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President: Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi PANDIT (India).

Report of the Trusteeship Council: report of the Fourth Committee (A/2608)

[Agenda item 13]

1. Mr. RIFAI (Syria), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: The report of the Fourth Committee [A/2608] on the report of the Trusteeship Council, which is before the General Assembly, represents the deliberations of the Committee on all matters pertaining to the International Trusteeship System, aside from the Togoland unification problem already reported upon separately [A/2605].

2. The Fourth Committee presents nine draft resolutions covering a wide range of matters relevant to the advancement of the Trust Territories towards the objectives set forth in the Charter. Some of these draft resolutions reaffirm or elaborate initiatives previously taken by the General Assembly to improve the proce-

cedure of international supervision of the Trust Territories, and one draft resolution suggests a new point of departure in that direction. Three other draft resolutions arise wholly or in part from representations made in person to the Fourth Committee by petitioners from the Trust Territories. Of these spokesmen there were three from the Cameroons and one from Somaliland, in addition to the five heard in connexion with the Togoland problem.

3. The Fourth Committee as a whole once more welcomed the appearance before it of these direct representatives of various groups in the Territories exercising the right given them in the Charter to bring their problems immediately before the United Nations.

4. The nine draft resolutions are otherwise self-explanatory, and the Fourth Committee recommends their adoption by the General Assembly.

5. The PRESIDENT: At its 468th meeting, the General Assembly decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee. We shall therefore proceed directly to explanations of vote.

6. In calling upon the representatives who desire to explain their votes, I would urge them wherever possible to include in a single intervention the explanations which they may desire to make with regard to the voting on the various draft resolutions proposed by the Fourth Committee in its report.

7. Mr. Lal Shah BOKHARI (Pakistan): I have requested to speak in order to say a few words in explanation of our vote on the draft resolution contained in annex F, on "means towards improving the functioning of the International Trusteeship System". The Pakistan delegation had the honour of co-sponsoring this draft resolution in the Fourth Committee with the delegations of Afghanistan, Brazil and Saudi Arabia.

8. My delegation believes that, in order to achieve substantial progress in the Trust Territories towards the objectives laid down for them in the Charter, it is essential that there should be a closer liaison and a more harmonious working relationship between the three principal parties, that is, the peoples of the Trust Territories, the Administering Authorities and the organs of the United Nations principally concerned, namely, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. We think that this liaison and harmonious working relationship does not exist today to the degree that it should in the interests of the Trust Territories, in respect of which the United Nations has assumed certain duties and obligations.

9. The Pakistan delegation took the liberty of citing certain instances in the Fourth Committee to substantiate this view. This is not the time for me to go into the question again in any detail. I need therefore only mention that there is a fairly widespread feeling in the General Assembly that its recommendations

concerning the Trust Territories are not being implemented by the Administering Authorities in the way that they should be. On the other hand, the Administering Authorities seem to have a grievance; they feel that their difficulties and their points of view are not properly appreciated by the General Assembly and that they are being called upon to implement recommendations which it would be difficult for them to put into effect. There is also a sense of frustration among the peoples of some of the Trust Territories, mainly because of the delays and obstacles in the fulfilment of their legitimate desires.

10. In these circumstances, my delegation came to the conclusion that it was time that some practical steps were taken towards the achievement of a better understanding between the principal parties concerned, and that one of the means of doing so—and I say, one of the means—was to appoint a United Nations representative in the Trust Territories who, to begin with, might confine his activities to the Territories in Africa only. But it was never our intention that the General Assembly should come to a final decision in the matter without a proper study of the various possibilities.

11. We were very glad to note that a considerable number of representatives in the Fourth Committee subscribed to our point of view. This encouraged us to put forward, in collaboration with the delegations of Afghanistan, Brazil and Saudi Arabia, the draft resolution which is before the Assembly today.

12. As will be seen, the draft resolution recommends to the Trusteeship Council to undertake a study of the various ways and means of bringing about a closer liaison and a more harmonious relationship between the various bodies referred to in it and to submit a report to the next session of the Assembly. It appeared to us that the Trusteeship Council was the proper forum to undertake such a detailed study. The question of the appointment of a United Nations representative and the functions that he might perform were mentioned in the draft resolution only to draw attention to it as a possible means of achieving the desired goal. The draft resolution is merely of an exploratory character and does not mean that the Trusteeship Council should confine itself only to the consideration of the appointment of a United Nations representative. In fact, the Council in its wisdom might find it possible to suggest a far better course of action.

13. The proposal was debated at some length in the Fourth Committee. It seemed to us that there was no divergence of views on the objective of the draft resolution, that is, the promotion of better understanding between the peoples of the Trust Territories, the Administering Authorities and the various organs of the United Nations primarily dealing with the Trust Territories, namely, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. The criticism offered in the Committee mainly pertained to the appointment of the United Nations representative and his functions and powers.

14. The Assembly is not being called upon at the present stage to decide finally upon the appointment of a United Nations representative. The matter has yet, as will be observed from the text of the draft resolution, to be studied in all its aspects by the Trusteeship Council, in conjunction with other possibilities. The criticism to which I have just referred could therefore more appropriately be made when the

Trusteeship Council undertakes a study or when we have a definite recommendation from the Council on the appointment of such a representative. The entire problem, as I have stated, is subject to a further study by the Trusteeship Council. There could therefore be no question of any expenditure being involved at the present stage. Nor does it seem to us to be obligatory to seek an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legality of the appointment of a United Nations representative prior even to embarking upon a study of the possibilities of such an appointment under the Charter. I have drawn attention to these two points only because it was on the ground of expense and the legality of the appointment of the United Nations representative that some delegations did not find it possible to lend their support to the draft resolution in the Committee.

15. In conclusion, we earnestly hope that the General Assembly will endorse the recommendations of the Fourth Committee. We are convinced that under Article 10 of the Charter the Assembly is fully empowered to make such a recommendation. In the Fourth Committee, twenty-eight nations voted in favour of the study, and that it itself is a good reason to believe that there are twenty-eight nations that want this question to be studied. I hope that the study will not be prevented and that the General Assembly will endorse this draft resolution.

16. Ato Yilma DERESSA (Ethiopia): The Ethiopian delegation did not participate in the debate on the draft resolution contained in annex E. The position of my Government has not changed from the position stated during previous Assembly meetings, but in order that there should be no misunderstanding I should like to explain why we did not participate in the discussion of that draft resolution.

17. The Assembly may recall that in 1950 Ethiopia referred to the boundary question in presenting its draft resolution [A/C.4/L.102] to the Fourth Committee. Our delegation made it clear at that time that Articles 78 and 79 of the Charter were applicable to the problem.

18. My delegation also opposed the establishment of Somaliland as a Trust Territory on the same grounds in 1949 and has subsequently taken the same position on related resolutions.

19. The question of the Somaliland frontier, of course, stems from paragraphs 2 and 3 of the joint declaration of 10 February 1947 which appears as annex XI to the Treaty of Peace with Italy and which provided for "appropriate adjustment" of such frontiers as then existed. However, in 1949, the First Committee definitely recognized that such delimitation would consist exclusively of the detailed tracing on the terrain of a frontier which would have first to be established in principle. Therefore resolution 392 (V), which was adopted in 1950, and which recommends a procedure for delimiting "the boundaries of the former Italian colonies", will not become applicable until after a basic agreement has been reached. My delegation therefore believes that, until the frontier is settled in principle, the present draft resolution, in so far as it relates to resolution 392 (V) on boundaries, is premature. We believe this is particularly so because the present administrative limit which was determined unilaterally by the retiring British Administration in 1950 con-

stitutes a practical *modus vivendi* during the interim period.

20. It is for all these reasons that the Ethiopian delegation did not participate previously and will not participate now in the vote on the draft resolution contained in annex E.

21. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The Belgian delegation wishes to say a few words about the draft resolution in annex F which relates to the designation of one or more permanent representatives of the United Nations for the Trust Territories.

22. The Belgian delegation fears that the vote on this point may be influenced by the apparently harmless nature of this draft resolution. It seems merely to be a question of asking the Trusteeship Council to make a study, and such a recommendation may give the impression that it will not do any harm.

23. In fact, however, that is not the case, and the Belgian delegation attaches very great importance to the draft resolution. The Trusteeship Council is requested to study the setting up of a new body which is not provided for in the Charter or in the trusteeship agreements. Under the draft resolution the General Assembly recommends that the Trusteeship Council should study the possibility of designating one or more permanent representatives of the United Nations for the Trust Territories. Such a study can have only one result: a negative reply from the Trusteeship Council at the end of its work. The Trusteeship Council would devote to such a task, which is doomed to failure in advance, many meetings which could be more profitably employed in studying the situation in the Territories themselves.

24. It would, in fact, be impossible to impose such permanent envoys on the Administering Authorities without their agreement. While my Government intends scrupulously to fulfil the obligations it assumed in signing the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, it does not intend to go beyond that, and it will ask the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, on their part, to respect the agreement as approved by the General Assembly.

25. The Charter and the trusteeship agreements provide for the dispatch of periodic visiting missions, at times agreed upon with the Administering Authorities. They do not provide for the permanent representation of the United Nations or of one of its bodies in the Territories. The Trusteeship Council could only note that fact, and the result would once again be a very regrettable dispute between the General Assembly and the Council, the former accusing the latter of not having completed the study assigned to it.

26. In the circumstances, the Belgian delegation urges other delegations to vote against this draft resolution, on which it will request a roll-call vote.

27. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the nine draft resolutions proposed by the Fourth Committee in its report [A/2608]. Those draft resolutions are contained in annexes A to I inclusive. The Assembly will vote first on the draft resolutions contained in annexes A, B and C.

The draft resolution contained in annex A was adopted by 41 votes to 4, with 5 abstentions.

The draft resolution contained in annex B was adopted by 46 votes to 9, with 5 abstentions.

The draft resolution contained in annex C was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

28. The PRESIDENT: In the draft resolution contained in annex D, we shall first vote separately on the following words in paragraph 3 of the operative part: "... or his own knowledge of appropriate information channels, or by making use of both of these sources together ...".

The words were adopted by 30 votes to 13, with 3 abstentions.

29. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution as a whole.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 52 votes to one, with 5 abstentions.

30. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on the draft resolution contained in annex E.

The draft resolution was adopted by 38 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

31. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution contained in annex F. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Costa Rica.

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

Abstaining: Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Chile, China.

The result of the vote was 29 in favour, 16 against and 14 abstentions.

The draft resolution was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

32. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions contained in annexes G, H and I.

The draft resolution contained in annex G was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

The draft resolution contained in annex H was adopted by 47 votes to none, with one abstention.

The draft resolution contained in annex I was adopted by 50 votes to none, with one abstention.

Application of Japan to become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice

[Agenda item 75]

33. The PRESIDENT: As no member wishes to speak on this item, I shall put the draft resolution submitted by Lebanon [A/L.174] to the vote.

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

Application of San Marino to become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice

[Agenda item 76]

34. The PRESIDENT: As no member wishes to speak on this item, I shall put to the vote the draft resolution proposed by Chile [A/L.175].

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

Procedural decision concerning the agenda of the meeting

Pursuant to rule 67 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss items 12, 40, 45, 41, 50, 51, 52, 48, 38 and 39 of the agenda of the General Assembly, which appeared on the agenda of the meeting.

Statement by the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee

35. Mr. AHSON (Pakistan), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, to present its reports on the items which appear on the agenda of the meeting.

36. Conscious as we of the Fifth Committee are of having slightly delayed the completion of the General Assembly's work, I shall limit myself to commenting very briefly on three of these reports, namely, those dealing with personnel policy, the supplementary estimates for the current year and the 1954 budget estimates.

37. If I may address myself in the first instance to the reports which are before the Assembly on the question of personnel policy [A/2615], and on the question of the supplementary estimates for 1953 [A/2624], it might be pointed out that the discussion of these matters occupied almost half of the Committee's total number of meetings. The fact that the Committee was able to examine the complex and controversial issues which these questions presented in so thorough and searching a manner, in spite of the unavoidably late submission of basic documentation, will, I trust, be accepted as convincing evidence that the Fifth Committee has fulfilled the task assigned to it in a responsible and conscientious manner.

38. May I stress the fact that the Committee's reports on these important items had to be prepared somewhat hastily and that they do not therefore purport to review in full detail the many opinions expressed or positions taken by the various delegations. The reports should therefore be read in conjunction with the official records of the Committee's deliberations for a full understanding and appreciation of many important considerations which entered into its debates, in the light of which the decisions were finally taken.

39. I am happy to report that the draft resolutions which the Fifth Committee is recommending to the General Assembly for adoption, as they relate both to the general question of personnel policy and to the complex and difficult issues arising as a result of recent awards made by the Administrative Tribunal, reflect a wide measure of agreement, as will be observed

from the fact that the Committee's decisions were adopted, in virtually all instances, by substantial majorities.

40. The attention of the General Assembly is especially invited to the three draft resolutions which appear in document A/2615 and which relate respectively to recommendations of the Fifth Committee for amendments to the staff regulations of the United Nations, to the Statute of the Administrative Tribunal, and to a proposal adopted unanimously under which the General Assembly, at its tenth session, would review the staff regulations as a whole, as well as the principles and standards progressively developed and applied by the Secretary-General in their implementation.

41. Permit me also to call special attention, in document A/2624, to the important draft resolution A, under the terms of which the General Assembly would submit two legal questions to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion.

42. Turning now to the report on the budget estimates for the financial year 1954 [A/2622], I would call attention to the fact that the gross budget recommended for the approval of the General Assembly amounts to \$47,827,110. This recommendation also represents the result of a sustained and searching examination, in the course of some thirty meetings, of the budget estimates as proposed by the Secretary-General and reviewed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

43. I feel that I must, at this point, express, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, its high appreciation of the help which it received from the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. The Committee received in all some thirty-six reports from the Advisory Committee covering the whole range of administrative activities of the United Nations which have a direct bearing upon the budget. Without the detailed and searching analysis which the Advisory Committee conducted upon individual estimates, which entailed a very heavy workload for its members throughout the duration of the current session, the task of the Fifth Committee would have been immeasurably increased.

44. Making allowance for adjustments necessitated by the Assembly's approval of supplementary estimates for the financial year 1953 for miscellaneous income, and for the surrender, in accordance with the financial regulations, of appropriations voted in previous years, the actual net figure upon which the contributions of Member States will be assessed during the year 1954 is \$41,300,000. Members may wish to note—with satisfaction, I believe—that the actual assessment figures for the year 1954 will therefore be some \$2,900,000 less than it was for the year 1953. The Secretary-General has foreshadowed the possibility of further savings on the appropriations at the level now recommended.

45. In this connexion, I would invite the attention of the Assembly particularly to paragraph 38 of the report. The question of further possible savings is bound up with the whole matter of an appropriate reorganization of the Secretariat, regarding which Members have expressed emphatically their interest during recent years. The Fifth Committee has expressed its full confidence in the ability of the Secretary-General to attain the desired measure of improve-

ment in the internal structure and administrative processes of the Secretariat. The Committee well understands the difficulties which have to be overcome in reconciling the needs of the work to be performed with those standards of efficiency and economy which the General Assembly has insistently and rightly demanded. But it is confident that a happy and satisfactory solution will be found to this very difficult administrative task.

46. Apart from the budget, in support of which the Committee recommends the Assembly's approval of draft resolutions A, B and C of its report, the Committee discussed a number of other matters having administrative significance and a direct bearing upon the level of current and future appropriations. I would draw representatives' attention particularly to the Committee's conclusions on documentation which are set out in paragraphs 14 to 16 inclusive of its report. These conclusions provide the reasons why the Committee now requests the Assembly, as proposed in draft resolution D, to reaffirm its resolution 593 (VI), concerning the control and limitation of documentation, in the belief that a joint co-operative endeavour of all Members of the United Nations and the Secretariat will provide the best possible approach to the dual problem of eliminating unnecessary expenditure while, at the same time, ensuring that the quality of publications bearing the imprint of the United Nations is maintained at a level commanding universal respect.

47. The Assembly's attention is also invited to the need, in the Committee's view, of adhering strictly to the fixed pattern of conferences which the General Assembly approved at its last session in its resolution 694 (VII). The Committee's conclusions upon this question are set out in paragraphs 17 to 21 of its report, and it is upon the basis of these conclusions that the Committee recommends draft resolution E to the General Assembly for its consideration and adoption.

48. The matters dealt with in the remaining reports now before this Assembly do not, I believe, present any special problems. In most instances the recommendations made by the Fifth Committee were reached unanimously and will, I trust, command a wide measure of support in the Assembly.

49. With the presentation of these reports, the work of the Fifth Committee for the eighth session is complete. The Committee has worked strenuously during the last few days and few weeks. It has come to its conclusions only after most careful and considered discussions, and its members have conducted those discussions always with a sense of high responsibility and in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding of each other's point of view. I am privileged to present these conclusions to the General Assembly for its earnest consideration and approval.

Report of the Economic and Social Council (concluded)

[Agenda item 12]

CHAPTER IX: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2623)

50. The PRESIDENT: No action appears to be called for in connexion with the report of the Fifth Committee [A/2623] relating to chapter IX of the report of the Economic and Social Council. If there is

no objection, I shall consider that the General Assembly has taken note of the report of the Fifth Committee.

It was so decided.

CHAPTERS I, VI, VII AND VIII

51. The PRESIDENT: Representatives will recall that, at the 435th meeting, the Assembly decided to deal with this item directly in plenary meeting, without reference to a Committee. The Assembly has already received and acted upon the reports of the Main Committees to which the relevant chapters of the report of the Economic and Social Council were referred. There appears to be no specific action required of the Assembly in connexion with the chapters of the report which are before it this afternoon. If representatives do not wish to speak on this subject, and if there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly has taken note of chapters I, VI, VII and VIII of the report under this item. With the completion of this item, therefore, the General Assembly will have taken note of the report of the Economic and Social Council as a whole.

It was so decided.

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly: (c) Board of Auditors; (d) Investments Committee; (e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal: reports of the Fifth Committee (A/2561, A/2560 and A/2618)

[Agenda item 40]

The draft resolutions contained in the reports were adopted without objection.

52. The PRESIDENT: I should like to point out to the Assembly that item 40, as originally included in the agenda, provided for appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee. Inasmuch as no vacancy has occurred in that committee, no action has been required by the General Assembly in this connexion.

Administrative and budgetary co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2619)

[Agenda item 45]

The draft resolution contained in the report was adopted without objection.

Headquarters of the United Nations: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2614)

[Agenda item 41]

The draft resolution contained in the report was adopted by 55 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Staff regulations of the United Nations. Question of a probationary period: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2613)

[Agenda item 50]

The draft resolution contained in the report was adopted without objection.

Personnel policy: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2615)

[Agenda item 51]

53. Mr. VIGNALE (Uruguay): The Uruguayan delegation feels obliged to express once again—and for the last time at this eighth session of the General Assembly—its views regarding the revision of the staff regulations. As we said in the Fifth Committee, we do not make an issue of persons but of principles. What has been and is our standard in Uruguay should be—and is—the fundamental principle which we uphold in the United Nations.

54. We consider that some of the changes made in regulation 9.1 (a) give the Secretary-General powers of discretion which, in our opinion, exceed what we have always upheld in this matter. We are not talking about any arbitrary action or injustice, but we do consider that some of these changes might open the way for possible arbitrary action and injustice.

55. We said at the time, and we repeat it now, that legislation is not made on the basis of proper names or of persons, by which we mean that we do not consider that there is even the shadow of a doubt regarding the activities of the present Secretary-General, who enjoys our absolute confidence by virtue of his personal background and of his achievements to date in carrying out his difficult and complicated duties. But we are not making rules for the present alone, nor can we assume that officials will hold office for ever, for there are laws which govern our lives and destinies to which there are no exceptions.

56. We therefore voted against anything which might involve additional discretionary powers, because, although they may be used with admirable prudence today, we do not know what may happen in the future, and also because, in our view, any discretionary power involves a danger to the rights and safeguards of United Nations officials.

57. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolutions I, II and III contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/2615].

Draft resolution I was adopted by 50 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 50 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution III was adopted unanimously.

Question of a change in the opening date of regular sessions of the General Assembly: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2620)

[Agenda item 52]

The draft resolution contained in the report was adopted unanimously.

Organization of the Secretariat: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2625)

[Agenda item 48]

58. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In his report [A/2554], the Secretary-General indicates only the general trend of his policy with regard to the reorganization of the Secretariat and asks the General Assembly to express its opinion and to give instructions so that in 1954 he may carry this reorganization into

practical effect. In paragraph 27 of his report, the Secretary-General states that as a first step in this direction he intends by the proposed reorganization to achieve a reduction in the over-all budget of the Secretariat of the United Nations during the coming fiscal year, 1954.

59. The delegation of the Soviet Union and a number of other delegations have drawn the attention of the Secretary-General at this session of the General Assembly as they did at the last, to the need for reviewing the organizational pattern of the Secretariat and, in particular, the structure and functions of the Department of Economic Affairs, the Department of Social Affairs and the Technical Assistance Administration, as well as ways of co-ordinating their activities. The desire has also been expressed that duplication in the work of the Secretariat should be avoided. As we know, a rational and economic use of funds depends mainly on how well the work of the Secretariat and the other organs of the United Nations is organized. We are aware that the Secretary-General will have a hard task ahead of him in carrying out a radical reorganization of the Secretariat.

60. The delegation of the Soviet Union agrees in principle with the measures proposed by the Secretary-General, and outlined in part III of his report, for a modification of the organizational pattern of the Secretariat. These provide for the abolition of the Department of Administrative and Financial Services and the merging of the Department of Economic Affairs with the Department of Social Affairs, as well as for other changes in the organization of the Secretariat. The USSR delegation wishes to say, in this connexion, that the implementation of these measures should lead to a thorough review of the whole structure of the various departments of the Secretariat from top to bottom, with a view to making its cumbersome apparatus less heavy and thereby rendering it more flexible, and to achieving a significant reduction in operational expenditure, in conformity with the repeated recommendations of the Advisory Committee and the opinions voiced by many delegations in the Fifth Committee.

61. With regard to the Secretary-General's recommendations in part IV of his report, on the modification of the central organization of the Secretariat at its top levels, the delegation of the Soviet Union would like to point out that it is opposed to the adoption of these recommendations unless substantial amendments are introduced to them.

62. In paragraphs 21 and 22 of his report, the Secretary-General recommends that the posts of Assistant Secretaries-General and of Principal Directors should be abolished and that in their place there should be created a new grade of Under-Secretaries whose responsibilities would be essentially administrative. In this connexion, the Secretary-General points out that such a reorganization would change the basis of the Secretariat at its top levels. The organization of the Secretariat, laid down, as we know, in 1946, included Assistant Secretaries-General with the highest responsibilities.

63. It is well known that during the meetings of the Preparatory Commission, and during the first part of the first session of the General Assembly, an agreement was reached that five Assistant Secretaries-General were to be appointed from those Member

States of the United Nations which were permanent members of the Security Council and three from other Members of the Organization on the basis of wide geographical representation. That agreement was the basis for the General Assembly resolution [13 (I)] of 13 February 1946 on the organization of the Secretariat, by which the Secretary-General is authorized to appoint the Assistant Secretaries-General and such other officials and employees as are required and to prescribe their responsibilities and duties. Assistant Secretaries-General were to have responsibility for and supervision of departments and services. Further, in part III of that resolution it is provided as follows:

"In accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 101 of the Charter, appropriate methods of recruitment should be established in order that a staff may be assembled which is characterized by the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity, due regard being also paid to its recruitment on as wide a geographical basis as possible."

The Secretary-General's recommendations regarding the abolition of the posts of Assistant Secretaries-General, which have been under study by the Fifth Committee, infringe the afore-mentioned agreement as well as General Assembly resolution 13 (I), though these have been confirmed by the established practice of the United Nations Secretariat.

64. The Secretary-General himself, in paragraph 3 of his report, observes the following:

"The Secretariat so organized has now been in operation for nearly eight years. In many respects it has functioned smoothly and effectively."

65. In view of what I have said, the Soviet Union delegation is against the adoption of the Secretary-General's recommendation regarding the abolition of the posts of Assistant Secretaries-General, on the grounds that these recommendations infringe the agreement reached in 1946, when the Organization was set up, among the Member States of the United Nations, in regard to the holders of the highest posts in the Secretariat, and in regard to the principle of their recruitment, in conformity with Article 101 of the Charter, on as wide a geographical basis as possible. For these reasons the delegation of the Soviet Union will vote against the draft resolution on this question submitted by the Fifth Committee.

66. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Fifth Committee [A/2625].

The draft resolution was adopted by 53 votes to 5.

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1953: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2624) [Agenda item 38]

67. Mr. HOPPENOT (France) (*translated from French*): Throughout the serious and sometimes distressing debate in the Fifth Committee on the payment of compensation granted by the Administrative Tribunal to staff members terminated by the Secretary-General, the French delegation was guided only by the desire to safeguard the principles of law which, it feels, govern this problem, to ensure respect for the international civil service, as defined in the Charter, and, lastly, to protect the acquired rights of Secretariat

members as derived both from their staff regulations and from their contracts with the United Nations.

68. There is no need for me to recall the reasons why the French delegation feels that the Administrative Tribunal's decisions should be regarded as final and not subject to appeal, and that the Assembly is legally and morally bound to see that they are carried out. Those reasons were set forth in the Fifth Committee by the French representative with what all delegations which heard him must, I feel, admit was courtesy and moderation. They are based on principles which have, for centuries, governed the conception of public and private law in France and which French jurists have taught to some younger nations. The French delegation was gratified to find that the majority of delegations joined with it in affirming those principles, although not always in giving them the practical effect which the French delegation thought they should legitimately be given.

69. When the debate was drawing to an end, a draft resolution was introduced in the Fifth Committee by the delegations of the United Kingdom, Canada and Colombia, requesting an opinion from the International Court of Justice on the Assembly's right to reverse the Tribunal's findings. That move showed a perfectly understandable desire for conciliation on the part of the sponsors of the draft resolution. They had upheld the competence of the Tribunal; however, taking into account the differing views put forward by the minority, they agreed that the Court should be asked for an opinion on the dispute. They did so with no doubt in their minds—I believe—that, if the Court upheld the argument of the majority, the Assembly would unanimously agree to provide the Secretary-General with the financial resources required to give effect to the Tribunal's ruling.

70. In the same spirit of consideration and friendship for the members of the minority, the French delegation examined the draft resolution. While it remained firmly convinced that the normal course for the Assembly would have been simply to endorse the Tribunal's decisions, it did not refuse to join in seeking an honourable compromise. But the three-Power text, which it had had no part in drafting, seemed to have certain defects, certain gaps. To correct those omissions, the French delegation submitted two amendments. One of them affected only the wording, and I shall not enlarge upon it. The other affected the substance; the Court would be asked, in the event that it defined the grounds which, in its view, would justify the Assembly in disregarding the Tribunal's decisions, whether those grounds were applicable to the eleven cases on which the Tribunal had ruled. The French delegation considered it desirable that the application to those cases of the general grounds which the Court might give should not provoke another debate in the Assembly, and that the Court itself should be asked to make the practical deductions relevant to the cases in question from whatever principles it might have formulated.

71. The French delegation was sorry that the majority of the Committee did not endorse that course of action. At least it did have the satisfaction that the United Kingdom, Canada and Colombia voted in favour of the amendment; that showed that France, in submitting the amendment, had not departed from the spirit of conciliation which had moved the three

sponsors of the draft which France had merely sought to improve.

72. The French delegation also considered it desirable that, if the Court's opinion should uphold the validity of the Tribunal's decisions, the Secretary-General should be authorized to give them effect immediately. Justice and humaneness appeared to dictate such a decision, for the appeal to the International Court of Justice for an opinion seemed to be wholly justified only if that opinion, should it uphold the Tribunal's authority, was unanimously accepted, precluding the possibility of reconsidering the findings made and of prolonging the waiting period of the staff members involved for another year or more.

73. The amendment France submitted to that effect was not adopted by the majority of the Committee, and the French delegation deeply regrets this. Apparently some of those who rejected it intended thereby to reserve the right of reopening debate in the Assembly next year, whereas the only basic justification for the appeal to the Court was that everyone would accept the ruling on the case given on two occasions. The French delegation was rather sad to find the majority of the Committee yielding to considerations which, in its view, have nothing to do with law and equity and which, unfortunately, were always in the background of the debate. It would indeed be a bad omen for the United Nations if, in a debate of this kind, arguments developed behind the scenes, and deriving their weight from considerations other than those of law and justice, were to be superimposed on the legal arguments, which are the only relevant ones and the only ones put forth in open meeting. In dealing with a problem in which not only a *res judicata* but also the principle of the separation of powers and the protection of the international civil service are at stake, every delegation should decide only as its conscience dictates and not according to the political expediency of the moment. For its part, the French delegation has not swerved from that straight path.

74. France does not intend to reintroduce the amendment to the draft resolution originally submitted by three Powers which was rejected by the Fifth Committee. It will vote for the draft submitted by the Committee despite the deficiencies it still finds in it, in the hope that, by endorsing it, the great majority of the members of the Assembly will not consider it a means of escaping or postponing their responsibilities, but rather will assume those responsibilities without dissent and without yielding to fresh attempts at diversion, once the Court has given its opinion.

75. In conclusion, may I express the wish that the course of this debate will not have an unfavourable effect on the satisfactory development which has been taking place for the past eight months in all matters affecting the staff of the Secretariat. Since he took office, our new Secretary-General has been assiduously and successfully engaged in resolving the particularly serious crisis besetting the staff. As soon as he arrived, the darkest clouds were swept away. He inherited a great burden, and attacked all the difficulties with a tact, integrity, courage and sense of his international responsibilities which we should commend. It is the duty of all of us to assist him in that task, and it is in that spirit that my delegation tried to support him in the preparation and adoption of the amendments to the staff regulations. The spirit of confidence and

co-operation which he has been able to re-establish between himself and the staff is a basic factor in the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations. Correspondingly there must be equal confidence and equal co-operation in the relations between the Secretary-General and the Assembly and delegations. We must jealously guard against encroaching on the exercise of the specific responsibilities which the Charter has conferred upon him. We must assist him in all his efforts to preserve the freedom of action and respect of our institutions and courts and the independence and integrity of the international civil service from pressure from within or without. That is one of the considerations which prompted the French delegation throughout the debate, and it was not our fault that the conclusion of the debate was not more in conformity with those principles.

76. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico): The Mexican delegation wishes briefly to reiterate the reasons why, much to its regret, it was compelled to vote against the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Canada, Colombia and the United Kingdom, proposing to submit to the International Court of Justice certain legal questions relating to the implementation by the General Assembly of the decisions handed down by the Administrative Tribunal, which granted compensation to certain staff members of the United Nations.

77. In our statement in the Fifth Committee on 7 December, we made it quite clear that we did not oppose the request for an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, provided that such a request referred exclusively to the question whether or not, in the specific cases under discussion, the Administrative Tribunal had acted within the limits of its competence.

78. We expressed the view that to submit to the Court abstract questions such as those put in the draft resolution submitted by the three delegations, so far from bringing about a practical solution, would probably cause greater difficulties.

79. We need only add to what we said in the Fifth Committee that, as experience has shown in matters so well known that there is no need to refer to them, nothing is gained by putting questions to the Court which the Court could not, in view of their very terms, decide by a categorical "yes" or "no", and would therefore have to be subsequently interpreted, analysed and discussed in order to see whether the particular case did or did not come within the general rules enunciated in the Court's opinion.

80. That is why my delegation considers that the procedure adopted, instead of dispelling the present confusion, may increase it and thus give rise to further distressing discussions on the same matter at future sessions.

81. Mr. VIGNALE (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to explain its vote on draft resolution A contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/2624].

82. Our position with respect to the findings of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal is unchanged. From the outset, we have maintained that the Tribunal's findings are final and without appeal. We repeat that the Tribunal simply applied the rules and regulations in force at the time when it was asked to apply them, and, in case there is any doubt on the matter,

still in force when the Tribunal reached its decisions. That is fully in accordance with the point raised by the United States delegation in 1949, when it was seeking to ensure that the Assembly should not some day find itself faced with a series of decisions by the Tribunal ordering the payment of indemnities solely as the result of a decision by the Assembly to revise salaries and allowances.

83. We maintain, as we did in the Fifth Committee, that the whole background to the establishment of the Administrative Tribunal goes to prove that it is a judicial organ, that, consequently, the legislative and political body which established it cannot review its findings and decisions based on its Statute, and that accordingly the General Assembly cannot review the Tribunal's decisions.

84. The ideal course would have been to admit the validity of the findings and to vote the necessary funds to give effect to them. That, unfortunately, was not possible. My delegation therefore voted for the draft resolution put forward by Canada, Colombia and the United Kingdom, requesting an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, but we did not for one moment depart from the position which, in our sincere opinion and belief, should be the inflexible rule, namely, respect for the Tribunal's decisions, because that is the way to achieve the purposes for which that body was created and the only means of reaffirming those fundamental principles of law which the United Nations, more than any other body, is in duty bound to respect, and also the only method of ensuring the permanent safeguards for the United Nations staff which the Tribunal and its Statute, both in the letter and the spirit, were created to provide.

85. Mr. THORSING (Sweden): On behalf of my delegation, I beg to make a short statement regarding its attitude on the request for an advisory opinion by the International Court of Justice on some legal questions in connexion with the awards made by the Administrative Tribunal. We have no doubt that draft resolution A is a child of much thought of a political as well as of a juridical order. If, nevertheless, my delegation finds itself unable to vote for it, the explanation is that we are greatly disturbed by some views expressed in the Fifth Committee in regard to this whole problem.

86. To judge from the declarations in that Committee, it seemed, however, that a majority of the members, some of whom represent countries with time-honoured independent judiciary systems, favoured a clear-cut decision in support of the awards of the Tribunal. There were other delegations, constituting a minority, which opposed these awards. And there were those which, for political or other reasons, favoured recourse to the Court for legal guidance.

87. However, after having most conscientiously considered all the reasons advanced by these delegations, we have not thought it consonant with our views on principle to follow suit. To my delegation, there has been no doubt as to the finality of these judgments and consequently, as I declared in the Fifth Committee, we have not felt any need of asking for juridical guidance.

88. If, nevertheless, we abstained in the Fifth Committee from casting our vote against the proposal to seek an opinion from the International Court of

Justice, we did so in a spirit of conciliation and with the wish to contribute to the harmonizing of our actions. We shall act in the same way here so as to contribute, in our small way, to the prevention of the development of a situation of political asperity.

89. Mr. PERRY (New Zealand): Throughout the discussion of this item, my delegation has taken the position that the correct course is for the General Assembly to appropriate the sums required for the payment of the awards of the Administrative Tribunal. However, in the prevailing conflict of legal opinion, my delegation agreed in principle to the reference of disputed legal points to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. Unfortunately, the questions to be put to the Court seemed to us not to include those the answer to which would, in our view, be most helpful to the General Assembly. In the Committee, therefore, our delegation felt unable to give its support to draft resolution A, once the French amendment, which we felt made good its defect, had been defeated. However, the decision of the Fifth Committee was favourable to the reference in its present terms.

90. My delegation, which has always favoured in principle the consultation of the International Court of Justice on disputed legal matters, feels that it cannot withhold its assent in this final vote before the General Assembly. We shall accordingly vote in favor of both the draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee under this item.

91. The PRESIDENT: I request the Assembly to vote first on draft resolution A submitted by the Fifth Committee [A/2624]. The vote will be by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Afghanistan, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg.

Against: Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: Nicaragua, Paraguay, Sweden, Turkey, United States of America, Yugoslavia, Australia, China, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mexico.

The draft resolution was adopted by 41 votes to 6, with 13 abstentions.

92. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution B.

The draft resolution was adopted by 52 votes to 5.

Budget estimates for the financial year 1954: report of the Fifth Committee (A/2622)

[Agenda item 39]

93. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The USSR delegation wishes to explain its vote on the budget

estimates for 1954. The USSR delegation will vote against the appropriations for 1954 for the reasons which I shall proceed to give.

94. The Fifth Committee proposes in its report that the budget estimates for 1954 should be approved in the amount of \$47,827,110, and this shows that the United Nations expenditure on the main parts of the budget is steadily increasing from year to year. It should be noted that, during the past four years, from 1950 to 1954 inclusive, the total budget of the United Nations has increased by \$7 million, of which over \$4 million can be attributed to increased appropriations for one part of the budget estimates alone—the United Nations Headquarters. During the past seven years, United Nations expenditures have more than doubled; such a situation is clearly inadmissible and shows that there has been uneconomical spending of United Nations funds. Rational and economical expenditure of United Nations funds depends primarily on the proper organization of the work of the Secretariat and of the other United Nations organs.

95. When the budget estimates for 1954 were discussed in the Fifth Committee, the USSR delegation cited ample data showing that the increased estimates proposed by the Secretary-General for an unduly inflated Secretariat were quite unjustified. According to the Advisory Committee, a total of 4,137 posts is planned for all departments of the United Nations, which is one and a half times the number of staff employed by the United Nations in 1947. Moreover, this figure does not include consultants, the large number of persons working under special contracts and the staff included in the section entitled "temporary assistance". In all, there are approximately 5,000 persons working for the United Nations. General staff expenditure constitutes almost three-fourths of the budget estimates and it grows with every year. In the USSR delegation's opinion, there is every justification for reducing the appropriations for Secretariat expenditure considerably.

96. One major reason why the budget expenditures of the United Nations are so enormous is that a large part of its funds are used for purposes other than those for which they were appropriated. Thus the budget estimates for 1954 provide for approximately \$3,400,000 for the maintenance of such organs as the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners of War, the so-called Field Service and similar bodies which were set up in violation of the Charter. The USSR delegation objected in the past and still objects to any appropriations for the maintenance of illegal bodies set up in violation of the United Nations Charter.

97. Lastly, the system of double taxation which has continued in respect of a large number of staff members, in particular United States citizens, must be abolished. Notwithstanding the resolution [22 (I)] which the General Assembly adopted requesting Member States to exempt nationals employed by the United Nations from the payment of national income tax, the question has still not been settled. As a result, in 1953, Member States of the United Nations have had to pay into the United States Treasury about \$1,800,000 in the form of income taxes of United States nationals, and this amount will be increased by a further \$400,000 to \$450,000 with the coming into force of the United States Immigration and Nationality

Act of 1952. The USSR delegation considers that such payment to the United States Treasury by Member States of the United Nations is unjust, and that the General Assembly should take steps to put an end to this injustice.

98. My delegation considers that the appropriations for 1954, taking into account miscellaneous income, should not exceed \$35 million net. This sum is amply sufficient for the Secretariat to do the work assigned to it.

99. The USSR delegation voted against the approval of the budget estimates for 1954 because they are inflated and not justified by the actual requirements of the United Nations. It also voted against the draft resolution relating to the Working Capital Fund for 1954, which provides that the Working Capital Fund shall be increased from \$20 million to \$21,500,000 by transfers from surplus account from preceding years. We believe that there is no justification for increasing the Working Capital Fund above \$20 million, the amount previously set by the General Assembly. If the funds were used more carefully, a Working Capital Fund of \$20 million would be more than sufficient for the regular work of the United Nations, and there is consequently no reason for increasing this fund.

100. For these reasons, the USSR delegation will vote against the appropriations for 1954, as proposed in the Fifth Committee's report.

101. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to vote on draft resolutions A to E submitted by the Fifth Committee [A/2622].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 53 votes to 5.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 50 votes to 5, with one abstention.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 52 votes to 5.

Draft resolution D was adopted unanimously.

Draft resolution E was adopted unanimously.

Suspension of the eighth session of the General Assembly

102. The PRESIDENT: We have now reached the end of our labours, covering several weary months, and it remains for me to thank you.

103. My first thought is one of sincere gratitude to all of you for the courtesy you have shown me throughout the session. You have displayed great forbearance and made large allowance for my own deficiencies. No amount of national parliamentary experience quite equips one for this task of presiding over sixty plenipotentiaries of sovereign States. That is only a reflection of the fact that this Assembly itself is a unique institution. It is a forum for the statement of national policies and often the arena of sharp conflicts in our attempts to reach agreement by debate. Representing as it does the collective conscience of mankind, it proceeds like all legislatures to decide by votes, but the value of Assembly decisions depends on willing, wholehearted agreement and not on the number of votes cast.

104. From the agenda it would appear that the same problems face us year after year, but we must remember that many of these are human problems which are inherent in the crisis of our times and cannot be resolved in a single debate. We should not be dis-

couraged by the seeming obstinacy of these international issues and the delays in their solution. The purpose of the United Nations is not only to solve specific international disputes, but to lead mankind into a new age of constructive co-operation for the common good of all peoples everywhere. To this task the present Assembly has made a contribution—not spectacular, perhaps, but adequate for greater success in the coming months and years.

105. In this, as in previous sessions, many decisions of the Assembly have been, in effect, a restatement of earlier recommendations. Though we must all work to achieve definitive, positive results, we must not belittle the value of these resolutions. Through these reaffirmations, repeated urgings and recommendations, renewed from year to year, the international community is evolving its character and personality.

106. From my vantage point as presiding officer, I have seen time and again how earnestly great Powers and small have tried to achieve a real meeting of minds. If sometimes these efforts have resulted in a statement or a resolution which only marks time, they have, at least, paved the way for new approaches and for understanding at a future date. Historically, nothing could be more important, for it is clear that unless we learn, step by step, to develop a world perspective, there is no future for mankind.

107. Yesterday [470th meeting] we had the privilege of listening to President Eisenhower making the affirmation of mankind's desperate need for unity, understanding and constructive co-operation. Here was a man who is recognized as one of the greatest soldiers of our time picturing the certain destruction of mankind if it cannot pull away resolutely and at once from the edge of the abyss. It is my hope that this Assembly will have the opportunity of similarly listening to the counsel of other personalities equally concerned with the great issues that face us—more particularly the issues of peace and disarmament. I would like to mention in this connexion the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union and the French Prime Minister. I feel sure the names I mention are in the minds of all of you and that I merely reflect your thoughts.

108. By the Assembly's resolution [716 (VIII)] passed yesterday, you have entrusted me with great responsibility and at the same time done me the honour of reaffirming your confidence in me. The resolution vests in me as President the responsibility of taking the initiative of calling you together if developments in regard to Korea warrant it. I give you the solemn assurance that I will devote the earnest attention to this matter which the gravity of the problem demands. It will be my duty to seek your concurrence to the decision I reach in the matter of reconvening the Assembly. I am confident that I shall not seek that concurrence in vain should the need arise.

109. I should like to express my thanks to that vast band of workers, seen and unseen, who have ministered to our needs during the session. To the brilliant group of interpreters and translators who have made it possible for us to understand each other I send a special word of gratitude.

110. We depart under a continuing shadow of conflict, but let us carry away with us at this season of peace and good will the eternal hope for a better world.

111. Mr. COTE (Canada): Although we are only recessing and not adjourning our present session, some of us may not be returning to New York for our further discussion on the Korean item.

112. For this reason, I, for one, should like to take this opportunity of expressing the great appreciation of the Canadian delegation for the manner in which you, Madam President, have discharged your high office as President of this session. As my own delegation has good reason to know, the person who presides over an Assembly of sixty nations, considering close to 100 items, accepts a heavy responsibility. This you have discharged with queenly grace and unquestionable impartiality. In so doing, you have assisted us in our efforts to reach agreement, and you have held high through these difficult weeks the flag of the United Nations.

113. I ask you to accept our admiration, our best thanks and good wishes for a restful holiday, which you richly deserve, and for a further opportunity next year to serve the cause we all have at heart.

114. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq): When you sat in your chair for the first time after having been elected President of this Assembly, I looked to the rostrum and wondered how times had changed. Many of us could not have hoped in our wildest dreams that an Asian woman would one day rise to this august position—yet it has come to pass. It has come to pass because you and other women like you have broken the shackles of centuries and risen to higher levels. You have, by sheer ability and dedication, attained the honour which has given you and your country—as, indeed, the whole continent of Asia—legitimate pride and delight. And what a change in that great continent itself! In a mere twenty years—a glimmer in the eyes of history—that vast continent, which includes the Middle East, has been completely transformed, and it will one day come fully into its own, as its human and material resources have hardly yet been tapped.

115. You, Madam President, symbolize that great change. In you have met both our old Oriental traditions and our new craving for a respectable place in the world. For the first time this Assembly has had for a President a woman who is a tribute to womanhood, and although feminine emancipation has rendered men no more able to call women their own, the sacrifice seems to be worth it in a world that has no more use for any type of discrimination. With what ability, with what tact and understanding, with what fairness and justice you have presided over our proceedings, we all bear testimony. No words could adequately express my delegation's admiration. You will live in the annals of the United Nations as having served it well, and you will live in our hearts, as only you, with your proverbial charm and ability, can live in people's hearts. You have every reason to be proud of your record and we have every reason to be proud of you.

116. Your work, Madam President, has been facilitated to a large degree by an able and devoted Secretariat, to which we would like to pay a deserved tribute. The Organization must consider itself lucky to have as chief executive a man of the calibre of Mr. Hammarskjöld. His high-mindedness, his objectivity and intellectual powers, his zeal and sense of responsibility, have made him a matchless administrator. His contribution has been of the finest type

and we have no doubt will continue to be so. The Secretary-General, of whom this Organization can be justly proud, has captured our imagination and our hearts.

117. Madam President, it was a pleasure and an honour to work under you and with you and we retain the best memories of you and of the Secretary-General.

118. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): Madam President, I am sorry that the position of the rostrum does not allow me to face you, because I should like to be able to address you personally. Your presence in the chair will have imbued this session with a special quality, which is due not only to your personal charm, but also to your insight and strength of mind. The exceptional prestige which you have so well earned is undoubtedly due to that mixture of charm and mental vigour.

119. As Chairman of one of the Main Committees, I had the honour of taking part in the meetings to which you called us each week. The charming simplicity with which you presided over those meetings and the team spirit with which you inspired us will be one of the most cherished memories of my career.

120. I ask you, Madam President, to accept our respectful gratitude and our wishes for your happiness.

121. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, the leaders of the delegations of the Latin-American republics have done me the honour of asking me to act as their spokesman in paying you, with our respects, a warm and sincere tribute and expressing to you our gratitude for your masterly conduct of our proceedings.

122. You are an example of the happy combination of the simplicity of greatness and the greatness of a profound and disciplined mind. If your beauty and breeding were not sufficient to subdue the most unruly among us, then your gently spoken admonitions and your experienced and prudent guidance were at hand to dispel the storm clouds that arose in our tempestuous debates.

123. The presidential chair has been magnificently graced by the exalted virtues of your people coupled with your own inborn nobility and womanly charm. Thanks to the cinema and television, not only this Assembly but the peoples even in the farthest corners of the earth have been captured by your prodigious gifts and by your soft-spoken counsels and exhortations. Your leadership, conspicuous in your musical voice, exalted thought and gracious dignity, has been a source of renewed strength and enhanced prestige to our Organization, so often despised and sometimes slandered.

124. I beg you to accept the sincere homage of the Latin-American countries, and our most fervent good wishes for the health, prosperity and happiness of yourself, your illustrious family and your greatly admired people.

125. Mr. ABDEL-RAZEK (Egypt) (*translated from French*): On behalf of my Government and of the Egyptian delegation, it is my very pleasant duty, Madam President, to pay our most respectful tribute to you and to express our most sincere gratitude. We have not only admired your impartiality and your intellectual integrity, which are well known in the

United Nations, but we have also looked upon your presidency as a noble symbol of our ancient civilizations which are reawakening and advancing slowly but surely to take their proper place in the community of nations.

126. The Egyptian delegation, in its inaugural speech at the beginning of the session, expressed the hope that your presidency would be the symbol of a new era of peace, brotherhood and prosperity for the whole world. We repeat that hope, trusting that this new era will be inspired by our ancient philosophies, and in particular by the philosophy of India, which was the first to explain to the world the real meaning of the value and dignity of human life.

127. The Egyptian delegation sincerely hopes that, under your distinguished presidency, the General Assembly will very soon resume its eighth session in order to discuss the Korean question in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding, and to achieve a peaceful solution of that dispute, so that together we may put an end to human sufferings in that area of the world and to the tension which threatens world peace. This will be for you, Madam President, and for all of us, the most satisfactory event of our lifetime.

128. U MYINT THEIN (Burma): The voice of Burma is often a lone voice in the wilderness, but today I am voicing the sentiments of my Asian friends when I congratulate you, Madam President, not on the recess of the session but on the discharge of the duties of your high office, duties which you have discharged so ably and so well and to the satisfaction of the representatives who, as we are all aware, are sometimes difficult to manage. Yet, Madam President, you have handled us with grace and charm, and sometimes, when the occasion demanded it, with a firm hand.

129. In our quest for peace and in our endeavours to avert or postpone a war, we have been on the brink of abandoning hope. But after three months of this session, it is apparent that the situation can yet be retrieved. The session is about to end, and, on the whole, I venture to think it has helped to revive our hopes. It is our earnest prayer that, under your able guidance as President of this General Assembly, that hope will materialize.

130. I wish you, Madam President, all happiness and success for the future.

131. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): It is with the very greatest pleasure that I associate my delegation with all the tributes that have been paid, and which I am sure will be paid, to you, Madam President, as regards the conduct of our affairs during the period of your presidency. We are indeed delighted—and here I speak for the United Kingdom—that one member of the Commonwealth should have followed another in the presidential chair and that both should have shown such exceptional qualities in the conduct and execution of their high office.

132. To you, Madam President, we are especially grateful for your consistent tact, intelligence and discretion, as well as for the tremendous dignity which your presence has lent to our deliberations. Before your combination of firmness and charm, the customary asperity of our debates has sometimes seemed to melt away. If the eighth session of the General Assembly does not by any chance reconvene under your leadership, we shall all carry away the happiest mem-

ories of a great President and a notable presidency. It is indeed a happy augury that this part of the session should have ended on a note of hope, on that note of hope which permeated the great speech of President Eisenhower yesterday, and it is for this reason and because of your inspiring guidance during the last few months, that we shall all meet again, whenever that may be, encouraged and stimulated by our recent labours.

133. Mr. HOPPENOT (France) (*translated from French*): No delegation more sincerely endorses the remarks of the previous speakers than the French delegation. Having been vested with one of the highest international offices, you have enhanced its prestige still further by the intelligence, mastery and, if I may say so, the charm, with which you have discharged that duty. You have moved through the maze of our procedure with tact but also with firmness. You have known how to use the gavel, the symbol of your office, politely but, sometimes, forcefully. Above all, you have never deviated from the great impartiality which, from the very first, won our complete confidence and enabled you to impose your amiable authority.

134. Your country may be justly proud that the first woman elected to such high office in world history was one of its offspring. I know that no thought is dearer to you than that of the honour and prestige which you have thus conferred on your own country.

135. Please accept, Madam President, together with our admiration and gratitude, our best wishes for your personal happiness and the hope that you may long continue to serve among us and that you may perhaps again be our guide in serving the cause of harmony and peace.

136. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America): In associating myself with the others who have spoken in these last moments, I would first like to express our appreciation, Madam President, of your understanding of the words of the very great President of the United States. What he gave us in the way of hope and joy in a possibly better future rests, I know, deeply in your heart.

137. Realizing that this eighth session is not coming to an absolute end, I can readily understand that you might suddenly feel that we were all out of order. We ask you, however, not to do that, inasmuch as other delegations are taking these last moments to express their appreciation of your services as President during these arduous weeks, when representatives of most of the nations of the world have met together to discuss the many and varied problems that present themselves as we seek the road to mutual understanding, which alone leads to peace.

138. I feel certain that, like myself, you have served in your illustrious capacity as a person, not just as a woman, even though we are deeply in agreement that our womanhood in itself gives us a special responsibility and joy in our service. So it is not just as a member of this eighth session of the General Assembly that I thank you for your leadership. I would express the gratitude and appreciation of women the world over for the dignity and graciousness with which you have fulfilled your office. As a member of the United States delegation, I would express for my country appreciation of your devoted service here, extending to you our hope that your great country and ours may

grow closer in understanding, working always for peace in a free world.

139. Mr. HSIA (China): The leader of my delegation was obliged to leave the meeting early, in the first place because he has only recently recovered from illness and, secondly, because he had not expected that we would have the ceremony of farewells today. In the absence of Mr. Tsiang, however, I wish to pay, on behalf of my delegation, a sincere tribute to you, Madam President, for the dignified and gracious manner in which you have presided over this session of the Assembly and to associate my delegation with the compliments you have paid the Secretariat.

140. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union is happy to add its voice to those of the other delegations which have expressed gratitude here to our President for the really irreproachable manner in which you have presided over the difficult and important work of this eighth session of the General Assembly. We should also like to express our gratitude for the assistance which you have received throughout the present session from the Secretary-General and from his Executive Assistant, sitting on either side of you.

141. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the work of the General Assembly during the current session has been rather difficult. These difficulties could not fail to affect the results of the session which is being recessed today, to be reconvened later, if necessary, particularly for the study of the Korean problem at the appropriate time.

142. I know that what I am about to say will introduce a certain note of dissonance into the chorus of praise not only addressed to our President—who fully deserves it—but also bestowed on the work accomplished during the eighth session. In this connexion my delegation is guided by the Latin motto: *amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas*—"Plato is our friend, but truth is a greater friend".

143. The Assembly has had before it a series of extremely important and grave questions, which are undoubtedly of great international significance. The Assembly was bound to give them its most careful consideration and to settle them fairly, both in the interests of the international prestige of the General Assembly and in the interests of international peace and security. I should now like to say a few words on this matter.

144. At the very beginning of the session, my delegation raised the question of the necessity of giving the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the General Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations. My delegation cannot but consider the decision taken in this connexion by the General Assembly as yet another blow to the international prestige and authority of the General Assembly. The Assembly's refusal to meet this legitimate and just demand, and the fact that it has been content to see China, a great nation of nearly 600 million people, represented by persons who have no right whatsoever to do so, shows clearly that it is not yet able to act as a genuinely international body, carrying out an independent international policy.

145. Let us take a second question, that of measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce

international tension. The Soviet delegation, supported by a number of other delegations, proposed that the General Assembly should approve the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of strict international control to ensure observance of such prohibition. This proposal, however, was not accepted. This was the second blow to the international authority of our Assembly, a body whose purpose it is to strengthen peace and international co-operation.

146. It seems to us that it must be perfectly clear to everyone that, unless it is decided to outlaw atomic weapons unconditionally, it will be impossible to strengthen international peace and co-operation. It must also be clear that, without strict international control to ensure observance of such prohibition, there can be no assurance that atomic energy will be used only for peaceful purposes. These are two measures of capital importance which would be capable of ensuring the effective elimination of the threat of atomic warfare. The removal of that threat is the aim of the Soviet Union and should also be the aim of all peace-loving peoples; we are convinced that it is, but we should like to be sure. If nothing is done to put these important measures into effect, it will not be possible to think of reducing the destructive potential of the world's stocks of atomic energy, or to hope to find some really new way of settling the problem of prohibiting the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, as well as of other weapons of mass destruction.

147. We submitted a draft resolution concerning the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces, a draft inspired by the same considerations. There again, ours was a voice crying in the wilderness.

148. We saw the consideration of the Korean problem being systematically put off and a resolution [716 (VIII)] adopted concerning the resumption of the work of the eighth session under conditions which cannot but complicate the solution of this problem.

149. We have heard noted here with satisfaction—and with this we associate ourselves—the statement of our President, Mrs. Pandit, expressing her readiness to follow closely further developments connected with the settlement of the Korean problem, so that the General Assembly may meet when the need arises. We do not doubt that our President will be able to set the right time for reconvening the Assembly to continue the consideration of this question and to adopt the necessary decisions. But it will not be enough for the President to fulfil her duty, for, according to the resolution, the President must have the support of the majority of the Members of the United Nations. I should like, in these last minutes before the end of the current session, to express the hope that such a majority will always be found to support effective measures designed to ensure the successful holding of the political conference on Korea.

150. In connexion with the results of the present session, it must be noted that the agenda of the General Assembly at its eighth session was taken up with questions which were undoubtedly designed not to reduce international tension, but rather to increase it. Such was the question concerning prisoners of war, which was artificially and illegally introduced into the agenda, in spite of Article 107 of the Charter. Such

also was the question of forced labour, which was placed before the General Assembly for purposes of slander and provocation. The basis of the report on this was false “documents” and testimony by various *agents-provocateurs* and slanderers, some of whom were traitors to their own countries. There was also the question of atrocities, and an attempt was made to turn it into an indictment of the valiant Korean and Chinese peoples on the basis of documents which were filled with false “facts” and clearly designed further to increase international tension. These are facts which speak for themselves, and which also indicate the great difficulties which we have encountered throughout the current session.

151. These difficulties have been characteristic of the present session, but it must be said that the greater the difficulties, the greater were the merits of our President, Mrs. Pandit, who was able, tactfully and with a full realization of the responsibility weighing upon the General Assembly, to guide our debates throughout the discussions of these difficult and complicated questions.

152. My delegation asks you, Mrs. Pandit, and your colleagues, to accept the expression of its gratitude for the skill and wisdom with which you have guided our debates from our rostrum and we wish you every success in your further activities for the good of the United Nations.

153. Mr. RIZK (Lebanon): To come back to a sweeter tune, and before I am atomized or hydrogenized, permit me, Madam President, to present to you on behalf of my delegation a fragrant bouquet from the sunny shores of Lebanon. It is a fragrant bouquet, but the perfumes emanating from it are not called “*Soir de Paris*” or “*Cuir de Russie*” or “*Vol de Nuit*”. They bear such names as “Appreciation”, “Gratitude” and “Admiration”, for it is to express to you, Madam President, my delegation's heartfelt appreciation of the sober, expeditious and impartial manner in which you have presided over the deliberations of this Assembly that we are presenting this bunch of flowers to you. It is also a token of our sincere gratitude to you, Madam President, for the masterly manner in which you have guided this ship of world co-operation through the turbulent waters of politics and through the labyrinths of the economic world and the profound problems of the social sphere, as well as through the jungles of Africa and other dependent lands, through the arid and complex problems of finance and administration to the lofty task of studying the problems of the legal world.

154. Finally, the fragrance which my delegation's bouquet bears, Madam President, is that of admiration—admiration for your wisdom, your charm and your grace, qualities which have captivated the minds and hearts not only of this General Assembly but of the whole world. May I conclude these words by expressing to you our heartiest wishes for your continued success and happiness.

155. Mr. MENON (India): It is but natural that the sentiments which I have to express on behalf of my delegation should be somewhat different from those which have been expressed so many times from this rostrum. My delegation, my Government and my country are in your debt, Madam President, to an extent which is not easy to assess. We had no doubt

at all as to the performance that you would give as President of this Assembly and the confidence, respect and affection which you would create. But today, at the end of this part of the eighth session of the General Assembly, we are a proud people and a proud delegation. I am sure that in no part of the world more than in India will there be the feeling that we have done a signal service to this Assembly by allowing your name to be put forward for election as its President. The feelings of our delegation, however, are mixed. As I said at the beginning of this session, we were deprived of your guidance and your services, but our loss has been the gain of us all.

156. I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to add our support to the sentiments that have been expressed to the Secretary-General and his staff and to all those others who have made our work possible here. I should like, however, to pay a special tribute of thanks and appreciation to your many Vice-Presidents who enabled you, both in actual practice and potentially, to carry your burden.

157. We are extremely grateful to you, Madam President, and we are very proud of you.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.