



# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NINTH SESSION  
Official Records

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piness, and we are greatly indebted to you for having consented to address this meeting. May I now invite you to do so?

3. Mr. WILLIAM V. S. TUBMAN, President of the Republic of Liberia: I am deeply conscious of the signal honour and privilege afforded me to address you today. We cannot escape feeling inspired by the great and noble purposes to which this beautiful edifice and your tireless labours here are dedicated. Nowhere else on earth are the deliberations and acts of responsible men and women watched with greater anxiety, keener anticipation and profounder interest. Upon you in this temple and upon your devoted and courageous efforts to rid mankind of fear, want and the scourge of war, are focused the prayers and hopes of the peoples of the earth, regardless of race, clime or creed. You hold in your hands keys to the doorways of freedom and human progress. Already so much seems to depend upon your endeavours that a sense of awful sacredness admits of no alternatives to what must be the achievements of the aims, ideals and purposes set forth in your Charter.

4. There may be those who feel discouraged at what they consider the inadequate results thus far obtained in the search for peace. But we believe that there is enough room to look back with a modest degree of pride and satisfaction at the accomplishments of the past nine critical years and to renew our faith in the assurance that we are travelling in the right direction. More than that, we can realize with appreciation that the tasks to which we have dedicated ourselves and the aims we are striving to achieve are not beyond the realm of the possible. Neither are they utopian. To this great and continuing united effort to maintain peace and promote human welfare and prosperity, I am happy to state that the people of Liberia are unequivocally and unswervingly pledged.

5. My country's association after World War I with the establishment of the League of Nations and our charter membership and participation in the United Nations and most of its specialized agencies, as well as the benefits we and so many other smaller nations have received from the operation of the assistance programmes in health and education, are convincing evidence to us that the world has at long last created an instrument capable, if rightly and fully employed, of ushering in a permanent era of peace and happiness. This is no easy task. But we shall not permit our will to be fragile. We shall not weary at setbacks. Nor shall we permit our hopes to be easily shattered by what pessimists often call "elusive gains".

6. Of course, the general idea of and the efforts to bring nations together in an international community are not new; however, all such attempts, including the very significant Holy Alliance and the concert of Europe have failed. We believe that among the reasons for the failure of early attempts were the basic insin-

**President: Mr. Eelco N. VAN KLEFFENS**  
(Netherlands).

### Address by Mr. William V. S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia

1. The PRESIDENT: I have the honour to present His Excellency, Mr. William V. S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia. We all know that Liberia, amply qualified by its history and ideals for membership of the United Nations, was among the first to join this Organization as an original Member. We also know that President Tubman is the worthy successor of a line of distinguished Presidents who have contributed to making Liberia universally known as a peace-loving State, able and determined to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter.

2. Mr. President, we welcome you here. We trust you realize that we wish you and your country every hap-

cerity of many of the participating nations and the limited scope of the action they were willing to take. National attitudes were often founded upon the diplomatic formula that one's country should always win, whether or not this was done at the expense of another country. Furthermore, the substantial inequality of association and the absence of reciprocal respect often rendered ineffective genuine long-range co-operation.

7. The League of Nations offered for the first time in human history an opportunity whereby all responsible peaceful members of international society could join as free, independent nations in the active struggle for peace. That this organization could not deter the exercise and wholesale practice of sheerest despotism within certain areas, or resist the preying of the strong upon the weak, or even save humanity from the appalling conflagration of the Second World War was a sad but revealing commentary on the evolving pattern of history. Without attempting to analyse the reasons for our self-imposed inability to avoid the Second World War—a duty for historians—we may safely indicate some general impressions.

8. We are inclined to believe that often the expressed desire for peace among nations was a mere reflection of the selfish aims of individuals within a State which extended beyond that State, and of the acts of their Governments to abet, control and regulate the resulting intercourse and incident interaction. But lasting peace cannot be merely the avoidance of friction and violence in the exercise of sovereignty; neither can the dread of major wars long remain in peacetime an impelling impetus to positive, unified action.

9. Peace is a rewarding end of concerted activities in various fields based upon the paramount and accepted assumption of the inherent right of all men to develop their fullest capabilities without molestation or interference. Consequently, the purpose of organizing a community of efforts remains operative only if fundamental rights are affirmed and there is ever present the spiritual will to take the maximum action necessary to secure them.

10. As a result of the farsightedness of our great Allied leaders of World War II and their able associates, we think that a vital source of superior power and transcendent strength was given to the United Nations at its creation by the bold, unwavering reaffirmation of our faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women in all nations large and small and by our aim to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, as well as by our avowed willingness to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

11. Contrary to what the pessimists assert, the materialization of these goals and the pursuit of these ideals have shown marked progress. Friendly intercourse and mutually beneficial assistance, exchange of knowledge, culture and information, as well as the strengthening of international institutions for promoting co-operative efforts, have all proved the effectiveness of our new approach. It is also of great significance that, through the good offices of the United Nations, many disputes between nations have been peacefully resolved; and in one crowning instance we have had to preserve inviolate a Member's sovereignty. No un-

biased critic should ignore so encouraging a record in a period following so great and painful a war and transition to peace.

12. The United Nations is now being called upon to resolve with finality the pressing, urgent and burning issues of our time. There are those, equally vocal, who feel that these matters are beyond the competence or the compass of this world Organization. They also feel that bilateral solutions of disputes and unilateral supervision of the destinies of subject peoples are more practical and workable approaches to these problems. History is replete with consistently depressing examples of bilateral solutions in which the weak are always at the mercy of the strong. It is true that, despite the reaffirmation of fundamental ideals, the United Nations has not yet succeeded in determining all of the complex issues now dividing and irritating our peaceful existence. On the other hand, we must reject the suggestion that any deliberate or precipitate action of the world Powers would plunge us into an atomic or nuclear holocaust. Nevertheless, the existence of so many danger spots all over the earth makes it gravely possible that we may one day stumble, either because of weakness or by error, into a situation which might result in a state of armed conflict, which honour or necessity may deny us the opportunity of localizing.

13. Two of the sources of power open to us, in my opinion, are: first, the basic validity and truth contained in the proposition of strength through unity; and secondly, the strength which can be marshalled by the will of those who would support such unity. If our united efforts are to be of lasting effect, they must be based upon righteousness, because actions based solely upon national advantage have so far created a stalemate. Something new must be tried. It would seem, therefore, that we should move in the direction of greater and broader participation in leadership of all nations, based upon the recognition of changeless truths and moral values.

14. One thing is certain. Since we have no superior alternatives to this unique instrument we have created, there must be brought to bear such fresh imagination and courage in the application of its principles. The nations of the world, like individuals, should be willing to subject themselves to keener retrospection generally and introspection particularly. Might and power are not necessarily synonymous with right and righteousness. If the true character of international co-operation is to continue to exist upon the earth, participation and direction cannot be restricted to or based exclusively upon size or military power. The State, in its elementary essence, derives its life and purpose mainly from the political responsibility, social conscience, mutual sympathy, common interest and moral obligations of its citizens. And its power and ability to act are derived from the affinities, will and confidence thus created. If Member States retain for themselves unaltered, unsublimated, all of the national rights and powers, the ability of the United Nations to resolve world problems in the interest of lasting peace will be limited.

15. We must therefore be willing to surrender a portion of these rights and powers for the achievement of so essential a cause. Because of the tendency to hold on to the convenient old, even where new experiences prove them invalid, there can be no reasonable expectation that the reappraisal suggested will be accepted immediately. However, in appreciation of the ever-

lurking consequence of failure, those islands of agreements which already exist between us must be developed. We must continue the search for fresher evidences of a unity of purposes.

16. Finally, world society should have a moral foundation which should remain forever embedded in the dignity, worth and integrity of the human personality. The sacrifices demanded of world leadership should involve the highest ethical searching and self-examination, the courageous application of the moral law, patient endeavour and dedication. This is a great undertaking in which we cannot fail mankind. Let us all go forward together. Long live the United Nations!

17. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that I express the feelings of all representatives tendering to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Liberia our grateful thanks for an address which has heartened us in the middle of our labours.

*The meeting was suspended at 11.10 a.m. and resumed at 11.15 a.m.*

### AGENDA ITEM 63

#### Complaint by the Union of Burma regarding aggression against it by the Government of the Republic of China

REPORT OF THE AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE  
(A/2762)

*Mr. Derinsu (Turkey), Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee.*

18. The PRESIDENT: We are indebted to Mr. Derinsu for the presentation of the report.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Ad Hoc Political Committee.*

19. The PRESIDENT: As no member of the Assembly wishes to explain his vote, I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document A/2762 to the vote. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Syria, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden.

*Against:* None.

*China did not participate in the voting.*

*The draft resolution was adopted by 56 votes to none.*

### AGENDA ITEMS 42, 36, 39 AND 44

#### Report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2764)

#### Financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors:

- (a) United Nations, for the financial year ended 31 December 1953;
- (b) United Nations Children's Fund, for the financial year ended 31 December 1953;
- (c) United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund, for the period 1 March 1952 to 31 December 1953

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2751, A/2755, A/2769)

#### Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

- (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
- (b) Committee on Contributions;
- (c) Board of Auditors;
- (d) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointment made by the Secretary-General;
- (e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal;
- (f) United Nations Staff Pension Committee

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2770, A/2771, A/2772, A/2773, A/2774, A/2775)

#### Review of audit procedures of the United Nations and the specialized agencies

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2776)

*Mr. Liveran (Israel), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee, and then spoke as follows:*

20. Mr. LIVERAN (Israel), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present the reports of the Fifth Committee concerning items 42, 36, 39 and 44 of our agenda.

21. As regards the report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds, the report of the Fifth Committee will be found in document A/2764. The Committee recommends the adoption of the draft resolution which is to be found in that document. That draft resolution consists of two parts. Section A is intended to deal with one of the problems that have arisen from time to time concerning the method of appointment of the Committee and the duration of its existence. The draft resolution proposed now takes care of the ambiguities in both these matters. Section B is designed to draw attention to the fact that the Negotiating Committee has in the past encountered difficulties resulting from the fact that, in fixing target figures for the various purposes for which it is in existence, account has not always been taken of the possibilities of their being reached. These two matters are the gist of the draft resolution as proposed.

22. The remaining reports deal with financial accounts presented by the Board of Auditors, with various appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary bodies, and with a review of the audit procedures of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

23. The PRESIDENT: We are indebted to the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee for his admirable presentation of the reports on these items.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.*

24. The PRESIDENT: Since no representative wishes to explain his vote on any of the draft resolutions contained in the reports, the Assembly will proceed to the vote.

25. I put to the vote first the draft resolution contained in document A/2764, relating to the report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds.

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

26. The PRESIDENT: The next item relates to three reports of the Fifth Committee in connexion with financial reports and accounts. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/2751, relating to the accounts of the United Nations for the financial year ended 31 December 1953.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

27. The PRESIDENT: We shall next vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/2755, relating to the accounts of the United Nations Children's Fund for the financial year ended 31 December 1953. Since the Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution with-

out dissent, I shall regard it as adopted by the General Assembly if there are no objections.

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

28. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution which is contained in document A/2769, relating to the accounts of the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund, for the period 1 March 1952 to 31 December 1953.

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

29. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in connexion with the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly. They are contained in documents A/2770, A/2771, A/2772, A/2773, A/2774 and A/2775. If there are no objections, I shall regard those draft resolutions as adopted.

*The draft resolutions were adopted.*

30. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document A/2776, relating to the review of audit procedures of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. That draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee. If there is no objection, I shall regard it as adopted by the General Assembly.

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

*The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.*