. The total expenditure for the maintenance of the Secretariat amounts to about three-quarters of the budget as a whole.

151. A number of delegations pointed out in the Fifth Committee that the streamlining and reduction of certain organs of the Secretariat, if properly conducted, would allow fairly considerable economies to be made. In the view of the Soviet delegation, these objectives would best be attained, if the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the Department of Public Information were reorganized.

152. The Soviet delegation considers that the secretariats of the Economic Commissions for Asia and the Far East, for Europe and for Latin America should be expanded and should receive greater attention. The work of these regional commissions has fully proved its worth. Thanks to them, the United Nations Secretariat has established closer contact with regions having important economic problems to the solution of which it is called upon to contribute. The work of these regional bodies could be greatly strengthened and expanded if the Department of Economic and Social Affairs were merged with the Technical Assistance Administration into one secretariat body, so that a number of services at Headquarters which are now engaged in social and economic work could be reduced. Such a reorganization would undoubtedly mean a substantial economy in expenditure.

153. The Soviet delegation also considers that expenditure on information services is extremely high compared with expenditure on other forms of activity, and that it could be reduced without detriment to efficiency if the present structure of the Department of Public Information were overhauled and if an effective system of priorities were established in its work.

154. A major cause of the enormous expenditure is the fact that United Nations funds are, in large measure, improperly used. Thus the budget estimates for 1956 provide for about \$3,500,000 for the maintenance of such organs as the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (whose sole occupation is to ship European refugees to countries overseas and thus to prevent their return to their homelands), the so-called Field Service and other such organs which were created in defiance of the United Nations Charter. The Soviet delegation opposed last year, and opposes today, any appropriations for the maintenance of United Nations organs created illegally, in defiance of the Charter.

155. Finally, although the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions requesting Member States of the United Nations to exempt their nationals employed in the Secretariat from national income tax, or in some other manner to grant relief from double taxation, this problem has still not been resolved. As a result, Member States are compelled to pay to the United States Treasury for 1956 more than \$1,500,000 out of the United Nations budget on account of income tax payable by United States nationals employed by the United Nations in 1955. In reimbursement of such tax, the United Nations has already paid over \$11 million to the United States Treasury.

156. For these reasons, the delegation of the Soviet Union will vote against the budget estimates for 1956 proposed by the Fifth Committee in draft resolution A. The appropriations provided for are excessive and not justified by the real requirements of the United Nations. The Soviet delegation considers that expenditure in 1956, allowing for miscellaneous income, should not exceed \$35 million. That sum is amply sufficient for the discharge of the tasks confronting the United Nations.

157. This being our attitude, we would ask the President to put the four draft resolutions contained in the Committee's report [A/3103] to the vote separately.

The President resumed the Chair.

158. Mr. MERROW (United States of America): My delegation will support the total appropriations for 1956 voted by the Fifth Committee [A/3103, draft resolution A], but it will do so with some reservations. With the forewarning which we had received as to the necessity for a large supplementary appropriation for 1955 to cover such items as the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, my delegation expressed the hope at the outset of the debate in the Fifth Committee that we could keep the 1956 budget to the level recommended by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/2921], namely, \$46,016,600. Instead, the budget approved by the Fifth Committee has reached \$48,566,350, an increase of approximately \$2,600,000 over the budget which this Assembly approved for 1955.

159. These increases fall largely into four categories of expenditure: activities related to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, technical assistance in the social welfare and human rights fields, operation of field offices and special missions, and salary adjustments.

160. My delegation in the Fifth Committee supported important programme expansion and some increased expenditures in all of these items, except the one relating to salary adjustments. We opposed some of the appropriations voted for programme expansion and we opposed the increase in Headquarters cost-of-living allowance.

161. We recognized that changing economic conditions, and particularly the increase in United States Federal Government salaries, necessitated a reappraisal of the adequacy of the total level of the United Nations remuneration. We were opposed to the Secretary-General's proposal for a cost-of-living adjustment at this time because, on the basis of prevailing standards in the United Nations and the specialized agencies, there is no present justification for this kind of salary increase.

162. However, we believe that the establishment of a committee composed of governmental experts to review the salary, allowance and benefits system in 1956 is a welcome development. Such a review should make it possible to achieve two objectives: first, to adjust the common remuneration system of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to present-day requirements for attracting and holding a highly qualified multinational staff in positions in all parts of the world; secondly, to make these adjustments in a manner which takes adequate account of the responsibilities and financial resources of international organizations and the standards of remuneration in national public services.

163. In this connexion, I would state that the United States Government is not satisfied with the present level of participation by United States nationals in the various

international secretariats and technical assistance programmes. We trust that the Committee's recommendations will encourage an increasing number of United States nationals to seek international employment not only at United Nations Headquarters, but also in other international agencies.

164. While a number of the proposals for additional budgetary increases were resisted by the Committee, my delegation was disappointed at the fact that the proposals for increased expenditures were not offset to a larger extent by compensating economies. We had hoped, for example, to effect some savings by altering the regulations for publication of treaties. Similarly, we had hoped to defer less essential items, such as expenditures for improvement of facilities for conferences and meetings at Geneva.

165. The net result of all the financial decisions taken by the Fifth Committee is that the expenditures to be assessed in respect of the 1955 supplementary appropriation and the 1956 budget will total \$51,830,550 — the largest expenditure in United Nations history. I would say, parenthetically, that we hope that this tenth session of the General Assembly will securely hold this dubious distinction unchallenged for many years to come.

166. The amount of these appropriations is due not only to the increase of \$2,600,000 in the 1956 budget to which I have already referred, but also to the coincidental occurrence of unusually high supplementary expenditures in respect of the year 1955, without the offsetting savings that were available last year. The supplementary items for 1955 include \$1,400,000 of the total cost of \$2,361,000 for the international scientific conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy; \$1,630,000, representing the last appropriation for reimbursement of national taxes to staff members; and other unforeseen costs relating to such matters as the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London, and the Secretary-General's successful trip, in accordance with the General Assembly's directive [*resolution 906 (IX)*], to obtain the release of eleven United States prisoners and other personnel of the United Nations Command captured during the Korean war.

167. Despite its concern at the increase in United Nations expenditures, just at the point when we had anticipated a stabilization, the United States will support the appropriation recommended for 1956 by the Fifth Committee. We shall do so in recognition of two facts: first, that the Secretary-General and the General Assembly have over the past two years made a real effort to reduce, and have made considerable progress in reducing, the regular budget; and, secondly, that a sizable amount of the increased assessments being voted for 1956 is of a non-recurring character. My delegation strongly urges, however, that the upward trend of expenditures reflected in the 1956 budgets of not only the United Nations, but also the specialized agencies, should not be considered as establishing a precedent for future years.

168. In an earlier statement, made to the Fifth Committee, I expressed the belief that the support of all Member States for the causes served by the programmes of the United Nations agencies should be sustained, and indeed increased. This should not be interpreted, however, as urging increases in the regular budgets. The avenues by which these causes can be served are

many. As I indicated in the Fifth Committee, the form of such support — whether through the regular budgets of international organizations, through international voluntary programmes, or through such other forms of inter-governmental co-operation as bilateral programmes — will require a continuing assessment of the following factors, among others: first whether an international agency can be demonstrated to be the best instrument for meeting the needs which are justifiably the concern of the international community; secondly, the degree to which the members of such an agency are willing to bear an equitable share of the financial burdens entailed in assuming such international responsibilities (it is an inescapable fact that, if the brunt of the cost falls upon a relatively few Member States, the undertaking is not truly international, and lasting and bitter misunderstandings will surely result); and, thirdly, whether international assistance will be adequately supported and supplemented by national endeavours.

169. One further fact that must be continuously borne in mind by Member States, as well as the Secretariat, was pointed out to us by the Secretary-General last year in his annual report. He stated:

"... the very nature of the responsibilities that must be assumed by the Secretary-General and his senior staff imposes a limit on the volume of the tasks that can be handled effectively, irrespective of the additional funds, personnel and facilities that might be placed at their disposal [*A/2063, p. xv*]."

170. All these factors dictate caution in the expansion by the General Assembly of the permanent establishments and regular budgets of international services. This does not mean that pressing world problems will be neglected by the community of nations represented here and in the specialized agencies — far from it.

171. Although the sum total of the regular budgets of the United Nations and currently existing specialized agencies for the period 1946 to 1955, inclusive, is approximately \$686 million, an additional amount of more than \$1,000 million has been contributed to international programmes especially designed to provide relief and rehabilitation for refugees, to give technical assistance for economic and social development and to promote maternal and child welfare. In addition, very material assistance in promoting economic development is provided through the facilities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. And, augmenting all these efforts, are large national programmes of assistance, such as the United States Technical Co-operation Plan and regional programmes such as the Colombo Plan. The value and results which derive from such a flexible, many-pronged approach to these problems cannot be overestimated, and should not be jeopardized by premature or unrealistic expansions of the regular budgets and staffs of international bodies.

172. In expressing our hopes regarding the budget to be presented next year, I should also like to mention our interest in seeing the Advisory Committee and the Assembly develop a more simplified form of the budget, which will enable the financial control exercised by the Assembly and the Secretary-General to be more effective and which will, at the same time, reduce administrative "red tape".

173. We welcome, too, the initiative taken by the representative of Denmark in the Fifth Committee in

calling our attention to the need for improving the organization and scheduling of the Fifth Committee's work. This led to a fruitful exchange on ways and means of eliminating delays and of facilitating, in particular, the review of the budget and decisions relating thereto.

174. The Assembly will note in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/3103, para. 33] that the United States suggested that the agenda of the eleventh session of the General Assembly might include an item entitled "General Assembly procedures for the consideration and adoption of the budget". We are pleased that the Secretary-General will give this matter his attention during the next year. While experience, particularly this year, has shown the need for procedural improvements, I should like to testify to the skill of the Chairman of the Fifth Committee. With the difficulties we face, only the direction of a superb chairman could save us. My delegation believes that we therefore owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Engen, of Norway.

175. In matters of co-ordination with the specialized agencies, the decision of the Fifth Committee to support the Secretary-General's request for increases in salaries and in the educational allowance was, in our judgement, without sufficient notice to the specialized agencies. This seems a regrettable departure from the repeated emphasis given by the Assembly to the desirability of co-ordinating administrative policies and practices among the United Nations and the agencies. On the other hand, the Fifth Committee did recommend that the United Nations should offer its assistance to the International Telecommunication Union and the World Meteorological Organization in constructing a headquarters that would permit them to share the facilities of the Palais des Nations with the United Nations and the World Health Organization. We hope that this will eventuate in closer relationships among these organizations, and that it will be possible ultimately for them and us to benefit from the greater use of common services that would result from living under the same roof.

176. Another step that should be conducive to improved co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the administrative field is the decision of the Advisory Committee to undertake a more intensive review of problems in this area. This will be possible by consultations at the headquarters of several specialized agencies during the coming year. We commend the agencies and the Advisory Committee and its distinguished Chairman, Mr. Aghnides, on this most constructive approach.

177. To summarize, my delegation will support the recommended appropriations in spite of our reservations. We believe that, through the exercise of restraint and the constructive application of our joint efforts, the Members of the United Nations should be able to regulate better any further budgetary expansion. We are confident that, by following sound fiscal policies and by inaugurating improved methods of budgetary management and control, the United Nations will be greatly strengthened. The budget is, of course, the reflection of the development of the activities of the Organization. My delegation firmly believes that, by continued pursuance of sound financial principles, the United Nations, during its second decade, will increase in influence and effectiveness as the greatest force for helping man to realize his hopes for bringing about a peaceful world.

178. Mr. CLOUGH (United Kingdom): Although the United Kingdom delegation voted in the Fifth Com-

mittee for the budget appropriations for 1956, it did so with some reservations. We are seriously disturbed at the rising trend of the United Nations budget as revealed by the appropriations for 1956. The United Kingdom Government fully recognizes the need for this Organization to take initiatives and to engage in new activities. Of outstanding value among these has been the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. We are very gratified at the success of this Conference and the world-wide attention it has evoked, but for the United Nations to be dynamic it is not imperative that its budget should expand. The resources of the Organization must be those which its Member States are prepared to provide, having due regard to their other heavy commitments and responsibilities.

179. It is of the greatest importance, therefore, in the view of my Government, that the budget of the United Nations should be determined at a reasonable level. As the need for new and important activities arises, we feel that those of less importance and urgency should be discarded or deferred.

180. It was for these reasons that we felt unable in the debate on the detailed budget to support the full allocations proposed for sections 1, 8, 18, 28 and 35. We felt that in the present circumstances some elements in these items might reasonably be deferred.

181. However, having expressed these reservations, we do not wish to press our views unduly, and we will accordingly vote for the total budget for 1956 now arrived at.

182. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Since no other representative wishes to speak, I shall now call upon the Secretary-General.

183. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: At this late hour I shall not burden the debate with any detailed comments on some of the suggestions made in the course of these explanations of vote. However, I think that the statements made do require some clarification on my part.

184. I would like, first of all, to stress that we have not before us a budget which indicates that the cost for the United Nations is increasing. I believe that the expenditure figures reflect budgetary trends more truly than any other comparative figures we could give. If allowance is made for special and non-recurrent expenditures, the picture, if we study expenditure figures, indicates a high degree of stability in over-all expenditure, with a downward trend so far as normal staff and housekeeping costs are concerned.

185. I feel that it might be of interest to representatives to have their attention drawn to the development of the expenditure figures. The total expenditure in 1950 was, in round figures, \$43,746,000; in 1951, \$48,628,000; in 1952, \$50,270,000; in 1953, \$49,292,000; in 1954, \$48,510,000; and in 1955, excluding the supplementaries, to which I will revert, \$46,963,000. We have to add \$3,264,000, of which, however, \$3 million covered two items also mentioned here in the explanations of vote, namely, the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy and tax reimbursement. Finally, we have an estimated \$48,566,350 in 1956. Undoubtedly, we will have some minor supplementaries also for 1956, but we should remember, too, that we have practically \$1 million for the Conference on atomic energy included in this figure.

186. The conclusion is, if we take the picture presented by these realistic figures, that the 1956 expenditure, as estimated, will be the lowest since 1950 — and that in spite of growing tasks.

187. I welcome the solution found this year to what I considered to be a question of equity — the increase in the cost-of-living allowances for the staff. I can well see the desire of representatives and Governments to keep the costs of this Organization low, but, on the other hand, as chief administrative officer, I have to pay equal attention to the problem of equity, which must be basic in our consideration of staff policies. And from the point of view of equity, we have to take into account both the development of the cost of living and the development of salaries in public service in various countries, with which comparisons must be made. On that basis, as I said, I welcome the decision as a partial solution to a problem of equity which has worried me and which required a solution if we were to maintain staff morale, of which I think we can be justly proud.

188. I share entirely the wish to achieve savings and economies, and I would like to remind the Assembly, in that context, of the fact that I have cut the number of professional posts in the Organization, over two years, by something like 15 per cent, and I think everybody with an experience of the difficulty of making such cuts in an administration in national life will appreciate that that is a most significant and important development.

189. Given the tasks of this Organization, we have two fixed points which we must accept. One is minimum staff requirements, and the other is equitable compensation to the staff. If we are to cut down on the budget, we must attack one of three things: the staff, the salaries, or the tasks. A cut which does not take that into account is unrealistic and will force the Secretary-General either to try to tackle the tasks with insufficient staff, or at unsatisfactory salary levels, or else to disregard demands from the General Assembly.

190. I hope that it will be fully recognized that, from the administration's side, we do what we can to meet the wishes of the Governments at as low a cost as possible. What remains is to decide what should be the proper framework for the activities of the United Nations. I will be happy if, through co-operation between the Governments and the Secretariat, we can exercise self-discipline so as to avoid embarking on enterprises and new ventures which promise little yield. But, on the other hand, I would be just as unhappy if, for purely financial considerations, this Organization were not to take up those responsibilities and tackle those tasks which properly belong to the United Nations. The United Nations, after all, is a growing and expanding Organization, and it would be false economy not to provide the funds for the activities which properly belong here.

191. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on draft resolutions A, B, C and D contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/3103].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 56 votes to 7, with 1 abstention. 929

Draft resolution B was adopted by 61 votes to none, with 1 abstention. 940

Draft resolution C was adopted by 60 votes to none, with 2 abstentions. 941

Draft resolution D was adopted by 55 votes to 7, with 2 abstentions. 942

Statement by the representative of Chile

192. Mr. ORTEGA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): I must apologize to the President and ask the representatives to be good enough to permit me to make a brief statement.

193. In accordance with the instructions of my Government, I wish to raise a matter which is outside the terms of reference of the Committees and must therefore be referred to the General Assembly itself.

194. My Government has instructed me to make a formal offer to the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, of a large park, not far from the centre of Santiago, for use as a site for offices for specialized agencies and commissions like the Economic Commission for Latin America with headquarters at Santiago. The park would have the extra-territorial status enjoyed by the Organization. I am making this offer officially to the Secretary-General.

195. I would emphasize that in making this offer, my Government is inspired by a desire to further the United Nations aim of setting up a new world order and guaranteeing to all men the gifts of freedom and justice; for these are ideals which, if attained, will enable the peoples to live together in peace and security.

196. I am grateful to the Assembly for its kindness in allowing me to speak on a subject which, given its nature, was not included in the agenda.

The meeting was suspended at 7.50 p.m. and resumed at 9.5 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 14

Election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council (*continued*)

197. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I am very pleased to inform the members of the Assembly that consultations have been held with a number of delegations, in particular with those of the two candidates which received the greatest number of votes in the course of the thirty-four ballots taken to fill the third remaining seat on the Security Council. The object of these consultations has been to find a solution without prejudice to the positions taken in the matter of regional representation, which have given rise to the difficulties that have so far beset our attempts to solve the problem.

198. It was felt that this purpose would be achieved if lots were drawn in the President's office between the two candidates I have already mentioned to decide which should withdraw from the present elections. After completing the first year of the term, the other candidate would offer its resignation from the Security Council. The agreement is that the vacant seat would then be filled for the remainder of the term by the election of the other candidate at the eleventh session.

199. The spirit of this compromise solution, for which I do not hesitate to assume a moral responsibility that will certainly be shared by the other representatives, must ensure that the agreement will be faithfully observed.

200. In accordance with the procedure I have outlined, lots were drawn in the President's office; as a result, the Philippines has withdrawn its candidature at this time in favour of Yugoslavia.

201. I am sure that the Assembly, in approving this procedure, will recognize that it does not set a prece-

dent and will further agree that, in view of the unusual circumstances, the arrangement should be accepted and carried out.

202. We shall now therefore proceed to vote.

203. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation considers it necessary to say that the procedure proposed by the President is irregular. It is not in conformity with the rules of procedure approved by the General Assembly and would result in a violation of the principle of the equitable geographical distribution of seats among the non-permanent members of the Security Council.

204. Mr. HOOD (Australia): My delegation has listened with respect to the advice which the President has conveyed to the Assembly regarding consultations which have resulted, as he has informed us, in the drawing of lots. I wish merely to say that in the opinion of my delegation and my Government this procedure is not one which we should employ in any case, particularly in the case of the important matter of the election of a member of the Security Council.

205. My delegation well understands the difficulties and embarrassments which have occurred in this particular situation. We would maintain, however, that there is no possible way out other than the way laid down in the procedures and practices of the General Assembly, of which the drawing of lots is not one.

206. I am not quite sure where we stand, whether we are faced with an accomplished fact. But I would like to put on record the opinion of my delegation that we ourselves would have preferred to follow, even to the last—and indeed there must be a last limit—the established procedures of the Charter and of the rules of procedure.

207. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): My country at the moment holds the presidency of the Security Council, and by virtue of my position as permanent representative I occupy the seat of the President; in those circumstances I think that it is my duty to say something on the important matter which is before us tonight.

208. As I conceive my duty, I am to some extent the custodian of the duties and the responsibilities of the Council. I want to say to the President how much I respect the care and the devotion which he has displayed in this important matter, and I want to assure him that my delegation, and I am sure my Government—although it is not informed on this matter and cannot be informed at the moment—will respect, too, the anxiety which he has shown.

209. We are acutely conscious of the difficulties which the Assembly faces in completing the elections to the Security Council, but I would be failing in my duty if I did not say that we find the solution he has explained to us a disturbing one. Nor could I on behalf of my Government in any way approve of the method adopted this evening.

210. The President has said that this procedure should not form a precedent, and I do not regard it as a precedent because I cannot really approve of it. The Charter contemplates that a State elected to the Council will serve for two years. My own experience of Council membership suggests to me that no shorter period of membership is likely to be conducive to the efficient conduct of the Council's business. And this Council is the most important organ, in my judgement, in the

United Nations, whatever criticisms there may have been of it in the past, and in ordinary circumstances we would not consider giving our support to any State offering itself for election if we had reason to believe that that State did not intend to serve for its allotted term.

211. We cannot, of course, pry into any arrangement which States may make among themselves to simplify the Assembly's problems in carrying out elections, and I think I can say that we would not wish to pry into these private understandings, which are in themselves of course neither unusual nor reprehensible. Having said that and, as I say, with full respect to the President's devotion to his task, I would not think it proper that there should be any implication that members of this Assembly have tacitly contracted any obligation as to the way in which they will vote in future elections. I will not accept, on behalf of my delegation or on behalf of my Government, any obligation of that kind.

212. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): Much to my regret I am obliged to state that, although I shall gladly recommend to my Government the election of the Philippines to fill the vacancy in the Security Council that will be created at the end of next year under the bilateral arrangement just announced by the President, I cannot in any way bind my Government in regard to the contemplated election.

213. Mr. SARDER (Turkey): I cannot foresee at present the full constitutional implications of this so-called special procedure. I wish, consequently, to make it quite clear that I am not in a position to commit my Government to vote at the next election, in connexion with the candidacy to the Security Council, in one way or another. I would like to make that perfectly clear, and I have some serious doubts as to the constitutional and practical aspects of the procedure that the President has referred to as a special procedure.

214. Mr. DE FREITAS VALLE (Brazil): I have the highest respect for all the endeavour the President has made towards a solution of the deadlock we are in. But I must state that it is impossible for me to accept a commitment for my Government in a secret ballot to be held next year.

215. Mr. ECHEVERRI CORTES (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): I fully appreciate the great efforts the President has made with a view to breaking the deadlock in the election to the Security Council. I wish, however, to announce to the Assembly that my delegation cannot commit itself in any way in regard to the next election to fill the vacant seat resulting from the resignation of one of the elected candidates. I can therefore enter into no undertaking in the matter.

216. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation wishes, first of all, to express its gratitude for the energetic and untiring efforts the President personally has made to break this deadlock. My Government cannot, however, commit its vote in support of a procedure that does not conform to the provisions of the Charter.

217. Mr. PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): The Venezuelan delegation fully appreciates all that the President has done to break the deadlock that has arisen in connexion with the election of a non-permanent member of the Security Council. Nevertheless, like other representatives who have already spoken, I cannot make any commitment in regard to my delegation's future position in this matter.

218. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): It is my honour to address myself to a President who has in so many ways proved himself to be the great President of this tenth session of the General Assembly.
219. We are well aware of the efforts the President has made to solve the problems raised by the still pending election of a member of the Security Council. I must, nevertheless, express certain reservations in regard to the procedure now proposed.
220. I should point out in this connexion that my country and my delegation have always taken the same position regarding elections, even in cases where our own interests were involved. On an earlier occasion, when a similar problem arose within the Latin American group, my country, which was one of the parties involved, rejected a proposal that lots should be drawn in the manner suggested by the President. It would in any case be very difficult, if not impossible, for me — it would indeed be outside the terms of reference of either my delegation or myself — to enter into any commitment regarding future votes. A decision of that kind can only be taken by my Government, and my delegation's future actions will be determined by its instructions.
221. I must therefore ask the President to accept the reservations which I have expressed on behalf of my delegation. I shall send a full report on this matter to my Government, which will be responsible for making a final decision. In the meantime, I would repeat that my delegation deeply appreciates the President's efforts to solve the problem before us.
222. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation has listened carefully to the statement by the President. With all due respect, we wish to place clearly on record the fact that Paraguay's main concern has always been to abide by the terms of the Charter. Above all, my country has consistently maintained, at some cost to itself, the legal principles on which this international Organization is based.
223. My delegation therefore wishes to state explicitly that an agreement reached bilaterally cannot commit the Paraguayan delegation in regard to any elections contemplated for the future.
224. Mr. ALPHAND (France) (*translated from French*): I respect and admire the President's efforts to find a way out of the deadlock we have reached. The solution he proposes may be the only practical one we can find this evening, and I am prepared to recommend it to my Government. I must point out, however, that I cannot on behalf of my Government undertake any commitment tonight on what it will do in a year's time.
225. Miss MAÑAS (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation I should like to express our great appreciation of everything that has been done to arrive at the decision that has just been taken and of the many efforts which the President has made to overcome the difficulties that have arisen in connexion with this election. Nevertheless I wish to state, on behalf of my delegation, that my Government cannot at this time commit itself with regard to elections to be held a year from now.
226. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): I believe that this is one of the most difficult moments in the life of the United Nations. We are all aware of the great efforts that have been made to elect a candidate to fill the vacancy in the Security Council, and we know that, notwithstanding all the ballots that have been taken, no candidate has been able to obtain the required constitutional majority. The President has made the most strenuous efforts, in consultation with certain members of the Security Council and others such as myself, whom he called in as leader of the Latin American group, to explore the various possibilities.
227. When the President informed me of the latest solution, I told him frankly that in my opinion it was unacceptable. However, in order to break the deadlock, it was decided to proceed along those lines, subject only to the protest of the representative of the Soviet Union.
228. In view, however, of the fact that a large number of representatives, in speaking on this subject, have put forward arguments based not only on legal considerations but also on considerations of the prestige and even of the moral principles of the Organization, I would ask the President, as the representative of a country friendly to his, as a personal friend and out of respect for the Chair, to preserve the harmony that has hitherto prevailed and therefore not to proceed on the lines he has proposed.
229. I formally propose that this session of the General Assembly be extended for twenty-four hours to allow time for a final effort at conciliation, as the Soviet representative has suggested.
230. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In connexion with the Ecuadorian representative's statement, at no time have I asked the Assembly, nor do I now ask it, to elect a candidate for one year. The election to which the Assembly is about to proceed will be for a term of two years.
231. In parliaments throughout the world behind-the-scenes arrangements to break deadlocks of the kind that has arisen here are common practice, and the vote I am asking the Assembly to take is to elect a country for two years. We shall know later whether or not the two candidates are going to honour the gentlemen's agreement entered into by their representatives in the presence of several delegations.
232. A vote will be taken later on the Ecuadorian representative's proposal that the session should be extended for twenty-four hours.
233. I call on the representative of Turkey on a point of order.
234. Mr. SARPEN (Turkey): There has been a proposal by the representative of Ecuador, in accordance with rule 78, to adjourn the meeting tonight. That proposal must be put to a vote without any debate. There is no imperative reason whatsoever why we should adjourn the tenth session of the General Assembly tonight in a hasty way.
235. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Ecuador has not proposed the adjournment of the present meeting. He has proposed that the closure of the session should be postponed for twenty-four hours. This is not a point of order on which a vote must be taken. That is why I said that it would be taken up later. No one has proposed the adjournment of the meeting.
236. Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): I should first like to say that, owing perhaps to a misunderstanding, my delegation thought that the Ecuadorian representative had moved the adjournment of the meeting. As the Presi-

dent has placed a different interpretation upon the proposal, my delegation will abide by his decision.

237. As regards the point at issue, my delegation would like to express its deep gratitude for the untiring efforts which the President has made to break the deadlock that has continued for several weeks in the Assembly in connexion with the election of a non-permanent member of the Security Council. We are the more grateful because we appreciate the scrupulous care with which he has discharged the responsibilities of his high office.

238. Nevertheless my delegation has serious misgivings as to the constitutionality of the proposed procedure. I say this with all respect and with due regard to the President's last statement, to the effect that at no time had he asked the Assembly to elect a candidate for one year, but that the election was for two years; but I also say it with due regard to his first statement, that he was assuming the moral responsibility for this formula and that he believed the members of the Assembly would do likewise.

239. Unfortunately, I am not here as an individual, but as a member of a delegation, and as such I cannot assume even moral responsibility for the proposed formula.

240. Because of my misgivings regarding the constitutionality of the proposal and the fact that I have no instructions on this matter from my Government, my delegation cannot consider itself bound at this time by the formula suggested by the President.

241. Similarly, with regard to the possibility of an election next year, my delegation cannot take a decision now and commit its vote in an election to be held at the next session.

242. I wish to place on record my delegation's reservations in this respect.

243. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): As regards the proposal to adjourn for twenty-four hours, or indeed for anything longer than two hours and fifteen minutes, it seems to me clear that that would be a decision to extend the agreed date for the duration of the present session and therefore would require a two-thirds majority vote.

244. I should like to make an appeal to the General Assembly. The solution which is proposed is not the normal procedure; no one would think that it was. But the situation is highly abnormal, and abnormal situations need abnormal remedies.

245. Listening to the debate as it has proceeded, I have detected two very understandable points which are troubling delegations.

246. One is the position under the Charter. It has been said that the arrangement which the President has explained is not in accord with the Charter. It does seem to me that nothing in the Charter can prevent a member of one of the Councils from resigning before the completion of the term for which that country was elected. And in the event of such a resignation, it is clear that the Assembly must elect another Member State to complete the full term of office.

247. The second, and again very understandable, doubt which some representatives seem to have felt is whether they should commit their Governments for the future. I myself have had to take a position on this question, and I have taken a position in the light of the very special circumstances in which we find ourselves at this moment. It does seem to me that the whole essence of the proposal is this: the candidate whose

name has been announced by the President under this arrangement will be elected for two years, as provided by the Charter, but, by agreement with the other candidate — and let me remind my colleagues that it is the existing deadlock that has caused this abnormal situation — he will resign after one year. What is being suggested is that the other candidate should serve for the remainder of the two-year term.

248. It seems to me that that is a very reasonable proposal, and all that we, as an Assembly, are being asked to do tonight by voting for the candidate whose name has come out of the ballot box is to say that we feel that this arrangement, which has been reached in the best of faith and with a very high sense of responsibility, if I may say so, on the part of the two candidates, is one which we feel we can in all reasonableness endorse. I would therefore make an appeal to the General Assembly that it should, to use a familiar phrase, "go along" with this procedure and this arrangement which has been outlined by the President.

249. Mr. MENON (India): My delegation yields to none in regard to the President's office, to his person and to the great contribution he has made towards solving various difficulties which have confronted us during this session.

250. So far as the present proposals are concerned, my delegation does not hold the view that it is either improper or unusual for delegations to make arrangements about elections and so on in an informal manner. However, we have no instructions. I have no authority, and it would be against our constitutional procedures to commit our vote for the next year. In these circumstances, all that my delegation can do is to vote for the candidate which appears before us for a two-year period.

251. What will happen next presumably comes under rule 141 of our rules of procedure, governing elections to principal organs. That rule states:

"Should a member cease to belong to a Council before its term of office expires, a by-election shall be held separately at the next session of the General Assembly to elect a member for the unexpired term."

That, of course, would dispose of one difficulty if this procedure were adopted and the Philippines were elected next year. The term of this or any candidate elected next year automatically would terminate at the end of the year.

252. But even though we have got over the difficulty, the instructions of my delegation and the views of my Government are categorical in this matter. We cannot in any circumstances violate the London agreement with regard to geographical distribution. Secondly, we cannot commit ourselves to any positions next year. This applies especially to countries which have parliamentary systems of government. No government can say it will be in office next year. Therefore it is not possible for us to commit ourselves, and it is with the deepest regret that we say this after all the efforts the President has made.

253. My delegation understood that the representative of Ecuador had proposed that the Assembly should adjourn. I do not think that the objection raised by Sir Pierson Dixon is a formidable one. If we are willing to agree, then there would be the required two-thirds majority. My delegation does not consider that any solution can be reached in this matter, in view of the reservations made by practically every speaker. The assurances that the parties to the private agreement

would require have not been forthcoming, and we would not like to mislead them in any way. We deeply regret that we have not been able to make a contribution in the direction suggested by the President.

254. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Let me first express my appreciation to the representative of Ecuador for his courtesy in withholding his motion. That is in the very best traditions of parliamentary comity. Let me also pay a tribute to the representatives of the Philippines and Yugoslavia, who have shown a great desire to end this deadlock and to reach an equitable agreement. That is the kind of spirit without which the United Nations could not function. If we are too rigid and frozen, nothing will ever get done here. Then I should like to pay a very sincere tribute to the President. He has worked long hours under extremely arduous conditions with the sole desire of enabling this Organization to function. He has had no favourites and no preferences, but he has made a herculean effort to make this Organization function as it should.

255. I quite understand those representatives who want to reserve their legal rights in the future. That is absolutely understandable, but what is at stake and what is involved here transcends legal technicalities. As the President well said, there are, formally speaking, two classes of commitments that we can make. There are legal, official commitments and there are unofficial commitments which have great moral value. Nobody is being asked tonight to do anything unconstitutional. Nobody is being asked to elect a candidate for one year. We are being asked to elect Yugoslavia, legally, for the term of two years, and Yugoslavia has agreed to resign at the end of the first year. It is just as simple as that.

256. It is a question of fair play, as the representative of the United Kingdom so well put it, and, as he has said — and I echo the sentiment — a year from now, when the first year has gone by and Yugoslavia has resigned, he and I, and I trust many others, will be here working to elect the Philippines. But there is no legalistic commitment involved. What we can have faith in is the spirit of fair play of all involved in this arrangement and the spirit of fair play of all the representatives. I feel that I know every representative here well enough to feel that we can have confidence in that spirit of fair play.

257. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): I do not have many words to add to what has just been said by the representative of the United States and to what was said a few moments ago by the representative of the United Kingdom.

258. I want to state that my delegation has the highest regard for the efforts which the President has pursued strenuously and seriously for a number of weeks in order to bring about a solution of this very difficult problem which we have been facing for a considerable part of this tenth session.

259. I do realize that the procedure which the President has suggested the Assembly should follow is an unusual one, but I have no criticism to offer of it. If I were in a position to offer criticism, I would feel bound to have an alternative proposal to offer for the solution of this problem. I do not have an alternative proposal to offer.

260. As regards any commitment, I can state that I have had no opportunity to submit this situation to my Government, but I think that I can say with confidence

that we shall be able to support the procedure suggested by the President. I feel confident that my Government will be able to consider this particular situation and to draw conclusions from it as to the commitments which it will have to undertake in this connexion. I think my Government will act in the manner in which we all have to act in all walks of life when we are faced with situations of this kind.

261. Mr. SARPER (Turkey): I associate my delegation with those that have paid tribute to the President's well-meant efforts, and to his high qualities. However, there are a few points which I think I should add to my previous short intervention.

262. In reply to what the representative of the United Kingdom stated, I should like to say that it is true that there is nothing in the Charter which prevents any member of the Security Council from resigning. On the other hand, it is, to put it mildly, a most peculiar procedure to declare from this rostrum that for one reason or another one of the candidates has agreed to resign one year after his election.

263. I appeal to all the representatives — we may go on saying and pretending that the so-called special procedure will not constitute a precedent, but it will be a precedent whether we want it to or not. This peculiar procedure will remain in the records of the General Assembly. I wonder whether we are really aware of what we are doing. We are actually reducing the term of the non-permanent members of the Security Council from two years to one year. That is the precedent that we are creating today.

264. I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to this very important point. There are only five permanent members of the Security Council. All the other Members of the United Nations are entitled to become non-permanent members of the Security Council. Are we now willing to reduce the term of membership of the non-permanent members from two years to one year? That is the question I put to the Assembly.

265. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): I am fully aware of the gravity of the problem now before the General Assembly. The President has worked — and with success — to solve many problems, and we are all profoundly grateful to him. He has also worked to bring about the formula now known to all representatives, which does not in fact appear to contravene the express provisions of the Charter, but which, having been put before the Assembly, creates problems and arouses misgivings in the minds of many delegations.

266. On the other hand, the reservations that have been formulated by some delegations, in all frankness and with all due respect to the President, place the other party to this gentlemen's agreement in a position that is probably disadvantageous to it. The execution of the proposed compromise does not depend only on one party, but on a factor extraneous to the compromise itself which is to be brought about at some future date. There are thus two factors which cannot be predicted: a time element and a personal or numerical element. This complicates the situation, as regards the equality of the candidates.

267. In the United Nations, things are often done under pressure of time. I realize that when time presses, the only solution is to take a decision. I do not think, however, that the urgency is so extreme in the present case. Unfortunately, human faculties are very limited,

and despite the efforts that have been made under the very able leadership of the President, with the assistance of such eminent minds, to find a formula, the formula proposed creates doubts, reservations and problems. And such formulae, even given the most lenient interpretation of the rules of procedure, and even if we silence certain moral scruples, cannot be accepted unless they receive the widest measure of support. Apparently such support does not exist in the Assembly.

268. Accordingly, I venture to suggest most respectfully that the Assembly should resign itself to postponing the closing date of the session for a little while longer, in the hope that in the interval a solution may be found, for the resources of the human mind are inexhaustible. The parties themselves may be able to find a more acceptable solution that will satisfy everyone. For this reason, while paying tribute to the President's efforts, I must say frankly that I am not in a position to commit my Government for the future, and I therefore support the proposal for postponing the closing date of the Assembly.

269. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of the Philippines has again informed me that he would like the Assembly to take a vote. The vote will now be taken. Representatives may write on the ballot paper the name of any country which is not now a member of the Security Council and which is not one of the countries recently elected to the Council. The voting will now begin.

At the invitation of the President, U Khin Maung (Burma) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	69
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	69
Abstentions:	10
Number of members voting:	59
Required majority:	40
Number of votes obtained:	
Yugoslavia	34
Philippines	19
Spain	2
Bulgaria	1
Italy	1
Sweden	1
Yemen	1

270. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The thirty-fifth ballot, the first of a new series of open ballots, has failed again to produce an affirmative result.

271. While I myself had some part in the unofficial arrangement that was reached, and while I have repeatedly stated that we are holding a free election in which representatives may vote for any country they wish and that they will be electing that country for a two-year term, I am aware of the gentlemen's agreement that exists between the two representatives concerned, and I now release both parties from that agreement, although one of them, the unsuccessful party in the drawing of lots, has instructed me to state that he still feels himself in honour bound by the agreement.

272. I am not sure whether I should take yet another vote, for if, despite all my appeals, no other solution has been found in two months, I doubt whether one will be found now. I ask the representative of Ecuador whether he feels that I could interrupt the voting at this point and, in accordance with the rules of procedure,

ask the Assembly—as I was unable to do before—to agree by a two-thirds majority to prolong the present session, which according to the Assembly's decision [552nd meeting] is to close at 12 midnight.

273. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): I agree.

274. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Accordingly, I call on the Assembly to state whether it wishes to prolong the session for forty-eight or twenty-four hours.

275. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): I suggest twenty-four hours.

276. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As I doubt whether we shall reach agreement within a few hours, I shall first ask the Assembly whether we can postpone the closure of the tenth session for twenty-four hours.

277. Mr. SARPER (Turkey): In my opinion, an adjournment for twenty-four hours is not sufficient; it will serve no useful purpose. I think that tomorrow is Saturday, if I am not mistaken, and the following day is Sunday.

278. I hope that the President, who had the well-earned and great honour of being elected President of this august body unanimously, will agree with me when I say that the representatives here in the General Assembly really do need a little rest and sleep, and especially consultation, before we come back here to start voting on one of the non-permanent members of the Security Council. So I most respectfully ask the President to be good enough to adjourn this meeting until Monday morning, 19 December, at 10.30 a.m.

279. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I agree with the representative of Turkey that we need more time. That is why, although I very clearly heard the Ecuadorian representative propose that the closure of the present session of the Assembly should be postponed for twenty-four hours, I asked him whether he thought a postponement of forty-eight hours might not be wiser.

280. Up to this point I am in agreement with the representative of Turkey, but there are two distinct questions before us: first, the closure of the session, which is scheduled to take place at midnight, that is, in about an hour and a half, and secondly, the convening of another meeting of the Assembly.

281. If you wish me to take the initiative—although so far I have met with little success in doing so—I propose that we extend the Assembly's session until 12 midnight next Tuesday, 20 December. That will give us time for consultation, time to think matters over and to fulfil our week-end engagements, and perhaps we shall come back with better ideas.

282. I take the Assembly's silence to mean that I can put to it the following motion:

"The General Assembly agrees to extend the tenth session until midnight next Tuesday, 20 December."

283. Mr. MARTIN (Canada): I am sure that we are all very appreciative of the President's efforts in respect of a matter that engages all of us. But I am wondering whether it might not be thought desirable that, while the President might suggest that we extend the session until Tuesday, it be understood that it might be possible for us to meet tomorrow or Monday, so that it would not be necessary for the session to remain open until Tuesday. I am sure that time is desired, but

I am not convinced that we will require all the time until Tuesday to make the decision. I therefore wonder whether I may not suggest that the session be extended until Tuesday, but that it be understood that we may be convoked either tomorrow or Monday.

284. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Let me point out to the representative of Canada that the date of closure of the session and the date on which I might contemplate calling a meeting of the Assembly are two different things. I have no objection to convening the Assembly on Monday at 10.30 a.m. and, if we dispose of this question, closing the session then; since otherwise we should again have to postpone the closing date.

285. Let representatives make their choice; and I beg of them to submit a specific proposal. The Assembly must take a decision on something specific, not on criticism and vague ideas.

286. Mr. PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): I merely wish to express my emphatic support of the President's suggestion. I believe that the session should be extended by postponing the closing date. My delegation agrees whole-heartedly with the President; that is why I asked to speak.

287. Mr. HOOD (Australia): My delegation and I myself, I must say, see no necessity for an extension of the session as such. If we are talking about extending the present meeting of the General Assembly, that is an entirely different matter. But an extension of our present session obviously is unnecessary. My delegation would support giving more time this evening — even in the present circumstances, which you all know — to a further consideration of the situation in which we find ourselves.

288. After all, we were in the presence of a new situation this evening. And what has happened? We have had one ballot — only one ballot. Could we not have one more ballot, or possibly two more? In order to assess more closely what the present feeling of the Assembly is, having regard to the situation which the President has acquainted us with and also, of course, to the fact of the presence of extra members of the Assembly, my own suggestion would be that we extend the present meeting, now, for at least one or two more ballots, and not at this stage consider the extension of the session of the General Assembly — a proposal to which my delegation and my Government, I am sure, could not be favourable.

289. Mr. MENON (India): My delegation desires to invoke rules 78 and 79 of the rules of procedure and to point out that there is a motion for adjournment, in specific terms, before the Assembly, and that it should be put to the vote without further debate.

290. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to ask the advice of the representative of India.

291. I must put his motion to the vote immediately, as that is what the rules of procedure require. The Indian representative pointed this out; but I should like to ask him whether I can call a meeting after 12 midnight, when the Assembly has already agreed that the tenth session should end at that hour.

292. That is why I told the Assembly that the paramount question was the extension of the session. Once that has been decided, we can hold as many meetings as we wish prior to the time of closure.

293. Mr. MENON (India): I have no desire to stand in the way of the President's arrangements with regard to adjourning the Assembly. I understood, both from the Chair and afterwards, that there was a motion for extending the session of the Assembly until Tuesday, for the calling of a further meeting on Monday morning, and therefore for an adjournment now. I thought that all that went together and that the conditions were tied up with the adjournment. If I am wrong with respect to the rules of procedure, I apologize and I withdraw. But I understood that there was a specific proposal before us and that there was no need for further debate on the matter. That was all I suggested.

294. Mr. DE FREITAS VALLE (Brazil): I think that it is quite true that many of us are very tired and that the present situation must be somewhat clarified.

295. I therefore formally move that the closure of the tenth session of the General Assembly should be postponed until midnight on Tuesday, 20 December, and that the President should have the authority to convene a meeting of the Assembly at any time prior to midnight on Tuesday, 20 December.

296. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The proposal which the Assembly has just heard is open for discussion, and will require a two-thirds majority.

297. Mr. PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): I was about to make this same formal proposal to the General Assembly. I therefore support the Brazilian representative's proposal.

298. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): I do not wish to add to the number of different proposals that seem to be before the General Assembly on the question of how we should conduct our business. I do, however, wish to make the following very simple proposal: that this meeting should now be suspended for one hour.

299. Furthermore, I suggest that for practical purposes we should adopt the view that the tenth session of the Assembly need not end on the stroke of midnight. In the House of Commons in the United Kingdom, we do sometimes actually put the clock back in order to prolong the day.

300. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The motion which the United Kingdom representative has just proposed is not open to discussion, and must be put to the vote immediately. However, it is my duty to warn the Assembly that in one hour it will be 11.30 p.m., that it is not the practice in the United Nations to put the clock back; that the Assembly is not in the habit of meeting at the hour suggested and that midnight will probably strike without the meeting having been resumed, so that the session will have closed.

301. I put to the vote the motion to suspend the meeting for one hour.

The motion was rejected by 27 votes to 20, with 10 abstentions.

302. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I put to the vote the motion to extend the session until 12 midnight next Tuesday, 20 December. The motion will require a two-thirds majority for adoption.

The motion was adopted by 49 votes to 12, with 4 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 10.40 p.m.