



Saturday, 2 February 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Consideration of the various items on the agenda of the meeting	477
Report of the Economic and Social Council (Chapter IV) : report of the Third Committee (A/2009/Rev.1)	477
Refugees and stateless persons : (a) report of the High Commissioner for Refugees ; (b) report of the Economic and Social Council and Problems of assistance to refugees : reports of the International Refugee Organization and of the High Commissioner for Refugees : report of the Third Committee (A/2084)	480
Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece : (b) repatriation of Greek children : reports of the Secretary-General and of the international Red Cross organizations : report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Political Committee (A/2104)	484

President : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

Consideration of the various items on the agenda of the meeting

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : I wish to consult the Assembly concerning the application of rule 67 of the rules of procedure, which provides that discussion of a report of a Main Committee in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly shall take place if at least one-third of the Members present and voting at the plenary meeting consider such a discussion to be necessary.
2. I shall put it to the Assembly to decide whether to discuss each of the items on the agenda of this meeting. If there are no proposals in connexion with any one of them, I shall take it that it is the will of the Assembly to proceed directly to a vote, without prejudice to the right of representatives to explain their vote, but they have a time-limit of seven minutes within which to do so.

It was decided not to discuss the five items on the agenda of the meeting (agenda items 11, 30 and 31, 19 b, 46 and 45).

Report of the Economic and Social Council (Chapter IV) : report of the Third Committee (A/2009/Rev.1).

[Agenda item 11]

3. Mr. AZKOUL (Lebanon), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (*translated from French*) : In presenting the Third Committee's report on chapter IV of the report of the Economic and Social Council, may I first point out that that chapter, which was given thorough and detailed consideration in the Third Committee, deals with a variety of social questions ; for example, the problems relating to social services, social defence, housing, the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped and the social aspects of problems considered by the regional economic commissions. It also deals with the activities of the United Nations

International Children's Emergency Fund, the Population Commission and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

4. In the course of the general discussion on chapter IV, many delegations made observations on all these questions, but the point to which I should like to draw special attention is the more and more marked tendency of the Third Committee to concentrate the efforts of the United Nations social organs on the problems which most readily lend themselves to positive and practical solutions within a reasonable period of time. It was probably in line with this tendency that members of the Third Committee devoted particular attention to those of the various social questions covered by chapter IV of the Economic and Social Council's report which are of this nature ; thus, as you will no doubt already have observed in the report I have the honour to present, the first of the draft resolutions submitted by the Third Committee to the General Assembly concerns the development and concentration of the efforts of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the social field, and is designed to ensure that those efforts lead to early and positive results in the solution of social problems, while the second deals with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, whose activities are positive and practical, and the third with practical measures to assist governments in increasing available housing facilities for people in the lowest income groups.
5. It is interesting to note in this connexion that this desire for concentration of efforts on problems lending themselves to early and practical results did not cause the Third Committee to overlook the general body of social tasks assigned to the Economic and Social Council by the Charter, some of which are moral, intellectual and humanitarian in character.
6. It is also worthy of note that the Third Committee has invariably taken care to refer explicitly, in the draft

resolutions which it approved and which are now submitted for your consideration, not only to the under-developed countries but also to the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

7. I believe that the report I have the honour to present to you does justice to all these tendencies, and I trust that both the report and the three draft resolutions contained in it, which I submit to the General Assembly on behalf of the Third Committee, will meet with your approval.

8. Before concluding, may I draw your notice to a typographical error to be corrected in paragraph 21 of the report. Afghanistan should be added to the list of countries which submitted amendments to the Greek draft resolution. The relevant passage should therefore be corrected to read as follows :

“ Amendments to that effect were accordingly proposed in writing by Chile (A/C.3/L.174/Rev.1), Syria (A/C.3/L.176/Rev.1, paragraph 3), Saudi Arabia (A/C.3/L.177) and Australia (A/C.3/L.179) and orally by Afghanistan. ”¹

9. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : As the Rapporteur has indicated, the Assembly has before it three draft resolutions upon which we shall vote separately. There is also an amendment to draft resolution I submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/2028], upon which we shall vote in due course.

10. I give the floor to the United States representative for an explanation of vote.

11. Mrs ROOSEVELT (United States of America) : I should like to explain the reasons why the United States delegation will vote against the USSR amendment to draft resolution I of the report of the Third Committee. My delegation is strongly opposed to the USSR amendment; my delegation hopes that it will be decisively defeated.

12. During the debates of the Third Committee the USSR delegation introduced almost identical proposals. Those proposals were thoroughly discussed in the Third Committee. Many representatives pointed out that all of the five problems listed in the USSR amendment [A/C.3/L.160] were the subject of study and work in different specialized agencies. Unemployment insurance and social insurance have for a long time been matters of interest to the International Labour Organisation. Maternity and child welfare services are matters of concern to the International Labour Organisation, to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and to the World Health Organization. The availability of education is constantly being promoted by UNESCO, and the availability of medical assistance is something which the World Health Organization is trying to develop and extend. Every one of the five fields of study listed in this amendment is being studied and being debated in one or another of the specialized agencies or in the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. In every one of these five fields these international agencies are drawing up constructive programmes throughout the world. These are the facts ; but the Soviet Union does not participate in these specialized agencies and it does not contribute to UNICEF, so it chooses not to understand the facts. When this USSR amendment was before the Third Committee, a number of representatives emphasized that this proposal for new studies by the Economic and Social Council and the Social Commission would merely duplicate the efforts of the specialized agencies and waste time and money. They called attention to the fact that the reports of the International Labour Organisation, UNESCO,

the World Health Organization and UNICEF are reviewed each year by the Economic and Social Council. The Council considers the programmes of these agencies, endeavours to co-ordinate them and tries to keep duplication of effort to a minimum. These are the facts.

13. The Third Committee considered these facts very carefully. The Committee did not ignore them, and it recognized that the USSR amendment was a sham. The Committee recognized that the USSR amendment unfairly censured the Economic and Social Council and the Social Commission. The Committee recognized also that this amendment involved duplication of activity and waste of effort. In view of all these considerations and after careful deliberation, the Third Committee rejected the USSR amendment. Now our plenary meeting is being asked to vote all over again on this amendment. This is a waste of the Assembly's time and it is an unfair imposition on the other delegations. Purely for propaganda purposes, it seems to us, the USSR delegation is insisting that the General Assembly should vote on unsatisfactory proposals which were defeated in the Committee. I know it will be insinuated that any one who votes against this amendment is against unemployment insurance and the other four subjects listed in the amendment. That, I think, we can categorically deny. Every delegation in this room is genuinely concerned about these five problems, but every delegation desires to have these five problems handled in the most effective manner possible and not in the way which has been suggested in this amendment.

14. If the USSR Government is really concerned about unemployment insurance and social insurance, we invite it to join the International Labour Organisation. If it is concerned about maternity, youth and child welfare services, why does it not join the International Labour Organisation and contribute to UNICEF ? If the USSR Government is concerned about the availability of education in other areas of the world, it should join UNESCO, and if it is concerned about medical assistance, perhaps it would be willing to resume its participation in the World Health Organization.

15. Apparently we are being invited to substitute inefficiency and to duplicate effort as well as waste our resources. We are opposed to doing this and the United States delegation will, therefore, vote against this amendment and urge other delegations to do the same.

16. Mrs. DOMANSKA (Poland) (*translated from French*) : We have a few remarks to make on draft resolution I concerning chapter IV of the Economic and Social Council's report which has been submitted to us.

17. After reading the report we are in a position to say that it is essential for the Economic and Social Council to take practical action in the social sphere. The amendment submitted by the USSR delegation [A/2028] fills the gaps in the draft resolution. It proposes to include in the programme of work of the Economic and Social Council the study of the problems mentioned in sub-paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) of the amendment and the preparation of recommendations thereon. In the opinion of the Polish delegation the resolution would be much more valuable if it recommended such specific tasks for the Economic and Social Council and would fill the gaps which have so far existed in the work of the United Nations, which is obliged by the Charter to deal with social problems.

18. During the debate on the subject in the Third Committee, not a single delegation denied the urgent need for a solution of the problems referred to in the USSR amendment. The only argument adduced against the adoption

of that amendment was that the specialized agencies are already dealing with these problems and that for the Economic and Social Council to take them up would be to do the work twice over.

19. One of the sub-paragraphs of the USSR amendment refers to the need for the availability of education and the introduction of free, compulsory primary education for all without distinction of race, sex, language, material circumstances or social origin. Representatives who claim that they want to avoid overlapping with the work of the specialized agencies point to the existence of UNESCO. We know, however, that illiteracy is far from being abolished; in many countries there are a great number of illiterates, both young and old, who do not know what a book or a newspaper is. That being so, it would be a mistake to rely entirely on UNESCO to cope with the problem and the Economic and Social Council should be entrusted with it.

20. Another sub-paragraph of the USSR amendment proposes that the Economic and Social Council should prepare recommendations on the availability of medical assistance for all. We have been told that this problem is within the competence of the World Health Organization. In many countries, however, there is no such thing as medical assistance, much less free medical assistance for the whole population. For that reason the Economic and Social Council should deal with the problem.

21. The other sub-paragraphs of the USSR amendment are also designed to improve the lot of the workers in various countries. We know, of course, that the questions of social insurance, unemployment insurance and so on, fall within the competence of the International Labour Organisation. Unfortunately that organization, which has been in existence for thirty years, has been unable to settle them, as the workers in many countries are well aware. Hence those questions also should be included in the Economic and Social Council's programme of work.

22. The USSR amendment to draft resolution I is inspired by a sincere desire to improve the lot of the workers, their welfare and their health. In accordance with the Charter, it extends the Economic and Social Council's field of action and that of its commissions in connexion with vital social problems. The Polish delegation will therefore vote for the adoption of that amendment.

23. Mr. KAYSER (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation is glad to see that the traditional debate on the social part of the Economic and Social Council's report will be concluded to-day by the adoption of a clear-cut resolution, which is at the same time an expression of satisfaction with the work done and, above all, a formal pledge of continued action.

24. If we strip the draft resolution of the procedural and administrative verbiage with which we are too often afflicted, it is clear that there is general agreement in the United Nations that social development should be speeded up all over the world, not only in theory but in practice. Practical measures should first be taken wherever international action can facilitate and speed up their application, especially in the under-developed countries.

25. The object of the resolution is to ensure that full advantage shall be taken without delay of the first results of a world social report which is being drawn up. We are confident that the Secretariat, which is always ready to take action in the social field if it is given the instructions and the means to do so, will produce a remarkable document. It will be the first time that a document of this kind will have been submitted in draft form to governments for

international discussion. We anticipate that at the next session we shall be able to draw the first conclusions from the report, and the draft resolution on which we now have to vote calls upon the Social Commission and the Council to do the preparatory work and to submit a programme. According to our programme the specialized agencies, to the work of which we have already paid a tribute in Committee, will take part in this preparatory work, as they did in the measures to which I have already alluded. We also described in Committee the manner in which the necessary co-operation should be carried out.

26. Behind abstract words there is a living reality: the hope of the peoples. It will be said that our text will disappoint them precisely because of its formulas. That may be true, but it is for each of us to show that these formulas, however abstract they may be, do relate to real reforms. To be convinced of that it is enough to read the programme of work drawn up by the Social Commission, which includes eighty-six different technical questions on which the United Nations will take action during the coming year.

27. I shall not go into the details now; I will add, however, that the Third Committee studied three questions with particular care: the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, housing and town and country planning, and the social services.

28. The amendment submitted by the Soviet Union delegation contains suggestions with which we are in substantial agreement, but as they stand their adoption would result in the abandonment of previously accepted methods and would throw into confusion programmes which are already being carried out, so that the work which we all wish to see performed would be impeded rather than facilitated or speeded up. Moreover, the five general questions referred to in the amendment are already being studied either by the United Nations or by the specialized agencies. The Polish representative said just now that the USSR amendment would fill certain existing gaps; but there are no gaps; there did indeed appear to be one, which was mentioned in sub-paragraph (b) of the USSR amendment the development of maternity, youth and child welfare services. When this proposal was first submitted to the Social Commission, that point was noted and accepted precisely because that gap did exist, and it now forms part of the programme of work of the Social Commission. Thus the gap has been filled and the USSR amendment is unnecessary.

29. The French delegation will vote for the draft resolution which is before us, not only because we took the first step of which this draft is the outcome, but because we consider it a well-balanced one which covers the whole field of social activities and which will enable the United Nations to advance along a road on which progress, though difficult, is impatiently awaited by millions of human beings who are struggling, despite poverty and hunger, for dignity and freedom.

30. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I have no more speakers on my list. We shall proceed to vote on the draft resolutions of the Third Committee [A/2009/Rev.1] and on the USSR amendment [A/2028].

31. I shall first put paragraphs 1 and 2 of the USSR amendment to the vote.

Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the amendment were rejected by 26 votes to 11, with 13 abstentions.

32. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall next vote on paragraph 3 of the USSR amendment.

Paragraph 3 of the amendment was rejected by 32 votes to 8, with 6 abstentions.

33. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution I submitted by the Third Committee [A/2009/Rev.1].

Draft resolution I was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

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

Draft resolution II was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

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

Draft resolution III was adopted by 45 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

Refugees and stateless persons: (a) report of the High Commissioner for Refugees; (b) report of the Economic and Social Council and Problems of assistance to refugees: reports of the International Refugee Organization and of the High Commissioner for Refugees: report of the Third Committee (A/2084).

[Agenda items 30 and 31]

36. M. AZKOUL (Lebanon), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (*translated from French*): In presenting the Third Committee's report on the question of refugees and stateless persons [A/2084] I have to emphasize the great anxiety felt by the Committee concerning the world problem of refugees. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has requested the General Assembly to approve the future programme of work and the administrative arrangements which are in his opinion essential for the protection of the refugees in conformity with his instructions.

37. The Third Committee approved by a very large majority the draft resolutions which I have the honour to submit, thus clearly demonstrating its approval of the High Commissioner's request and the confidence it reposes in him.

38. The Committee devoted a number of meetings to a book entitled "The Refugee in the Post-War World" [A/AC.36/6] which was transmitted to it for information.

39. The Committee's report gives a detailed account of the debate and the resulting decisions. The Committee considered that so far as *The Refugee in the Post-War World* was concerned the incident was closed.

40. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the two draft resolutions, A and B, contained in its report [A/2084]. Furthermore, the Byelorussian delegation has submitted a draft resolution on this subject [A/2101].

41. I ask representatives who wish to explain their vote on one or more of these resolutions to do so in a single statement.

42. Mr. DEMCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The question of refugees and stateless persons has now been before the General Assembly for some years. At its first session, as long ago as 12 February 1946, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [8(I)] which stated that "the main task concerning displaced persons is to encourage and assist in every way possible their early return to their countries of origin".

43. This extremely important decision of the General Assembly has not been fulfilled by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. In defiance of international agreements, and in particular the repatriation agreement of 11 February 1945 with the Soviet Union, the American, British and French occupation authorities have taken a series of unilateral measures to stop the repatriation of Soviet citizens, including many of Ukrainian nationality, who were carried off by the German invaders. Thousands of Ukrainian citizens still remain beyond the boundaries of their country and, far from their families and homes, are kept in camps established by the occupation authorities in the western zones of Germany and Austria.

44. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, like a number of other delegations, has at previous sessions repeatedly outlined concrete measures for solving the problem of refugees and displaced persons. We have urgently demanded that the problem should be solved in the spirit of the resolution adopted by the first session of the General Assembly. However, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France have stubbornly opposed such a solution of the refugee problem and continue to do so. Instead of carrying out the United Nations decision on the return of refugees to their countries of origin, these Governments have done and are doing everything in their power to prevent the repatriation of displaced persons. With their co-operation the International Refugee Organization and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have become large-scale capitalist enterprises for the provision of cheap labour, and tens of thousands of people have, in the hands of these agencies, become victims of the slave-trade.

45. When the problem of refugees and displaced persons was discussed in the Third Committee, many instances were given of forcible recruitment of displaced persons and refugees into military units forming part of the American armed forces. This recruitment has assumed particularly large proportions since the passing by the United States on 10 October 1951 of the "Mutual Security Act", which, as has been proved by numerous facts, has the purpose of financing the recruitment, from among displaced persons and refugees, of spies and diversionists and of organizing them into military units to fight against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, an integral part of the aggressive plans of the American ruling circles.

46. Draft resolutions A and B, which were approved by the Third Committee and are now before the General Assembly, do not solve the problems of refugees and displaced persons and are in no way aimed at facilitating the return of refugees and displaced persons to their home countries. On the contrary, they help to consolidate the iniquitous situation of tens of thousands of people who have been torn away by force from their native lands; they contravene previous United Nations decisions and grossly violate the international agreements on the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons.

47. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will therefore vote against these two draft resolutions.

48. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports and will vote for the draft resolution submitted by the Byelorussian SSR [A/2101], which points a practical road to solving the problem of the early return of refugees and displaced persons to their countries of origin.

49. Mr. DE ALBA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The Mexican delegation intervened several times in the discussion of the problem of refugees and stateless persons

and adduced in support of its views arguments which it believes to be perfectly sound.

50. We wish to explain our vote on draft resolution A, paragraph 3 of which invites Member States and non-member States of the United Nations to become parties to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. As my Government has not signed that Convention, we do not consider ourselves authorized to invite either Member or non-member States of the United Nations to sign or to ratify it. It would be difficult for us to make such a recommendation when we ourselves have not signed it on the grounds that the problem has not received sufficiently deep consideration. Consequently, my delegation will abstain from voting on draft resolution A.

51. We shall vote whole-heartedly and enthusiastically in favour of draft resolution B, since its aim is to strengthen the authority of the High Commissioner for Refugees and his Office, my delegation having consistently supported at every stage all measures aiming at setting up the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees.

52. My delegation will vote against the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [A/2101] because it makes an attack, for which in our opinion there is no foundation, upon persons and governments which are far from deserving the censure proposed in paragraph 1 and because any condemnation of the High Commissioner for Refugees would be premature, since he has only held office for a few months, and we can therefore hardly pass censure on his activities when he is only just getting to work. My delegation believes, on the contrary, that the High Commissioner for Refugees should receive a vote of confidence and a message of encouragement from the General Assembly so as to enable him to carry out the difficult tasks assigned to him, since, with the discontinuance of the International Refugee Organization, such serious and complex problems as that of the post-war refugees will fall to him. Moreover, in draft resolution B, for which my delegation will vote, the Byelorussian delegation's contention that the main plank in the United Nations' policy should be the repatriation of refugees, is not ignored. My delegation fully subscribes to the principle of repatriation, on the condition that repatriation has been requested by and has the full assent of, those concerned, in other words, that it is the voluntary repatriation of those for whose benefit such measures are designed.

53. Taking these considerations into account, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution submitted by the Byelorussian delegation, abstain on draft resolution A and vote in favour of draft resolution B.

54. Mrs. DOMANSKA (Poland) (*translated from French*): The Polish delegation has indicated its views on the refugee problem on many occasions. Its attitude is in complete accord with the draft resolution submitted by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [A/2101].

55. Paragraph 1 of this draft resolution notes the failure of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other countries to implement the General Assembly resolution [8 (I)] of 12 February 1946, which recommends that the refugee problem should be solved by speedy repatriation. The occupation authorities in Western Germany have done everything possible since the end of the war to slow down the repatriation of Polish refugees to Poland. We have already spoken here on several occasions of the obstacles placed in the way of our repatriation missions, the refusal to allow our representatives to enter the displaced persons' camps and the

destruction by the camp authorities of Polish books and newspapers. We gave proof of this and quoted International Refugee Organization circulars and administrative regulations issued by the camps and the occupation authorities. This hostile and negative attitude to the problem of repatriation is apparent in all three occupation zones of Western Germany. Such manœuvres constitute a flagrant violation of the General Assembly resolution of 12 February 1946.

56. Paragraph 2 of the Byelorussian draft resolution condemns the policy pursued by the IRO and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in this respect. The results of this policy have been deplorable; thousands of Polish citizens, instead of using their powers and abilities in their own country, have become a source of cheap labour for foreign capitalists and are deprived of human dignity and of hope for the future. This policy, which consisted in spreading tendentious and lying information about the country of origin of these men, was designed to turn them against their own country. The result has been to make them stateless persons and to break up families. We have already repeated more than once in the United Nations that of some 100,000 Polish children deported by the Hitlerites to Western Germany, the IRO has repatriated under 2,500. The rest have been moved from orphanage to orphanage and left at the mercy of foreigners, mostly Germans. Nor is the work of the High Commissioner concerned with repatriation. Although he spoke a great deal in his report about his humanitarian efforts, all that we were able to note was his lack of impartiality. The best example of this is his introduction to the book on refugees which appeared under the auspices of the United Nations and is nothing more than a collection of lies about certain States Members of the United Nations.

57. Paragraph 3 of the draft resolution condemns certain States, and in particular the United States, for seeking to recruit saboteurs and diversionary agents from among displaced persons. There is no lack of proof to show that these activities are contrary to the principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations. A flagrant example is Act 165, passed by the United States Congress, which appropriates \$ US 100 million, within the financial framework of the Atlantic Treaty, for sabotage, espionage and diversionary activities. This Act also provides for the organization of armed groups recruited from nationals of the people's democracies outside their territories. This means that bandits and traitors are being openly sought among the refugees and are to be armed for use against their own countries. As early as 1946 and 1947 the American military authorities in Western Germany had begun to recruit Polish refugees for guards units. Today soldiers are being recruited from among these men for the Atlantic Army. The refugee camps have become a source of man power for this army. On 13 April 1951, the House of Representatives of the United States passed a bill compelling displaced persons coming to the United States from camps in Germany to serve in the American army. During the debate on the matter, Mr. Walter, a Congressman, said that several thousand displaced persons serving in the American army, whose names appeared only a few years ago on the IRO refugee camp lists, were among the American casualties in Korea.

58. The Polish delegation considers that the settlement of the refugee problem recommended by the General Assembly on 12 February 1946 is the only solution which can be regarded as just. It therefore warmly supports the whole of the draft resolution submitted by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, which requests the repatriation, during 1952, of all refugees to their countries of origin. The

Polish delegation is convinced that if the refugees dispersed throughout the world had been given a free choice and had not been subjected to political, economic, police or other pressure, they would long ago have returned to their own countries. Only their native land can give back to these unhappy refugees their dignity as men and provide them with normal living conditions.

59. The Polish delegation will accordingly vote against draft resolutions A and B, submitted by the Third Committee, which are contrary to the principle of repatriation and express support for the activities of the High Commissioner for Refugees, whose aim is to prevent repatriation.

60. Mr. HAJEK (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from French*): The question of the refugees continues to be one of the most serious of the problems recurring perennially on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, because certain States, in particular the United States, the United Kingdom and France, have failed to carry out their obligations under resolution 8 (I) adopted by the General Assembly at its first session on which the United Nations policy in the matter should be based.

61. The Governments of those countries and other governments acting under their influence have from the outset obstructed the accomplishment of the essential task of solving the problem of refugees and displaced persons in accordance with the above-mentioned resolution.

62. This policy, which the Polish representative has just described, of continual violation of international obligations and cynical exploitation of the sufferings of the refugees and displaced persons, has been carried even further by the Mutual Security Act adopted by the United States on 10 October 1951, with the aim of conscripting refugees from the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies into military formations for use in the aggressive designs of the Atlantic pact. Thus the question of the refugees and displaced persons, which we have been told by their advocates should be regarded purely from a humanitarian and non-political point of view, has been openly used to serve the machinations and warlike purposes of Atlantic policy.

63. The fomenters of a new war of aggression are anxious that the refugee camps should remain full. For that reason they are artificially perpetuating conditions in which tens of thousands of people, deprived of any contact with their own country, are organized into foreign legions for the Atlantic army. During the debate on the Mutual Security Act the American Senators expressed satisfaction at the fact that a soldier in a foreign legion such as that costs only a third of what an American soldier costs. World public opinion—even, finally, that of the Western European members of the Atlantic bloc—is rightly shocked by such unparalleled cynicism.

64. The same aggressive Atlantic policy dictates its orders to the International Refugee Organization, now in liquidation, and to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The refugee agencies have been forced, under pressure of that policy, to abandon any attempt at repatriation. Instead of co-operating with the governments of States which wish to comply scrupulously with their obligations under General Assembly resolution 8 (I), those agencies are to-day collaborating with the bodies serving the aggressive designs of the Atlantic bloc by forming reserves for the secret service and foreign legions of the Atlantic army.

65. Further tangible proof of this policy is afforded by the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which includes under the designation "refugees" persons who were explicitly debarred by previous United Nations instru-

ments from receiving international assistance on the ground that they were traitors, quislings and war criminals.

66. The Czechoslovak people deeply resent the campaign of hatred against Czechoslovakia which is being waged in the IRO refugee camps and the fact, of which the Czechoslovak Government furnished incontrovertible proof to the Third Committee, that with the help of IRO officials and the American intelligence service criminals and spies are being released from those camps.

67. There have been still further occurrences during the present Assembly session. We had distributed to us a publication issued by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and containing a series of allegations taken directly from the arsenal of fascist propaganda and confirming beyond all doubt that the assistance of international organizations is to-day granted to members of the SS and criminal gangs who during and immediately after the war committed countless crimes against the armies and peoples of the United Nations.

68. The Czechoslovak delegation believes that for the sake of world peace, for the sake of the refugees and displaced persons and for the sake of the peaceful co-existence of nations, a return must be made to the policy laid down in resolution 8 (I) adopted at the first session of the General Assembly, that is to say, repatriation of the refugees and displaced persons, and that the inhuman attempt to exploit them for the purposes of the "cold war" and the preparation of aggression must be resolutely frustrated.

69. In the Third Committee, therefore, the Czechoslovak delegation supported and voted for the draft resolution submitted by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. For the same reasons we shall vote for it again in the plenary meeting and we shall vote against the draft resolutions designed to evade the most serious questions and to endorse the policy followed hitherto by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, a policy that is in flagrant contradiction with the principles of the Charter and the interests of world peace.

70. Mr. ROCHEFORT (France) (*translated from French*). We were told during the discussion in the Third Committee that we were forcibly detaining refugees, beating them, putting them under restraint, starving them and buying and selling them as cheap labour.

71. We showed during those discussions how monstrous and nonsensical those accusations were. We stressed how easy it would be for refugees living in our country to get in touch with the consulates or embassies of their countries of origin and ask for repatriation instead of being registered as refugees. We pointed out that the same refugees could freely give their names and addresses to those consulates and embassies instead of applying to the International Refugee Organization. We said that we shared a sense of urgency with the USSR delegation in desiring the return to their own countries of all refugees who wished to go back.

72. But we perceived that we were being accused not of preventing refugees from returning but of failing to prevent them from staying in our country.

73. It seems unnecessary for us to refute the charges again point by point today. The vast mass of work accomplished by the International Refugee Organization and the testimony of refugees—hundreds of thousands of them—who, thanks to the international effort represented by the IRO, have been able to find new homes and the opportunity of a happier life, suffice to do so. The fact that one million refugees have emigrated as against the 70,000 repatriated is due to a free choice on their part. Such a ratio amounts to a plebiscite. It

was imposed on the International Refugee Organization by the refugees themselves.

74. But there is a social achievement of even deeper, even more unchallengeable significance, to the credit of the International Refugee Organization acting on behalf of the most destitute class of refugees. Thanks to the appropriation of \$US 22 million by the General Council of the IRO, homes have been built and beds endowed in hospitals and sanatoria. The action of the IRO has led to acts of true international solidarity, such as the reception by certain countries of tubercular and disabled refugees, coming from far-away lands that could not keep them.

75. We hope that the great social and humanitarian traditions created by the IRO will not be lost, but will serve as an inspiration for all work to be done in that field, whether by the provisional inter-governmental committee concerned with migration in Europe recently set up in Brussels, or by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or by all the governments on whose territories refugees live.

76. It is in that spirit that we shall vote in favour of the draft resolutions submitted by the Third Committee and against the draft resolution submitted by the Byelorussian delegation.

77. Mr. MEADE (United Kingdom) : I will not take up much of the time of the General Assembly. I merely wish to place on record once again my Government's formal denial of the truth of the provocative allegations which have been repeated here for propaganda purposes by the delegations of the Ukrainian SSR and Poland. My Government has always been in favour of the voluntary repatriation of the refugees, but we will not be a party to the forcible repatriation of refugees who are unwilling and afraid to return to what was once their home.

78. The United Kingdom delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolution of the Byelorussian SSR and in favour of the draft resolutions submitted by the Third Committee.

79. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : If no other representative wishes to speak, we will proceed to the vote.

80. We will first vote on draft resolution A submitted by the Third Committee [A/2084].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 28 votes to 5, with 21 abstentions.

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

Draft resolution B was adopted by 38 votes to 5, with 8 abstentions.

82. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : We shall now vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [A/2101].

The draft resolution was rejected by 34 votes to 5, with 15 abstentions.

83. Mr. PAVLOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*) : The USSR delegation would like to explain its vote on the two resolutions which have just been adopted and on the draft submitted by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

84. The Soviet Union delegation voted for the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR on the problem of refugees, and against the two resolutions that were adopted, because it considered and still considers that the activities of the International Refugee Organization and its successor the Office of the High

Commissioner for Refugees are contrary to the purposes referred to in the General Assembly decisions of 1946 and 1947 on the repatriation of displaced persons to their countries of origin. The activities of the High Commissioner for Refugees bear no relation to the purposes of the United Nations Charter, the strengthening of peace, or the solution of the problem of the repatriation of displaced persons and refugees.

85. In those circumstances the purpose of the proposal concerning an assistance fund for refugees contained in the resolution adopted here is not only to postpone a solution of the refugee problem, but also to create a special fund for subsidizing the "future refugees" whom American and other intelligence services intend to obtain from Eastern European countries and to use for their diversionist and military purposes. The USSR delegation objects to the allocation, from United Nations funds or from funds raised by contributions, of sums to be used for any activities contrary to those of the United Nations Charter and obstructive to the repatriation work, incumbent upon the United Nations High Commissioner, who in fact maintains close contact with the State Department of the United States with regard to the "refugees" in whom that country is interested.

86. No refugee problem would now exist if the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and certain other countries had carried out their obligations under bilateral repatriation agreements concerning the return of displaced persons and refugees to their countries of origin. It has been proved that the American, British and French military authorities, together with the International Refugee Organization, are conducting in camps for refugees and displaced persons recruiting campaigns for military units. Agents are also being recruited in these camps for intelligence and diversionist work in the territories of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. There is a direct connexion between the fund of \$US 3 million which the High Commissioner has estimated for 1952 and the allocation of \$US 100 million provided for in the Act signed by Truman on 10 October 1951. All these resources will be used to finance armed bands, to train spies and diversionists, and to conduct subversive activities against the countries which stand for peace and democracy. The USSR delegation is also unable to support the proposal to draw up long-term plans and schemes for financing residual groups of refugees, since those plans also conflict with the goal of repatriation.

87. It should be noted that the concept of "refugees" in United Nations documents and in the High Commissioner's report has been infinitely extended, so as to include in particular the *Volksdeutsche* living in Germany and Austria. It would seem, therefore, that Germans living in their own country are regarded as refugees. I need not say that the extension of the concept of "refugees", which in this case is absolutely artificial, serves to conceal the fact that Hitlerites who have fled from other countries to Western Germany receive special additional allowances and subsidies as refugees under the tutelage of the United Nations High Commissioner, and that their camps are being maintained artificially as a source of manpower for the realization of the plans for revenge of German militarists in Western Germany, who are protected by the United States.

88. The proposal concerning the emigration and resettlement of refugees merely represents a continuation of plans for the provision of cheap manpower for modern slave-owners in various countries, and is therefore unacceptable.

89. The USSR delegation considers that the United Nations should cease to finance the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, since its activities have become the chief obstacle to repatriation and one of the series of measures taken by the United States and the countries of the Atlantic bloc to prepare for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. The Office of the High Commissioner and the High Commissioner himself should share the fate of the International Refugee Organization and be terminated as soon as possible. Repatriation should be carried out by the governments upon whom that duty is imposed in accordance with their obligations under bilateral agreements, and those obligations should be performed in full.

90. In that connexion I feel obliged to point out that our obligations with regard to the repatriation of such persons have been carried out fully and completely in respect of the country of one representative who has spoken here ; but the obligations of that country with regard to the return of USSR citizens who are displaced persons have not been fulfilled, and 20,000 such persons are now in that country, not to mention war criminals, a list of whom has been submitted to the Government of that country. The representative of that State who spoke here should be aware of this fact.

91. A solution envisaging the fulfilment of bilateral obligations concerning repatriation would constitute the best solution of the refugee problem. As for the turncoats, traitors and war criminals among the displaced persons and refugees, we consider that they should be handed over to the judicial organs of the countries of which they are nationals and against whose peoples they have committed their crimes.

92. The USSR delegation voted for the draft resolution on refugees and stateless persons submitted by the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, and against the two resolutions which have unfortunately been adopted here by the majority of the Assembly.

Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece : (b) repatriation of Greek children : reports of the Secretary-General and of the international Red Cross organizations : report of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee (A/2104).

[Agenda item 19 (b)]

93. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee (*translated from Spanish*) : When I had the honour of reporting to you on 7 December last [351st meeting] concerning the draft resolutions approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee under item 19 of our agenda—"Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece", which consisted of two parts, the first relating to the report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, and the second to the reports of the Secretary-General and the international Red Cross organizations on the repatriation of Greek children—I told you that the work of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the second part—repatriation of Greek children—had not been concluded. I said that the final report would be placed before you as soon as the consideration of the matter had been completed and the consultations recommended by the Committee had taken place.

94. By a resolution of 23 November last [A/1984 and Corr.1, para.6], the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee was asked to consult the President of the General Assembly and the Chairman of the Standing Committee

on the Repatriation of Greek Children with a view to inviting the governments concerned to designate representatives to meet the Standing Committee to consider the problem by 15 December at the latest.

95. On 7 and 8 January this year, the representative of Sweden, Mr. Grafström, in his capacity as Chairman of the Standing Committee, made an interim oral report to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. Subsequently, on 29 January of this year, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee took up the question again in the light of the report of the Standing Committee [A/AC.53/L.44], according to which, of the four governments invited—those of Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia—only one, that of Czechoslovakia, had sent a reply accepting the invitation.

96. The Standing Committee held three meetings with the participation of the representative of Czechoslovakia, and after an exchange of views on the general aspects of the problem, decided to discuss first the question of the 138 Greek children who had been identified in Czechoslovakia and whose repatriation had already been the subject of negotiations between the International Red Cross and the Czechoslovak Red Cross. At the second meeting of the Standing Committee, on 15 January 1952, the representative of Czechoslovakia stated that none of the 138 cases entirely fulfilled the conditions agreed upon between the representatives of the International Red Cross and the Czechoslovak Red Cross at Prague in 1950, although he admitted that some offered the possibility of prompt solution. He agreed to prepare for the next meeting of the Standing Committee two lists ; one containing those cases for which an early solution might be possible and the other cases in which further investigation would be necessary.

97. As the Standing Committee itself was not equipped to consider individual cases, it decided to invite the International Red Cross to send representatives to its next meeting. Both the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies accepted the invitation.

98. The third meeting of the Standing Committee on 22 January was attended by representatives of the International Red Cross. The representative of Czechoslovakia made a statement on behalf of his government. He repeated his previous statement that none of the 138 cases in question completely fulfilled the conditions for repatriation agreed upon and that the requisite guarantees had not been furnished in conformity with the protocol drawn up on 2 March 1950 by the representative of the International Red Cross to ensure that the children and their parents were protected from any reprisals or persecution in Greece. He added that general conditions in Greece since the General Assembly adopted the resolutions [193 C (III), 288 B (IV) and 382 C (V)] of 1948, 1949 and 1950 had, in his opinion, deteriorated, and new acts of violence were being perpetrated against Greek nationals of democratic convictions and against the parents of certain children.

99. The representative of Czechoslovakia made it clear that the negotiations should take place in Prague and that the representatives of the International Red Cross would encounter no difficulty in proceeding to Czechoslovakia.

100. The Standing Committee took note with satisfaction of the last point contained in the Czechoslovak representative's declaration, according to which the Czechoslovak Government was ready to re-establish contact between the Czechoslovak Red Cross and the International Red Cross and to assist in the solution of the problem of the displaced Greek children.

101. Of the other three countries to which invitations had been issued by the President of the General Assembly, Romania alone replied, declining the invitation on the grounds that the General Assembly's resolution of 1950 establishing the Standing Committee was contrary to its 1948 and 1949 resolutions and was a contribution towards propaganda aimed against the countries harbouring Greek children.

102. At the same meeting on 29 January, the delegation of the Dominican Republic submitted a draft resolution whereby the General Assembly would note with satisfaction that a further group of Greek children had been repatriated from Yugoslavia; express the hope that it would be possible to make rapid progress with the repatriation of the Greek children in Czechoslovakia; deeply regret that the other States harbouring Greek children had declined to enter into consultation with the Standing Committee; consider that the grounds advanced by those countries for not co-operating fully were not insurmountable or such as to constitute a reason for further delay in repatriating the children in respect of whom requests for repatriation had been submitted and verified by the International Red Cross; urge all countries harbouring Greek children to take steps to facilitate their early repatriation, decide to continue the Standing Committee with the terms of reference previously laid down; request the International Red Cross organizations to continue their work; and request them and the Secretary-General to submit reports on the progress achieved before the seventh session of the General Assembly. This draft resolution was approved by 44 votes; no vote was cast against it and there were only 5 abstentions.

103. At the meeting on 30 January a draft resolution was circulated by the Greek representative relating to the repatriation of members of the Greek armed forces detained by partisans. A procedural discussion ensued as to whether the draft resolution was in order.

104. Since the Legal Advisor of the Secretary-General stated that the Secretary-General regarded resolution 382 A (V) of 1 December 1950, which was adopted at the fifth session of the General Assembly in connexion with the same matter, as having continued validity and since there were no objections to the statement of the Secretary-General's Legal Advisor, the Greek representative withdrew his draft resolution with the request that the Legal Advisor's statement should be noted in the report and that the Rapporteur of the Committee should mention the fact to the General Assembly, as I have just done.

105. The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee therefore recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution to which I have referred and which was originally submitted by the Dominican Republic; it deals with a problem that both intrinsically and by reason of its special features is undeniably a matter of concern to our organization; it has even been described as a matter of transcendent importance.

106. The hope has rightly been expressed that a speedy solution may be found to this problem, so that Greek homes may be freed from anxiety and the United Nations may rejoice.

107. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 152 of the rules of procedure, I have to inform the General Assembly that the Fifth Committee considered at its 339th meeting the financial implications of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's draft resolution on the repatriation of Greek children. The Fifth Committee based its examination of this item on the recommendations

contained in the nineteenth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions submitted in 1952. The Committee noted that, if the General Assembly adopted this draft resolution, the Secretary-General would continue the practice previously followed of reimbursing the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies for the expenditure involved in the execution of the General Assembly's wishes. budget.

108. The Fifth Committee informs the General Assembly that adoption of this draft resolution would necessitate a budgetary appropriation of \$US 30,000 in 1952. This sum has already been appropriated in the 1952

109. Mr. CASTRO (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): I shall explain the attitude of the delegation of El Salvador to the draft resolution approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the repatriation of Greek children.

110. My delegation, which voted for this draft resolution in the Committee, especially welcomes the statements made regarding the co-operation received from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies, which will naturally continue their humanitarian work in order to assist in carrying out the General Assembly's resolutions.

111. My delegation adopts a completely realistic attitude towards the other parts of the draft resolution. We fully understand that the non-repatriation of Greek children by Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia does not depend on questions of principle but simply on a political course designed to maintain serious tension in the Balkans. It is also necessary to affirm, however, that it is in the interest of those States to solve this problem in order to obtain positive advantages. The policy of many States is not, unfortunately, based on principles but on essentially practical reasons and on material and positive interests. In warmly supporting the draft resolution which by implication requests the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania to abide by General Assembly resolutions, the delegation of El Salvador reasoned that by such action those Governments would be fulfilling a good many of the conditions laid down in Article 4 of the Charter and there would consequently be new justification for their eventual admission to membership of the United Nations.

112. Not only would it be necessary for them to begin repatriating the Greek children immediately, but the attitude they adopt will have to be based on the legal standards observed by the majority of the States of the world as regards respect for fundamental human rights. And it will also be necessary for them to change their aggressive attitude towards Greece and to cease interfering in that country's domestic affairs.

113. Lastly, I wish to refer to a matter which I also think is important. There is not a single State among the so-called western Powers which has sufficient influence over the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania to make them change their policy as regards the repatriation of Greek children. But there is one eastern State which has that power, and that is the Soviet Union. The delegation of El Salvador therefore feels that if the Soviet Union's influence was used to make those four countries, and also Poland and Czechoslovakia, change their policy in this connexion, it is clear that those Governments, which always conform to the policy followed by the Soviet Union, would react favourably to the General Assembly's resolutions.

114. We therefore hope that this influence will be exerted, and with that hope I conclude my explanation of the reasons for which my delegation approves, in its entirety, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's draft resolution.

115. Mrs. PEYROLES (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's report on the repatriation of Greek children. The French delegation wishes to join in the tribute which that draft resolution pays to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, the Standing Committee and the Secretary-General for the devotion and perseverance they have shown. It also desires to indicate by its vote that it will support all measures to put an end to the tragedy of the Greek children exiled from their country.

116. It seems to us inadmissible that inalienable human rights should continue to be flouted, and flouted in a particularly revolting manner since those affected are children. We cannot countenance the idea that a child may be torn from its mother for any reason, whether of politics, religion, race or nationality. The rights of the mother and the child are at the root of all human civilization, and the women of France will not allow them to lapse into oblivion.

117. The French delegation will vote for the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's draft resolution because it regards the case argued by the USSR representative as untenable. Even if they are better fed and clothed in the countries where they are at present living than in their own country, the Greek children should be sent back to their homes. At tragic moments in the history of France other countries have sheltered French children, have generously brought them up and cared for them, but have restored them to their families. A man may sometimes suffer because of a childhood spent in poverty and want, but he will always suffer if he has been deprived of a mother's love. Despite the USSR argument, therefore, we shall vote for the draft resolution.

118. The vote of my delegation will also be influenced by a second point made by the USSR representative: that the Greek children growing up far from their country are glad to benefit by the culture of the countries which have taken them in, and want—so we are told, at least—to stay there. To be separated from her child is harrowing for any mother; but to know that he is being raised far from her, in other traditions than those of his country and family, and to be unable to prepare him for manhood is an added sorrow; it means breaking her heart. If the present situation continues the Greek children will become uprooted; and Greece, for thousands of years, has given us too much that is noble and beautiful to allow us to remain insensible to that aspect of the problem. No Frenchwoman, no mother, will turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek mothers, which touches us to the quick. The French delegation will therefore vote for the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

119. Mr. VAN GLABBEKE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): It is with conviction and emotion that the Belgian delegation will vote for the draft resolution which resulted from the Dominican Republic's initiative—an initiative that redounds to its credit—and which was approved unanimously—with the exception of the five abstentions of the Soviet bloc—by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. My delegation will vote for this draft resolution for the considerations which I must now mention in detail.

120. This is the fourth time that the United Nations General Assembly will be voting on a resolution concerned with the tragic problem of the repatriation of Greek children,

and we hope that this will be the last time that we in this Assembly will approve a text which contains no severe rebuke for those States that refuse to recognize the sacred principles upon which our civilization is founded, the principles of the family.

121. We shall vote for the draft which the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee has submitted to us because it states, at the outset, that, from a purely humanitarian point of view, we should continue to do all that lies in our power to bring about the return to Greece of the children torn from the arms of their parents.

122. We shall also vote for this text because it expresses the gratitude of all the Members of the United Nations, the gratitude of all our countries towards those who have rendered a great service to the civilized world by sparing no effort in their attempts to find a solution of this painful problem.

123. We shall vote for this text because it expresses gratitude towards Yugoslavia, which is pointing the way towards a humane solution of the problem of the Greek children.

124. We shall also vote for this text because it expresses hope with regard to Czechoslovakia. I trust that, at the next session, when we resume consideration of this question, there will be concrete results submitted to us in connexion with the negotiations now apparently at last under way with Czechoslovakia along the lines desired by the vast majority of Members of the United Nations.

125. Finally, we shall vote for this text because it contains an appeal to all the harbouring countries to facilitate the early return of the Greek children to their homes.

126. However, while voting for the text, the Belgian delegation believes that, even now, severe censure is deserved by certain countries which have flouted the civilized world and which continue to flout the United Nations.

127. The Belgian delegation cannot but recall, Mr. President, that you despatched a personally signed letter and telegram to the Governments of a number of countries, including Hungary and Bulgaria, and that those countries, which have had the effrontery to submit their candidature to the United Nations for admission to this Assembly, had not the elementary courtesy of the Danube peasant to reply, even if only by an acknowledgement of receipt, to the communications you had addressed to them! These manoeuvres must cease; the harbouring countries must know that all of us here, as representatives of civilized countries, are aware of their designs.

128. We shall therefore vote for this draft resolution, though it does not contain this rebuke; but next session, if the problem of the repatriation of Greek children has not made real progress—progress which we all desire from the bottom of our hearts—we shall expect to vote for a resolution which, we may hope, will be far more severe than that which is submitted to us today.

129. We shall vote for this draft resolution as a last appeal, before we brand the guilty parties, as a last appeal to all the harbouring countries without exception, both those that have and those that have not admitted that they were harbouring Greek children.

130. Like the delegation of El Salvador, my delegation expresses the conviction—and in that spirit it appeals to the delegation of that powerful country the Soviet Union—that if the Soviet Union had really desired a solution of the tragic problem of the Greek children, we should have long ago concluded our discussion on the subject; for the

moral authority of the Soviet Union in the harbouring countries is so great that a single word from it, if it were prepared to utter that word, would tomorrow suffice to bring the children back to their countries of origin, where their parents have claimed them in accordance with the established rules.

131. I do not wish to be told again that there are cases which appear doubtful or difficult. There are for such cases the international Red Cross organizations which have for years past been offering their good offices, their services and their experience.

132. We must therefore obtain positive results, as otherwise countries such as mine will come to the conclusion that in actual fact an effort is being made to achieve what the Secretary-General of the Greek Communist Party, Mr. Nicos Zachariades, wrote in the letter dated 5 December 1950 which I had the honour to read in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and which stated that the aim was to keep the children as long as they could, to deceive the United Nations and to win, year by year, as much time as possible, since, if twenty years could be won, there would be no more Greek refugee children. All the time the children are given military training and are placed in establishments where attempts are made to turn them into tomorrow's fifth column, or the so-called liberation army, in actual fact into the army of traitors which is going to attack its own country. In other words, they are to become the future murderers of their fathers and brothers.

133. It is in this spirit of revulsion at such a thought that the Belgian delegation will, as I have said, vote, with full conviction and in the hope that we are at last on the road to concrete achievement, for the draft resolution submitted to us by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

134. Mr. KYROU (Greece) (*translated from French*): The Greek delegation will of course vote for the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, the outcome of a noble gesture on the part of the delegation of the Dominican Republic.

135. The draft resolution may be said to crystallize the feeling of world public opinion on this tragic question.

136. It begins by thanking the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, the Standing Committee and the Secretary-General of the United Nations for their efforts to give effect to the three previous resolutions of the General Assembly. The gratitude of the Greek people and Government to these international authorities—and I am in duty bound to state this once again from this rostrum—is commensurate not with the tangible results achieved, but with their tireless exertions on behalf of the repatriation of the Greek children.

137. We should like to share the hope, mentioned in the draft resolution before us, that it will be possible to make rapid progress with the repatriation of the Greek children in Czechoslovakia. The spokesman of the Czechoslovak Government has given a categorical promise to the three members of the Standing Committee and to the representative of the International Red Cross that contact between the Czechoslovak Red Cross and the International Red Cross, broken off in June 1950, will be restored in the immediate future. It is only by direct contact, hitherto persistently denied by the Governments and Red Cross societies of the countries harbouring Greek children, with the single exception of Yugoslavia, that, in the words of the draft resolution, the technical and other difficulties advanced by those countries harbouring Greek children which have declined to co-operate fully in the solution of the problem can be ironed out. The difficulties—I quote from the draft

resolution—“are not insurmountable or such as to constitute a reason for further delay in permitting the return of the children in respect of whom requests for repatriation have been submitted and verified by the international Red Cross organizations”.

138. Those Governments which, up till now, have refused to co-operate in the repatriation of Greek children, contend that it is merely a political propaganda campaign designed to discredit the peoples' democracies. It is up to them alone to put a stop to such propaganda, if in fact it ever existed, by showing at least a glimmer of goodwill. For our part, despite the tragic experience of these last three years, we continue to hope that the hitherto entirely negative attitude of those governments will at last change. We persist in hoping that they will cease to regard the international Red Cross organizations as hostile bodies bent only on discrediting the peoples' democracies.

139. It is in that hope that we shall vote for the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's draft resolution. It was in the same hope that we did everything we could to make sure that the debate in the Committee should be conducted in a spirit of human fellow-feeling devoid of all political or ideological considerations. May God grant that our hopes are not disappointed anew, and that joy and happiness will return to the mothers of these children, who since 1948 have been living on nothing but memories! And may God grant that effect may finally be given to resolution 382 A (V) adopted at the fifth session of the General Assembly in connexion with the repatriation of members of the Greek forces captured by the partisans. As the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee Mr. Sevilla Sacasa, has stated in paragraph 7 of the Committee's report, and as he has repeated here, no objection was raised to the statement of the Legal Adviser of the Secretary-General that resolution 382 A (V) retains its full validity.

140. Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Assembly has before it the draft resolution of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the repatriation of Greek children. The USSR delegation abstained when this draft resolution was voted on in the Committee, for a number of reasons which I propose to outline briefly now.

141. The crux of the problem of Greek children, as is evident from the earlier resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, is that these children should be re-united with their parents. These resolutions deal with the return of the children to their parents and their homes in cases where the children, their father or mother or, in his or her absence, their closest relative, express a wish to that effect.

142. During the discussion on this question the Greek delegation attempted to lay the blame for the delay in solving the problem on the peoples' democracies which are harbouring some of the Greek children. In actual fact, the responsibility for the delay lies with the Greek authorities and the Greek Red Cross, who have submitted dishonestly compiled and deliberately falsified lists of Greek children. Such is the true position with regard to the repatriation of the Greek children.

143. In this connexion I must refer to the completely groundless statement made by the representative of El Salvador, who attempted to represent the problem of the repatriation of Greek children as a political problem. It is scarcely necessary to mention the allegations of the representative of El Salvador about the aggressive intentions of the peoples' democracies towards Greece; the slanderous nature of such statements was fully exposed during the discussion of the Greek question in the *Ad Hoc* Political

Committee ; and it would be superfluous to return to the matter in the General Assembly at this plenary meeting.

144. As for the unseemly attacks and threats directed by the representative of Belgium against Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, the events of the post-war period have shown that these countries are well able to defend their rights, and that their people are not to be cowed by threats. In any event, the Belgian representative's hysterical vociferations and threats scarcely merit serious attention.

145. I should like now to proceed to explain our vote on the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's draft resolution which is before us. That draft resolution contains a number of points with which the USSR delegation cannot agree, on the ground that they contain unfounded charges against countries which have given asylum to Greek children.

146. We cannot accept operative paragraph 4, which alleges that the States harbouring Greek children refuse to take steps to repatriate them. The fact of the matter is not that there has been any refusal to repatriate Greek children, but that the Greek Government and the Greek Red Cross have, by submitting completely falsified and garbled lists, prevented any progress being made towards a solution of this question.

147. Operative paragraph 7, which refers to the Standing Committee, is also irregular, since the resolutions unanimously adopted by the 1948 and 1949 sessions of the General Assembly prescribe a definite procedure for settlement of the problem of repatriation of Greek children. In accordance with that procedure, the task of repatriation

of Greek children was to be carried out by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the national Red Cross societies, no standing committee being either called for or provided for in these resolutions ; and indeed such a committee was, as experience has proved, not only unnecessary but actually a hindrance. It is for that reason that we cannot accept this paragraph of the draft resolution.

148. The only parts for which the USSR delegation was able to vote are the second paragraph of the preamble, which recognizes that the United Nations must continue its efforts, from a humanitarian point of view, to enable the Greek children to return to their homes ; and paragraph 8 of the operative part of the draft resolution, which requests the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to continue their work for this humanitarian purpose. These are the two main points of this draft resolution which are acceptable to the USSR delegation.

149. The USSR delegation will abstain, for the reasons which I have explained, from voting on the draft resolution as a whole.

150. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : As there are no more speakers on my list who wish the floor before the vote, we shall proceed to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee [A/2104].

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

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.