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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Sobolev (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Establishment of a world food reserve

REPORTS OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/2855) AND THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2863)

1. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with the report of the Second Committee relative to the establishment of a world food reserve [A/2855], the General Assembly has before it a report on the financial implications, submitted by the Fifth Committee [A/2863] for information. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the General Assembly has taken note of this report.

It was so decided.

Mr. Encinas (Peru), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

2. The PRESIDENT: Any representatives who wish to do so may now explain their votes. In this connexion may I remind representatives that explanations of vote should be limited to approximately seven minutes. I should be grateful if speakers would bear this limitation in mind and make an effort to observe it on this, as well as on other items, on our agenda for today.

3. Since no one wishes to explain his vote, we shall proceed to the vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Second Committee in its report [A/2855].

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

AGENDA ITEM 17

The Korean question

(b) Report of the United Nations Agent General for Korean Reconstruction

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/2867)

4. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with the financial implications of the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in its report [A/2867], I should like to inform delegations that the Fifth Committee, in its consideration of the first reading of the budget estimates, has recommended the inclusion of the necessary budgetary appropriation in the 1955 budget. The Assembly will, of course, have the total budget estimates before it when the Fifth Committee submits its report under item 38 of our agenda.

Mr. Encinas (Peru), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

5. The PRESIDENT: Since no representative wishes to explain his vote before the voting takes place, I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in its report [A/2867].

The draft resolution was adopted by 41 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

6. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

7. Sir Alec RANDALL (United Kingdom): In the Committee I made it clear, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, that we considered the work of this Agency as a valuable and effective contribution to the reconstruction of Korea, and that this was an obligation incumbent upon the United Nations.

8. This view has been backed up by substantial contributions from the United Kingdom, and the additional amount which Her Majesty's Government has, subject to the usual constitutional procedure, decided to pay over to the Agency represents a very special and exceptional effort by the United Kingdom, which is intended to be a final contribution to help the Agency to bring its work to a satisfactory conclusion. Her Majesty's Government has decided to make this final contribution in common with other Governments which have contributed so generously to the funds of the Agency in the hope that other Members of the United Nations which have not hitherto contributed or are in a position to make further contributions, will now be

as generous as possible in subscribing funds to enable the Agency to complete its excellent work.

9. It is on this understanding that the United Kingdom delegation has voted for the resolution which has just been adopted. We are very glad that it has been adopted by the General Assembly by such a large majority.

10. Mr. UMARI (Iraq): My delegation voted in favour of this resolution despite the fact that we were somewhat hesitant about the phrase "devastation caused by aggression" which occurs at the end of operative paragraph 1. My delegation does not wish at this time to pronounce any opinion in that connexion, particularly since the resolution deals generally with the reconstruction of Korea, but we did not desire to abstain or to vote against the proposal because of our scruples in connexion with the phrase to which I have referred. We feel that Korea does require help towards its reconstruction, and we did not wish our hesitation to stand in the way of approval of the resolution which we supported and of which we thought highly.

Mr. Wadsworth (United States of America) (Vice-President), took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/2868)

Mr. Encinas (Peru), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/2868) on chapters II and III of the report of the Economic and Social Council (A/2686).

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

11. The PRESIDENT: I shall now give the floor to any representative who wishes to explain the vote of his delegation on the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in its report [A/2868] or on the draft resolutions submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.188 and A/L.189].

12. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation would like to explain its vote on the two draft resolutions proposed by the Second Committee.

13. The Second Committee has submitted to the General Assembly two draft resolutions in connexion with the report of the Economic and Social Council, one on employment and the other on international trade. The Soviet Union delegation considers that there are serious shortcomings in these draft resolutions.

14. The essence of the draft resolution on full employment is a proposal to approve resolution 531 B (XVIII) which the Economic and Social Council adopted on the question at its eighteenth session. The Soviet Union delegation considers that this is an inadequate solution of the full employment question. The problem of employment and unemployment is vital and urgent; it affects the interests of many millions of workers in the countries where there is unemployment. The number of totally or partly unemployed persons in many countries has recently increased in comparison with last year, and there is a real danger that unemployment will increase further.

15. At the eighteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions

presented a programme of measures designed to reduce unemployment and increase employment. Despite the importance of these proposals and the urgency of the problems involved, the Council failed to take positive action on them and did not adopt them, although it is well known that questions concerning unemployment cause justified concern among the working masses due to the increase in the number of totally or partly unemployed persons in a number of countries.

16. The draft resolution which has been submitted to the General Assembly for its approval does not give a true picture of the unemployment situation. We cannot agree with the statements made in the Second Committee to the effect that the unemployment situation in all countries is such that it does not require the adoption of any measures to reduce the number of unemployed and to improve their conditions. It is impossible to agree with that point of view. The General Assembly cannot ignore a question as important as that of unemployment and employment.

17. As has already been pointed out in the Second Committee, there are millions of unemployed in a number of countries, and in particular in West Germany, Italy and the United States. It must be borne in mind that in addition to the totally unemployed there are millions of partly unemployed persons in many countries. In the United States alone there are several million partly unemployed persons.

18. Accordingly, it cannot be denied that the unemployment situation in many countries is serious and it is quite understandable that the working masses should feel concerned at that state of affairs.

19. The General Assembly should not simply endorse the Economic and Social Council's resolution, particularly as it makes no practical recommendations to Member States of the United Nations for reducing unemployment and improving the condition of the unemployed. The General Assembly should give serious attention to the problem of unemployment and recommend to Member States that they take measures to reduce unemployment, raise the level of employment and improve the condition of the unemployed.

20. It should be emphasized that the question of unemployment cannot be solved by means of an armaments race. An armaments race is accompanied by an extensive and unproductive use of the labour force, equipment and raw materials; it only aggravates the problem of unemployment and employment and does not lead to a solution. An armaments race brings about an increase in the tax burden and a substantial reduction in the purchasing power of the population and lowers standards of living. All this can only lead to a reduction of production for peaceful purposes and to increased unemployment.

21. Therefore, the correct way to reduce unemployment and raise the level of employment is to expand civilian production, develop foreign trade and increase government expenditure on social services and to take other measures to raise the living standards of the people. These are precisely the measures which have been proposed in the draft resolution on this subject submitted by the Soviet Union delegation [A/L.188].

22. Furthermore, under the Soviet draft resolution it is proposed to convene a non-governmental advisory conference, and to invite to participate therein the competent specialized inter-governmental organizations, all national and international trade union

organizations, and other non-governmental organizations concerned, with a view to securing a complete exchange of information on the real state of affairs as regards unemployment and on practical steps directed towards expanding economic activity throughout the world, developing international trade and economic co-operation and raising the level of employment.

23. For these reasons the Soviet Union delegation will abstain in the vote on draft resolution I on employment proposed by the Committee.

24. Draft resolution II on international trade adopted by the Committee has also serious defects inasmuch as it merely endorses the resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its eighteenth session, a resolution which the Soviet Union delegation considers quite inadequate.

25. Under the United Nations Charter the General Assembly is responsible for promoting international economic co-operation. International trade is the most important form of economic co-operation and its expansion on a basis of equality and mutual advantage is in the interests of all countries. However some countries, and in particular the United States, are pursuing a policy of trade discrimination against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. It is well known that other countries are forced to pursue a like policy. The policy of discrimination in international trade undermines traditional economic ties, dislocates and reduces international trade, and has serious effects on the economies of the Western European and other countries which pursue that policy.

26. During the debate on the report of the Economic and Social Council in the Second Committee many facts were adduced to confirm that state of affairs. The harmful effects, on the Western countries, of the dislocation of normal trade channels between East and West were primarily acknowledged in many statements by officials of the United States and other countries.

27. Representatives of some under-developed countries in the Second Committee pointed out that the policy of restrictions and embargo aggravates the trade situation of these countries, slows down their economic development and complicates their already difficult economic situation. Demands for the elimination of artificial restrictions have also been heard from this rostrum at this session of the General Assembly. The elimination of the existing discriminatory measures from international trade and the development of normal trade relations is in the interest of the peoples of the whole world. The development of normal trade relations between all nations would help to improve trade conditions for many countries and would help to reduce unemployment and raise employment and the standards of living of the people.

28. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the policy of trade restrictions and prohibitions serves no purpose. This is evident from the fact that in many countries there has recently been a return to development of trade with the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. The expansion of international trade on a basis of equality and mutual advantage is in the interests of all countries and is one of the important factors in the struggle to strengthen international peace and security.

29. The volume of foreign trade of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies increased considerably in 1953 and 1954. The Soviet Union intends to bring

about a further substantial expansion of its foreign trade with all those countries which wish to do the same.

30. The Soviet delegation submitted a proposal in the Second Committee and is now placing it before the Assembly [A/L.189] for its consideration for the purpose of promoting the development of economic co-operation among all countries, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, and relaxing political tension, a goal in which the peoples of all countries are interested.

31. The elimination of artificial obstacles and the establishment of normal trade and other economic relations is vitally necessary, and corresponds to the fundamental and vital interests of all countries and peoples.

32. For all these reasons, the Soviet Union delegation considers that the General Assembly cannot simply endorse the Second Committee's draft resolution but should recommend that States Members of the United Nations should eliminate existing discriminatory measures applying to trade with individual States and groups of States, and should take steps to expand trade and other economic relations between peoples.

33. Mr. BIRECKI (Poland): The Polish delegation wishes to explain its vote on the draft resolutions now before the General Assembly: those contained in the report of the Second Committee [A/2868], and those contained in documents A/L.188 and A/L.189.

34. The Polish delegation considers that resolution 531 B (XVIII) on full employment and resolution 531 C (XVIII) on the removal of obstacles to international trade and means of developing international economic relations adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its eighteenth session do not meet present requirements.

35. The resolution on full employment completely disregards the unemployment prevailing in a number of countries and confines itself to general recommendations, indicating no concrete measures which should be taken to reduce the number of unemployed and improve the situation of the working people in many countries.

36. In our opinion, the Economic and Social Council took an improper stand when it handed over to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) the chief responsibility for further work on the problem of full employment. The Polish delegation does not wish to underestimate the role which the ILO can and should play in this domain. We think, however, that the United Nations should, above all, consult the parties most competent in and most concerned with this problem—the trade union organizations.

37. Similar objections can be raised to the Economic and Social Council resolution on international trade and means of developing international economic relations. The preamble to that draft resolution contains a number of correct concepts, but the operative part does not draw the proper conclusions from those concepts. It is true that the Council recognizes the contribution which a continuing expansion of international trade can make to increasing production, employment, standards of living, economic development of under-developed countries and friendly relations among nations. It is also true that the Council emphasizes the importance of continuing efforts to facilitate the expansion of international trade. Nevertheless, in the operative part of the resolution the Council confines itself to a general appeal,

urging Governments to take all practicable steps to facilitate the further expansion of international trade.

38. The Polish delegation believes that the Economic and Social Council not only should open its eyes to the real obstacles in the way of the development of international trade among all countries, but should adopt resolutions aimed at removing those obstacles. Foremost among the obstacles are the discriminatory measures applied by the United States and, under the pressure of the United States, by some other countries in their trade with various nations. The discriminatory policy pursued by some States hinders the promotion of international trade, particularly between East and West; it prevents a number of countries from selling their export products at advantageous prices; it depresses the prices of certain raw materials; and it creates economic difficulties for the under-developed countries.

39. It must, however, be noted that ever wider circles in Western Europe and in the under-developed countries are becoming more and more aware of the detrimental effects of those discriminatory practices and of the benefits which would accrue from a broad development of trade among all countries. That position was reflected in the statements of a number of delegations during the last sessions of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the Economic Commission for Latin America. It also found expression in the reactivation of the Committee for the Development of Trade of the European Economic Commission, which, at its last session, in October, decided to consider concrete, practical means for increasing trade among European countries.

40. This position was reflected also in the discussion in the Second Committee at this session of the General Assembly. In this situation, the Polish delegation believes that the General Assembly should not be satisfied with the resolutions regarding full employment and the development of international trade which were adopted by the Economic and Social Council, or with the draft resolutions contained in the report of the Second Committee on this item. The General Assembly should make every effort to supplement the general declarations of the Economic and Social Council with concrete, constructive proposals.

41. For this reason, the Polish delegation welcomes with satisfaction the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.188], which recommends that countries with unemployment problems take measures to expand their peace-time production, promote international trade, increase government expenditures on social services, education, public health and housing, and also take steps to alleviate the plight of the unemployed by broadening and improving State unemployment insurance systems, and other steps to raise living standards. The Polish delegation also supports the proposal to convene an advisory conference of non-governmental organizations which are particularly concerned with the problem of unemployment and full employment. We believe that such a conference could definitely contribute to the clarification of a number of problems concerning all workers vitally interested in seeing unemployment eliminated through expanded peace-time production and expanded international trade among all countries of the world.

42. We also support the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.189] dealing with the prob-

lem of international trade. I hope that the great majority of the representatives will agree with the contention that the development of economic relations between all countries is of great importance in their economic advancement, in increasing employment, and in raising the living standards of the populations. I believe, too, that the overwhelming majority of us will agree on the fact that existing economic difficulties in certain countries have been either produced or sharpened by artificial barriers hampering the normal development of international trade. And, lastly, I think that most of us agree that the expansion of international trade would greatly help to improve international relations and to ease current tensions.

43. The Polish delegation considers that the USSR draft resolution goes to the very heart of the problem and that its recommendations to Member States to remove existing measures of discrimination applying to trade between individual States or groups of States, and to take steps to expand trade and other economic relations among nations, should meet with the support of the General Assembly. The General Assembly must discharge its responsibility of directing the work of the Economic and Social Council; otherwise the Council, composed of eighteen Member States, will not be in a position to reflect the will of all the Member States of our Organization. This direction is all the more necessary because, in the period which has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly, the world economic situation has undergone changes from which the Economic and Social Council has failed to draw proper conclusions.

44. The Polish delegation considers that the draft resolutions on trade and full employment proposed by the Soviet Union meet the interests of all the countries, and that their implementation would constitute a vital factor in easing international tensions and in stabilizing peaceful and friendly relations among all nations.

45. In view of the fact that during the vote and the discussion in the Second Committee a great interest was shown by a great number of delegations in different parts of these draft resolutions, I request that they be put to the vote paragraph by paragraph, so that separate votes will be taken on the preambles and the operative paragraphs of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/L.188 and A/L.189.

46. Mr. PSCOLKA (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from French*): The Czechoslovak delegation believes that an improvement in the international situation must be followed by a reduction in arms production and an increase in civilian production, and that economic and social policies must be primarily directed, at both the national and the international levels, towards the achievement and maintenance of full employment, increased productivity and the improvement of the standard of living of the people. We also consider that it is of the utmost importance that Governments should take effective measures to facilitate and develop international economic relations to the mutual advantage of all parties. One fact has been brought out very clearly by our discussions; international trade is the most natural and the most favourable field for the development of genuine co-operation among States.

47. In the debate in the Second Committee on the Economic and Social Council's report, my delegation supported the view that in considering the report at its ninth session, the Assembly should direct its attention

primarily to the expansion of international, economic and commercial relations, which is of such importance to economic development, increased employment and the raising of standards of living.

48. In accordance with that principle the Czechoslovak delegation supports the draft resolution on the removal of measures of discrimination applying to trade with individual States or groups of States [A/L.189] and also the one on measures to reduce unemployment and increase employment [A/L.188] proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union. Some countries, in particular the United States of America, follow a discriminatory trade policy in regard to the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other peoples' democracies. This policy, which is contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, harms those who follow it and impose it on other countries, to the detriment of the latter.

49. In my delegation's opinion, the interests of all States, particularly of the economically under-developed countries, demand the removal of obstacles to international trade, especially of the discriminatory measures applied to trade between States or groups of States. The General Assembly cannot shirk its responsibilities in this matter. The adoption of a draft resolution inviting the Governments of Member States to remove discriminatory measures applying to trade and to take steps to expand trade and other economic relations between nations would undoubtedly be of great importance to the development of peaceful co-operation among peoples and the improvement of international relations.

50. My delegation also warmly supports the provisions in the draft resolution [A/L.188] for a non-governmental advisory conference to be convened with the participation of the competent specialized inter-governmental organizations and national and international trade unions for the purpose of studying practical steps directed towards expanding economic activity throughout the world, developing international trade and raising the level of employment. We believe that these two questions—the development of international co-operation in the economic field and the expansion of employment, the solution of which is very urgent in view of the increasing unemployment and under-employment in many countries—are closely linked.

51. Full employment and the elimination of unemployment are vital questions for the working masses. It is essential that decisions and measures that would help to reduce unemployment in many countries should be taken. Such measures—the expansion of civilian production, the development of international trade, social and cultural measures to raise the standard of living of the people—are envisaged in the document A/L.188. The Czechoslovak delegation is convinced that the solution of these problems would make a substantial contribution to the development of peaceful economic co-operation among peoples, the expansion of civilian production, and the elimination of the disastrous effect of the militarization of the economy which has taken place in many countries in recent years. It would also further the development of international trade, the importance of which is generally recognized.

52. Public opinion in my country would welcome the establishment of commercial relations with all countries on the basis of reciprocal advantages. Such relations are, in its opinion, a major prerequisite for the strengthening of peace.

53. The rapid economic development and industrialization of the socialist countries offer great opportunities for increased foreign trade with all countries, provided that artificial obstacles to normal trade are removed.

54. My delegation is sincerely desirous of contributing actively to the accomplishment of the present and future tasks laid upon us by the United Nations Charter in the economic field, and therefore supports the draft resolutions proposed by the Soviet Union, since they are wholly consistent with our purpose. The draft resolutions contained in the Second Committee's report [A/2868] do not envisage measures which would provide a solution of these problems, and the Czechoslovak delegation will therefore abstain when they are put to the vote.

55. Mr. UMARI (Iraq): Economic relations among nations are largely dependent upon their political relationships. It is extremely difficult to try to separate the relationship among nations in the economic field from the political atmosphere which prevails among them. It is for this reason that my delegation sought in the Second Committee to point out this fact, that no matter how many resolutions or how powerful the resolutions we may seek to adopt in this Assembly, they will not be at all effective in the world outside unless the political atmosphere has been clarified.

56. I thought it would be useful to explain my delegation's views lest, during the voting in the Committee or in the General Assembly, our attitude might be construed to mean that my country or my delegation does not seek to further international trade and to facilitate economic relationships in the world. But we do firmly believe that the political situation must first be clarified. Then everything else, whether in the economic or in the social field, will be clarified afterwards.

57. Mr. SLIPCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): When the Second Committee considered chapters II and III of the Economic and Social Council's report the Soviet Union delegation introduced two draft resolutions dealing respectively with measures to reduce unemployment and increase employment and the removal of measures of discrimination applying to trade with individual States or groups of States. The report by the Rapporteur of the Second Committee indicates that the Committee did not support the Soviet draft resolutions. In view of the great importance of its drafts, which are undoubtedly directed at alleviating the plight of the unemployed and permitting the normal development of international trade, the Soviet delegation introduced both draft resolutions in the plenary meeting.

58. Noting that in some countries unemployment continues at a high level and considering the plight of the unemployed and their families, the first draft resolution [A/L.188] proposed by the Soviet Union delegation provides for recommendations by the General Assembly to all States Members of the United Nations, in which unemployment exists, to take effective steps to reduce unemployment and increase employment by developing civilian branches of industry, expanding foreign trade, increasing government expenditure on social services, education, public health and housing and other steps which would really raise the general standard of welfare of the population.

59. The Soviet Union delegation took up the suggestion of the World Federation of Trade Unions and also proposed that a non-governmental advisory conference should be convened with the participation of representatives of national and international trade unions, with a view to a wide exchange of ideas on the practical steps necessary to expand economic activity and develop international trade and economic co-operation and to raising the level of employment.

60. The Ukrainian delegation whole-heartedly supports the measures proposed by the Soviet Union representative because they can be an effective contribution to reduction of unemployment and alleviation of the plight of the unemployed and their families and it fully supports the draft resolution on this question. In this connexion, the Ukrainian delegation would like to point out that under the United Nations Charter it is the General Assembly's duty to consider the question of really increasing employment and not to transfer the responsibility for this question to the Economic and Social Council or the specialized agencies, as suggested in draft resolution I submitted by the Second Committee.

61. The specific steps which would be taken to raise employment if the General Assembly adopted the Soviet Union draft resolution would undoubtedly meet with the heartfelt approval of working people throughout the world and would increase the prestige of the United Nations among millions of ordinary men and women.

62. The Ukrainian delegation also supports the second Soviet draft resolution [A/L.189] calling on the General Assembly to recommend the removal of measures of discrimination applying to trade with individual States or groups of States, which have been very widespread in recent years.

63. During the discussion of the Soviet draft resolution in the Second Committee various representatives rejected the Soviet Union delegation's proposal for normalizing international trade on the grounds that it went beyond the measures provided for in resolution 531 C (XVIII), adopted by the Economic and Social Council. This objection can be refuted on at least two counts: first, the General Assembly's fate would be unenviable if its activity were to be limited to rubber-stamping decisions taken by various United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies without taking the possible results of such decisions into account; secondly, we all know that international relations have undoubtedly changed for the better since this question was discussed at the eighteenth session of the Economic and Social Council. For example, after the bloodshed in Korea had ended, steps were taken toward concluding an armistice in Indo-China. Furthermore, a certain amount of progress has recently been made in the discussions in the United Nations on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. All these events indicate a certain lessening of international tension.

64. On the other hand, the improvement in international relations can be stable and lasting only if it is based on improved economic co-operation among countries, irrespective of their internal political structure. It is well known, however, that the measures of discrimination applying to trade with individual States or even groups of States adopted by certain countries not only run counter to the relevant Articles of the United Nations Charter, but impede international economic co-operation.

65. For these reasons the Ukrainian delegation fully supports the Soviet Union draft resolution directed at expanding normal international economic relations.

66. Mr. KIDRON (Israel): My country has a close and intimate acquaintance with trade boycott and discrimination in our part of the world. We oppose these practices because, in our experience, they make for political tension and human distress, both of which run counter to the ideals of peace, prosperity and freedom, which this Organization is bound to promote. We therefore feel that the draft resolution II, even in the revised form adopted by the Second Committee, does not go far enough. It does not express clearly enough the sense of urgency which, in our view, should accompany the consideration of the question. However, because the draft resolution has the merit of widening the area of consideration rather than confining it to the specific issues raised by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine, my delegation will vote in its favour.

67. My delegation will abstain in the vote on the Soviet Union draft resolution [A/L.189] because it does not, in our view, comprehend all the issues involved.

68. Mr. LYNKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Two draft resolutions on chapters II and III of the report of the Economic and Social Council have been proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union for the consideration of the General Assembly in plenary session. The first [A/L.188] is on measures to reduce unemployment and increase employment, and the second [A/L.189] concerns the removal of measures of discrimination applying to trade with individual States or groups of States. The Byelorussian delegation supports these draft resolutions.

69. It is essential for the General Assembly to adopt the USSR delegation's draft resolution on measures to reduce unemployment and increase employment because in a number of countries where unemployment has assumed large proportions the question of employment and unemployment is urgent and important. The situation of millions of unemployed and their families is extremely serious. Unemployment makes the workers anxious and uncertain of the future.

70. In view of the increase in unemployment and the deterioration in the material situation of the working masses in a number of countries, the United Nations has a responsibility in the matter of taking urgent steps to secure a reduction in unemployment and an increase in employment, alleviation of the situation of the unemployed and a rise in the standard of living of the people.

71. The Byelorussian delegation is of the opinion that the Economic and Social Council, which has studied the question of employment and unemployment several times, has not yet adopted such decisions as would really help to reduce unemployment and increase employment. In view of the fact that, in the main, the Council is not carrying out its tasks in connexion with employment and unemployment, the General Assembly must not evade a decision on this important and urgent question and has no right to do so.

72. The Soviet Union's draft resolution on employment and unemployment provides for the adoption of urgent and effective measures to reduce unemployment, increase employment, alleviate the situation of the unemployed and raise the standard of living of the people.

The ways and means of achieving these purposes are clearly indicated in the draft. This draft resolution is in accordance with the vital interests of the peoples of the world. The Byelorussian SSR supports the USSR draft resolution and will vote for it.

73. The Byelorussian delegation also considers that the General Assembly should carefully consider the Soviet Union's draft resolution on the removal of measures of discrimination applying to trade with individual States or groups of States.

74. It is well known that international trade is fettered by discriminatory obstacles and restrictions. In the matter of foreign trade, the United States of America and some other countries are still discriminating against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the European peoples' democracies. The policy of prohibitions and restrictions on trade has resulted in enormous losses to many countries, particularly the Western European countries. This policy has turned out to be completely worthless. Increasing economic difficulties, the contraction of domestic markets and the sharp intensification of competition on many countries' foreign markets are forcing the interested business circles in those countries on to the road to trade with the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. Business circles in many countries are insistently demanding the expansion of Western trade with the East.

75. It is now admitted that the expansion of trade between West and East is a very important and pressing task to which the General Assembly should give special attention.

76. The Byelorussian delegation is of the opinion that in dealing with international trade the Economic and Social Council has not so far taken appropriate specific action to remove restrictions and prohibitions and to expand international trade. The General Assembly should therefore take urgent and effective steps to secure the removal of measures of discrimination applying to trade, and the expansion of international trade.

77. The Soviet Union's draft resolution is important for its effects in promoting the economic development of countries, increasing employment and raising the peoples' standard of living. This draft provides for the removal of artificial obstacles to the development of normal international trade. The removal of artificial obstacles and the establishment of commercial and economic relations is an urgent necessity in the vital interests of all peoples. The General Assembly's adoption of the draft resolution will promote the development of economic collaboration among countries and contribute to the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of international peace and security.

78. Consequently, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports and will vote for this USSR draft resolution also.

79. Mr. HALIQ (Saudi Arabia): With respect to the draft resolution of the Soviet Union which deals with the increase in employment, my delegation voted for some parts of it and abstained on others. We abstained on the main recommendation of this draft resolution because we thought that it went a little beyond the question and touched upon the local economic policies of some Member States. Therefore, in abstaining on the draft resolution as a whole, we did not pass a final judgment on the very principles which this draft resolution raised.

80. We also abstained on the other draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union in the Second Committee on the question of discrimination in trade. In abstaining, we did not reject the principle contained in the draft resolution. However, we thought that the draft resolution went a little too far since some States think that restriction and limitation on trade with certain Member States is perhaps the least damaging of the defence weapons one can use when one's national interest is at stake.

81. This perhaps explains the position of my delegation and some other delegations in the Middle East where this idea of trade and its limitation is of some crucial importance.

82. Mr. KAYALI (Syria) (*translated from French*): In the Committee my delegation voted against the Soviet Union draft resolution on measures of discrimination applying to trade. My delegation cannot agree to the imposition of discriminatory solutions of a political nature by means of resolutions which are in appearance economic.

83. The PRESIDENT: As no other delegation wishes to explain its vote, and following the established practice, the General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Second Committee in its report [A/2868].

Draft resolution I was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

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

84. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly now has before it the Soviet draft resolutions contained in documents A/L.188 and A/L.189. I call on the representative of Cuba on a point of order.

85. Mr. RIBAS (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation proposes, under the second sentence of rule 93 of the rules of procedure, that the draft resolutions proposed by the Soviet delegation should not be voted on. Both draft resolutions were fully discussed by the Second Committee and were rejected.

86. The Committee recommended to the General Assembly two other draft resolutions on the same subject which the Assembly has just adopted by 50 votes to none with 5 abstentions and 49 votes to none with 5 abstentions respectively.

87. Consequently, my delegation proposes, in accordance with the second sentence of rule 93 of the rules of procedure, that the Soviet draft resolutions should not be put to the vote.

88. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Of course the General Assembly is the master of its own procedure and it can decide whether any particular draft resolution before it should be put to the vote.

89. The Soviet delegation for its part would request the General Assembly to put to the vote the two draft resolutions proposed by the USSR.

90. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cuba has invoked rule 93 of the rules of procedure and proposes that the Assembly should decide not to vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Soviet Union. As the members are aware, rule 93 provides for the following:

"If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which

they have been submitted. The General Assembly may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal."

91. The representative of Cuba has therefore raised a prior question which should be disposed of by the Assembly before a decision is taken on the draft resolutions before us.

92. We shall now vote on the motion of the representative of Cuba which reads:

"The General Assembly

Considers that it should not vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/L.188 and A/L.189]."

The motion was adopted by 31 votes to 6, with 16 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 23

The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa

REPORTS OF THE *Ad Hoc* POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/2857) AND THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2858)

93. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it the report of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee [A/2857], and the report of the Fifth Committee [A/2858] on the financial implications of the draft resolution proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly has taken note of this report.

94. Also in the absence of the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, I would consider that, unless there is objection, we can dispense with the report of the Rapporteur in this instance.

It was so decided.

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

95. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those Members of the Assembly who wish to explain their votes.

96. Mr. DU PLESSIS (Union of South Africa): Speaking on the draft resolution contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee [A/2857], I must once more categorically state that South Africa is unable to recognize the competence of the United Nations with regard to the present item.

97. At the same time, I also deny any assertion that my Government has failed to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. The delegation of the Union of South Africa has argued the question of competence so exhaustively in the past, both in Committee and before the General Assembly, that it is quite unnecessary for me to repeat our arguments. They stand on record, and I now reaffirm them.

98. My delegation is satisfied that in maintaining my Government's juridical position, we have always upheld the terms of the Charter by faithfully adhering to what was agreed upon by all Member States at San Francisco. We continue to hold, therefore, that the Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa was established unconstitutionally and illegally continued in existence. We continue to assert that the reports of that Commission and the discussion of those

reports in the United Nations constitute intervention in the domestic affairs of South Africa.

99. Therefore, it will be understood that if the Commission should be re-established by virtue of paragraph 6 of the operative part of the draft resolution, it will not be possible to extend to it any co-operation on the part of my Government.

100. The South African delegation, therefore, rejects, as it has done in the past, the draft resolution as a whole as well as every separate part of it.

101. I request a separate vote on each paragraph beginning with the fourth paragraph of the preamble, and a roll-call vote on the fifth paragraph of the preamble, on operative paragraph 6 and on the draft resolution as a whole.

102. Mr. DE SOUZA GOMES (Brazil) (*translated from French*): The Brazilian delegation finds it easy to take a stand on the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the question of racial segregation in the Union of South Africa.

103. In Brazil we faithfully observe the principle of the absolute equality of men, without any distinction as to race or colour, and cannot tolerate any discrimination based on prejudices of that kind. Abroad, our policy derives its strength from its well-known moderation and the realism we try to preserve at all times and in all situations.

104. When this question was discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, I said that although the racial situation in the Union of South Africa was a matter of concern to all nations and the policy of apartheid was contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, the solution of the problem rests, as is properly stressed in the report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa [A/2719], with the authorities of the Union of South Africa.

105. Consequently, we believe that in view of the South African Government's position, there is no point whatsoever in re-establishing the United Nations Commission appointed to study the problem and suggest measures for its solution. It would be unrealistic to insist on imposing on the Government of the Union a sort of technical assistance which it refuses to accept.

106. For those reasons, my delegation will vote against the last four paragraphs of the draft resolution before us. I should, however, point out that we will support paragraph 1 of the operative part which expresses the Assembly's appreciation of the Committee's constructive work. My delegation will also vote against the fifth paragraph of the preamble, because we do not believe that it can seriously be said that the policy of apartheid constitutes a grave threat to the peaceful relations between ethnic groups in the world. In my view that statement is not in accordance with the facts; it does not state a proven fact. It also strikes me as being unduly extreme and therefore unacceptable. I should like to add that the policy of apartheid has never affected the excellent relations between ethnic groups in Brazil or, as far as I know, in any other country, and I do not see how it could do so in the future.

107. My delegation's final vote on the draft resolution as a whole will naturally depend on the outcome of the vote on the separate paragraphs. I should therefore be grateful if the President would put the draft resolution

to the vote in parts, as provided in the rules of procedure.

108. Mr. BENITES VINUEZA (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation did not explain its vote in the Committee and I should like to take a few minutes to state our position on the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

109. My delegation's vote in the Committee, which has now been confirmed in this plenary session, is based on the following considerations.

110. In the first place, the draft is not incompatible, from the legal point of view, with the doctrine of non-intervention, which my Government fully supports, or with Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. The preamble of the draft resolution refers only to the conclusions of the Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Hernán Santa Cruz, without expressing the Assembly's opinion. The operative part does not bring any pressure to bear on the Union of South Africa but merely invites it to conform to the obligation which it voluntarily accepted by signing the Charter. To invite a State to conform to its international obligations is not an intervention in its domestic affairs, from whatever point of view, semantic, logical, or juridical, it may be regarded.

111. In the second place and from the moral point of view, my delegation believes that non-fulfilment of the juridical and moral obligations imposed by the Charter with regard to human rights arouses distrust in millions of people. As I said in the general debate in the Committee, an attitude of indifference or tolerance towards the racial problem in the Union of South Africa would set up a kind of chain reaction in millions of coloured people throughout the world. That is all the more serious if we consider that with one exception, all the States which voted against the draft resolution in the Committee are colonial Powers which have millions of coloured people under their rule.

112. In the third place and from the political point of view, my delegation believes that democracy is a doctrine based on the recognition of the dignity and worth of the human person without distinction as to race. It is therefore indivisible; it was made not only for the white races but for all men of whatever race. We cannot use democracy as a bait or a decoy. It must be used with the faith of deep conviction and the sincerity of absolute belief. We must make it into a doctrine of liberty and the dignity of the human person if we wish successfully to combat the materialist doctrine of communism.

113. My delegation abstained on the recommendation to the Union of South Africa because that recommendation cites the examples of other multi-racial societies; we shall abstain again. We abstained because whatever may be the shortcomings of other States in their racial policy, they do try to fight discrimination and to eradicate it from the minds of men. Consequently, the experience of other States is not relevant to the Union of South Africa, which, under Prime Minister Malan and under his successor Prime Minister Strydom, maintains as the keystone of its policy the supremacy of the white race and the need to condemn the coloured races to a hard life of slavery with no hope of change. I must recall in this respect that in the last issue of *Time* of 13 December there is an article on the new South African Prime Minister's

distaste for what he calls the British-Jewish community and the liberal democratic system.

114. My delegation, although with certain doubts, will vote for the continuation of the Commission. We shall vote thus because if the Commission were not continued, the draft resolution would lose its whole effect and the question would no longer be on the Assembly's agenda.

115. Mr. CAÑAS (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation co-sponsored the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. For reasons beyond our control we were absent during the vote in that Committee. Therefore, we wish to take this opportunity of explaining our affirmative vote on this draft resolution in which we are really confirming the position which we have taken with regard to this problem throughout the years.

116. In previous years we have stated here that in our opinion the protection of human rights was removed from the domestic sphere of those States which signed the United Nations Charter, and became a matter of international concern. It is our view that the protection of human rights cannot in any way come under Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter.

117. Nevertheless, during the ninth session of the General Assembly, Costa Rica wishes to confirm its position on the basis of a consideration of a slightly different nature—not the supreme jurisdiction which we recognize the General Assembly to possess in this field, but a completely non-political consideration. It is a religious consideration.

118. My delegation wishes to record in this Assembly that the policy which it has followed in previous sessions in connexion with the question of racial conflict in the Union of South Africa is based on Christian philosophy. Our Christian conscience makes us believe in the equality and in the rights of all mankind, who were created equal, and to believe that mankind cannot, without violating this principle, remain indifferent to the creation of differences between various groups of mankind based on considerations of colour or race.

119. My delegation therefore wishes once more to record its position on this problem, on the one hand because we think that the General Assembly, and the United Nations in general, are competent to deal with this matter as with any other matter arising from the need to defend human rights; and on the other hand, because we consider that we should be untrue to our position as a Christian country if we took any other attitude.

120. Mr. BOROOAH (India): The representative of the Union of South Africa has once more objected here to the United Nations considering the question of race conflict in his country, resulting from the policy of *apartheid* of his Government. The competence of our Organization to consider this question has received the fullest consideration at the hands of the Assembly.

121. When the question of including this item in the agenda of the General Assembly was considered for the first time in 1952, the issue of competence was raised at all stages by the representative of the Government of the Union of South Africa, that is to say, in the General Committee, in the plenary session, in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and again in the plenary session. The decisions taken on all these occasions left no room for doubt as to our competence to deal

with this question. Last year also the Assembly adopted resolution 721 (VIII) after rejecting proposals which were designed to challenge the competence of the Assembly.

122. That being so, and for the reasons fully explained by the representative of India in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on 3 December 1954, my delegation considers that the General Assembly should record as untenable any argument based on the ground that the subject under consideration falls outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

123. I do not wish to take the time of the Assembly by reiterating once more the facts and arguments, but will content myself with expressing the hope that this body will reiterate its own decisions on the subject. I do not want to offer any comment on the statement of the representative of the Union of South Africa to the effect that his Government would not co-operate with the United Nations Commission. I only want to point out that such a step would be inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Charter to which his Government professes adherence.

124. My delegation hopes that in spite of the remarks made just now by the representative of the Union of South Africa, the United Nations Commission will not lack the help and co-operation necessary in the discharge of its duties.

125. The PRESIDENT: Since no other representative wishes to explain his vote, the Assembly will proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee [A/2857]. I would remind the Assembly that, at previous sessions, no objection has been raised to an interpretation by the President to the effect that this is an important question within the meaning of rule 85 of our rules of procedure.

126. The representative of the Union of South Africa and the representatives of several other countries have asked for a vote by paragraphs, in addition to which the representative of South Africa has asked for a roll-call vote on the final paragraph of the preamble and on operative paragraph 6.

The first paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 48 votes to 6, with 6 abstentions.

The second paragraph was adopted by 46 votes to 6, with 6 abstentions.

The third paragraph was adopted by 45 votes to 8, with 6 abstentions.

The fourth paragraph was adopted by 37 votes to 7, with 11 abstentions.

127. The PRESIDENT: The delegation of the Union of South Africa has requested a roll-call vote on the fifth paragraph of the preamble.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Bolivia.

Against: Cuba, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Brazil.

Abstaining: Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Norway, Peru, Turkey, United States of America, Venezuela, Argentina.

The fifth paragraph was adopted by 38 votes to 11, with 11 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 42 votes to 9, with 7 abstentions.

Paragraph 2 was adopted by 41 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 43 votes to 6, with 8 abstentions.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 42 votes to 9, with 9 abstentions.

Paragraph 5 was adopted by 38 votes to 10, with 11 abstentions.

128. The PRESIDENT: The delegation of the Union of South Africa has requested a roll-call vote on operative paragraph 6.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Philippines, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Paraguay.

Against: Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand.

Abstaining: Sweden, Thailand, Venezuela, Argentina, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Norway, Panama, Peru.

Paragraph 6 was adopted by 35 votes to 16, with 9 abstentions.

Paragraph 7 was adopted by 34 votes to 14, with 7 abstentions.

Paragraph 8 was adopted by 35 votes to 10, with 10 abstentions.

129. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole. The delegation of the Union of South Africa has requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile,

Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador.

Against: France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia.

Abstaining: Peru, Turkey, United States of America, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, China, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 40 votes to 10, with 10 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.