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*President* : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

**Palestine : (a) report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine ; (b) assistance to Palestine refugees : report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East : reports of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee (A/2070) and the Fifth Committee (A/2080) (*concluded*)**

[Agenda item 24]

1. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*) : In the discussion which took place in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR pointed out that the present unsettled relations between the Jewish and Arab States are a consequence of the expansionist policy of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom with regard to the countries of the Near and Middle East. As has already been pointed out more than once, this expansionist policy of the Anglo-American bloc is determined, in the first place, by the economic importance of the area, and, in the second place, by the strategic situation of the countries of the Near and Middle East.

2. Much evidence has been adduced to show that, in striving to convert the countries of the Near and Middle East into a strong point for the aggression it is preparing under the false pretext of collective defence, the aggressive Anglo-American bloc is openly aiming at the occupation of those countries by its own armed forces. We have also supplied numerous Press reports concerning the particular interest of the United States and the United Kingdom in the economy of these areas, which are rich in oil, obviously a most important strategic raw material for the future war now being prepared by the United States and the United Kingdom.

3. In seeking to achieve their political, strategic purposes, the United States and the United Kingdom are interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of the Middle and Near East and are preventing the settlement of disputes in Palestine. Because of this, the United Nations Conciliation Commission, consisting of the representatives of the United

States, France and Turkey, has done nothing during the three years of its existence to settle the disputes between the parties in Palestine. In the Commission's report [A/1985] submitted to the sixth session of the General Assembly there is an admission that the Commission has proved unable to carry out its task.

4. The delegation of the Soviet Union, anxious to facilitate a settlement in the interests of the peoples of Palestine through the efforts and resources of the governments concerned, has submitted a draft resolution [A/2071] proposing the abolition of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. If a satisfactory settlement of the Palestine problem and of the disputes between the parties is to be achieved, an end must be put, before anything else, to interference in the affairs of Palestine by the United States and the United Kingdom.

5. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR therefore supports and will vote for the Soviet Union's draft resolution proposing the abolition of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, which, as everyone knows, is an instrument of Anglo-American interference in the affairs of the peoples of Palestine and the Arab States.

6. For the same reason, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will vote against draft resolution I of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, for that draft resolution would prolong the Commission's existence and hinder a settlement of the relations between Israel and the Arab States.

7. Mr. ZULOAGA MEJIA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*) : My delegation is delighted to accept the invitation issued at this morning's meeting by the representative of Syria. Nevertheless, I find it necessary first to explain my delegation's position in this delicate matter.

8. My Government regards the Palestine problem as one of the most serious and complicated of those now before the United Nations and as one which may at any moment affect world peace. In submitting its amendment my delegation has sought above all a rapid, just and adequate

solution. For this reason it welcomes the Syrian representative's suggestion, and is also very pleased that the beginning of an agreement between the parties is visible. Since the Arab countries and Israel are the States most closely concerned in the solution of the problem, I feel it would be unseemly to appear more exacting than those protagonists. For this reason I accept the invitation issued to my delegation.

9. Nevertheless I must point out that for reasons of principle I shall maintain certain points of view. I wish to state our position very clearly. In the amendment I have submitted on behalf of my delegation I have called for strict and complete implementation of all the resolutions on Palestine. By this I have sought to imply that the measures adopted by the United Nations in this matter provide a suitable solution for the problem. Some of these resolutions are, of course, open to amendment by the governments concerned if that would help to put an end to existing disagreements.

10. One resolution, however, cannot in my delegation's opinion be altered by the parties. That is the resolution [181 (II)] ordering the internationalization of Jerusalem. There are many powerful motives and reasons why our position on this is definite and unalterable. We cannot hand over, without glory or retribution, in a cold-blooded act of mere diplomatic concession, something that has cost us so much fighting, so much labour, so many lives and so many frustrated hopes. Twenty centuries of history, a whole civilization, the religion founded by Jesus, the Son of God, the Jew who suffered persecution and death on the cross, and the Christian blood shed in the glorious Crusades, make it impossible for us Catholics of the twentieth century to haggle like cowards over the blood of those who sacrificed their lives to restore to Christianity the places which Christ hallowed by his life and bathed in his blood.

11. Mr. LAHOUD (Lebanon) (*translated from French*): After the clear statement which the Syrian representative has made, we at first thought it unnecessary to explain our vote.

12. We shall vote for the Canadian representative's amendments to paragraphs 2 and 4 of the draft resolution approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. In so deciding, our delegations regard the new text as an acceptable compromise and one in conformity with the spirit of previous General Assembly resolutions. But it must be stressed that it is, nevertheless, a compromise, in other words a formula by which we are surrendering some of the progress made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. I hasten to add that this surrender is essentially a matter of phraseology and wording and that it does not affect the principles underlying the draft resolution. The compromise has the advantage of obtaining a larger majority in support of the draft resolution and of imparting more authority and effectiveness to the Conciliation Commission. We are therefore accepting this compromise, this new presentation, bearing in mind that politics is the art of the possible. In other words, applying this axiom to our own particular case, I will say that politics is the art of gathering the greatest possible number of votes without sacrificing any fundamental principle.

13. However, the interpretation which the Israel delegation has given to the Canadian amendments obliges us to stress the meaning of our vote.

14. We agree that both before and after the Canadian delegation's amendment, for which we shall vote, the text of the draft resolution contains a very clear reference to all previous United Nations resolutions on Palestine, including the 1947 resolution, and that it is in accordance with those resolutions that the Conciliation Commission should carry

on its work. The Israel delegation has given the impression that it looked upon the new text as a mere request to the parties to come to an agreement, even outside the framework of the General Assembly resolutions. That is not the way we understand this text, which is clear and imperative. Furthermore, no agreement is possible, as has been discovered in the course of four years of effort, so long as one of the States Members of the United Nations insists on not conforming to the decisions taken, confirmed and repeated by the General Assembly.

15. We shall vote for the Canadian amendment, and, in a spirit of conciliation, we shall vote against paragraph 6, in order to gain a larger majority for the draft resolution as a whole.

16. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the Conciliation Commission, in carrying out its task, will take account not only of the text finally adopted, but also of all the discussions which have taken place, as being preparatory work intended to clarify the final text. I should also like to express the hope, that, at our next discussion, we shall be able to congratulate the Conciliation Commission not only on its zeal but also on the positive results it has achieved.

17. Mr. WILSON (New Zealand): The New Zealand delegation has been given instructions to place on record the view of the New Zealand Government that the authority of the United Nations should be preserved in some appropriate form in Jerusalem; for instance, by the presence there of a representative of the Commission. It is our view that the draft resolution under consideration, though it does not specify where the headquarters of the Conciliation Commission should be, is based on the above assumption.

18. Mr. LEITAO DA CUNHA (Brazil) (*translated from French*): The Brazilian delegation has already in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee made clear its attitude towards the work of the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, and supported draft resolution I submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

19. However, in the light of the explanations of votes given this morning in plenary meeting, it accepts the Canadian delegation's amendments to paragraphs 2 and 4 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

20. With regard to paragraph 6, the Brazilian delegation would be gratified if the principle of expanding the Conciliation Commission were accepted and intends to return to the subject if the present deadlock still exists at the seventh session of the Assembly. In the light of the statements made this morning by the delegations of the parties to the dispute, statements of which the conciliatory tone should be noted, I dare express the hope that the General Assembly will have no need to revert to this point.

21. With the exception of paragraph 6, the Brazilian delegation will therefore vote for all the provisions of draft resolution I, together with the amendments proposed by the Canadian delegation, to which it extends its thanks, since that delegation's sustained efforts in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and in the Assembly will doubtless result in this draft resolution being supported by a large majority.

22. We regret that we are unable to support the USSR draft resolution, as we believe that the United Nations cannot evade its responsibilities in the solution of the Palestine problem.

23. Mr. BELTRAMINO (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina wishes to say that it will vote in favour of draft resolution I as amended by Canada, even though it abstained from voting on some of the

amendments which were submitted to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee; it is, moreover, gratified to note that the differences existing on the subject are being smoothed out in a spirit of conciliation.

24. It will also vote in favour of draft resolution II of the same document in view of the humanitarian motives upon which it is based.

25. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): With one sole aim and purpose in view, a final settlement and peace between the two great communities, the two sides involved in this struggle in Palestine, I wish to explain the vote which my delegation will cast at this plenary meeting on draft resolution I submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee for its consideration and on the proposals to amend the draft which were submitted later to this plenary meeting.

26. Having peace as an objective and believing that an end should be put to this great struggle, this grievous and bloody struggle which we all deplore, between the two great communities of the illustrious and glorious land whose grandeur and glory have grown through the centuries, with these aims guiding our points of view, my delegation voted against the draft resolution which was finally approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and which is now before this plenary meeting.

27. This morning, among other changes—and I trust I shall meet with your indulgence if I only refer to those amendments on which we are called upon to express our opinion and to vote—the delegation of Canada submitted some amendments. We shall vote in favour of them as they are entirely in keeping, or the most nearly in keeping, with the views we maintained during the discussions of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, views which in our case, as expressed with all the earnestness of my humble words, could only have one clear purpose: peace in Palestine.

28. We have studied the report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine which is now submitted to the plenary meeting. Under draft resolution I before us, this Commission will continue to function. Why? In point of fact, what we have before us in its report is a chronicle of results which were not achieved, of possibilities which no longer exist of a final settlement which was never brought about and of a lasting peace which was never realized. Why, then, persist in maintaining a commission which will have to work with the same actors in the drama? Because we are here not to make any undesirable inventories but to estimate the possibilities of peace. We are not here to put new obstacles in the way of this peace and to widen the split between the two participants in this struggle, but rather to attempt to estimate, to stimulate and to increase the possibilities, however small, towards achieving this peace which we desire to be a lasting peace, which my delegation desires when it argues strenuously in favour of continuing the Conciliation Commission with the same members as before and with the least elaborate terms of reference possible.

29. The Conciliation Commission itself, which says that it has not been very successful in the accomplishment of its task, states (and I quote from a chapter of the commission's report): "The Commission continues to believe that if and when the parties are ready to accept these principles, general agreement or partial agreement could be sought through direct negotiations with United Nations assistance or mediation" [*A/1985, para. 86*]. Never have I seen such hopeful words contained in a negative report. The same commission which tells us that its efforts failed to produce results states, nevertheless, that the agreement which we

all seek is still possible by means of a direct settlement with the assistance and aid of the United Nations. Accordingly, we shall most certainly vote in favour of the commission continuing to function, subject to these two provisos: that it continues such as it is and without any terms of reference which might restrict, hinder or limit its action.

30. To put it more clearly and to tell you what I have in mind, we do not wish the commission to be limited by a resolution of this Assembly enjoining the commission or the parties to adhere to all the resolutions of the General Assembly. It is essential that this peace should be negotiated and reached with due regard for realities. I should not be able to support with my vote any provision requiring the parties to comply with resolutions against which my delegation voted in the plenary; I could not recommend that the peace and the commission's work should be contingent on some resolutions which are still being discussed and which are still debatable, like the resolution concerning the statute of Jerusalem for instance, which has once before hampered steps and negotiations for peace between the two communities which we should like to entertain friendly and not hostile relations, which we should like to see tackle as brothers the great undertakings of progress and peace, and the flower of whose youth should not be frittered away in a struggle of hate that might seem interminable.

31. However, today's debate has given rise to a new hope on the horizon; it shows us that we are on the right path in this struggle and in all struggles for understanding and peace, in this case between two peoples of this glorious region of the world, where the people of Israel, through the action of the United Nations, were able, after suffering epic hardships for centuries, to assert itself as a nation, and where the countries of the great Arab community contribute as always their greatness and their faith to the progress of the human intellect.

32. Such is the sentiment of solidarity on which the Uruguayan delegation, of which I am the humble mouthpiece, bases its faith, its hopes and its wishes. It will, therefore, not be surprising if I now say that I shall not be able to vote in favour of any of the passages which set conditions for the commission. I shall not be able to vote in favour of any of these passages which have the effect of limiting the commission's work and so of limiting the possibilities of a direct settlement between the parties. Nor shall I be able to vote in favour of paragraph 6 which proposes to enlarge the Conciliation Commission, my reasons being the same as those mentioned by the representative of Syria.

33. However, I wish to say further that, in our humble opinion, if this commission had to be modified or were to have been modified in the future, then, we feel, the change ought to have taken the form of adding to the commission, as constituted, delegations of both parties in this struggle. Let the two parties sit together around the same table. Once before when they came together to deliberate, the armistice resulted, the truce of arms, the truce in the deluge of fire and hatred. Perhaps if they were again to sit together around the table, they might achieve for all time the truce of souls, the truce of the heart. And Arabs and Jews might, within the boundaries of their own communities, turn to work aimed at progress and peace, for the sake of their children, for that goal which inspires all nations and all human beings: peace and brotherhood, the greatest forms of progress and glory among the peoples of the world.

34. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*translated from French*): The Indonesian delegation and ours, in agreement with the delegations of the Asian and Arab countries, moved an amendment to one paragraph of the draft resolution



submitted by the representative of Pakistan to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. Our purpose was to facilitate the commission's work and to help to find a solution acceptable to the parties. An acceptable formula now appears to have been found. Therefore, for the reasons already stated this morning by the representative of Pakistan, and in order to facilitate the solution of the problem before us, we are answering the appeal addressed to us by our colleague and friend the representative of Syria and shall not press the matter.

35. In agreement with the Indonesian representative I would propose, if there is no objection, that paragraph 6 of the operative part of draft resolution I of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee should be deleted.

36. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Iran, for the reasons he has indicated, proposes that paragraph 6 of draft resolution I [A/2070] should be deleted before the amendments and the resolution are put to the vote, provided, I assume, that none of the representatives here objects to his suggestion. I therefore ask representatives whether they agree with the suggestion made by the representative of Iran, on behalf also of the Indonesian delegation.

37. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the deletion of paragraph 6 of draft resolution I.

*It was so decided.*

38. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee recommends the General Assembly to adopt the two draft resolutions which appear at the end of its report. The Canadian representative has moved an amendment [A/2083] to draft resolution I which has been fully commented on by various representatives.

39. We shall vote on the Canadian amendment first. The first part of the amendment proposes that paragraph 2 of the operative part should read as follows: "Notes with regret that, as stated in paragraph 87 of the report, the Commission has been unable to fulfil its mandate under the resolutions of the General Assembly."

*The first part of the amendment submitted by Canada was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.*

40. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The second part of the amendment submitted by the Canadian delegation proposes that paragraph 4 should read as follows:

"Urges the governments concerned to seek agreement with a view to an early settlement of their outstanding differences in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine; and for this purpose to make full use of United Nations facilities".

*The second part of the amendment submitted by Canada was adopted by 46 votes to 1, with 8 abstentions.*

41. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now put to the vote draft resolution I, as modified by the amendments which have just been adopted.

*Draft resolution I as amended was adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 1 abstention.*

42. Mr. EBAN (Israel): I wish to raise a point of order. Owing to the gratifying and unusual speed of our voting procedure, I did not have time to register a request for a paragraph by paragraph vote. I therefore take this opportunity of stating that, had the voting been organized by paragraphs, my delegation would have voted against the first paragraph of the preamble, and would have abstained on paragraph 5 of the operative part. For reasons which we have explained in the course of the debate, we would have voted for the other paragraphs of the draft resolution, and we did vote for the draft resolution as a whole.

43. Since voting by paragraph was not instituted, I hope that the record of these remarks in the verbatim record will take the place of an expression of sentiment by paragraph voting.

44. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): My delegation abstained on all the Canadian amendments as well as the draft resolution as a whole, the reason being that the Canadian amendments contribute to the attitude of evasion and equivocation revealed here this morning by Mr. Eban.

45. My delegation understands the Canadian amendments as explained this morning by the representative of Syria, Mr. Choukayri, to mean that they completely reinforce past decisions of the General Assembly, including paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) of 1948, according to which the Arab refugees are entitled to return to their homes in Palestine if they so desire, and those who do not wish to return should be adequately compensated.

46. The explanation which we had this morning from Mr. Eban was certainly full of evasion and equivocation, and it simply proves to the General Assembly that the basis of the reason why we cannot have peace in Palestine is because of this very attitude. We cannot have peace because one party always ignores our rights and evades any resolution of the General Assembly which recognizes and guarantees legitimate Arab rights to their own homes.

47. We cannot have peace in Palestine, and for that matter throughout the Middle East, unless two facts are permanently recognized. The first is that the Arabs have a right to their own homes and lands in Palestine, rights which they will never abandon nor forget in the passing of time. The second is that Palestine is a Holy land, holy not only to the Jews but to Christians, Moslems and Jews alike, and therefore it cannot be predominantly Jewish.

48. The United Nations resolution of 1947 [181 (II)], which was so unjust to the Arabs and so illegal, divided Palestine into three parts, Jewish territory, Arab territory and international territory. Once the Jews achieved by force their own ends, they trespassed on Arab territory and international territory. Today, Mr. Eban attempted to obliterate the resolution of 1947. If that resolution were obliterated, not only may Arab rights and international rights suffer today, but tomorrow the existence of Israel cannot have United Nations backing, because that resolution does not exist any more.

49. My delegation understands from today's resolution that all United Nations resolutions adopted so far on the Palestine problem stand; that they should all be observed. It is only in this way that we can have some basis of settlement in Palestine and the Middle East. Otherwise, the Conciliation Commission and its efforts are doomed to failure. It is because the Conciliation Commission in this last year tried to evade and forget United Nations resolutions that its efforts were doomed. Let us hope that this year it will make a new start in the light of the United Nations resolutions, and that all past United Nations resolutions on Palestine will be taken into account.

50. Mr. Eban speaks of readiness for negotiation and agreement. Certainly negotiation and agreement demand a clear and clean mental atmosphere, not to speak of a change of character. How can the Arabs sit and talk with any party unless they are sure that there is no evasion or equivocation? In one's language and in one's agreements, how can one deal with a party which is not ready to recognize human rights and which derides United Nations resolutions and wishes to impose its own interpretation on the other party, which is to obliterate those resolutions? How can one deal with a party which does not wish to recognize

human rights as applied to the Arabs, and does not wish to apply the same standards to the Arabs which it wishes to be applied to itself? How can one deal with a party which destroys innocent lives and leaves nearly one million Arabs deprived of their homes and means of livelihood, which shoots innocent people by hundreds without trial?

51. The representative of Haiti told us this morning that the victims of yesterday are not the executioners of today, and that he thought this statement was an exaggeration. In reply to that, I have only to quote from *The New York Times* of 23 January, only three days ago:

"A stealthy war by night, still being fought along Israel's borders between Arab infiltrators and the Israeli Army and police, cost the lives of one hundred and thirty-three Arabs and twelve Israelis in the last three months of 1951..."

52. The PRESIDENT: I would call the representative's attention to the fact that his statement is not really an explanation of vote. Furthermore, he has exceeded the seven-minute time-limit.

53. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): May I be allowed one more minute, Mr. President?

54. Most of the infiltrators came from Jordan probably, because the Israeli-Jordan frontier cuts through many areas which were once solidly Arab. Some infiltrators even tried to cultivate the fields, gather oranges or other crops, or graze their flocks on the Israeli side of the border. That is why one hundred and thirty-three of them were shot. That is their crime.

55. The Arabs are desirous of peace in Palestine and the whole of the Middle East, a peace based on right, justice and freedom, a peace based on clean hearts and straight minds. If Israel wishes such a peace it is for it to seek it by recognizing Arab rights, respecting them, and implementing United Nations decisions. There is no other way for peace in the Middle East today.

56. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): With respect to draft resolution II, I should call the Assembly's attention to the amendment proposed by the Canadian delegation [A/2078]. Before taking the vote on that amendment, I call upon the representative of Israel.

57. Mr. EBAN (Israel): The representative of Iraq in explanation of his vote introduced irrelevant material in the form of a reply to the representative of Haiti. My delegation would not have gone into this question except that the remarks and the quotation of the representative of Iraq relating to events on the Israel-Jordan border have been read by him into the record. I therefore wish to make the following announcement regarding recent troubles on the Israel-Jordan border which were considered by the Mixed Armistice Commission on 24 January, that is to say, the day before yesterday.

58. Seventy-eight complaints of violations came up before that commission. The Mixed Armistice Commission in regard to fifty-nine of those cases expressed condemnation of the action of the Jordan forces and on one of these issues it expressed condemnation of the action of Israeli forces. Thus, we do not have to have recourse to the Press cuttings bureau. We have the authentic record of the United Nations organ in whose impartiality and authority my Government retain full confidence.

59. Mr. MACDONNELL (Canada): This may seem excessive for one day, but we have another small amendment which we have put in and I have asked for permission to speak today in order to make clear the position of the Canadian delegation on the question of assistance to Palestine refugees.

60. The Canadian Government wishes me to express in this Assembly the satisfaction it felt in observing the development of a spirit of co-operation during the discussion of this question in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. This co-operation made possible the drafting of draft resolution II now before us, which was approved in the Committee by an overwhelming majority, and among those voting in favour of the draft resolution were the representatives of the States primarily concerned with the refugee problem.

61. It is the belief of my Government that resolutions which recommend a course of action calling for voluntary contributions from Member States cannot be expected to fulfil their purpose, if, at least, the great majority of the States which vote in favour of the resolutions year after year do not come forward with contributions in the form of cash or supplies or services. We have voted in favour of past resolutions on this subject and our vote has been followed in each case by a contribution that we regarded as a fair share of a load that should be broadly distributed. We have been disappointed to find, however, that, except perhaps in the first year after the refugee problem arose, the number of Member States willing to share in the enterprise the Assembly had undertaken was very small.

62. In November 1948 a resolution [212 (III)] providing for assistance to Palestine refugees was adopted unanimously without a roll-call vote. The report laid before us in the autumn of 1949<sup>1</sup> showed that twenty-one Members of this Organization, in addition to those directly involved in the Palestine conflict, had given practical assistance. In succeeding years the number of Member States which have contributed has been smaller. In December 1949 forty-seven Members voted in favour of the programme of assistance to refugees. In the next report<sup>2</sup> we learned that only ten Members, in addition to the States directly concerned, had actually contributed. In December 1950, forty-eight Members voted for the programme of assistance to refugees and the report we have before us [A/1905] now shows that only thirteen Members, in addition to those directly concerned in the Palestine dispute, contributed in cash or in kind. We have been interested to note that in more than one case, especially in 1949, some of the contributors were States which were coping with extremely difficult economic conditions in their own countries, while other countries more fortunately placed did nothing to share in the undertaking except to cast their vote in the Assembly. We would invite those present here who are responsible for advising their governments on the question of Palestine refugees to look back over the list of contributors and see for themselves what the record is.

63. It is with this record in mind that, while Canada will vote in favour of draft resolution II, I must reserve our position in its financial aspects. We do not feel satisfied that other and comparable countries have hitherto made contributions on a scale that approaches the Canadian contributions and the contributions of the very few other countries that have actually co-operated every year. Assistance to Palestine refugees, like many other humanitarian projects, needs a broader response than has been given in the past. The Canadian Government attaches great importance to securing that broader financial response, and has been happy to note that during the Committee debate a few nations which have hitherto made no contributions have indicated their intention of contributing to the present plan. One of the principal factors which will influence the Canadian Government in deciding whether

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annex, Vol. II, document A/1060/Add.1.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid., Fifth Session, Supplement No. 19.*



to make a contribution this year will be the degree of financial support which is forthcoming from countries like our own, which are neither great Powers nor nations with special interests in the area. A further consideration will be the degree of administrative co-operation from governments of States directly concerned, since the success of the three-year plan will depend on this administrative co-operation as well as on the contributions of States in other parts of the world.

64. This leads me to the amendment proposed by the Canadian delegation [A/2078]. It is simple and, I am sure, non-controversial. Its intention is to make it clear that now, as in the past, contributions from non-members of the United Nations as well as from Members will be welcome. What we are proposing is a provision on this subject similar to provisions adopted during the fifth session of the Assembly, namely, that the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds should be explicitly authorized to seek contributions from non-members. This authority may well rest with the Committee by implication, but it seems preferable to eliminate any doubt about the committee's functions during the coming year. If the proposed amendment is adopted the Negotiating Committee will have clear directions to seek contributions both from Members of the United Nations and from non-members, and that we believe to be the arrangement desired by the General Assembly.

65. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now put to the vote the Canadian delegation's amendment [A/2078] to draft resolution II, which proposes to add to paragraph 12 of the operative part the words "with Member and non-member States" immediately after the words "carried out".

*The amendment was adopted by 47 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.*

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

*Draft resolution II as amended was adopted by 49 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

67. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We have another draft resolution which has been submitted by the USSR [A/2071]. This draft resolution proposes the discontinuance of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine.

68. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): I wish to raise a point of order. I wanted to explain my vote on draft resolution II which concerns refugees. My delegation voted in favour of this draft resolution with the full understanding that this is purely a humanitarian project: it leads to no permanent settlement of the refugees in the countries around Palestine and it does not rob them of their complete and free right to return. Were it to do so I would certainly have voted against it.

69. I wish to say that I hope this resolution will take into consideration the fact that there are 128,000 Arabs on the borders who are not registered as refugees, and they should be given due recognition. These people live in villages; their farms have been taken away by Israel. It is these villagers who infiltrate into their own farms and get shot, and when I quoted *The New York Times* a while ago I referred to these very people. I was not referring to the Israel-Jordan troubles; that is quite a different subject. Unfortunately Mr. Eban has again tried to equivocate. The truth is that these refugees live in villages but they cannot pick their own oranges just across the border because if they try to they will get shot. One hundred and thirty-three of them have been shot in the

last few months and probably several hundreds have been captured and others wounded.

70. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly has just adopted draft resolution II providing that the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine should continue. It would therefore seem unnecessary to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the USSR. However, since the Soviet Union has requested a vote on the draft resolution, I shall now put it to the vote.

*The draft resolution was rejected by 48 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions.*

## Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter II): report of the Second Committee (A/2069)

[Agenda item 11]

*Mr. Chauvet (Haiti), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/2069).*

71. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Second Committee recommends that the Assembly should approve four draft resolutions, which appear at the end of document A/2069. We shall vote on each of these draft resolutions. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has submitted an amendment [A/2082] to draft resolution I. I call upon the Assembly to vote on the amendment.

*The amendment was rejected by 34 votes to 5, with 9 abstentions.*

72. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution I as a whole. In the Second Committee the draft resolution was approved by 42 votes to none, with 5 abstentions. If there are no objections, therefore, I shall regard this draft resolution as adopted by the General Assembly.

73. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union requests you to put draft resolution I, as a whole to the vote.

74. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with the USSR representative's request, a vote will be taken on draft resolution I as a whole.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

75. Mr. STADNIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to explain its vote on the USSR amendment to draft resolution I of the Second Committee, entitled "Food and Famine".

76. The preparation for war not only involves the diversion of labour from productive work, the expenditure of enormous material resources on the armaments race and the curtailment of production for the requirements of civilian consumption, but it also absorbs an enormous volume of foodstuffs both for feeding the ever-growing armed forces and for establishing military stores. The increasing use of foodstuffs in preparing a new world war adversely affects the civilian food supply, which has deteriorated particularly of late owing to the large scale on which military preparations are being conducted in all the countries of the aggressive Atlantic bloc.

77. The cessation of the armaments race and the freeing of world resources to combat the food shortage and famine experienced in a number of countries by making use of the stocks of food already accumulated for war purposes, as proposed in the USSR amendment, would have a

decisive effect on civilian supplies and would ease considerably the acute shortage of foodstuffs in a number of countries.

78. The amendment submitted by the delegation of the USSR also proposed that use should be made, in combating hunger and the shortage of foodstuffs, of the chemicals accumulated for military purposes. This proposal had in view the extensive use of chemicals for the production of fertilizers, which would raise the yield of the crops and increase the total foodstuffs available for the population.

79. The USSR amendment also referred to the need for expanding peaceful civilian production in every possible way, as one of the most important means of combating famine and the food shortage.

80. The Ukrainian delegation considers that the amendment submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union pointed the way to a radical solution of the problem of improving supplies, for only by putting an end to the armaments race can real results be achieved in combating the food shortage and famine.

81. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR therefore voted for the amendment submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/2082] to draft resolution I of the Second Committee.

82. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): I wish to explain the Byelorussian SSR's vote on the amendment submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union.

83. The Byelorussian delegation, having studied the resolution on food and famine submitted by the Second Committee, considers that the operative part of the resolution leaves unmentioned one of the most important methods of combating the malnutrition and hunger at present existing in the capitalist countries, particularly in those whose rulers, being engaged in the preparation of a new world war to the exclusion of all else, care nothing for the welfare of the working population of their country.

84. The amendment submitted by the USSR delegation [A/2082] remedies that omission by embodying a recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly to all governments, to attack the problems of hunger and famine by "freeing world resources in order to combat the food shortage and famine experienced in a number of countries, by bringing to an end the armaments race and making use of the stocks of foods and chemicals accumulated for war purposes, and by expanding peaceful civilian production in every possible way".

85. Even the most ardent supporters of the armaments race now admit that it has the effect of withdrawing from the market substantial quantities of foods, chemicals and other products which might have been used to satisfy the vital needs of the hungry, to raise the productivity of agriculture, and to develop the peaceful branches of industry which are now being restricted for the sole purpose of ensuring the constant rise of the profits accruing to a small group of magnates in the monopoly war industries. Large quantities of the foodstuffs stockpiled by the aggressive States for military purposes rot in the warehouses, at a moment when millions of working people are suffering from serious food shortages.

86. The West European, Latin American and even United States newspapers have on repeated occasions reported that the United States is exporting spoiled foods. For example a huge quantity of dried eggs unfit for consumption was delivered to the United Kingdom. Brazil received a consignment of condensed milk which caused serious sickness. Japan received worm-eaten flour. In the year 1951 alone Belgium received from the United States a quantity

of 420,000 tons of spoiled wheat, at a cost to the Belgian taxpayer of 2,500 million Belgian francs.

87. The USSR amendment recommended the termination of the armaments race in order to combat food shortage and famine; it therefore forms an indispensable part of the resolution before us. The inclusion of this provision would have appreciably improved the resolution and opened the way for putting into effect the provisions of the other subparagraphs in paragraph 1 of the operative part. Indeed, if the governments of the Member States of the United Nations were combating famine in the manner recommended in the USSR amendment, they would really be able to give high priority to food production programmes and to place adequate emphasis on food production in their national economic development plans, to arrange for the delivery of foodstuffs in regions where they are needed, and so forth, as recommended in the resolution which has been adopted.

88. If the countries in the Anglo-American bloc fail to terminate the armaments race and turn to the development of the peaceful sectors of their economies, these and all the other points of the adopted resolution will remain a pious but ineffectual hope.

89. For these reasons the Byelorussian delegation supported the USSR amendment to the resolution on food and famine and voted for that amendment.

90. Mr. VAVRICKA (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from French*): My delegation wishes to explain its vote on the USSR amendment.

91. Even during the discussion in the Second Committee of the draft resolution entitled "Food and Famine", my delegation considered that the USSR amendment constituted an essential addition to that proposal. During the debates in the Second Committee on the various items on its agenda, several delegations, especially from economically under-developed countries, stated that the armaments race was one of the greatest obstacles to the full development of their national industries and agriculture. The United States Government's policy of preparing for a new aggressive war is fraught with disastrous consequences for the economy not only of the under-developed but also of the highly industrialized countries, as it involves the accumulation of enormous stocks of strategic raw materials, of foodstuffs, and of chemicals necessary for the development of agricultural production. This policy of an armaments race and frantic preparation for war is hindering and paralysing the expansion of civilian industries and of agriculture in all countries where the United States Government is able to impose its interests.

92. The fact that a great part of the world's population is suffering from malnutrition and even, in many countries, from famine is a most terrible warning. My delegation considers it the duty of the United Nations not only to take note of these facts but also to contribute actively to the elimination of their causes. To end the armaments race, to use the stocks of food and chemicals for war purposes, and to expand peaceful civilian production in every possible way would undoubtedly help to improve the situation materially, to eliminate famine, and to promote the economic development of all those countries whose peoples are now suffering great privation through the policy of preparing for war which is being pursued under United States direction.

93. The adoption of the USSR amendment would have made it possible to remove one of the essential causes of the shortage of raw materials for the production of consumer goods, agricultural machinery, and chemicals needed to expand agricultural production and so raise the standard of living of a great part of mankind.

94. These are the reasons why my delegation has voted in favour of the amendment submitted by the USSR delegation.

95. Mr. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland) : In connexion with the vote which has just taken place on draft resolution I and on the USSR amendment [4/2082], I wish to make the following explanation.

96. My delegation had to abstain from voting on draft resolution I, in spite of the fact that it touches upon one of the most important and outstanding problems which faces world economy today, especially in its concern for the development of under-developed countries. We had to abstain because, although it pointed out the existing dangers, the resolution failed to draw the right conclusions or to suggest the proper solution. It merely tried to limit the causes of the growing danger of food shortages and famine to certain atmospherical factors and to bring them down to the Malthusian theory of the growth of population.

97. The resolution failed to note that the growing danger of food shortages was especially great in those countries which, in recent years, have been subjected to an increased exploitation by the colonial Powers, and that such shortages were especially marked in countries which, although possessing vast resources, had not the right of free disposal of those resources.

98. That resolution omitted entirely the new and increasing danger which those countries are facing by reason of the switch of the capitalist economy to preparations for war. The amendment of the Soviet Union deals with one of the outstanding problems in this field, namely, the danger of famine arising from the policy of stock-piling many vital materials for the war machine instead of using them for food supplies. That amendment we consider to be an improvement on this resolution and, had it been adopted, my delegation would have supported it.

99. We consider that the amendment of the Soviet Union is a continuation of that struggle which my delegation and others waged in the Second Committee for the purpose of finding better solutions of the difficulties which many countries, particularly the under-developed countries, are now facing. The rejection of the USSR amendment made the resolution on food and famine merely a pious wish, limited to pointing out the dangers without submitting solutions. Therefore, while giving its full support to the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union, my delegation abstained from voting on draft resolution I.

100. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : Before putting draft resolution II to the vote, I call upon the representative of Chile.

101. Mr. SANTA CRUZ (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*) : A short time ago I raised my hand to request permission to explain my vote on draft resolution I and, in particular, on the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union. I have asked to speak especially because of the explanations of votes we have just heard, explanations which I feel cannot be allowed to pass in silence.

102. The Chilean delegation agrees that the armaments effort has detrimental effects on the production and distribution of food and on the entire world economy. However, this situation will not and cannot be remedied by a recommendation of the General Assembly in a resolution on ways and means of increasing world food supplies. In a large part of the world the armaments effort is a result of the obvious need to take measures of defence against potential aggression and to serve the cause of collective security. The United Nations itself is engaged on such an international activity which is directed against aggression and war.

103. Those who in all good faith wish to free world resources in order to increase the inadequate food supply

have only to co-operate in the action of the United Nations to settle current conflicts, to create an atmosphere of friendship among peoples and to participate sincerely in a disarmament plan.

104. My delegation, which is prepared to co-operate in such an undertaking through the United Nations, in the General Assembly, the Security Council or the Disarmament Commission, was unable to accept in the Second Committee this USSR amendment to a draft sponsored by Chile and the United States, and it could not accept it in plenary meeting. That amendment is pointless unless it is accompanied by a firm resolve and by effective action in the sense I have indicated. Further, it tries to convince public opinion that the countries observing the principles of the Charter, including the principles relating to collective security, are pursuing an aggressive policy. Instead of being an instrument of peace, that amendment is, in my opinion, a weapon in the "cold war", and my delegation has been unable to accept it. It therefore voted against the USSR amendment, as it did in the Second Committee.

105. I also want to deny categorically the Polish representative's statement that the resolution just adopted is a resolution supporting Malthusian principles and theories. The first paragraph of this resolution merely notes an actual fact, namely, that in the last ten years, the population of the world has increased at a much higher rate than its food production. Furthermore, it is a useful resolution which embodies sound recommendations to deal with the permanent food crisis and, at the same time, it creates machinery to meet emergencies resulting from catastrophes which have recently produced wide-spread famine.

106. My delegation therefore voted for draft resolution I which has just been approved.

107. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : I apologize to the Chilean representative for not having noticed that he wished to speak in order to explain his vote on resolution I. I should like to know if any representative desires to explain his vote on resolution I.

108. As no one wishes to speak, we shall now vote on draft resolution II.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 47 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.*

109. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : We shall now consider draft resolution III.

110. Mr. SAKSIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*) : In the report which it has submitted to the General Assembly for consideration and approval, the Second Committee has presented four resolutions on agenda item 11, "Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter II)".

111. Not one of these four resolutions, however, proposes any practical measures for improving the living standards of the people—an improvement necessitated by the sharp deterioration in the conditions of the workers in many capitalist countries produced by the armaments race in which these countries are engaging. Draft resolution III submitted by the Second Committee under the impressive title "Living Standards of the Working Population" fails to reveal the fundamental causes of the decline in the living standards of the working people, and is silent on the armaments race, one of the basic factors causing the sharp deterioration in the material conditions of the working people both in the industrial and in the under-developed countries.

112. Yet it is recognized even in the report of the Economic and Social Council submitted to the sixth session of the General Assembly [A/1884] that the economic problems confronting the world in 1951 centre on the threat of



inflation and impending shortages of goods. The same report of the Economic and Social Council states outright that the primary cause of the decline in the production of goods for peaceful civilian use and of the fall in the consumption of such goods, e.g., in the United States of America, is the armaments race. The report notes in that connexion: "In the United States, military expenditures were expected to rise in 1951 more sharply than the total national output. As a result, civilian investment and consumption were expected to be reduced" [para. 112].

113. The same Economic and Social Council report notes that in a number of other countries which, as we know, have been dragged into the armaments race by the United States, and particularly in certain West European countries, civilian consumption has fallen below the pre-war level, although eight years have elapsed since the end of the war. The report makes the direct admission that in these countries "rearmament might involve not only a cutback in civilian output, but a deterioration in their balance-of-payments position" [para. 113].

114. Referring to the effects of the armaments race in the member countries of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc on the economic situation of the under-developed countries, the Economic and Social Council's report goes on to admit that the maintenance of a military economy in peace time is holding back the development of the under-developed countries. The rearmament programme is leading to an ever-increasing restriction both of production for civilian needs and of civilian consumption. As a result even the Economic and Social Council was compelled to acknowledge officially the disastrous effects of the armaments race on the material conditions of the working people, both in the advanced industrial countries of the West and in the under-developed eastern countries. Such was the position in 1951.

115. In 1952, as we all knew already, the armaments race in the United States and the other member countries of the aggressive Atlantic bloc is assuming ever-greater proportions.

116. In the United States budget for the financial year 1952-1953, recently submitted to the United States Congress, President Truman asked for 85,000 million dollars, 76 per cent of which amount is to be used for rearmament and the maintenance of the armed forces, and for the production of atomic weapons. Where such huge sums are being appropriated for the armaments race, it is clear that an increasingly large quantity of labour, resources and raw materials must be withdrawn from peaceful civilian production, and that the effect must be a further decline in the quantity of goods available for civilian consumption. As the armaments race proceeds, prices rise sharply, and inflation and taxes increase. At the same time real wages fall and farm incomes decline. The increasing tax burden and the rise in the note issue necessitated by the armaments race, with its sequel of currency depreciation, is every day forcing down the economic conditions of the working people.

117. For these reasons, prospects of economic development in the Atlantic bloc countries, even the most advanced of them, are gloomier than ever in 1952, thanks to the headlong armaments race which these countries are being forced to conduct at the dictate of aggressive forces in the United States of America.

118. On 24 January, for example, Mr. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, speaking of the economic situation of his country at an American Chamber of Commerce luncheon at which he was the guest of honour, said that the crisis with which the United Kingdom was faced was without parallel in its history. Those are the words of the United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer.

119. It is the duty of the United Nations General Assembly to frame practical measures for the improvement of the material situation of the working population both in the industrial and the under-developed countries. And the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by the Czechoslovak delegation [A/2079] embodies practical recommendations for the preparation of such measures. The draft resolution quite correctly notes that the armaments race which is taking place in a number of countries is causing the deterioration of the economic condition of the workers in those countries; that the real wages of workers and employees are declining; that the burden of taxation is increasing and that prices are continually rising. The frantic armaments race is causing inflation to develop; expenditure on cultural and social needs is being considerably reduced; and trade union rights are being violated more and more frequently.

120. The USSR delegation fully supports the proposals submitted by the Czechoslovak delegation and considers that the adoption of this draft resolution by the General Assembly would help to improve the economic conditions of the working people.

121. Noting that the armaments race taking place in a number of countries is causing a deterioration of the economic position of the workers in those countries, the Czechoslovak draft resolution recommends to the States Members of the United Nations that they should take with all speed the necessary steps to raise the standard of living of the working population, to increase the production of goods for civilian consumption, to reduce the burden of taxation on the population and to improve social legislation. It also recommends increasing appropriations for housing, health and education, and measures to develop and guarantee trade union rights and to encourage normal and friendly economic relations between all countries.

122. The USSR delegation supports the Czechoslovak draft resolution [A/2079] and will vote in its favour.

123. Mr. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland): Before the plenary meeting proceeds with the vote my delegation wishes to explain its position on the Czechoslovak draft resolution [A/2079], concerning the deterioration of the position of the working population as the result of the armaments race in a number of countries, and measures for raising the standard of living of the population.

124. My delegation expresses full support for the intentions, aims and recommendations contained in that draft resolution. In the opinion of my delegation it concerns one of the most vital problems of our times and it deals with the problem which is near and concerns many millions of men and women all over the world. The attention of the General Assembly and of the United Nations in general has already been drawn to this problem by many actions undertaken by the World Federation of Trade Unions. The World Federation of Trade Unions, using its responsible status, has contributed greatly to the work of the Economic and Social Council and therefore also to the work of the United Nations as a whole by drawing the attention of the United Nations to the increasing problem arising out of the armaments race and its effects upon the living standards of the population.

125. A study of the prevailing facts of the world economic situation serves to emphasize the dangers arising from the present armaments drive. The United States aggression in Korea has accelerated the process of the militarization of the whole American economy as well as the economy of America's western European allies. The result of it in those countries has been a further concentration of resources and efforts on military production, a process which has necessarily involved a decrease in production for peaceful

purposes. Furthermore, increased military expenditure has reduced investments that might have served to improve the well-being of the people. Increased taxation, increases in prices, resulting from the expenditure on armaments have stimulated inflation and reduced the workers' real wages and purchasing power. Military expenditure, therefore, has greatly contributed to the fact that today the working masses are faced with the danger that their low standard of living in the capitalist countries is endangered further by possibilities of continued reduction through the burden which is being shifted on to their shoulders by the armaments drive. That situation in the capitalist countries is fully confirmed by facts and findings of several United Nations reports, especially *The Economic Bulletin for Europe* of the Economic Commission for Europe, as well as by many statements made by several important statesmen, such as the statement of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the speech of the King on the opening of Parliament, the statement of United States Secretary of the Treasury Schneider, and several other statements. All those relate to the fact that the capitalist economy, owing to the armaments race, is facing increased difficulties, and that the solution sought is to shift the burden of armaments on to the shoulders of the working classes.

126. The attempt to explain the growing armaments race by an apparent danger coming from other countries has completely failed in the Committee and is bound to fail here. The representative of Chile gave the same argument in the Committee. A comparison of budgets shows where the danger lies, especially of the budget of the United States, where practically 70 per cent of the income is devoted to armaments, the building up of atomic bases and preparations for aggression, in comparison with the peaceful budgets of the peoples of the countries of popular democracies and with the budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These show fully where the danger lies and whence the danger comes. The draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Czechoslovakia, showing that increased danger, does not limit itself merely to pointing out the danger but makes a recommendation to all Member States of the United Nations to take appropriate steps towards raising the standard of living of the working population, increasing the production of civilian consumer goods, reducing the burden of taxation and undertaking large-scale social planning in the field of housing, health, education and social legislation.

127. If this draft resolution is adopted the Economic and Social Council will be entrusted with a great task, to study and consider the problem and to propose proper solutions. That will give an opportunity to the Economic and Social Council to enter into a debate on all the existing difficulties, and to search for solutions which will really bring a remedy to the difficulties which the world economy is facing today. It will permit the undertaking of measures for the improvement of world trade and world exchange, and for helping those countries, especially the under-developed which, as a result of the armaments drive and of the stock-piling policy of the partners of the North Atlantic Treaty, are facing increased difficulties in obtaining the necessary equipment which they need for their development.

128. This draft resolution, dealing with a problem covering the needs, requirements, requests and urges of millions and millions of workers all over the world, puts before us at the same time the outstanding problem of the world economy of today, the problem of stopping the race of armaments and trying to find solutions which correspond to the aims and purposes of the Charter. Only by taking such steps, which will accord with the Charter and with the requirements of peaceful development, will the United Nations be strengthened and the necessary economic collaboration improved.

129. For these reasons my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia, and calls upon all those delegations which want to seek real solutions which will help to raise the living standards of the population to give their support to that draft resolution.

130. Mr. MATES (Yugoslavia): The delegation of Yugoslavia has voted in favour of the resolutions submitted by the Second Committee which have already been put to the vote, and will vote in favour of those which will be put to the vote in, I hope, a few minutes. In particular, I wish to stress our support for the resolution on food and famine and draft resolution III, on living standards of the working population.

131. The latter draft resolution was originally introduced in the Committee by the delegation of Yugoslavia. It has met with very wide support in the Committee, and no vote has been cast against the draft resolution. There is, however, an important point of controversy about this problem which has become apparent in the Committee and which is now brought to the plenary meeting of the Assembly by the proposal of the draft resolution of the Czechoslovak delegation. The basic intention of this draft resolution can be found in its preamble, and it has been more extensively brought forward in the explanations given by the sponsor and the main supporters of the draft resolution in the course of the debate in the Second Committee, as well as in statements which have been made here. It has thereby become sufficiently apparent that this draft resolution is one of the series of attempts of the representatives of the Soviet bloc to move resolutions purely for propaganda purposes. The problem of the standard of living of the working population is made use of as a vehicle for a renewed propaganda attack on the so-called armaments race. The delegation of Yugoslavia has opposed this attempt in the Committee, and continues to do so in this plenary meeting.

132. It is well known to the Assembly that my country is subject to a hostile pressure and open threats by governments participating in the Soviet bloc. In these circumstances, we in Yugoslavia cannot but make heavy sacrifices in order to maintain at least some balance with the increasing armaments of our menacing neighbours. We are, however, simultaneously making all possible efforts, through appropriate domestic measures and measures in our international economic relations, to increase continuously the standards of living in Yugoslavia. In view of this, it is obvious that we cannot accept the choice between security without well-being and well-being without security, but this is exactly the choice which the Czechoslovak draft resolution intends to force upon us.

133. The amendment of the delegation of the Soviet Union to the resolution on food and famine, which was voted upon earlier, had the same end in view, illustrating the concerted propaganda actions of the delegations of the Soviet bloc.

134. For all these reasons, the delegation of Yugoslavia has voted against the amendment of the USSR to the resolution on food and famine, and will vote against the draft resolution of the Czechoslovak delegation.

135. Mr. SANTA CRUZ (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): In order to justify the Czechoslovak draft resolution now before the Assembly, the USSR and Polish representatives have felt it necessary to argue that the Second Committee and the General Assembly have taken no action during this session to deal with the present world economic situation arising from the political crisis, in particular as it affects the working population.

136. In explaining the votes I shall cast against the Czechoslovak draft resolution and in favour of draft resolution III



on the living standards of the working population proposed by the Second Committee, I shall show that the facts are completely the reverse of what the Polish and USSR representatives have asserted.

137. The Czechoslovak proposal, which is the same as the proposal rejected by the Second Committee, notes in its preamble that the armaments race which is taking place in a number of countries is causing deterioration of the economic position of the workers in those countries, that real wages are declining, prices are continually rising, the burden of taxation is increasing, the cost of living is rising, inflation is developing, expenditure on cultural and social needs is being considerably reduced and trade union rights are being violated.

138. The draft resolution approved by the Committee notes the fact that general developments in the world economic situation since the fifth session of the General Assembly are likely to affect adversely the economic stability of many countries and that, in addition, real wages in many countries have declined owing to price increases and inflation, a circumstance which may likewise affect the living standards of the working population.

139. The statement of facts is more or less the same, with the difference that the draft resolution approved by the Committee does not raise the question of the causes, so as to avoid a political controversy with regard to which the majority of the United Nations has stated its position on many occasions.

140. The recommendation in the Czechoslovak draft resolution is that States Members should take with all speed the necessary steps to raise the standard of living of the working population, to increase the production of civilian consumer goods, to reduce the burden of taxation on the population, to improve social legislation, to increase appropriations for housing, health and education, to develop and guarantee trade union rights and to encourage normal economic relations between all countries.

141. Draft resolution III approved by the Committee, among many other recommendations, recommends that "all Members of the United Nations, in order to combat inflation and to maintain and raise the general standard of living of their populations, give special attention (i) in the domestic sphere, to increasing the production of food and consumer goods, to reducing the burden of taxation of the lower-income population groups, to adopting social legislation and other measures for improving conditions of health, housing and education and for strengthening trade union rights; and (ii) in the international sphere, to promoting economic and commercial relations between all countries". The recommendation is almost identical with that proposed in the Czechoslovak draft resolution, which is not surprising since the paragraph was based on the proposal submitted to the Committee by Czechoslovakia.

142. In my opinion, the Czechoslovak draft resolution is completely covered by rule 91 of the rules of procedure, which states: "If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted. The General Assembly may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal".

143. This would appear to be a case in which the Assembly might be asked not to take any action on the Czechoslovak draft resolution if it approves the Committee's draft resolution III, since the draft resolutions deal with exactly the same subject and contain similar recommendations. Never-

theless, I am not going to make the request if the representative of Czechoslovakia wishes to have a clear expression of the Assembly's position in the matter. However, my delegation will vote against, since all the recommendations in the Czechoslovak proposal that can be regarded as constructive are already embodied in draft resolution III.

144. I would add that not only has the Committee approved these recommendations but that a few days ago, on 12 January, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [A/L.35] in which it reaffirmed all the recommendations adopted by the Economic and Social Council in its resolutions this year with regard to the world economic situation and the emergency situation. Among other things the General Assembly recommended that all Members should take special measures, during the period of general shortage of goods, to bring about adequate production and equitable international distribution of capital goods, essential consumers' goods and raw materials especially needed for the maintenance of international peace and security, the preservation of standards of living and the furthering of economic development.

145. Far from passing over the problems facing men and women everywhere, and more particularly the working population, as a result of the world crisis, the General Assembly has taken broader and more constructive decisions than have ever been adopted in this field at any previous session of the General Assembly.

146. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now put draft resolution III to the vote.

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

147. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly has before it a draft resolution on this item proposed by the Czechoslovak delegation [A/2079]. I shall put that draft resolution to the vote.

*The draft resolution was rejected by 32 votes to 8, with 13 abstentions.*

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

*Draft resolution IV was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

149. AHMED RAMZI Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): Not without a certain diffidence, because I am speaking from this rostrum for the first time, I shall briefly explain my delegation's vote on the draft resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia.

150. Our vote in favour of draft resolution I of the Second Committee, which has been approved by the General Assembly, has not prevented us from also supporting the draft resolution submitted by the Czechoslovak representative. While I cannot subscribe to paragraph 1 of this resolution, I must say that paragraph 2 has held my delegation's attention. It is a fact that modern civilization, while dividing nations into classes, has divided the world into a rigorous hierarchy of "have" and "have-not" nations. My country, together with most others, belongs to the category of "have-not" nations. Consequently paragraph 2 of the Czechoslovak draft resolution, recommending that efforts should be made, without distinction, to raise the standard of living and the conditions of all classes which struggle and work, has held our attention.

151. That is why my delegation, though reserving its attitude on paragraph 1 which it could not support, has voted in favour of paragraph 2.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.