

consideration for the past three years. The discussions in the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Atomic Energy Commission had produced much information and had clarified many points of view. The deadlock, however, still persisted.

155. As President of the General Assembly, he had addressed an appeal on 3 November 1949 to the six permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission urging them to continue by every conceivable means to seek agreement on an effective system of control and prohibition of atomic weapons. Specifically, he had suggested that attention should be directed along four lines. First, the possibility of a short-term atomic armistice accompanied by an inspection system; secondly, the possibility of an interim prohibition of the use of atomic weapons, with adequate safeguards; thirdly, the possibility of further compromises between the majority and the minority plans for atomic energy control; fourthly, the possibility of a new approach to the fundamental problem of control. He had made it clear that he was not advocating any particular plan; the four points were merely indications of four paths which should be explored.

156. He would say nothing more about those suggestions except to reject as supercilious and unfair the criticism that those proposals, or any others that might be advanced, were "naive". It was a common error to distrust a solution merely because it seemed too simple. The many learned men who had applied themselves to the problem had been either atomic scientists or political thinkers who knew all the physical and political equations involved in it. Yet he did not imagine that any one of them having the innate modesty of greatness, would deny a hearing to any proposal which attempted to inject the human factor into the mechanical equations that seemed thus far to be leading nowhere.

157. It was gratifying to note that, in the resolution just adopted, the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission were requested to continue their consultations, to explore all possible avenues and examine all concrete suggestions with a view to determining whether they might lead to an agreement securing the basic objectives of the General Assembly in the question.

158. The permanent members were thus under grave responsibility to the General Assembly and to the world. They had been asked to explore

all possible avenues and to examine all concrete suggestions. It could not be expected that an entirely new plan would suddenly be discovered and unanimously accepted, but the Assembly had a right to expect open-minded consideration of every possibility of reaching agreement on an effective means of control which, at the same time, would make possible an agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons.

159. The atomic energy problem had become part of the context of international strife and tension which had dominated the post-war period. That fact made a solution more difficult, but it also made a solution more urgent. Every step taken towards the amelioration of political problems, every move towards the relaxation of tension and suspicion was a step towards the solution of the problem of atomic energy. The reverse was equally true, for all the problems before the Assembly reacted one upon the other, and the slightest progress achieved on the problem of atomic energy would immediately cast a more hopeful light on all the other questions before the Assembly.

160. While he whole-heartedly congratulated the General Assembly on the adoption of the resolution, he would be less than frank if he did not say that some of the speeches which had been made on that and related subjects did not call for congratulations. In certain respects the Assembly seemed to be developing a tendency to disregard the substance of problems and to consider them merely as incidents in a constant polemic. Whatever might be said of less pressing problems, atomic energy was too serious to be treated as an incidental phase in the battle of propaganda. It was a problem before which all mankind stood equally interested and equally defenceless.

161. If the horrors of atomic war should ever be visited upon the world, the pitiful survivors of blasted and ruined cities would take little consolation in the thought that the representatives at the United Nations had made brilliant and witty speeches about atomic energy. They would ask but one question: why had the United Nations not prevented that catastrophe?

162. The resolution the Assembly had adopted could be summed up in one sentence: it was an appeal to save humanity while there was yet time.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Thursday, 24 November 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly: reports of the Fifth Committee (A/1074, A/1075, A/1076, A/1077 and A/1078)

1. Miss WITTEVEEN (Netherlands), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the Committee's reports on the Advisory Committee on Ad-

ministrative and Budgetary Questions (A/1074), the Committee on Contributions (A/1075), the Board of Auditors (A/1076), the United Nations Staff Pension Committee (A/1077) and the Investments Committee (A/1078) together with the draft resolution contained therein, and said she wished to mention two points.

2. First, the Committee had felt that a two-thirds majority was not required for recommendations

in respect of appointments, in spite of the fact that in 1947 it had been decided that such a majority was necessary. That procedure had not been followed at the third session, however, and it had been agreed that a simple majority vote was sufficient.

3. Secondly, the report of the Fifth Committee (A/1076) contained two draft resolutions: draft resolution A, regarding the appointment of a member to the Board of Auditors, and draft resolution B, concerning audit procedures of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Draft resolution B had been presented under agenda item 45 (c), because there was no special item on the agenda relating to the matter and also because paragraph 4 of the draft resolution provided that members of the Board of Auditors of the United Nations should be nominated to the joint panel of auditors. Nevertheless, it covered a wider field than appointments.

4. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the draft resolution relating to the appointments to be made to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (A/1074).

The resolution was adopted by 43 votes to none.

5. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the draft resolution relating to the appointments to be made to the Committee on Contributions (A/1075).

The resolution was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

6. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution A relating to the appointment to be made to the Board of Auditors (A/1076).

Resolution A was adopted by 48 votes to none.

7. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution B relating to the audit procedures of the United Nations and the specialized agencies (A/1076).

Resolution B was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

8. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the draft resolution relating to the appointments to be made to the United Nations Staff Pension Committee (A/1077).

The resolution was adopted by 48 votes to none.

9. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the draft resolution relating to the appointment to be made to the Investments Committee (A/1078).

The resolution was adopted by 50 votes to none.

Headquarters of the United Nations: report of the Fifth Committee (A/1115)

10. Miss WITTEVEEN (Netherlands), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report on the Headquarters of the United Nations and the draft resolution recommended therein (A/1115).

11. With regard to the possibility indicated in paragraph 3 of the report of placing certain contracts for the construction and equipment of the new buildings in soft currency countries, the Secretary-General had assured the Committee that all possible steps would be taken to give effect to the suggestions made in that connexion.

12. Miss Witteveen pointed out that the question of the control of expenditure from the loan

provided for the construction of the headquarters building, which had also been considered by the Committee, was dealt with in paragraph 5 of the report.

13. Finally, as stated in paragraph 7, the Committee had expressed the wish that a more complete and detailed report on the progress of the construction of the headquarters building should be prepared by the Secretary-General for consideration by the General Assembly at its following session.

14. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the draft resolution contained in the report of the Fifth Committee (A/1115).

The resolution was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Establishment of an administrative tribunal: report of the Fifth Committee (A/1127)

15. Miss WITTEVEEN (Netherlands), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, in presenting the report on the establishment of an administrative tribunal (A/1127) and the resolutions contained therein, said that the Committee had felt that the matter was one of great importance both for the Administration and the staff, and that each article of the draft statute had been discussed in detail.

16. With regard to the method of appointment of the members of the Tribunal who, according to article 3, paragraph 2 of the statute, "shall be appointed by the General Assembly", it was assumed that the same procedure would be followed as in the case of appointments to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Committee on Contributions, and that the members would be appointed in plenary meeting on the basis of recommendations submitted by the Fifth Committee. It was, however, for the General Assembly to make the final decision on the matter of procedure.

17. It had been estimated by the Secretary-General that the expenditure in 1950 for the Tribunal would amount to \$20,500, and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions had concurred in that estimate.

18. The PRESIDENT drew attention to the amendments (A/1132) proposed jointly by Belgium, Egypt, France, the Netherlands and Venezuela to article 3 of the draft statute of the Administrative Tribunal.

19. Mrs. BASTID (France) was happy that agreement had finally been reached on the principle and the conditions of establishing a United Nations Administrative Tribunal. It was in the general interest that an impartial authority should decide disputes concerning the interpretation and application of the contract and terms of employment of Secretariat officials and, in the near future, of officials belonging to the specialized agencies.

20. That was in the interests of those staff members themselves, who would no longer have the impression, which might or might not be justified, that a more or less arbitrary power could descend on them and adversely affect a material

and moral situation which they had considered to be founded in law.

21. It was above all, however, in the interests of international public service, the protection of which the Assembly would soon have to ensure at an international level by giving the Secretary-General new and extensive powers of action.

22. The conception of international public service would be enhanced if the States Members of the United Nations had at their disposal a tribunal responsible for enforcing the rules of that public service. The conditions of employment of officials should be conducive to the best possible functioning of the administration, the tasks and structure of which were more complex than anything that had ever existed before then. The Administrative Tribunal would see to it that the rules were observed.

23. The draft statute adopted by the Fifth Committee was the result of a serious effort at mutual understanding on the part of delegations which, in their domestic law, were familiar with very different administrative systems. As a whole, it was acceptable.

24. The French delegation, however, proposed certain modifications on which it was in agreement with the delegations of Belgium, Egypt, the Netherlands and Venezuela.

25. Those delegations proposed, in the first place, that article 3, paragraph 1 should provide for seven members, as originally suggested, rather than five. The Committee had reduced that number in order to create less unwieldy and, above all, less costly machinery. It should be recalled, however, that only three members would sit in any particular case. When the Tribunal gave its decision, there would never be more than three members present. If there were seven members in all, it would be easier for the Tribunal to sit where required, that is, in New York or Geneva, and, when its competence had been extended to cover the specialized agencies, at Paris, for example. In those circumstances a Tribunal of seven members would be in the best position to carry out its duties without additional expenditure — since the members would only be paid while the Tribunal was in session — and travel expenses would certainly be reduced.

26. The solution adopted by the Committee with regard to the authority competent to dismiss a member who was unsuited for further service should, in the view of some delegations, be reviewed.

27. The draft statute recommended by the Committee stated that the Assembly should decide the question by a two-thirds majority. The French delegation proposed that the Assembly's decision should have to be preceded by a unanimous proposal by the other members of the Tribunal.

28. Should the question arise whether or not a member of the Tribunal was still qualified to discharge his duties, his colleagues would be in the best position to give a decision. The unanimity of the other six members of the Tribunal would undoubtedly be a sufficient guarantee.

29. Without that preliminary and necessary procedure, the Assembly might be involved in a debate which would occupy its time to no pur-

pose. Moreover, there was a danger that the debate on the dismissal of a member might be initiated simply on account of his attitude in a given case.

30. The majority required by the draft statute which the Committee had adopted was undoubtedly a serious guarantee. It was conceivable, however, that a debate might be begun without the required majority. The authority of a member whose suitability for further service had been questioned would be seriously compromised even if the Assembly did not decide to dismiss him. The members of the Tribunal were in a better position than anyone else to know whether one of their number could continue to serve or not. In that way the Assembly would receive complete and accurate information before taking a decision.

31. Finally, the five delegations proposed a slight modification connected with the restoration of the original number of seven members in the Tribunal, namely, the election of two Vice-Presidents instead of one. That had, moreover, been provided for in the original article 3, paragraph 3.

32. There might be reservations on other points in the draft statute as it stood, more particularly as regards article 9 and the fact that staff members could claim compensation in lieu of the rescinding of the contested decision or the performance of the obligation. The French delegation, however, considered that it was impossible to go back on the various compromises which had been reached.

33. The purpose of the proposals submitted to the Assembly was to ensure that the Tribunal should be in a position to perform, with complete independence, the task entrusted to it in the common interests of the United Nations.

34. Mr. TARN (Poland) could not follow the reasoning of the French representative. Since the General Assembly would in any case be called upon to discuss such a delicate problem, it appeared to him that the amendment submitted by France and other States would not in any way alter the situation.

35. Moreover, it was inconceivable to him that such conditions could be imposed upon the General Assembly, the supreme organ of the United Nations; its decision would, accordingly, be made subordinate to a subsidiary organ which it had established, and which would thus be placed on the same footing as the International Court of Justice and even the Security Council.

36. Mr. HAMBRO (Norway) said that his delegation firmly supported the amendments proposed jointly by Belgium, Egypt, France, the Netherlands and Venezuela. As indicated by the Rapporteur, certain delegations in the Fifth Committee had reserved their right to bring up in the Assembly certain questions relating particularly to paragraph 5 of article 3. The proposed amendment did not fully meet the desires of the Norwegian delegation; it was, however, a great improvement and brought again to the fore the principles outlined by the Advisory Committee in connexion with the establishment of an administrative tribunal, which principles were in complete harmony with the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

37. The amended wording of paragraph 5 was not perfect, but it was acceptable, for the principle it contained was followed in all administrative tribunals attached to the subsidiary organs, and it was included also in the Statute of the Court. That question was so important to the Norwegian delegation that, in the Fifth Committee, it had reserved the right to vote against the entire draft statute of the Administrative Tribunal, if the principles indicated in the amendment were not accepted by the General Assembly.

38. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the amendment to paragraph 1 of article 3, whereby the number of members of the Tribunal would be raised from five to seven.

The amendment was adopted by 31 votes to 6, with 7 abstentions.

39. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the amendment to paragraph 3 of article 3, whereby there would be two Vice-Presidents instead of one.

The amendment was adopted by 35 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions.

40. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the amendment to paragraph 5 of article 3, which proposed a new text for that paragraph.

The amendment was adopted by 27 votes to 15, with 8 abstentions.

41. The PRESIDENT put resolution I (A/1127), as amended, to the vote.

Resolution I, as amended, was adopted by 48 votes to none.

42. The PRESIDENT put resolution II (A/1127) to the vote.

Resolution II was adopted by 48 votes to none.

Expenses of the Permanent Central Opium Board — assessment of non-members of the United Nations, signatories of the Convention of 19 February 1925 relating to narcotic drugs: report of the Fifth Committee (A/1128)

43. Miss WITTEVEEN (Netherlands), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, in submitting that Committee's report (A/1128) and the resolution contained therein said that for the reasons set out in paragraph 3 of the report, the Secretary-General had suggested that it might profitably be deferred until the fifth session of the General Assembly and that in the meantime a more detailed and thorough study of the whole matter might be undertaken. He had also proposed that that study might cover expenses other than those relating to narcotic drugs currently borne by the United Nations with respect to similar treaty bodies. The Fifth Committee had concurred with those suggestions and had decided unanimously to recommend that the General Assembly should adopt a resolution to that end.

44. The PRESIDENT said that, if there were no objections, the resolution would be considered adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

Co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies (items 11, 32, 39 and 59 of the agenda): report of the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee, meeting jointly (A/1121)

45. Miss WITTEVEEN (Netherlands), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presenting the report of the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee meeting jointly (A/1121) under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the Second Committee, stated that the discussion in those meetings had turned on agenda items 11, 32, 39 and 59, all of which dealt with co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Committees had first had a general debate on the four items and had then dealt seriatim with the budgets of the specialized agencies for 1950, the action taken in pursuance of agreements between the United Nations and those agencies, the problem of the proliferation and overlapping of the programmes on the United Nations and the agencies, and finally with chapter V of the report of the Economic and Social Council (A/972).¹ As a result, the Committees had decided to recommend for the Assembly's approval the draft resolutions I, II and III contained in the report.

46. In the case of resolution I, a draft had been submitted by the New Zealand delegation; after amendment it had been adopted unanimously. An amendment proposed by Poland had led to a discussion on the question of the centralization of headquarters.

47. Draft resolution II dealt with the problem of the proliferation and overlapping of the programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The problem had been brought before the Assembly by the Brazilian delegation, which had submitted a draft resolution. The Committee had given careful attention to the question and during its discussion an amendment had been submitted by the United Kingdom delegation. The two delegations had finally submitted a joint text which had subsequently been adopted unanimously.

48. Draft resolution III A was the amended text of a United States draft resolution, which was based on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions on the budgets of the specialized agencies for 1950. It had been unanimously adopted by the Committees.

49. Draft resolution III B was the outcome of two proposals submitted by Australia in connexion with the divergencies between Member States contributions to the specialized agencies. The Australian representative had suggested that the various scales should be on a comparable basis and that the agencies might consult with the United Nations Committee on Contributions. After amendment in accordance with a Belgian proposal, the draft resolution had been adopted by 34 votes to 2, with 15 abstentions.

50. Draft resolution III C, concerning the approximation of the specialized agencies expenses

¹ For the discussion on these questions in the Joint Second and Third Committee see *Official Records of the Fourth session of the General Assembly, Joint Second and Third Committee, 40th to 43rd meetings inclusive.*

to the amount of funds reasonably expected each year and the periodical review of such expenditure, was also based on an Australian proposal which, after amendment in the light of United States and United Kingdom proposals, had been adopted by 31 votes to 2, with 15 abstentions.

51. Other matters discussed jointly by the Committees included the collection of contributions by specialized agencies, the date of submission of the budget estimates of the agencies to the Secretary-General for review by the Advisory Committee, and participation in the joint system of audit.

52. Finally, paragraphs 43 and 44 of the report contained a recommendation that the General Assembly should take note of chapter V of the Economic and Social Council's report, which decision should form part of a general resolution on the Council's report as a whole.

53. Mrs. BRYAN ROHDE (United States of America) stated that in the joint meeting, the United States had been compelled to oppose the adoption of draft resolution III B dealing with the scale of assessments for States which were members of the specialized agencies. The United States delegation would re-state its position before the plenary meeting, for it felt that the Committee had not considered the full implications of that resolution.

54. It was the belief of the United States delegation that the resolution would have incalculable repercussions on the relations between the United Nations and the specialized agencies and that such a vital step could not be taken indirectly or by implication. Secondly, it imposed on the Committee on Contributions a type of responsibility which it was not in a position to carry out.

55. The difficulty could be traced primarily to the first paragraph of the resolution, on which the United States would in due course request a separate vote. That paragraph stated that the General Assembly believed that there was "room for closer relationship between the assessments of Member States in the contributions both of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies".

56. Although many might consider that expression of belief relatively unimportant, the specialized agencies could not avoid drawing the conclusion that the General Assembly wanted the Committee on Contributions to use its services to that end. The United States delegation felt strongly that the General Assembly should refrain from passing judgment on the question of the method of sharing financial obligations agreed upon by the specialized agencies, whose membership was separate and distinct from that of the United Nations.

57. Furthermore, it believed that the expression "room for closer relationship" might be interpreted far more broadly than was perhaps the intention even of its sponsors. The majority of the specialized agencies did not base their assessments on the United Nations scale and had cogent reasons for not doing so. Their membership was far from being identical with that of the United Nations. For instance, the size of the total budget of the specialized agencies and the importance of their functions to various members

were significant factors in the scale of assessment of those independent bodies. It was for the members of each particular agency to assign whatever importance they chose to the many factors on which they based their scale of contributions. It would be most unwise to invite members of one or more of the specialized agencies to pass judgment, even by implication, upon the way in which other States ought to share the expenses of those agencies.

58. That was no ordinary matter of budgetary or administrative co-ordination on which the General Assembly would be free to comment under Article 17 of the Charter. In the opinion of the United States delegation, it was a decision concerning the basic obligations of members of an agency. The United States would uphold that opinion in the councils and conferences of the specialized agencies in which it had assumed the obligations of membership.

59. The United States delegation believed that the wisest course for the Assembly to follow would be to delete the first paragraph of the resolution. It therefore requested the President to call for a separate vote on that paragraph.

60. Mr. PLIMSOLL (Australia) opposed the United States proposal to delete the first paragraph of the draft resolution. That paragraph had not been part of the original proposal submitted by Australia to the joint meeting. Its addition had been proposed by the Belgian representative in order to clarify the position regarding the original Australian suggestion, and had been acceptable to the Australian delegation.

61. It did not state that the scales of assessment of the specialized agencies and of the United Nations should be the same. It only said that they should be brought into closer relationship. That would enable the specialized agencies to take into consideration variations in the size of the budget and in their membership; it also provided means for having a common scale of calculations and a common group of facts upon which assessments could be based.

62. There had been a great deal of discussion in the joint meeting on the fact that in many cases the scales of assessment of the specialized agencies varied widely, for no apparent reason. The whole purpose of the Australian proposal was to provide a common basis for calculations which could be used by the specialized agencies if they so desired. There was nothing in the proposal which would force the specialized agencies to use the Committee on Contributions but it made that Committee available to the specialized agencies should they wish to use it.

63. His delegation believed very strongly that the scales of assessment of the specialized agencies should be much closer to that of the United Nations. Its basis of calculation, to wit, the capacity to pay, was the best basis for all agencies. The resolution, however, did not go as far as that; it merely said that the scales should be brought into closer relationship.

64. The first two paragraphs of the resolution had been adopted in the joint meeting by 37 votes to 1, and he hoped that the General Assembly would endorse the Committee's view on that matter.

65. Mr. LEBEAU (Belgium) felt bound to recount the facts, since the Australian represen-

tative had referred to the Belgian delegation's attitude during the discussions in the joint meetings of the Joint Second and Third Committee with the Fifth Committee. At the beginning of the debate the Australian delegation had submitted a draft resolution. Then the Belgian delegation had submitted an amendment to the second paragraph of that draft resolution; that amendment had been accepted by the Australian delegation. Later, the Belgian delegation had felt that it could, without too much difficulty, submit a draft resolution jointly with Australia, although the first paragraph of that joint draft did not exactly express its views.

66. Speaking on that first paragraph, the United States representative had made some judicious comments, with which Mr. Lebeau agreed. In those circumstances, he would vote for the United States proposal to omit the first paragraph of draft resolution III B.

67. There was not, to his mind, the slightest inconsistency with the Belgian delegation's attitude in the joint meeting, since the Belgian amendment submitted then had affected the second paragraph, not the first, on which his delegation had always entertained some reservations.

68. Mr. MUNIZ (Brazil) wished to comment on the section of the report of the Joint Second and Third Committee and Fifth Committee, meeting jointly, which dealt with the problem of the proliferation and overlapping of the programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. He referred, in particular, to resolution II.

69. It was very gratifying to note that that resolution, which was based on the draft proposal submitted by the Brazilian delegation and incorporated amendments suggested by the United Kingdom, had been unanimously approved by the Joint Committee. It reflected the common concern of the Brazilian and United Kingdom Governments with the rapid proliferation and growth of the programmes of the United Nations and its subsidiary organs and of the specialized agencies. Its aim was not to stunt the growth of all new creative activities but merely to discipline that growth so as to concentrate the energy of the United Nations on the most productive activities.

70. He would not cite again all the evidence available on the severe financial burden which the unrestrained proliferation of activities threatened to place upon Member Governments. That financial burden, however, was not the only reason for the resolution. The avoidance of overlapping was not only a requirement of economy but also a condition of efficiency. Indeed, Governments could not supply sufficient competent staff and administrative resources to keep pace with the steadily increasing number of projects and activities. The time had come to reconcile international idealism with sound realism.

71. The resolution contained an appeal to Governments to refrain from initiating new projects unless the latter were urgent or necessary to achieve the purposes of plans already initiated. Since all the United Nations projects either originated with or were approved by Governments, the solution of the problem of prolifera-

tion rested, in the last instance, with the Governments themselves. During the discussion in the joint meetings, much emphasis had been placed on the need for the co-ordination of national policies of Government representatives in the various international organizations.

72. The draft resolution also invited the Economic and Social Council to devote attention to the problem of priorities as between projects and fields of activities. In fact, the Council was asked to review the catalogue of economic and social projects in terms of categories of priorities and to report thereon to the fifth session of the General Assembly.

73. The problem of priorities was just as important as it was difficult. It clearly could no longer be evaded if the Council was to exercise its co-ordinating function regarding the specialized agencies properly. It was not suggested that the Economic and Social Council should scrutinize each individual project in order to classify it as to priority. That would require a laborious examination of technical details which could be undertaken only by the specialized agencies. It was, however, well within the competence, and most probably also the ability, of the Council to review, in the light of its general perspective of all United Nations activities, the priority assignments made by the specialized agencies, reconciling them in cases of conflict and promoting the concentration and co-ordination of effort. It was certainly also within the powers of the Council to make recommendations, designed to avoid expenditure of energy and effort, on marginal activities and to indicate essential fields of activity to be singled out for preferential treatment. That had been done in the case of the expanded programme of technical assistance to which the specialized agencies had devoted the best of their energy and effort, thus enabling the Council to draw up a sound and balanced programme for future implementation.

74. He hoped that the draft resolution would be unanimously approved by the General Assembly.

75. The PRESIDENT called for a vote on draft resolution I (A/1121).

Resolution I was adopted unanimously.

76. The PRESIDENT put draft resolution II (A/1121) to the vote.

Resolution II was adopted unanimously.

77. The PRESIDENT put draft resolution III A (A/1121) to the vote.

Resolution III A was adopted unanimously.

78. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the first paragraph of draft resolution III B (A/1121).

That paragraph was adopted by 28 votes to 9, with 12 abstentions.

79. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution III B as a whole.

Resolution III B was adopted by 38 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions.

80. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution III C (A/1121).

Resolution III C was adopted by 42 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

Full employment (items 60 and 61 of the agenda): report of the Second Committee (A/1126)

81. Mr. SMOLYAR (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented that Committee's report, together with the accompanying resolution (A/1126).

82. He drew attention to the fact that most of the paragraphs of the Czechoslovak draft resolution (A/1081) on full employment¹ had been approved by the Committee although the resolution as a whole had been rejected.

83. Mr. HOFFMEISTER (Czechoslovakia), introducing the Czechoslovak draft resolution, laid particular stress on the need for effective participation by the truly representative trade unions in the solution of the problem of unemployment, since they represented, defended and were ready to act in the interests of the workers.

84. The Czechoslovak draft resolution had been carefully prepared and had been submitted to the General Assembly in the sincere desire to find a solution for a serious problem, despite the fact that Czechoslovakia and the other peoples' democracies were not directly concerned. Unemployment did not and could not exist in such States, whose economies were centrally planned and largely State-operated. The problem did not affect the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR either, as could be seen from communications from those Governments to the Secretary-General quoted in the United Nations publication *Maintenance of Full Employment*, published in 1949. The USSR Government had stated that there was no unemployment in the Soviet Union and that economic stability was ensured.

85. That consideration would have to be borne in mind in assessing the objectivity and sincerity of the Czechoslovak draft resolution. It would thus be found that that draft resolution would be an effective contribution towards the implementation of Article 55 of the Charter and perhaps a practical commentary on article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In Czechoslovakia, the people, as the sole source of all power, had decided in section 26 of the Constitution that all citizens would have the right to work; that right would be secured especially by the organization of work directed by the State in pursuance of a planned economy. Sections 27 and 32 guaranteed just remuneration for work done and laid down the duty of every citizen to work in accordance with his abilities. Those guiding principles had been incorporated in a more general form in the very important Act No. 241 adopted by the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic, dated 27 October 1948 and generally known as the Five-Year Plan Act.

86. The Czechoslovak State Planning Board had announced on 16 November 1949 that the October quota of the five-year plan in industry had been fulfilled to the extent of 102.3 per cent. The plan for the first ten months of 1949 had

been fulfilled to the extent of 101.8 per cent. No unemployment had been registered.

87. Those facts, which showed that Czechoslovakia would not have to be taken into account when plans were prepared for the solution of the unemployment problem, had been cited, not for purposes of propaganda, but rather to prove that his delegation's approach to what the representative of Australia in the Second Committee had called a great human tragedy was wholly disinterested.

88. It had been a considerably amended Australian resolution which had finally been adopted by the Second Committee by 39 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions. That resolution had avoided all practical recommendations and had been confined to a statement of beliefs. It concluded with the decision that the world economic situation should be reviewed again at the following session of the General Assembly in the light of Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter.

89. Unfortunately, that proposal gave grounds for expressing a definitely pessimistic view. Table 18 on page 32 of the *World Economic Report 1948*, published by the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs in June 1949, had shown that in the first three months of 1948 there had been 468,200 unemployed in the American and British Zones of Western Germany. In the first three months of 1949, the number of unemployed there had risen to 1,038,000. In the United States there had been 2,381,000 unemployed during the first three months of 1948 and that figure had risen to 3,017,000 in the same period in 1949. It should be noted that those figures were official and the United Nations had deemed it necessary to explain in a footnote how they had been arrived at. There had been a steady rise in the unemployment figures in the first three months of 1949 in Belgium, the French occupation zone of Western Germany, Finland, France and Switzerland and other countries; in some cases the figures had doubled. The United States Press had reported that unemployment in that country had reached an alarming height.

90. It was evident that men or women who had lost their source of income could not, consequently, consume certain products, which became inaccessible to them and thus caused the unemployment of other men and women still employed. What was occurring was that the depression — or the so-called recession — in the United States was reducing exports from Western Europe. Europe, in an attempt to counteract that process, had devalued its currencies in order to protect its level of production and to halt the rise in the number of the unemployed.

91. That process meant a lowering of the workers' living standards, in order that exports to the United States might be increased. Purchasing power in that country, however, had been reduced, which in turn placed the United States producers in a difficult position. Thus, those two partners were continually drawing each other into the crisis. The prospects were gloomy; it would therefore be opportune to adopt protective measures immediately.

92. The analysis of the full-employment policies contained in the United Nations publication, *Maintenance of Full Employment* left it to the reader to draw his own conclusions about the

¹ For the discussion on this question in the Second Committee, see *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly, Second Committee, 104th to 112th, 115th and 116th meetings.*

measures adopted or proposed by the Governments to stop or limit unemployment. The inadequacy and inefficiency of those proposals could clearly be seen from the replies sent in by the Governments. As the majority of the replies came from countries based predominantly on private enterprise, it was difficult to avoid falling into the erroneous cyclical theories based upon idealistic criteria.

93. Deductions from the economic conditions of the capitalist world had given rise in certain cases to considerations of a very alarming kind. Mr. Bertyl Ohlin, former Swedish Minister of Commerce, currently professor of economics at Stockholm University, for example, had stated in his recent book, *The Problem of Employment Stabilization*, that in the 1930's the dominant problem for economic science had been to analyse the causes of widespread unemployment and to find a cause for it. As unemployment and a depressed economic state in general had been found to be due to insufficient demand for goods and services, the question had become how to achieve and maintain a sufficient volume of aggregate demand. Some people thought that that had previously been done only in time of war. Sir William Beveridge had stated that war seemed to be the only sovereign remedy for unemployment in modern, liberal economic societies.

94. That was a very violent solution; it had a very direct bearing upon Article 55 of the Charter, which recommended the adoption of very far-reaching solutions with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which were necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

95. Furthermore, the preamble to the United States Employment Act of 1946 stated that it was the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practical means to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare, conditions under which there would be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power.

96. It might therefore be asked why people able and willing to work and seeking work could not find employment in New York. A permissible conclusion might be that it was the consequence of the continuing policy of the United States Government.

97. The problem of unemployment was not insoluble. It demanded, however, a political approach, and not merely the genuine desire to solve it. It required the firm decision to solve the problem by the organization of consumption and production, at any rate during the current crisis, along the lines proposed in the Czechoslovak draft resolution. In no circumstances could that problem be solved in the interests of the employers who refused to give employment; it had to be solved solely in the interests of the unemployed themselves.

98. Moreover, the whole problem of crises could be solved, just as that of unemployment could be made to yield to appropriate treatment. Some schools of thought held that crisis was merely a law of nature. The world had learned, however, that it was possible to change nature,

by changing the flow of rivers or the climate or even by destroying cities with a single blast. Crises, too, could be prevented. That was not a law of nature, but merely a problem of organization.

99. Crises caused by natural catastrophes had been common before the invention of the steam engine; but only in modern times had there been crises caused by over-abundance. In his experience, no one in the United States had ever given an honest explanation of the real cause of the United States crisis of 29 October 1929. On 25 October 1929, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, President Hoover had stated that the fundamental business of the United States — the production and distribution of commodities — was on a sound and prosperous basis. Four days later, the "bull" market of the two preceding years had come to an end. An unprecedented total of 16 million shares had been dumped that day in an hysterical wave of selling and an estimated 25 milliard dollars in paper values had been wiped out.

100. If coffee was burned, potatoes dumped, cattle buried, cotton destroyed in bales and milk poured into rivers, and if at the same time there were people who could not have coffee because they could not afford it, children who had no milk because their parents could not buy it and families which froze because they had no money to buy clothes, something was very wrong with regard to organization.

101. Mr. Hoffmeister recalled that in the spring of the current year he had heard an economist in Paris remark that a crisis would be accelerated if the harvest in Western Europe were as good as that in Eastern Europe and North America. Any common man in any country would say that such a statement made no sense at all. Yet it had reflected one of the laws governing capitalist economy.

102. The United Kingdom Government's *White Paper on Employment Policy* presented to Parliament in May 1944 had stated that employment could not be created by Act of Parliament or by government action alone. That was an unduly dogmatic statement. It could be done, and it had been done, in Czechoslovakia, for example. A planned economy solved both problems, crisis and unemployment, simultaneously, because its aim was a balance between consumption and production.

103. The economists of the world must gradually become accustomed to the imperative fact that they had to reckon with new experience and new concepts. Whereas it was stated in section I of the publication *Maintenance of Full Employment* that Governments of economically developed countries based predominantly on private enterprise considered the unemployment of 1948, for example, as not exceeding the "normal" level, it must also be borne in mind that Governments of countries in which the economies were centrally planned and largely State-operated considered any unemployment to be utterly abnormal and, in fact, an anomaly.

104. The Czechoslovak delegation was not asking Governments to change their economic policies; that could be regarded as an intervention in matters which were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. It was merely

requesting the General Assembly to decide to recommend to Member States suffering from unemployment the immediate adoption of certain measures which would lead to the solution of the immediate problem of unemployment.

105. At the conclusion of the current session, representatives would be asked by the unemployed and by the trade unions in their countries what action had been taken to guarantee a decent standard of living to unemployed workers, to prevent the dismissal of workers, to increase purchasing power, to reduce the profits and to control the activities of monopolies and to ensure price control. They would be asked what action had been taken on all of the other measures recommended in the Czechoslovak draft resolution. The members of the General Assembly had admitted that those proposals contained in sub-paragraphs (a) to (k) of paragraph 1 were moderate and reasonable by adopting them in the Second Committee by majorities which had been as high as 19 in favour with only 2 or 3 against. Sub-paragraph (b) alone had been closely contested; and on that sub-paragraph many delegations — too many — had abstained. In his opinion; however, many of those abstaining would have preferred to vote for that draft resolution. He would be reluctant to assume that the draft resolution had finally been voted down only because it had been submitted by the delegation of a State which appeared to be the victim of a persistent policy of rejection. He hoped that the General Assembly would reconsider that rejection and thereby show that the United Nations was a socially progressive organization.

106. Mr. PLIMSOLL (Australia) said that the Assembly had never before discussed the question of full employment as a separate item on the agenda. The discussions in the Second Committee had shown the great advance that had taken place in public opinion and in the views of Governments since the adoption of the Charter at San Francisco. Article 55 of the Charter set forth an obligation on the part of all Governments and on the part of the United Nations to promote full employment throughout the world. There had been general agreement in the Second Committee that full employment was both desirable and possible. Several Governments, including his own, had stated that there was no unemployment in their countries and that they were sure they would be able to maintain full employment.

107. Article 55 of the Charter contained three important elements, which had been fully brought out in the discussion. The first was that full employment was a universal objective. It was to be desired in every country of the world, no matter what the economic or social system and no matter what the stage of economic development. Many representatives were inclined to think primarily of mass unemployment, such as had occurred in the industrialized countries just prior to the war. The representatives of some other countries, however — and particularly those of Pakistan and India — had emphasized that there was also another type of unemployment, a type that existed in under-developed countries and was sometimes known as under-employment. The resolution before the Assembly stated clearly that individual Member States of the United Nations as a whole should continue

the attack against unemployment, whether it took the form of mass unemployment in industrialized countries, under-employment and unproductive employment in under-developed countries or the joint evil which existed in some countries. Unemployment should be combated wherever it occurred in any part of the world.

108. The second point set forth in the article was that the aim of the United Nations should be to achieve full employment. The words "full employment" appeared in the Charter and there was no reference to anything less complete, such as "high levels of employment". Economists sometimes considered that full employment and high levels of employment were synonymous and so they might be if appropriate definitions were used. The phrase "full employment", however, had an emotional quality. It was used in the Charter and in the resolution recommended by the Second Committee and he hoped it would be used also by the General Assembly.

109. The draft resolution went even further; it called for full and productive employment. He emphasized that the words used were not "full or productive employment" but "full and productive employment". Full employment was essential not simply as an end in itself but as a means of promoting higher standards of living throughout the world. The aim was that working men and women should not merely have an occupation which kept them from idleness, but that they should have an occupation which would increase the goods and services available to the world and help to raise the standards of living everywhere.

110. The third element of the pledge taken in the Charter, in Articles 55 and 56, was that the promotion and maintenance of full employment should be an international obligation. Each country undertook that obligation not only because it was desirable to have full employment within its own borders, but also because it had an obligation to the rest of the world to maintain full employment. By maintaining full employment at home, all countries, and particularly the big trading nations, would help to maintain the international demand for the goods of other countries and thus they would also be helping other countries to maintain full employment and to raise the standards of living.

111. All those elements were contained in the draft resolution before the Assembly, which was based on the draft resolution submitted to the Second Committee by his delegation. It was for each country to decide for itself the way in which full employment was to be attained and maintained. Different countries had different social and economic systems and the Assembly should not attempt to prescribe the exact administrative details which each country should put into effect. There were many generally accepted ways of approaching full employment, such as public works, fiscal policies and social services. The way in which they were applied, however, could vary widely from country to country. Countries with a high degree of private enterprise might adopt a rather different approach from those with a fairly strictly planned economy. As long as each country accepted the obligation to maintain full employment, the methods it used to achieve that end were not so important from the international viewpoint.

112. The aim was that each country should follow policies designed to secure full employment in collaboration with other countries of the world, so that the policies of each country fitted in with those of the others and helped the others to achieve the common objective. The problem of full employment was linked with other problems that had been discussed by the Second Committee, such as economic development and international trade, and the draft resolution before the Assembly recognized both those points. In the first place, it made it clear that economic development was desirable, not only in itself, but also as a means of assisting other countries to attain full employment, and that a higher degree of international investment would be a useful means of helping others. It recognized also that the achievement of the objectives of some of the international agreements into which many countries had entered or intended to enter — agreements such as the International Trade Organization's Charter — would be greatly assisted by policies designed to secure full employment throughout the world. In fact, it might even be argued that such general objectives as multilateralism and the removal of discriminatory practices in trade could not be fully achieved without policies which would maintain demand in the big trading nations and thus allow the exporting countries to remove restrictions on their own imports, because there would be sufficient demand for their exports to maintain the means of payment for their imports.

113. For example, the Secretariat's report on national and international measures for securing full employment showed that the main problem facing many countries was that of the balance of payments. His Government, at least, believed it was desirable that the volume of trade in the world should be as large and unrestricted as possible. To secure that desirable aim, a high level of international demand for goods was essential throughout the world. Thus, the achievement of that general objective was closely linked with the achievement of full employment throughout the world.

114. The resolution recognized all those things; it called upon the individual Members of the United Nations to work towards those ends and it also requested the Economic and Social Council to continue its study of the problem and to take the necessary action. The Economic and Social Council by its resolution 221 E (IX) had already appointed a group of experts on employment, whose report was to be discussed by the Council in February 1950.

115. The problem of full employment required immediate attention. It was not a problem which could be solved and then consigned to oblivion. It was a matter requiring constant study. In a world of continual social and economic progress, where technological developments were constantly bringing about changes and the community's production capacity was gradually increasing, economic adjustments were needed all the time. New problems were continually arising and their solution required discussion on the national and international planes. The fact that the item had been placed on the agenda for the current session and would be retained on that of the following session did not, therefore, indicate any panic on the part of the Assembly. It simply indicated

a recognition of the fact that the problem of full employment would require constant attention, probably for as long as the United Nations continued to exist.

116. In recent times, the problem had become more acute because the economic development of the world had reached a stage where large-scale adjustments were sometimes necessary. Short-term measures had at first been needed to overcome the economic upheaval wrought by the war, but that particular stage of post-war adjustment was coming to an end. The difficulties of adjustment were, perhaps, more apparent in some countries than in others, but the example of the United States had shown that those adjustments could be made. The momentary downward trend had been arrested and the situation seemed very hopeful. Thus, the question had been taken up by the United Nations and was to remain on the Assembly's agenda.

117. In conclusion, he wished to repeat some of the remarks he had made in the Second Committee. Unemployment was not just a question of general principles to be discussed in a committee; it was not just a table of statistics appearing in the Secretariat's publications, but a great human problem which should be considered in terms of the individual. A man who was unemployed did not know what the future held in store; he was without income and he might be without sufficient food, shelter or clothing. He did not know whether he was wanted by society, and the community was deprived of the output which he could contribute to the common cause. If representatives would think of unemployment in terms of the individual, they would all appreciate the urgency of the task and the fact that it was one of the prime objectives of the United Nations to see that every person who wanted employment was given employment.

118. The promotion of full employment was part of the world-wide struggle of the United Nations against poverty, and the struggle against poverty was intimately linked with the world-wide struggle for peace.

119. The PRESIDENT suggested that, as there were only two more speakers on the list, the meeting should be continued until the item was completed.

120. Mr. TEJERA (Uruguay), speaking on a point of order, regretted that he disagreed with the President's suggestion to finish the discussion on the important matter of full employment at the current meeting. He believed that the majority of the representatives had not thought that the Assembly would deal with the matter at all at that meeting.

121. The subject merited a long and thorough discussion, since those who, like himself, had opposed the draft resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia in the Committee and who intended to oppose it in the Assembly, must duly explain their disagreement with some of its main points.

122. His delegation, therefore, proposed that the meeting should be adjourned and that the discussion should be continued at the following meeting.

The motion for adjournment was adopted by 19 votes to 17, with 8 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.