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[A/3798]. I take it that it will be adopted unanimously in the General Assembly.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

4. Mr. AHMED (Sudan): My delegation wishes very briefly to explain its vote on the scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations. It is for the information of this Assembly and for the guidance of the Committee on Contributions that my delegation would like to convey its feeling on the issue under consideration.

5. We believe, in all sincerity, that the assessment of the Sudan as drawn up by the Committee on Contributions and approved by the Fifth Committee is neither fair nor reasonable. As a newly independent country, loaded with internal obligations and external commitments, we feel that the assessment fixed for us constitutes a departure from the criterion of the Committee on Contributions. It does not consider our special circumstances, it does not take much note of our financial standing and it is not in line with our ability to pay.

6. My delegation does not wish to enter into the substance of this question. We have made known our views on a number of occasions in the prolonged and heated discussion of this subject in the proper organ of this Assembly. Despite all that, we have voted in favour of the resolution in the Committee and we voted in favour of it today. Hard and painful as it may be, my country abides by the rule of the majority readily and willingly. Our only hope, however, lies in the future. The Chairman of the Committee on Contributions, Mr. Lall, has shown great understanding and appreciation of our position, for which we are grateful.

7. In conclusion, I want to emphasize that we attach great importance to the revision of the scale of assessments which is due some time next year. We do not merely express the hope that the assessment of the Sudan will be reduced; we hold the firm conviction that the Committee on Contributions will find it not merely possible and feasible, but also necessary and imperative to reduce it.

AGENDA ITEM 50

Offer by the Government of Chile of land in Santiago to be used as office site for the United Nations and other international organizations

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3799)

Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

8. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): I should simply like to take this opportunity to express again to the delegation of Chile the warm appreciation of the United Kingdom delegation of the action of the Government of Chile in offering land in Santiago for a headquarters site for the Economic Commission for Latin America. This is indeed a most generous offer; it meets a need long felt, and the United Nations is thus enabled to erect a building in Santiago in which all the United Nations bodies working there might be housed.

9. What strikes us so forcibly is not so much the fact that the offer of land is a first step towards meeting a need, although that is important enough, but rather the very fact that the offer has been made. Such an act of generosity is characteristic of the noble Chilean nation

with which my country has long-standing ties of friendship and regard. It is practical deeds of generosity such as this that give substance to our faith in this Organization of ours.

10. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): I should like to recall that in the Fifth Committee I participated in my capacity as representative of Paraguay in the discussions on the item before us.

11. I now have the satisfaction of reaffirming in this Assembly, on behalf of the Governments of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, our deep appreciation of the generous offer the Government and people of Chile have made to the United Nations in providing free of charge a site for the construction of a building for the offices of the Economic Commission for Latin America and other United Nations bodies.

12. We warmly welcome the Chilean Government's gesture because it will enable the United Nations to be physically represented in South America, thus further increasing the benefits derived from the United Nations specialized agencies established in Chile.

13. In conclusion, I should like to say that we listened to the United Kingdom representative's statement with great pleasure and deep satisfaction. We are deeply gratified by his statement which ably summed up everything that was said in the Fifth Committee.

14. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/3799].

The draft resolution was adopted by 64 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

15. The PRESIDENT: If there are no explanations of vote I should like, as President, to express the Assembly's gratitude for the generous and most useful offer of the Government of Chile.

AGENDA ITEM 51

Personnel questions:

- (a) United Nations salary, allowance and benefits system: outstanding questions from the eleventh session;
- (b) Question of the geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Question of the proportion of fixed-term staff: report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) Review of the staff regulations and of the principles and standards progressively applied thereto: report of the Secretary-General;
- (e) Proposal to amend article 9 of the Statute of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal: report of Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3797)

Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

16. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with personnel questions, the Fifth Committee has recommended the adoption of three draft resolutions in its report [A/3797] and the delegation of Bulgaria has submitted an amendment [A/L.244] to draft resolution B.

17. We shall hear explanations of vote on these draft resolutions and on the amendments.
18. Mr. GEORGIEV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The Bulgarian delegation, wishing to help solve the question of the geographical distribution of the staff of the United Nations Secretariat, is submitting amendments [A/L.244] to draft resolution B in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/3797].
19. Without taking up too much of the Assembly's time, I feel compelled to say a few words to introduce these amendments. First of all, I would remind the Assembly that somewhat similar amendments were submitted, albeit in a different form, by the Ceylonese delegation in the Fifth Committee and were not adopted. Nevertheless, we have had the temerity, if you like to call it that, to take up these amendments once again and to make what we believe are certain improvements in it.
20. Draft resolution B, in paragraph (a) of the operative part, requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to ensure the fullest possible conformity with the recommendation in paragraph 1 of resolution 1097 (XI). Our first amendment proposes the insertion of the following words at the end of paragraph (a):
- "more particularly:
- "(i) By increasing, whenever opportunity offers, the representative of nationalities with a disproportionately low representation,
- "(ii) By achieving a more equitable and wider geographical distribution of posts in the principal officer, director and under-secretary categories."
21. We believe that we are thus giving the Secretary-General guidance—more precise and specific guidance—which will make it easier for him to ensure prompt and broad application of the principle of geographical distribution laid down in the Charter.
22. What the Fifth Committee and the great majority of the delegations, which are not favoured by the present situation, wanted was precisely to emphasize these two aspects of the Secretariat's recruitment policy, and we would like a specific reference to them to be included in the draft resolution.
23. Our second amendment proposes the insertion of a new paragraph (b) which would read as follows:
- "(b) To be guided, for the achievement of the first two measures, by the principles that have been approved for the assessment of the contributions of Member States to the budget of the United Nations, provided that a minimum of three posts should be established for Member States making minimum contributions."
- The third amendment provides for the re-numbering of the present paragraph (b), which would become paragraph (c).
24. I should like to dwell for a moment on the second amendment, because a number of objections have been raised to it, even within our delegation and by other delegations from the socialist countries, the Arab countries, and the Asian and African countries. I have not had an opportunity to speak to many delegations and I regret this, but felt that ...
25. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the representative of Bulgaria that this is not an explanation of how others voted, or why they did not vote a certain way; this, with great respect to the representative of Bulgaria, is an explanation of how you are going to vote and why you are going to vote. If you will be good enough to proceed, but it is not a debate.
26. Mr. GEORGIEV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I am sorry, but I feel that I must explain this question in more detail. I did not take part in the work of the Fifth Committee and I have inherited this task from my friend, Mr. Boev, our Ambassador, who did. It is a difficult legacy. I apologize, and I shall revert directly to the question.
27. I should like to offer a few brief explanations of this amendment. I must do so because otherwise I should be unable to introduce it.
28. The PRESIDENT: The amendments are introduced. I draw the attention of the representative of Bulgaria to the fact that I want him to adhere to an explanation of vote. Those are the rules, and they must be adhered to.
29. Mr. GEORGIEV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I shall try to follow your suggestion. However, you must allow me to say a few words, otherwise there is no point in submitting amendments.
30. As I was saying, this second amendment is not a departure from the principle set forth in Article 101 (3) of the Charter. It is merely a guiding idea which we should like to give the Secretariat in order to facilitate its task in implementing the principle of geographical distribution.
31. This directive is based on the total number of members of the Secretariat appointed in accordance with the principle of geographical distribution. That number is about 1,200. Since we have that number, we already have a limit. Furthermore, we take as a point of departure a minimum of three staff members per State. In the third place, we take a scale of distribution which, starting with that minimum, increases in proportion to the contribution of Member States. Thus, within the framework of the total number of 1,200 or 1,214 staff members, each Member State would be entitled to the number of staff members corresponding to its contribution, which would be the minimum of three or a larger number.
32. I believe, moreover, that this is the procedure already followed by the Secretariat in deciding upon the geographical distribution of staff members. We wish merely to have this rule set forth explicitly. We do not believe that it will operate to the advantage of the States paying the highest contributions because the number of staff members involved—1,200—sets a limit on the number of staff members to which the States paying the highest contributions will be entitled. On the other hand, the minimum of three sets a limit in the other direction. We are adopting the same principles which we use to assess the contributions of Member States to the budget of the United Nations.
33. I believe that this is the way in which we must proceed because we must have a scale by which to determine the number of staff members from each country. Where can we find such a scale? We already have one, and it is not contrary to the spirit of the Charter or the principle of geographical distribution. It will merely facilitate the application of this principle.

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"(ii) By achieving a more equitable and wider geographical distribution of posts in the principal officer, director and under-secretary categories."

21. We believe that we are thus giving the Secretary-General guidance—more precise and specific guidance—which will make it easier for him to ensure prompt and broad application of the principle of geographical distribution laid down in the Charter.

22. What the Fifth Committee and the great majority of the delegations, which are not favoured by the present situation, wanted was precisely to emphasize these two aspects of the Secretariat's recruitment policy, and we would like a specific reference to them to be included in the draft resolution.

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The third amendment provides for the re-numbering of the present paragraph (b), which would become paragraph (c).

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31. This directive is based on the total number of members of the Secretariat appointed in accordance with the principle of geographical distribution. That number is about 1,200. Since we have that number, we already have a limit. Furthermore, we take as a point of departure a minimum of three staff members per State. In the third place, we take a scale of distribution which, starting with that minimum, increases in proportion to the contribution of Member States. Thus, within the framework of the total number of 1,200 or 1,214 staff members, each Member State would be entitled to the number of staff members corresponding to its contribution, which would be the minimum of three or a larger number.

32. I believe, moreover, that this is the procedure already followed by the Secretariat in deciding upon the geographical distribution of staff members. We wish merely to have this rule set forth explicitly. We do not believe that it will operate to the advantage of the States paying the highest contributions because the number of staff members involved—1,200—sets a limit on the number of staff members to which the States paying the highest contributions will be entitled. On the other hand, the minimum of three sets a limit in the other direction. We are adopting the same principles which we use to assess the contributions of Member States to the budget of the United Nations.

33. I believe that this is the way in which we must proceed because we must have a scale by which to determine the number of staff members from each country. Where can we find such a scale? We already have one, and it is not contrary to the spirit of the Charter or the principle of geographical distribution. It will merely facilitate the application of this principle.

I am sorry that it is not possible for me to present a more extensive defence of this position.

34. Perhaps the representative of a rich country which pays the highest contribution—for example, the representative of the United States—will object that our proposal merely formalizes the present situation with respect to the geographical distribution of the staff, and that it favours the countries which have the most staff members in the Secretariat. We might even be told that we are favouring the rich countries even more, because a standard of wealth or poverty is being taken as a basis for the geographical distribution of the staff. I believe that such an objection would be unjustified in view of the text of the improved amendment which we are submitting.

35. As I have already said, we have a minimum on the one hand and a maximum on the other. Within these limits we propose a geographical distribution corresponding to the scale of contributions of Member States. This distribution may at first sight appear arbitrary, but we cannot avoid being arbitrary if we are to take account of the interests of the geographic regions and the various countries. By using the scale of contributions of Member States, we can divide States into various categories within these limits. I even attempted, for my own benefit, to draw up a plan, and I see that it is very easy to do so. We are applying the principle of geographical distribution as set forth in Article 101 (3) and we are merely furnishing a practical guide. I should like to add, further, that our proposal in no way prejudices the other aspects of the problem.

36. I mentioned a moment ago that we had not had an opportunity to find out what other delegations thought, and I did so in order to emphasize once again that our only wish is to contribute to a solution of this thorny problem, a problem which the less favoured delegations, which are the great majority, have been anxious to solve for a long time. Without a solution of this problem, the United Nations will not entirely reflect the ideals of those delegations.

37. I regret that we were unable to have a general discussion of this question, but I understand that it is too late.

38. Mr. KLUTZNICK (United States of America): As the preceding speaker anticipated, the United States delegation will, for certain very obvious reasons, vote against the amendments [A/L.244] proposed by Bulgaria to draft resolution B.

39. At its eleventh session, this Assembly adopted resolution 1097 (XI) which gives definitive guidance to the Secretary-General in the matter of the geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat. Paragraph 1 of that resolution was very carefully worked out after full discussion. We believe that it continues to represent the views of the Assembly. The Bulgarian amendment, if adopted, would only confuse the situation.

40. Sub-paragraphs (i) and (ii), which it is proposed to add to paragraph (a) only repeat, in language which is much less clear than that embodied in last year's resolution, exactly what the resolution of the eleventh session achieved. The new paragraph (b) presents a still greater problem. With all due respect to the drafting, we doubt that any of us know what the language itself really means. We fail to see how it can serve as guidance to the Secretary-General. It apparently

attempts to impose somewhat mechanical limitations upon the Secretary-General in a matter in which we believe mechanical limitations are out of place and unworkable. The Secretary-General is already enjoined by the Charter to pay due regard to "the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible". We are not in a position either to add to or subtract from that Charter injunction. We have full confidence that the Secretary-General will continue to carry out the Charter provision to the best of his ability.

41. Accordingly, the United States delegation will vote against all of the Bulgarian amendments.

42. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) (translated from French): My delegation would like to request a separate vote on the new paragraph (b) proposed in the amendments submitted by Bulgaria. My delegation is obliged to abstain on that sub-paragraph but it can vote for the other paragraphs.

43. The PRESIDENT: As far as I am aware, there is no objection to taking that course, as requested by the representative of Syria. Indeed, I have been asked to do so by the representative of Ethiopia also.

44. Mr. ZARUBIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the geographical distribution of the staff of the United Nations Secretariat.

45. When this problem was discussed in the Fifth Committee, the Soviet delegation cited specific examples showing that the position as regards the geographical distribution of the Secretariat staff is not satisfactory. It is common knowledge that almost half of all the internationally recruited posts—not only the senior posts—are filled by nationals of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. On the other hand, more than 50 per cent of the Members of the United Nations are not represented at the senior level and hold few or no posts at the other levels of the Secretariat.

46. At its eleventh session the General Assembly adopted a resolution [1097 (XI)] on changes in the geographical distribution of the Secretariat staff. Under the terms of that resolution, the Secretary-General was, in future appointments to the staff at all levels, to give appropriate preference to nationalities which form a disproportionately small part of the Secretariat. The resolution was supported by most delegations, including the Soviet delegation. Like other delegations, we expressed our confidence that the Secretary-General, guided by that resolution, would take the necessary steps to bring about a substantial improvement in the geographical distribution of the Secretariat staff.

47. However, since that time the position has hardly improved. The Soviet delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee, requesting the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to ensure the fullest possible conformity with previous General Assembly decisions in future appointments to the staff of the Secretariat at all levels.

48. In our view, however, this draft resolution is inadequate. The Soviet delegation will therefore vote in favour of the amendments submitted by the Bulgarian delegation to draft resolution B of the Fifth Committee.

We consider that these amendments are conducive to a fair settlement of the important problem of the geographical distribution of the Secretariat staff.

49. The PRESIDENT: I think the Assembly is now in a position to proceed to the vote on draft resolution A relating to the United Nations salary allowance and benefits system contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/3797].

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

50. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution B, which deals with the geographical distribution of the staff of the United Nations. To this resolution there are the amendments proposed by the delegation of Bulgaria [A/L.244]. I have been asked to put those amendments to the vote paragraph by paragraph.

51. The first amendment proposes the insertion of sub-paragraphs (i) and (ii) at the end of paragraph (a) of the operative part of draft resolution B.

The first amendment was rejected by 35 votes to 27, with 11 abstentions.

52. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the second amendment proposing the insertion of a new paragraph (b) in draft resolution B. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ghana, Hungary, Iraq, Jordan, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Albania.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina.

Abstaining: Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Malaya (Federation of), Morocco, Nepal, Sudan, Tunisia, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan.

The second amendment was rejected by 42 votes to 18, with 19 abstentions. 1/

53. The PRESIDENT: As this amendment has been rejected, I shall not put the third amendment, which is purely consequential, to the vote.

54. The PRESIDENT: As the amendments have not been adopted, I shall now put to the vote draft resolution B, as recommended in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/3797]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

1/ After the vote had been taken, Syria informed the President that its vote should be recorded as an abstention, not as in favour of the amendment.

In favour: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaya (Federation of), Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina.

Abstaining: Cambodia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan.

The draft resolution was adopted by 74 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

55. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution C simply takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on the review of the Staff Regulations. I assume that there is no objection to the adoption of this draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 52

United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3801)

Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

56. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to draft resolutions A and B recommended by the Fifth Committee in its report on the United Nations International School [A/3801]. Since no one wishes to explain his vote on the two draft resolutions, I will put them to the vote.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 69 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 60 votes to 8, with 8 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 17

Appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (concluded)

57. The PRESIDENT: I assume that the Assembly wishes to adopt unanimously the draft resolution submitted by Brazil, India and Italy [A/L.243] concerning the terms of appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM 41

Budget estimates for the financial year 1958 (concluded)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3800)

Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

58. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain), Rapporteur of the Fifth

Committee, (translated from Spanish): I should like to express my gratitude to the General Assembly for the honour it did me in appointing me as Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee. I should like, too, to take advantage of this opportunity to thank the members of the Secretariat, who are model international civil servants, for the invaluable co-operation they have given me.

59. Mr. ZARUBIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The report of the Fifth Committee proposes an appropriation of \$55 million for 1958, which is \$4.3 million more than the amount approved by the General Assembly for 1957.

60. The estimates submitted for 1958 are the highest in the history of the United Nations; they show a systematic rise in expenditure from year to year, which, in our view is hardly justified. The General Assembly has only just approved a supplementary appropriation of \$2.4 million for 1957. This means that, allowing for approved income, the total contribution of the Members of the United Nations will amount to almost \$52 million in the coming year, or \$3 million more than the amount apportioned in 1957.

61. The annually increasing expenditure of the Organization is causing serious concern among Members. This concern is the more justified, if it is remembered that apart from financing the United Nations, Members must make considerable contributions, which are also increasing year by year, to the maintenance of various specialized agencies.

62. It is sufficient to point out that the total financial burden to be borne by Members to finance the whole machinery, including all organs of the United Nations, has during the last five years increased by 26 per cent and now amounts to more than \$100 million. Moreover, this sum does not include expenditure by Members of the United Nations on various extra-budgetary programmes amounting to something like \$80 million a year.

63. When the budget estimates for 1958 were considered in the Fifth Committee, the delegation of the Soviet Union pointed to the need to stabilize the annual expenditure of the Organization and to halt the quite unjustified increase. In the Fifth Committee, the Soviet delegation demonstrated in detail that the estimates submitted for the coming year reflected an uneconomical and inefficient use of the resources available to the United Nations. In many instances the expenditure is not justified by the Organization's real needs.

64. The main item in the 1958 budget is the expenditure on the maintenance of the Secretariat, which accounts for approximately \$35 million, or almost two-thirds of the total budget expenditure. This sum exceeds the appropriation voted by the General Assembly for 1957 by \$1.2 million.

65. In the coming year there will be 4,390 established posts in the Secretariat, or 75 more than the number approved for 1957. In addition, more than \$1 million will be spent in 1958 on temporary assistance and consultants.

66. In our view, such an increase in the size of the Secretariat and the resulting expenditure are quite unjustifiable. The United Nations Secretariat has existed for almost twelve years. During that period, its members have indubitably acquired considerable experience and great skill; if the work of the Secretar-

iat were better organized, they would be in a position to cope with the increased volume of work without any additional expenditure.

67. The estimates submitted for 1958 for the maintenance of the Secretariat can, we think, be reduced, if it is remembered that with the approval of the budget in its new form the Secretary-General has been given very wide scope.

68. From 1958 onwards, the Secretary-General will be able, firstly, to use posts and budgetary credits more flexibly, economically and rationally; secondly, to apply priorities more strictly, and thirdly, to use more rational procedures of administrative management and control.

69. As the Advisory Committee and a number of delegations in the Fifth Committee have pointed out, the possibilities afforded by the new form of the budget for substantial savings are not reflected in sufficient measure in the 1958 estimates.

70. The Soviet delegation also considers that appropriations for the United Nations information activities are uneconomically expended. For the coming year, something like \$5 million is being set aside for this item, or almost \$300,000 more than the amount approved by the General Assembly in 1957. The estimate submitted for information activities in 1958 directly conflicts with a decision of the Fifth Committee at the previous session of the General Assembly to the effect that the total expenditure on information should not be more than \$4.5 million.

71. The Soviet delegation is also compelled to state again that considerable amounts are improperly expended. Thus more than \$3 million in the budget estimates for the coming year have been allocated for such bodies as the United Nations Commission for the Rehabilitation and Unification of Korea, the Field Service and others which have been established in violation of the Charter.

72. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation voted in the Fifth Committee, and will vote in the General Assembly, against the draft appropriation resolution for 1958.

73. The PRESIDENT: I have no further speakers on my list to speak in explanation of vote, and under those circumstances I think we can proceed to the vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee in its report [A/3800].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 68 votes to 9, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution B was adopted unanimously.

Draft resolution C was adopted unanimously.

Draft resolution D was adopted unanimously.

Draft resolution E was adopted by 66 votes to 9.

Draft resolution F was adopted by 64 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.

AGENDA ITEM 58

The Cyprus question

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3794)

74. The PRESIDENT: I invite Mr. Matsch, the representative of Austria, Rapporteur of the First Com-

mittee, to present the report concerning agenda item 58. The Rapporteur of the First Committee is absent; we have, before, proceeded in his absence because the report is in the hands of Members. I have no list before me of those who desire to give an explanation of vote.

75. I call upon the representative of Syria on a point of order.

76. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) (translated from French): I do not think we should continue our consideration of agenda item 58 before all the members of the First Committee are here in plenary session. I therefore formally propose that the meeting should be suspended.

77. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that the First Committee has concluded its proceedings; however, if there is any difficulty in members arriving, I am prepared to recess the Assembly for ten minutes. We shall, therefore, recess for ten minutes, but I do wish to stress this to the Assembly: I wish to resume exactly at 5.20—ten minutes from now—and I shall proceed then.

The meeting was suspended at 5.10 p.m. and resumed at 5.20 p.m.

Mr. Matsch (Austria), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

78. Mr. MATSCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the First Committee: The debate in the First Committee again showed the complexity of this problem because of the special circumstances involved. The overwhelming majority of the representatives expressed concern that more progress has not been made towards a solution of this problem since the adoption of resolution 1013 (XI) of 26 February 1957. They felt that in view of the serious situation on the island of Cyprus, a solution should be found as soon as possible.

79. Different opinions, however, were expressed as to the manner in which the General Assembly could contribute to the achievement of a solution. It was contended by a large number of representatives that it would not suffice merely to repeat the ideals embodied in the resolution of the last session of the General Assembly. They emphasized the need for the General Assembly to set up an outline for negotiations between the United Kingdom Government and the representatives of the people of Cyprus with a view to having the right of self-determination of peoples applied in the case of the people of Cyprus. Other delegations maintained that the General Assembly, in view of the special circumstances existing in the case of Cyprus, should not in any way prejudice further negotiations between the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey and the representatives of the people of Cyprus. They therefore suggested that the General Assembly should express the wish that by such negotiations a solution will be found in conformity with the principles of the Charter which include the principle of self-determination.

80. The First Committee recommends its draft resolution to the General Assembly for adoption.

81. Mr. CHAPMAN (Ghana): Throughout the discussions in the First Committee on the Cyprus question, the sympathies of the Ghana delegation were with the point of view advocating the application of the principle of self-determination for the people of Cyprus. Our understanding of this principle, as applied to

Cyprus, was that the people of the island would have the right to independence, to be followed by whatever decision they might choose to take as regards their future association with other States. Today I have the opportunity of reading the record of the final statements, particularly in the explanations of votes made by various delegations. I have also sought clarification of various points made in these statements.

82. Now a doubt has arisen in the mind of the Ghana delegation which I should like the representative of Greece to clear up. Is it correct that self-determination means, to the Greek delegation today, *enosis* or the annexation of Cyprus by Greece, without Cyprus first being afforded the opportunity to attain independence, so that it would be free to take a decision, as a sovereign State, with regard to annexation by Greece or the entering of any other type of association with other countries?

83. In voting in the First Committee in favour of the draft resolution now before us, the understanding of the Ghana delegation was that the application of the right of self-determination to the people of Cyprus would lead to negotiations between the representatives of the people of Cyprus and the United Kingdom Government on steps to be taken towards granting independence to Cyprus. An independent Cyprus, which is eligible to become a Member of the United Nations, would then be, in our view, sufficiently free and sovereign to carry a step further the exercise of its right to self-determination, if it so wishes, and enter into whatever association it desires with other States. If our view of the situation is shared by the Greek delegation, we shall vote for the draft resolution. Otherwise we will abstain.

84. Mr. AL-SHABANDAR (Iraq): As we have explained in the First Committee, my delegation voted for the draft resolution which supports the principle of self-determination of peoples, one of the most important aims of the Charter. The Iraqi delegation has always been consistent in its stand to uphold this principle in all questions which have been discussed and voted upon by the Assembly.

85. As a matter of fact and history, many other questions which were subjects of discussion and decision by the United Nations were closely related to this principle, as were many questions concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories. In all these matters we have advocated the principle of the right to self-determination for all peoples.

86. We realize, however, that self-determination is not by itself a solution to a complex and difficult problem. In this question of Cyprus, there should be no doubt as to the complexity of the problem and the many factors and parties involved. We realize that there is an important Turkish minority which must be taken into consideration in any final solution of the problem. The views and circumstances of the Turks on Cyprus must be given due weight and their rights and welfare must be respected. This would not only be in accordance with the principles of the Charter and international law but also in the interests of good international relations, without which no solution to this question can be attained.

87. This is a problem of greatest importance to Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey, as well as to the entire world. We believe that, given time, patience,

and with the goodwill of all the parties concerned, this question will be solved according to the principles of the Charter and to the satisfaction of all. A solution of this kind will not only relieve the world of one of its difficulties but will also contribute very much to the welfare of the population of Cyprus and restore the friendliest relations between nations.

88. My country takes special interest in seeking and hoping for a friendly and just solution because we have very friendly feelings for the people of Cyprus. We also entertain the friendliest relations with Turkey, the United Kingdom and Greece. We certainly would not want to do anything against our allies nor would we want to harm our friends. Nevertheless, the first and most important consideration in this problem should be the welfare and prosperity of the population of Cyprus. My delegation does not see how a radical solution can be found and implemented if the present difficulties are not overcome. We believe that unless and until all parties concerned reach agreement the Cyprus question will remain one of the most important problems of the United Nations and threaten the safety and security of the Middle East as well as that of the whole world.

89. That is why—after declaring itself in support of the principle of the right of self-determination—my delegation does not believe that a resolution of this kind can really contribute to the solution of the problem. We are mindful of the difficulties and complexities of the problem; we are also aware of the number of parties concerned. We believe that direct, quiet and friendly negotiations can lead to a practical and acceptable solution.

90. For these reasons my delegation at this stage will be unable to support the draft resolution. This of course will in no way change our stand concerning our belief in self-determination which is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

91. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation is making a brief intervention to make its position clear in regard to the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee on the question of Cyprus.

92. The adoption by the First Committee of the Greek sub-amendment [A/C.1/L.200] to the four-Power amendment [A/C.1/L.199], we fear, does not take due account of the legitimate rights and interests of all national groups in Cyprus and especially of the Turkish population, whose right to exercise self-determination has not been adequately safeguarded. The amended draft resolution, as adopted by the First Committee and now recommended to the General Assembly, speaks of applying the right of self-determination to the people of Cyprus. This wording is not in full conformity with Article 1 (2) of the United Nations Charter which enjoins respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

93. If the First Committee's draft resolution had been faithful to the wording of the Charter, my delegation would have voted in its favour because we are strong supporters of the principle of self-determination, but when we look at the present resolution as a whole we feel, in this particular case, it would not be conducive to a just and peaceful solution of the problem. We cannot, in good conscience, become a party to a resolution which gravely prejudices the interests of the Cypriot Turks in the negotiations between the parties concerned on the future international status of the island.

94. By declaring, in effect, that the right of self-determination is for the benefit of the Cypriot Greeks alone, the draft resolution imperils the human rights and legitimate aspirations of the second most important national group in Cyprus. We do not impugn in the slightest the motives and intentions of those who supported the draft resolution in the First Committee but we fear that the consequences flowing from the draft resolution adopted by the Committee may well be different from those which were intended.

95. Some representatives have emphasized that minority rights can be protected through constitutional safeguards. We would, however, like to point out that a Constitution does not exist in a vacuum. In the last analysis sovereignty must, under any democratic Constitution, reside with the majority. No constitutional guarantees or safeguards can ever alter this inescapable truth. In this context, let us not forget that the Turko-Greek estrangement in Cyprus is unhappily rooted in the past, and it is not possible to remedy such a situation by applying safeguards which are more properly applicable to fully constituted States of a different variety.

96. In the view of my delegation, the First Committee's draft resolution oversimplifies the solution of the problem. It is weighted against the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Cypriot Turks. Unless the balance is redressed, my delegation will be compelled to vote against it, as we did in the First Committee.

97. Mr. SERRANO (Chile) (translated from Spanish): I feel it my duty to explain why my delegation voted against the draft resolution approved by the First Committee on the Cyprus question. During the debate in the Committee my delegation had the honour to sponsor, together with the delegations of Canada, Denmark and Norway, an amendment [A/C.1/L.199] to the Greek draft resolution which we considered provided a more realistic approach to the question. It was also more likely to gain unanimous approval, in that both the preambular and operative parts adhered strictly to the general principles of the United Nations Charter. My delegation has no objection whatsoever to the principle of self-determination or its liberal application, and the other sponsors of the amendment have been quite clear on this point too. We do consider, however—and it is for this reason that we shall vote against the present draft resolution—that the Cyprus problem cannot be solved by the application of this one principle alone, in disregard of the other provisions of the Charter or the treaties at present in force.

98. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): It has been the consistent policy of the Peruvian delegation—and I am sure the Assembly appreciates this—to make every effort in dealing with political problems to bring about conciliation and create conditions favourable to a solution satisfactory to all parties; we also try as far as possible to avoid technical terms that might lend themselves to varying applications or interpretations or, worse still, to dangerous partiality.

99. We therefore endeavoured to find a formula which would go a step further than the admirable resolution we adopted last year and thus lead to a solution of this complex problem that might reconcile the interests of the inhabitants, both Greek and Turkish, of Cyprus with the important interests and responsibilities of the

United Kingdom on the island and at the same time with the interests and rights of the Turkish minority.

100. Unfortunately those attempts at conciliation failed, and that failure has shown once again that the best policy for the Assembly to follow in problems of the kind is to seek a solution that would be acceptable to the parties concerned. If unacceptable, it should at least be one that opens the way to a friendly settlement.

101. After the failure of this attempt at settlement, we have arrived, by means of an interesting debate and the intelligent application of parliamentary procedures, at the proposal now submitted by the Committee for the General Assembly's approval.

102. The Peruvian delegation has serious objections to this draft resolution. We commend the delegation of Greece for accepting the first three amendments generously submitted by Canada, Chile, Denmark and Norway. As far as the fourth amendment was concerned, the Committee went somewhat further than the Greek delegation had first suggested. There is no longer any mention of the need for all parties concerned to take part in the negotiations and discussions. Moreover, the principle of self-determination is over-emphasized and applied without any reservations, without any reference to the principles of the Charter. In all conscience therefore, the delegation of Peru cannot vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted. Since, however, my delegation feels that every possible effort should be made to find a conciliatory solution, we feel it our duty to abstain, as we did when the resolution was discussed in the First Committee.

103. Mr. ARAUJO (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): My delegation feels that it should offer the following explanation of the vote it will be casting in a few moments.

104. Firstly, we wish to affirm our unswerving adherence to the principle of respect for, and the inviolability of, public treaties.

105. Secondly, we reaffirm our policy of supporting the right of peoples to determine their own form of government and their future status.

106. Thirdly, we consider that in taking political decisions the General Assembly should give impartial consideration to all the factors involved in each problem, neither excluding nor emphasizing any particular one, so that none of the parties directly concerned may feel discriminated against and thereby prevented from negotiating or settling the differences at issue.

107. Fourthly, since the conciliatory amendments submitted by Canada, Chile, Denmark and Norway in the First Committee were prompted by these same considerations, the delegation of Colombia was prepared to vote in favour of them. Since, however, the draft resolution now before the Assembly departs from that conciliatory spirit, we shall vote against it.

108. I should not wish to conclude without expressing the earnest hope that the Cyprus question will meet with a speedy and peaceful solution which will be acceptable to all parties concerned and will promote the happiness and welfare of the entire population of that historic island.

109. Mr. SARP (Turkey): The Turkish delegation will vote against the draft resolution presented by the First Committee.

110. I will not tax the patience of the General Assembly by repeating here what we have said several times and in detail in the course of the debate in the Committee concerning the real meaning of this draft resolution. In casting our vote against it, we are conscious of the fact that the draft resolution, if adopted, would not only be unjust but would add further and serious complications to the existing complexity of the Cyprus question. I therefore hope that the General Assembly will not support this draft resolution, bearing in mind primarily the interest we all have, in our hearts and minds, in a solution; we must leave the door open to efforts made in good will and in a spirit of co-operation conducive to a settlement acceptable to all concerned and in the best interests of the United Nations as a whole.

111. Mr. DRAGO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): My delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution which was approved by the First Committee, in the hope that the Powers concerned in the Cyprus question would arrive at a conciliatory resolution; unfortunately this was not the case.

112. In the circumstances my delegation feels that the absolute terms of the proposal approved in the First Committee will not help to ensure the continuation of negotiations in an atmosphere of calm.

113. My delegation's vote against the resolution in no way alters Argentina's feelings towards the Government and people of Greece, with whom we have long enjoyed cordial and friendly relations.

114. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) (translated from French): I shall be brief. I shall say a few words about the significance of the vote as it affects the Cyprus question and I shall then deal briefly with the vote in general.

115. I do not want to go into the details of the long debate on Cyprus that we had in the First Committee. Nevertheless, I must emphasize, and at the outset, what we made clear during the debate in the Committee, namely that we are making a decision of principle; we are not deciding how or when it should be applied. We are merely deciding that the principle should be applied. That is a fundamental element of this vote. What we must ask ourselves is whether, in voting for the application of the principle to Cyprus, we are helping to achieve a practical solution. I firmly believe that we are. I firmly believe this, because, as I explained, the great majority of the people of Cyprus is willing to negotiate and discuss all aspects of the problem in an atmosphere of good will but only on one fundamental prior condition, namely that it is decided that the principle of self-determination will one day be applied.

116. How can it be said, therefore, that we are making it impossible to reach a solution when we vote so that the prior condition, stipulated by the people, is established and the negotiations can be carried on?

117. It has been said in this building, not by delegations—I do not know by whom—that the decision we took the other day would cost a thousand lives in Cyprus. On the contrary, the fact that the Committee took the decision it did has already restored calm in Cyprus. According to today's New York Times, Greek Cypriots today hailed as a victory the vote in the United Nations on the Cyprus issue, but there were few public celebrations, however, and the island had its quietest day since last Saturday. After the United Nations had taken

its decision the new Governor of the island was able to visit the narrowest streets in the town; and he, the representative of the United Kingdom, was acclaimed and embraced by the people who await your decision.

118. That is how this decision—a decision of principle, I repeat—promotes co-operativeness and a peaceful and agreed solution of the question.

119. I believe that the debate in the Committee—and I want once more to congratulate the members of this Assembly on the high level of that very fine debate—has sufficiently clarified the situation. I do not want to keep on talking about the Cyprus question but, since this vote has a much wider significance—as I pointed out in the Committee—I want to say a word or two about the meaning of our vote. It is my heartfelt conviction that this is a historic moment for the United Nations.

120. This is, indeed, the first time in twelve years that the United Nations has taken a definite stand on the application of the principle of self-determination. It is really a historic moment, for although, over the last twelve years, the United Nations has achieved great things in the field of economic co-operation, in the technical field and in other fields and although it has already solved some very serious crises through which mankind has passed, it has nevertheless avoided taking a stand on certain questions of principle and is now doing so today, for the first time.

121. On the basis of the explanations we have heard, I do not know what the result of the vote in the plenary meeting will be. But I do know that the vote in the Committee is a victory in itself and a proof that the United Nations is reaching maturity and that blood shed at its founding and the hopes placed in it are not vain.

122. I should like to make a digression here and answer the representative of Ghana. As you will remember, the representative of Ghana, who was the first speaker, asked the following question with regard to self-determination: Do you agree that Cyprus can first become an independent State and then decide its own fate? That is very easy for me to answer. I stated in the Committee that a short period not only of independence but even of self-government might and perhaps should precede the exercise of the right of self-determination. Hence, in answer to the question asked by the representative of Ghana, namely whether we agree that before deciding on its future status, Cyprus may become an independent State, I can say without the slightest doubt, yes, officially, yes.

123. I should like to say just a few words more in general about the meaning of our vote. The other day I had the bad idea—and I must apologize for it—of appealing to you, saying that I was the advocate of this question, the advocate of principle, and that I was alone and had no racial family. Now I must admit that I belong to a family and that this family is stronger than all others—the family of right and justice. It has given me, who was alone here, the support of the thirty-three countries which voted for our draft resolution in the Committee of the General Assembly. And both the favourable votes and the abstentions on that draft resolution show us that, by God's will, the countries which were colonies are playing queer tricks on certain European countries which had colonies, for the case of Cyprus is that of the last European people living under colonialism. And now this people is beginning to achieve

its freedom, thanks to the vote of countries which themselves used to be colonies—an odd and chivalrous revenge taken by former colonies on the countries under whose domination they used to be. All honour to those peoples, which, having found freedom themselves, have come to the rescue of this last fraction of a European people still beneath the colonialist yoke. But this revenge is merely symbolic. It is not and should not be the subject of a lengthy debate.

124. The decisive hour has come. The time for polemics, even those noble polemics we heard in the Committee, is past. The time has come for us to shoulder our responsibilities: we shall discharge them by the way we vote.

125. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): I had not intended to speak before the vote this evening but in view of the statement by the Foreign Minister of Greece I feel I must say a few words. I shall not, however, keep the Assembly long.

126. My delegation has tried to approach this discussion of the Cyprus question in a constructive spirit. We bear the responsibility for the administration of Cyprus. Problems connected with Cyprus fall mainly on our shoulders. We most earnestly want to find a solution acceptable to all concerned for the present dispute about the island's future. Our record elsewhere shows, I think, that we can do this if we receive the co-operation of the others concerned. We believe that there is room for compromise. We have tried and we shall continue to try to find one.

127. It was in this spirit that at the outset of the proceedings of the First Committee we gave a progress report on developments in the ten months since the unanimous resolution of February was passed at the eleventh session. I did my utmost to make this report objective and uncontentious; I showed that there had been some progress, that tension had eased on the island and that in spite of setbacks diplomatic contacts on this subject with the Greek and Turkish Governments were continuing.

128. It is our belief that this progress should be consolidated and that with further efforts and with good will all around a solution can be found.

129. The representative of the United States spoke for many when he said that we here should not try to impose a solution to this problem in the absence of agreement between those directly concerned. We agree with him that what is required is quiet diplomacy and that it is for the United Nations to encourage procedures which will lead to this. I believe that many delegations do in fact share this view. It is evident, however, that the Greek delegation does not; it has rejected all suggestions for a quiet debate and a moderate resolution; they have sought to gain support for an extremist resolution, for an extremist solution to the problem.

130. In our debate we have seen how a vote was avoided on the constructive middle-of-the-road amendments put forward by Canada, Chile, Denmark and Norway. We have also heard the high principle of self-determination invoked in order to achieve enosis, that is, the annexation of Cyprus to Greece.

131. And that is the answer that I would give to the question that was put by the representative of Ghana, and members will note that it differs from the answer given by the Foreign Minister of Greece.

132. I know that many delegations here have felt that United Nations procedures were being used rather cynically to promote a cause which was not openly avowed and which would not be supported if it were.

133. My delegation is strongly opposed to the draft resolution accepted in the First Committee. I gave the reasons for this in Committee, and shall now do no more than allude to them very briefly.

134. In our view, the United Nations should not try to lay down the lines on which the Cyprus question should be solved. Still less should it do so in a one-sided manner, and ignore the other aspects of a complex and difficult issue. Which side of the problem does the draft resolution approved in the Committee bring out? It brings out the distortion of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples—a distortion under which a campaign has for so long been waged on behalf of enosis.

135. The draft resolution—which, incidentally, employs language which does not figure in the Charter—is therefore totally unacceptable to my Government. We believe that its adoption by the United Nations could only serve to inflame an already dangerous dispute.

136. The PRESIDENT: In this important matter, if the representative of Turkey wishes to reply, I am prepared, with the assent of the Assembly, to let him do so.

137. Mr. SARPET (Turkey): I withdraw my question on a point of order.

138. The PRESIDENT: We can now proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the first Committee in its report [A/3794]. The representative of the United Kingdom has asked for a vote by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Bolivia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Lebanon, Panama, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Albania.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Iran, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Argentina.

Abstaining: Austria, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Finland, Honduras, India, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Malaya (Federation of), Mexico, Nepal, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, United States of America, Venezuela, Afghanistan.

The result of the vote was 31 in favour, 23 against, with 24 abstentions.

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

139. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): I hope that the Assembly will bear with me again just for a moment. As the representative here of the Government respon-

sible for the administration of Cyprus, I naturally welcome the failure of the draft resolution. As I have already said, it was a one-sided and misleading proposal, the endorsement of which here would, in my view, have led to increased tension in Cyprus and elsewhere and would have made even more difficult the solution of what is already a complex problem. I think that the decision of the General Assembly is a very wise one.

140. But where do we stand now? I think this is something that we must all be clear about. Ten months ago a resolution was adopted unanimously at the eleventh session [1013 (XI)] calling for an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression, and the resumption and continuance of negotiations for a peaceful, democratic and just solution, in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. That resolution stands. The United Kingdom Government has sought to give effect to it. We believe that since its passage there has been some progress—not enough, but some progress. This progress must be consolidated and further progress must be made. This can only be done and I would emphasize this—with the co-operation of all concerned. To this task, I can pledge the most sincere and earnest efforts of Her Majesty's Government.

141. Few disputes have been so painful to us as this one over Cyprus; it involves the happiness and welfare of the inhabitants of the island and our relations with two valued friends and allies. We in the United Kingdom want to see the question solved and the United Kingdom Government will do everything in its power to work towards a solution.

142. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) (translated from French): I wish to repeat a phrase just uttered by the United Kingdom representative. "Few disputes" he said "have been so painful to us." This dispute is also very painful to the whole Greek nation. As I have said, however, for us there can be no question of betraying the mandate of the people of Cyprus; that is why we have dealt with this painful question and are unshakably determined to pursue it.

143. I wish to assure this Assembly that its vote, although not a conclusive decision, constitutes a step towards the solution we all desire. The fact that thirty-three representatives in the First Committee and thirty-one in the plenary meeting voted for the application of the principle, while twenty-five refused to vote against it, has a moral force which will be appreciated by all and which will certainly contribute to a solution of the problem. I think that even with this vote, whether you voted in favour or whether you abstained, you have made a very important contribution, for which I consider it my duty to thank you most sincerely on behalf of the people of Cyprus.

Statement by the President

144. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed to the next item, I am sure that the Assembly would like me, as President, to convey to His Majesty, the Shah, to his Government and his people, and to the delegation of Iran here, our profound sympathy at the sufferings and the losses suffered in the recent catastrophe in that country. There is nobody who can fail to be moved by such a tragic event, and I fully know that you will approve of my dispatching such a message to His Majesty.

145. Mr. ENTEZAM (Iran) (translated from French): Mr. President, I must extend to you the heartfelt thanks of my delegation. I shall not fail to convey to my Sovereign the feelings of sympathy you have just expressed on behalf of the General Assembly. They will be highly appreciated by the Government and people of Iran. I thank you again.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Declaration concerning the peaceful coexistence of States

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3802)

146. Mr. MATSCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the First Committee: In presenting the report of the First Committee on agenda item 66 [A/3802] I can be very brief because the text of the draft resolution, adopted by the First Committee this afternoon by 75 votes to none, with 1 abstention, speaks for itself.

147. During the debate on this item, many representatives referred to the Charter of the United Nations as a fundamental statement of the principle of international conduct, and to the proclamation in recent years, and, particularly, at the Bandung Conference, of certain principles of peaceful coexistence. They expressed the opinion that this proclamation had exerted a favourable influence on the development of relations among countries which had recognized such principles. It was felt that the affirmation, or reaffirmation, of these principles in the draft resolution would exert a good effect; in particular the need to broaden international co-operation and to reduce tension was stressed in the debate in order to promote friendly relations among States.

148. In the draft resolution which the First Committee recommends to the General Assembly, not only the Members of the United Nations but all States are therefore called upon to make every effort to strengthen international peace and to develop friendly relations and settle disputes by peaceful means.

149. The PRESIDENT: Since no Member wishes to speak, we shall proceed to the vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in its report [A/3802]. The representative of the Soviet Union has asked for a vote by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaya (Federation of), Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist

Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica.

Abstaining: China.

The draft resolution was adopted by 77 votes to none, with 1 abstention.^{2/}

AGENDA ITEM 63

The question of Hungary

REPORT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM (A/3774)

150. The PRESIDENT: Members of the General Assembly will have noted the report of Prince Wan Waithayakon, the General Assembly's Special Representative on the Hungarian Problem, which was circulated on 9 December in document A/3774. In this report, presented in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1133 (XI) of 14 September 1957, the past President of the General Assembly indicates that despite his best efforts he has not yet been able to realize the objectives which he set for himself in pursuance of the Assembly resolution. It is hoped that the parties concerned will give him the necessary co-operation as he continues his efforts on this very important issue.

151. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Resolutions of the General Assembly adopted during the past year under the most tragic circumstances are being, at this very moment, wilfully and grossly violated by certain Governments or régimes whose representatives are seated in this hall today. As recently as 14 September 1957, at its eleventh session, the General Assembly, by a vote of 60 to 10, passed resolution 1133 (XI) which, in paragraph 8, calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people. It further calls upon them to respect the liberty and political independence of Hungary and the Hungarian people's enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms. Those are the resolutions which we adopted here by overwhelming votes.

152. Reports have been received that General Pál Maléter, General István Kovács and Sándor Kopácsi have now been brought to trial by the Soviet puppet régime in Budapest. When General Maléter and General Kovács were arrested, they were carrying out the orders of their Government of which the present Premier of Hungary, János Kádár, was a member. Part of their heroic story has been documented in the report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3592]. We all recall with loathing the treacherous arrest of General Maléter and his aides. At the very moment when, at the invitation of the Soviets, these men were negotiating with the occupation authorities for the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Hungarian soil, they were seized and taken away by Soviet secret police. General Maléter and the others to whom I have referred were arrested solely because of their patriotic actions on behalf of their fellow-countrymen.

^{2/} The representatives of Cuba and of Lebanon, who were absent when the vote was taken, subsequently intimated that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution. See para. 199.

153. I need not dwell on the shock and indignation which the people of the world feel concerning these and other recent reports of brutality and inhumanity reaching us from Hungary. Let me recall some of these reports.

154. On 19 November 1957 the régime announced that the Workers' Councils in the factories had been abolished. This action was in direct violation of Mr. Kádár's official pledge given a year earlier.

155. Intellectuals in Hungary have become the particular targets of official persecution. Prominent Hungarian writers, including Tibor Déry, have been arrested and sentenced to inhumanly long terms of imprisonment.

156. More and more information has become available about the arrest, trial and execution of prominent civil and military leaders of the people's uprising. On 10 December, it was officially announced that Major Antal Pálkás had been executed for participating in the freeing of Cardinal Mindszenty from his detention.

157. The simple enumeration of these reports is sufficient to expose to everyone the contrast between such actions and the words we heard yesterday and today from the Soviet representative during the debate on the so-called peaceful coexistence item.

158. I only wish to add this: The people of the United States protest with all the vigour at their command against what the Soviet Union and its puppets are doing in Hungary today.

159. At this time it is fortunate that we have at hand the report of Prince Wan Waithayakon, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Thailand, who, under the resolution I have already mentioned, was appointed as the General Assembly's special representative on the Hungarian problem to take appropriate steps to achieve the objectives of the United Nations as expressed in its resolutions on the Hungarian question. I note that in spite of the callousness and indifference with which the Soviet and Hungarian authorities repulsed his efforts to carry out his humanitarian functions, the Special Representative will continue to seek the opportunity to assist in establishing full international co-operation in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Hungary. The United States has every confidence that the Special Representative will undertake every feasible humanitarian step on behalf of these individuals as a matter of urgency.

160. I note also that the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary is to meet again in the early part of next week. This distinguished group of men can do important work in examining the tragic events now taking place in Hungary. The United States Government is prepared to co-operate with them in any way possible.

161. In conclusion, let me make this one observation. In view of these recent developments in Hungary, I hereby serve notice that the United States Government will request the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on the Hungarian question should the circumstances warrant it. On the basis of further information about developments in Hungary, we could then determine what further steps should be taken to help the people of Hungary.

162. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The statement of the President of the General Assembly again contains references to General Assembly resolution 1133 (XI). The Soviet delegation has already defined in detail the Soviet Union's position on the so-called question of Hungary and on resolution 1133 (XI). It would like to reiterate that the Soviet Government adheres to its previous views both as regards this resolution and the consideration of the question of Hungary in general.

163. A tendentious note by the so-called General Assembly's Special Representative on the so-called question of Hungary has been circulated among delegations for purposes harmful to the cause of peace. A new attempt is being made, in the interests first and foremost of United States ruling groups, to use the General Assembly to intensify the cold war and to exacerbate relations between States, which is clearly inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

164. The whole agitation around Hungary at the eleventh session, the establishment of a Special Committee and the activities of the so-called General Assembly's Special Representative amount to gross intervention in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian people and are essentially incompatible with the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and also with the elementary rules of international law.

165. Towards the end of 1956, it will be remembered, reactionary groups in the United States and a number of other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization attempted, with the help of Hungarian internal reaction and of outside counter-revolutionary forces, to do away with the Hungarian popular democratic system by armed force and to re-impose a system of landowners and capitalists which the Hungarian people had rejected. This diversionary manoeuvre of international reaction, designed to create, in the heart of Europe, a jumping-off ground for a military attack on the socialist countries and to divert the attention of world opinion from the aggressive activities of the United Kingdom and France in the Near and Middle East, was foiled thanks to the resolute response of the Hungarian people supported by friendly nations. But the foreign organizers of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary uprising did not abandon their attempts at intervention in Hungarian domestic affairs and at hampering the peaceful constructive work of the Hungarian people.

166. The United States ruling groups are hoping to use the uproar created in the United Nations around Hungary as a cloak for their aggressive actions and as a means for diverting the attention of the General Assembly and of the Members of the United Nations from problems of vital importance for the maintenance of world peace.

167. Striking evidence of this was provided during the consideration of the so-called question of Hungary in the United Nations at the beginning of September, when the notorious report of the Committee of "Five", containing the inventions of the United States intelligence service, was discussed. The prestige and authority of the United Nations were further impaired and the cause of peace suffered a setback, since consideration of this question had only one result: to poison the atmosphere in the United Nations before the twelfth session of the General Assembly began and to do so again at the end of the twelfth session.

168. This, however, did not satisfy the organizers of the anti-Hungarian campaign. They appointed a special emissary for intervention in Hungary's domestic affairs. It can only be regretted that Prince Wan Waithayakon allowed himself to be implicated in a manoeuvre so harmful to the cause of peace; by assuming this unsavoury function he was willy-nilly obliged to take part in the campaign to spread long-exposed lies on Hungary and on Soviet-Hungarian relations, which are an exclusive concern of the Hungarian and the USSR Governments.

169. There are no grounds now—as there were none then—for placing the question of Hungary on the agenda, since it is not an item for discussion.

170. The Hungarian masses, as you are aware, with the fraternal help of the socialist countries, have overcome the main difficulties caused by the counter-revolutionary uprising. The national economy, to which the uprising had dealt a heavy blow, is being restored and developed. The State administration is being strengthened. Democratic institutions are functioning normally. An atmosphere of calm reigns in the country.

171. The Hungarian people are fully resolved to go on guarding the sovereignty and independence of their State, and to defend their socialist achievements from any counter-revolutionary attacks. They have repeatedly stated that they will not permit any intervention in their domestic affairs and in the international relations of Hungary, a sovereign State, with other countries.

172. The Hungarian People's Republic is pursuing a peace-loving policy and concerting its efforts with those of friendly countries, in order to maintain and strengthen peace.

173. The United Nations must and can help the Hungarian people by supporting them in their constructive peaceful toil and in their desire to live in peace and friendship with all peoples. It would render a service to the people of democratic Hungary and discharge a duty, if it put an end to the shameful campaign of slander around Hungary and removed the provocative Hungarian item from its agenda.

174. Mr. SIK (Hungary): First of all, I wish to make something clear. Once again I declare, on behalf of the Hungarian Government and of the Hungarian delegation, that we disapprove of the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question in the United Nations General Assembly entirely for reasons of principle. It is upon such basic principles, too, that the Hungarian Government looks upon the General Assembly resolutions regarding the so-called Hungarian question as being contrary in principle to the provisions of the Charter. We are of this opinion, on the one hand, from the point of view of Hungary, since the question under discussion constitutes an internal affair of Hungary and, on the other, we hold, together with other small nations, that the existence and purity of the United Nations and its functioning in compliance with the Charter are of vital importance.

175. The United Nations will be of no use to us if it becomes an automatic means of propaganda in the hands of one of the groups of power interests. Nevertheless, whenever the General Assembly, in spite of all protests, dealt with the so-called Hungarian question, we had to experience symptoms of such a

possibility. This is the second reason, in principle, why we disapprove of the so-called Hungarian question being maintained on the agenda of the General Assembly.

176. Again for reasons of principle, we did not permit the Committee established by the General Assembly at its eleventh session to enter Hungary. There are clearly good reasons for this decision. At the exact time that we repelled a series of attempts on the part of the Committee to enter Hungary, we deliberately granted entry into our country to persons who were more biased in connexion with the events in Hungary than were the members of the Committee. Over 800 newspapermen from the West visited our country in a year. We have nothing to hide; we talk freely to our guests about our troubles and achievements, but, for reasons of principle, we decided to refuse the Committee members entry permits, just as now our attitude towards His Royal Highness, Prince Wan Waithayakon, is unlike our attitude towards any of the United Nations representatives, because he received and accepted his well-publicized mission from the General Assembly. We have a high opinion of him; of his youthful spirit, his rank, his political and social functions, and we sincerely deplore that on account of a General Assembly resolution and the mission he has accepted, he now finds himself in a special situation in regard to us.

177. We can conduct most sincere conversations about the background of the recent events in our country and our present situation with anyone—with any representative who is interested in the matter. We maintain effective contact with the United Nations Secretariat regarding information to be supplied. We apply no discrimination in inviting guests to visit our country; numerous delegates to the Inter-Parliamentary Union made a trip to Hungary after the recent conference of the Union in London. We wish to invite some of the representatives attending the present session of the General Assembly as well. Thus, we are straightforward and speak freely to everyone; but the recent General Assembly resolution compels us to make an exception of Prince Wan Waithayakon alone.

178. The question of the Secretary-General's visit to Hungary shows very clearly how paradoxical this entire problem is. As long as the General Assembly resolution made it appear that he was coming to Hungary in the capacity of an investigator, we disapproved of his visit, but now, as the Assembly resolution on his mission is no longer in force, we have renewed our invitation to him to visit Hungary. We are hopeful that he will answer this invitation as soon as he has time to come to us. His visit would be justified from many points of view.

179. There are some who blame us for the legal proceedings we have instituted. I do not speak now about those who, feeling animosity against us, spread exaggerated and false reports in connexion with such proceedings. There are arrests and legal proceedings, but a considerably smaller number of such measures would have been necessary if representatives of certain Western Powers—partly in the United Nations and partly outside this Organization—had not made such statements as could encourage certain reactionary elements to make trouble in Hungary.

180. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): My delegation has received with feelings of distress the news of the impending trial of General Pál Maléter and the two

other Hungarian patriots to whom the representative of the United States has just referred. We have heard during the last few days very many fine words spoken on peaceful coexistence, on high ideals and on humanitarian concepts—words spoken by the representatives of the Soviet Union and other countries in that group. But the sincerity of these words will be judged not by the resolutions that we have passed, but by the deeds that will be performed. Let us therefore hope that the Hungarian authorities will show, by the manner in which they conduct these impending trials, that they have understood something of the feelings that animate the great majority of this Assembly.

181. I would say also that my delegation welcomes the announcement made by the representative of the United States concerning the possibility of reconvening the General Assembly if that should prove necessary. I sincerely hope that it will not prove necessary.

182. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): Once again disparaging remarks have been made concerning the work of the Committee appointed by this Assembly to inquire into the problem of Hungary.

183. I have the honour to be a member of that Committee both as the representative of my Government and as a Latin American. I must inform the Assembly, particularly in view of certain statements made from this rostrum, that yesterday I asked for a meeting of the Latin American group to discuss some of the reports current in the United States that political prisoners may be undergoing a summary trial, a sort of court martial, and that the death sentence has been asked for them.

184. This very afternoon, only a few minutes ago, fresh reports have come through, apparently confirming this rumour. Members of the Latin American group have asked their Chairman to take steps to express the concern that we all feel and also our hope that clemency may be shown to the Hungarian political prisoners who took part in the October revolution and who are now faced with sentence of death.

185. These events are not merely the internal affair of a particular country. The matter has been brought to the United Nations, which took note, passed resolutions, set up a committee of inquiry and approved the latter's report. The substance of that report, the human rights that are threatened and the political rights that imply, and should imply, active sovereignty were safeguarded by the vote of this Assembly.

186. We have approached the Hungarian delegation on the matter and are awaiting its reply. We are waiting for it to tell us whether or not such trials are being conducted. As Americans—and for my part as a citizen of my country and as a member of the Committee on Hungary—we are waiting to hear whether they are summary trials, whether death sentences are to be passed and whether death sentences are to be carried out.

187. We must know this before we can take a definite stand in the matter. In the meantime I have suggested, and I still maintain, that the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary should be reconvened in order to consider the political implications of this new aspect of the question and I agree with the representative of the United States that the Assembly should remain

vigilant and alert. Vigilant of what? Alert to what? Alert to all the social and human rights that are in jeopardy, to the sufferings of a people fighting to exercise within its own frontiers the right to self-determination and to choose its own form of government.

188. We are not opposing one particular system to another nor are we embarking on a philosophical discussion of government. We are merely pointing out that the Committee fulfilled the task assigned to it by the Assembly and that it is now the duty of the Assembly to remain alert to ensure compliance with the principles set forth in the Committee's report, those principles enshrined in the Charter and not to be mocked, but to be respected by all.

189. Such are the facts at present. With regard to the problem raised by the representative of the United States, we join him in urging the Assembly to remain on the alert. We, for our part, should be glad to participate further in the work of the Committee. We hope that we may have the satisfaction of hearing from the Hungarian delegation that no more death sentences will be passed against political prisoners in that country. Nothing could more encourage us in the hope that our brothers, the people of Hungary, will recover all their rights to the exercise of sovereignty and freedom, without harm to anyone and in full respect for human rights.

190. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): Once more, in the final stage of the deliberations of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, we are witnessing a fresh attempt to misuse the forum of the United Nations as an outlet for the cold war and a campaign for slanders and hatred against the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and other people's democracies. It is regrettable that the General Assembly is resuming the debate on this question, which, contrary to the provisions of the Charter, is deliberately kept on the agenda of the General Assembly at the wish of the Western Powers—the United States in particular—as a cold war item. Neither the General Assembly nor any other organ of the United Nations is competent to discuss questions falling within the domestic jurisdiction of States.

191. The events which took place in Hungary in the autumn of 1956 are domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and therefore the debate on the subject in the United Nations constitutes a violation of one of the basic principles of the Charter. The defeat of the Hungarian counter-revolution aroused great disappointment in imperialist quarters in the West and has inflamed their hatred against the countries of the socialist camp. That is why the Western Powers continuously endeavour to keep the so-called Hungarian question on the agenda of the General Assembly and to use the United Nations as an instrument for interfering in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

192. This end was also served by the establishment of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary at the eleventh session of the General Assembly in January 1957.

193. The report [A/3774] of the General Assembly's Special Representative on the Hungarian Problem, Prince Wan Waithayakon, the President of the General Assembly at its eleventh session, is clearly intended to serve the very same purpose. His mandate is based

on the illegal resolution of the General Assembly, resolution 1133 (XI) of 14 September 1957, which constitutes a flagrant attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Hungarian Government has rejected this resolution; it is therefore only natural that the mission of the General Assembly's Special Representative on the Hungarian Problem which was based on the said illegal resolution, was in no way successful.

194. The Czechoslovak delegation regrets that Prince Wan Waithayakon's report contains slanders taken from the illegal resolutions on the so-called Hungarian question and from the report of the ill-famed United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary. The fabrications of Western propaganda were clearly refuted by the Hungarian Government in official documents bearing evidence of violence perpetrated by the Hungarian counter-revolution in October and November 1956. Those slanders about violations of human rights in Hungary are intended to conceal brutalities and crimes committed by Horthyist fascist elements against peaceful Hungarian citizens. After the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary, life has returned to normal and the people have resumed their peaceful work. The country's economy has speedily recovered and production in all branches has reached the level at which it stood prior to the events of October 1956. Calm and order prevail throughout the country and peaceful life is developing successfully. The Hungarian Government is taking energetic steps for the advancement of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living standards, so there is no reason for reconvening this General Assembly.

195. The Czechoslovak delegation regards this discussion and the attempt to reconvene the Assembly as another provocation against the Hungarian People's Republic. Its purpose is to divert the attention of the General Assembly from important issues facing the United Nations.

196. Mr. WALKER (Australia): The Assembly will have listened with great attention to the statement which the President read to us a few minutes ago in connexion with the question of Hungary, which was placed on the agenda of this Assembly following its consideration at the resumed eleventh session not so very long ago.

197. We, too, have studied with care the important report which our former President, Prince Wan Waithayakon, has presented to the Assembly. We have been greatly impressed by His Royal Highness' patient, conciliatory approach, which nevertheless met with a completely negative attitude on the part of the Soviet delegation and of the delegation which claims to represent Hungary, although as a matter of fact the Assembly has not yet pronounced itself on the credentials of that delegation.

198. The Australian delegation and the Australian Government deeply regret this rebuff to the former President of the Assembly, a rebuff to the United Nations itself. We deeply regret that no positive action seems to be possible at this late stage in the Assembly's deliberations. We certainly share the hope that as the international tension relaxes, to quote Prince Wan Waithayakon's words, he may be given an opportunity "to assist in establishing full international

co-operation in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Hungary". Words spoken this afternoon on behalf of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian delegation do not hold very much hope, but hope must remain eternal in the human breast and we shall not forget the people of Hungary.

199. The PRESIDENT: I have no further speakers on my list. I wish to mention to the Assembly that the representatives of Cuba and Lebanon were absent when the vote was taken on the resolution concerning the peaceful coexistence of States,^{3/} and they have intimated to me that had they been present they would have voted in favour of the resolution. That will be recorded in the proceedings of the Assembly.

Completion of the work of the twelfth session

200. The PRESIDENT: We are now nearing the end of the session and there are certain representatives who desire to speak about that. I call, in the first instance, on the representative of the United Kingdom.

201. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I shall not take up more than a few minutes of the Assembly's time, but before this session comes to an end, I should like, on behalf of the Commonwealth delegations, to pay a warm tribute to the wisdom and skill with which you have conducted the business of this Assembly.

202. That we have had a President from a member country of the Commonwealth has been a matter of particular pleasure to our delegations. It was also singularly appropriate that your election was followed immediately by the admission to our Organization of a new Member, the Federation of Malaya, which had recently attained independence and become a full member of the Commonwealth, closely following on the admission of Ghana at the end of the last session.

203. Finally, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, the head of the Commonwealth, visited the United Nations. It was indeed a happy circumstance that on this unique occasion there should have been a Commonwealth President of the General Assembly.

204. We have a further reason to offer you our thanks; that we are concluding our labours on the day appointed is in no small measure due to the decision, understanding and wise experience which you have brought to the heavy and lonely task you have discharged so ably. For this we are all grateful indeed.

205. I am sure, Mr. President, you would be the first to recognize that in achieving this prompt and happy conclusion to our deliberations the efficiency and devotion of the Secretary-General and his staff have also played a great part. On behalf of our delegations we should like to extend to them also our gratitude and thanks.

206. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): Mr. President, the honour has been conferred on me of addressing you not only on behalf of the Netherlands delegation but also as the spokesman for the five Scandinavian countries and four of our two partners in Benelux.

207. It is perhaps fitting that I should be allowed to do so as your country, New Zealand, had added lustre to one of the provinces of mine, Zeeland. As Presi-

^{3/} See para. 149.

dent of this Assembly, you have proved yourself a worthy representative of your country and, if I may be allowed to say so, also of the great European tradition that has been perpetuated on the other side of the globe.

208. To those of us who have known you and admired you over the years when you shone both on the floor of the Assembly and in the chair of the First Committee, this came as no surprise. During that time we came to know you as a man of great stature, a concise and compelling speaker and above all as one who embodies in his outlook all that is best in the ideals that underlie our Organization. Your leadership, sir, has been firm but always courteous; strong in its conviction but consistently impartial, dignified but not without humour. That you have succeeded in making us finish our labour in time is a great achievement in itself but no more than one small result of the exercise of all the qualities of a great President that you have displayed.

209. For your inspiring leadership, sir, I wish on behalf of the delegations I mentioned to offer you the assurance of our admiration and our heartfelt thanks.

210. I would not leave this rostrum, sir, without giving expression to our great appreciation for the admirable assistance which we have again been fortunate in receiving from that eminent man, the Secretary-General, and for his able staff, among whom I may be allowed to mention especially the translators who have so well acquitted themselves of their heavy and difficult task.

211. Mr. TSIANG (China): Mr. President, it is perhaps characteristic of the period of history we are going through that all sessions of the General Assembly have been long and arduous. The twelfth session is no exception. Fortunately, we have completed our labours and on time. In a parliamentary sense, at least, this session must be considered a success. Sir, we owe a great deal of the success to your leadership. Your exercise of the Presidency has been wise, fair and courteous. My delegation wishes to thank you and pay a tribute to your leadership.

212. The Secretary-General has never chosen to publicize his activities. I know—and I think we all know—that the Secretary-General's interest and participation in our work is always valuable. And his staff, particularly Mr. Cordier, has shouldered very heavy work; to all of them my delegation would wish to render thanks.

213. Mr. ZEINEDDINE (Syria): I am highly privileged to express, on behalf of the delegations of Asian and African countries, our gratitude to you, Mr. President, for presiding over the deliberations of this Assembly in the able, gracious and effective manner in which you have done so.

214. I should like also to express our sincerest thanks and admiration to the Vice-Presidents of this Assembly and to all members of the General Committee, whose generous efforts were joined to yours and made our proceedings a marked success.

215. May I also convey the same feelings of gratitude and admiration to the Secretary-General and to all the members of the Secretariat whose well-guided devotion to the cause and work of the United Nations and whose co-operative spirit rendered it possible for this

Assembly to function properly, effectively and agreeably.

216. Sir, this Assembly terminated its discussions on the last item of its agenda by a unanimous decision calling for peaceful coexistence, tolerance and co-operation between nations. Let this result be a real expression of faith, a response to the general urge of all people for peace, mutual trust, general welfare and progress. May this Assembly usher in the future which all our peoples are entitled to expect.

217. Mr. President, our problems were varied. Some of them were arduous. But the endeavours of this Assembly to deal with them under your wise leadership will always be remembered.

218. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegations of Austria, Ireland and Italy have done me the honour of asking me to speak for them; on their behalf, therefore, as well as on behalf of the French delegation, it is a pleasure for me to thank you and to congratulate you on the energy, courtesy, competence and impartiality, with which you have presided over this session of the General Assembly, bringing it to a close on the date proposed—a remarkable feat; that is an event which should be marked as a red-letter day in the history of the United Nations. It is all the more remarkable as we have held, I think, 495 meetings, not including those of sub-committees and working groups—much more than the average figure for three-month sessions.

219. What we have achieved this evening is not only remarkable but also important, for it will facilitate the work of the technical commissions and the Councils which will be meeting next year before the next session of the General Assembly. It could not have been done without your energy, Mr. President, the vigilance, experience and devotion of the Secretary of the General Assembly and the work of the whole Secretariat.

220. It seems to me that, this year more than at previous sessions, the preparatory work done at the Secretary-General's level has enabled us to settle some quite difficult questions rapidly in plenary session. We must therefore thank the Secretary-General this year for that important direct contribution to the effectiveness of the Assembly's work as well as for the smooth functioning of the services of the Secretariat; through him we thank all the members of the Secretariat who have contributed to the orderly progress of the Assembly's work: Under-Secretaries, Directors, departmental officials, and staff of the services directly connected with the meetings of the Assembly, translators, interpreters and guards.

221. To you, Mr. President, and to all whom I have just mentioned, we express our thanks, with best wishes for Christmas and the New Year and hearty congratulations on the good work done.

222. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): It is an honour for me to speak on behalf of all the Latin American countries, which form a union of twenty nations bound together by common concerns, common feelings and a common desire for a happy future for the peoples of the world.

223. As their spokesman, I have the pleasure of offering you, Mr. President, the following remarks. When a task has been completed, it is only right to draw

attention to the merits and abilities of those who have borne the burden of it with dignity, wisdom and a deep sense of responsibility.

224. When you were elected to preside over the debates of this session of the General Assembly, we were certain that you would discharge your duties satisfactorily. That certainty and hope have been fully confirmed. In our view, you have been faithful to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. We recognize in you the abilities and talents which enable you to comply with the most strenuous demands of the office of President of the United Nations Assembly.

225. We are satisfied with you and proud of you. We have done splendid work under your guidance. With your experience and ability, you always gave us the feeling that you were helping us in our anxieties and in our endeavours to create a better climate in which this world might continue to enjoy a rule of law and justice. For all these reasons we are sincerely pleased with the work you have done as President of the General Assembly and we congratulate you, with esteem and affection, upon your brilliant achievement.

226. Our gratitude and congratulations are due also to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, to Mr. Cordier, his Executive Assistant, and to all the members of the Secretariat, who have always made us realize and appreciate the efficiency of the various services of the United Nations.

227. On behalf of the Latin American countries, we are grateful to you, Mr. President, for the brilliance of this session that we have had the opportunity of attending.

228. Mr. KIDRON (Israel): Mr. President, it is with profound pleasure that the delegation of Israel joins in the praises which have been sung in your honour at this final meeting of the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

229. You have presided over our deliberations with great responsibility, wisdom and skill, and have represented us before the world with dignity and with honour. The Members of the General Assembly were fortunate indeed in their choice of President this year.

230. To Lady Mupro and to you, Mr. President, the Israel delegation extends its most cordial good wishes for the coming year.

231. Our expressions of appreciation, regard and felicitation go out, in the same way, to our distinguished and indefatigable Secretary-General, to Mr. Cordier, and to all the visible and non-visible members of the United Nations Secretariat who have made possible the successful working of this Assembly.

232. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I should like to congratulate the President on behalf of Portugal, for which I have the honour to speak on this occasion, and on behalf of the delegation of Spain.

233. Those of us who spoke in the opening debate to predict the success of the President were not mistaken.

234. Sir Leslie Munro is imbued with great and sometimes overflowing humanity. No praiseworthy interest appears to be foreign to him, from culture in its highest forms to the art of living, which is equally difficult and demanding. Authority is the direct expression of his

personality; he does not need to impose it. He leads us, but he first makes us feel that we want to be led. He achieves this by means of his intellectual superiority and great friendliness, for the President—and I say this with all respect, for it is a quality we Latins appreciate—is *simpático*; he evokes affection and friendship combined with admiration. In all sincerity I assure him of all those feelings on our behalf. It is largely thanks to those qualities of his that this has been a truly successful session. There has been no lack of thorny problems, some of long standing, others which arose in the course of the session. All of them were dealt with under his excellent and impartial guidance, which provided enlightenment and promise for the future.

235. Perhaps we were not all satisfied with the resolutions adopted; many of us would have liked more, which is only natural. We can certainly say, however, that in the session over which you have presided, Mr. President, not one of the problems we have dealt with has deteriorated; some have disappeared or have ceased to be dangerous, and the most important of them are probably nearer to solution, in that ways and means to that end are being sought.

236. On behalf of Portugal and Spain, therefore, I tender to you our deep gratitude and admiration.

237. I should also like to congratulate the Secretary-General, firstly upon his re-election and secondly upon his performance. Few public figures have enjoyed the universal confidence which Mr. Hammarskjöld now enjoys; that fact is illustrated not only by his election but also by the missions entrusted to him, and I do not think anyone has reason to regret the way in which he has carried out those most difficult missions.

238. Nor should I like to forget a distinguished friend seated on the rostrum, Mr. Cordier, who works with such efficiency. I must mention also the members of the Secretariat, whose intelligence and energy are astounding, for they actually anticipate events. Above all, I do not wish to overlook the translators, whose work, in so far as Spanish is concerned, simply astonishes me. I have noticed recently that the only word which bothered me somewhat has disappeared, i.e., the use of the French word *impasse* when there is a Spanish equivalent *callejón sin salida*. Now that the expression *callejón sin salida* is used, I consider the Spanish translation perfect.

239. Lastly, I should like publicly to express my gratitude to you for having done me the honour of electing me to the newly-established Vice-Presidency of this Assembly in a vote that was moving in its volume and its quality. It was an honour for me to sit on this rostrum the other day, and I understand what a stirring experience it is to preside over the United Nations and how it can tempt legitimate ambitions and be something to be proud of for a lifetime for anyone who, like our President, has seen those ambitions satisfied and has performed his duties in all high-mindedness and honour.

240. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): It is with real pleasure that I mount this rostrum, on behalf of the Tunisian delegation, to congratulate both our Assembly and our President, now that the work of the twelfth session of the General Assembly has come to an end.

241. You have presided over a session which has had a number of very delicate questions before it, and you have been able to direct our work and guide our discussions with outstanding skill, ability and authority; I should like to pay a sincere tribute to these qualities.

242. I would be failing in my duty if I did not make use of this occasion to express again our indebtedness and our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the valuable help which he has constantly given throughout the session with dignity, perseverance and devotion. I wish to include in this tribute his immediate colleagues, as well as all the officials who have worked to make our task much easier.

243. Under your presidency a number of resolutions have been adopted, of greater or lesser importance, depending on the issues involved and the effect they can have on co-operation between Member States in the work of consolidating peace, maintaining international security and promoting the happiness of mankind. May God move us to heed them seriously, with all the good faith and loyalty of which we are capable, for the achievement of truly peaceful coexistence.

244. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States wishes, first of all, to express its thanks to all of the men and women who are members of the staff of the United Nations: to the people who maintain this extraordinary building and keep it looking so nice and working so well, all of the messengers, clerks, aides, receptionists, secretaries, who work so faithfully, our interpreters who are certainly one of the wonders of the world, all of the experts who help us in our Committees, the able and efficient Mr. Cordier, the Executive Assistant of the Secretary-General, and of course to our Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, who, in his person and by his actions, symbolizes the world's dynamic will to peace.

245. I should also like to extend my compliments to all my fellow-delegates and, then, in conclusion, I want to pay a well-deserved tribute to our President, Sir Leslie Munro. He has been faithful; he has been hard-working; he is stalwart in every sense of the word; he has put his heart into this work and has given all of his tremendous experience and talent to it, and he has represented the General Assembly of the United Nations before the world.

246. On behalf of the United States, Mr. President, we thank you and we extend to you our warmest and most heartfelt good wishes for all that is good in the future.

247. Mr. AZKOUL (Lebanon) (translated from French): Mr. President, the Syrian representative has paid a tribute to you, to the Secretary-General, to your associates and to his, on behalf of the Asian and African delegations, amongst which my delegation is proud to be numbered.

248. I should, however, like to add a purely personal note to what he has said, for it is difficult for me to let this opportunity pass without trying to express to you publicly what I have felt throughout this session—my appreciation, admiration and gratitude for the way in which you have presided over our meetings and guided our discussions. You have been firm and just, and at the same time you have always been pleasant and understanding. In short, you have justified the faith which Mr. Charles Malik, the head of my delegation

and the Lebanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, placed in you, when, from this same rostrum, he withdrew his candidacy for the Presidency in favour of you. I am sure that if he were present here this evening, he would, more adequately than I, have sung your praises and paid you the tribute which is your due.

249. U THANT (Burma): Let me join the other delegations in offering the warmest congratulations of my delegation to you, Mr. President, for the very able and dignified manner in which you have discharged the functions of this exalted office. Long before you held this office, your wisdom, your keen sense of duty, your perception and your ability were well known. My predecessors from Burma who had the pleasure and privilege of knowing you, before I took over my present duties, spoke of you with esteem, with affection and with admiration. It has been my privilege to know you and to like you both as the President of the twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly and as a man. You have not only discharged the onerous responsibilities of your office with ability and dignity, but all of us have come to regard you as a warm-hearted and understanding gentleman with an abundance of urbanity.

250. My delegation would also like to offer its warmest thanks and admiration to our untiring Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, and his very able assistant, Mr. Cordier, for the extraordinary efficiency with which they discharged their exacting duties, and, through them, to all the members of the United Nations Secretariat, including, of course, the most efficient interpreters, for the very prompt manner in which the work of the United Nations is disposed of every day.

251. Both on behalf of the delegation of Burma and the delegations of all Asian Members, let me express once again our profound sense of satisfaction and pleasure to have worked in this General Assembly under your very able guidance. Let me wish you, Mr. President, and, through you, the Secretary-General and the members of the Secretariat, a merry Christmas and a very happy New Year.

252. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegation of Yugoslavia, a country which is dear to me, has done me the honour of asking me to speak on its behalf. On behalf of both the Yugoslav and the Greek delegations, therefore, I should like to thank you and to congratulate you on the way in which you have presided over our discussions.

253. You hold the most exalted office in the world, and it is hard to find words in which to address you. Your work is watched by the whole world. You have been the outstanding President of a session which has been as fruitful as it has been difficult, and that fact has made our work the easier. You have had to preside over difficult and delicate discussions such as those on the Syrian question, and yet you have been able to conduct them with tact, in such a way that it has been possible to attain the desired objective of peace and tranquillity.

254. You have also had the privilege, and I think the pleasure, of having presided over an Assembly which, for the first time in the twelve years of the United Nations' life, has had to make a decision on the great

principle of the self-determination of peoples by a vote which represents a great moral victory.

255. I spoke just now about the way in which you presided over the discussion on Syria. It is impossible to mention the Middle East without recalling the important and effective part which our Secretary-General has played in bringing about peace in that area and promoting its development. When the Middle East is discussed, who can overlook his name or fail to thank him and congratulate him? In speaking of the highest executive level in this distinguished Assembly, it is impossible not to refer to Mr. Cordier and the senior officials who help him in his work.

256. Finally I should like to repeat my thanks and my congratulations on the way in which you have presided over our work.

257. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): We have come to the end of the twelfth session of the General Assembly. Although the current session has not fully discharged the tasks before it, certain positive features of its work merit attention. First of all, the General Assembly has been able to adopt an agreed decision on such a vital question as the peaceful coexistence of States. It should be noted that the unanimous adoption of a resolution on this problem shows that its inclusion in this session's agenda was timely and that the United Nations holds out great possibilities in the solution, by the concerted efforts of all Members, of the vital problems connected with the securing of world peace.

258. There is no doubt that the consideration, during the current session, of the threat of military aggression against Syria was of value. It was an important factor in averting the danger of a military attack on the Syrian people and thus represented an important contribution to the maintenance of peace in the Near and Middle East and throughout the world.

259. It is regrettable that at its present session, the General Assembly could not adopt any specific decisions on a problem so disturbing to the whole world as the disarmament problem. The Soviet delegation is nevertheless firmly convinced that if all Members of our Organization really wish to find a solution, this important point, too, can be successfully dealt with.

260. The Soviet Union pursues the strengthening of peace and the development of co-operation among States as its foremost aim and will continue to seek a positive solution of that question in the interests of all peoples throughout the world.

261. Unfortunately, it must be noted that at the present session, as in the past, the attention of the General Assembly was diverted from its chief task—which was to strengthen peace and to guarantee security—in the interests of certain countries.

262. Allow me, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union, to express my gratitude for the great service you rendered in presiding over the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

263. The Soviet delegation also expresses its gratitude to Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to Mr. Cordier, his indefatigable assistant, and to all officials of the Secretariat, to whom we are indebted for the smooth running of the services during this session.

264. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) (translated from French): The Albanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak delegations have done me the honour of asking me to speak for them. On their behalf, therefore, and that of the Romanian delegation, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, and to thank you for your contribution to the very efficient way in which the work of the twelfth session of the General Assembly has been conducted.

265. We should like at the same time to express our gratitude to the officers of the Assembly, to Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, and to Mr. Cordier, the Secretary of the Assembly, as well as to all their associates, for their untiring efforts to ensure the best possible conditions for the execution of our work.

266. It is our hope that the last resolution, which has just been adopted unanimously by the General Assembly, will make a real contribution to peace and to international co-operation. In this spirit, Mr. President, we offer our best wishes for the New Year to you, to the Secretary-General, to the Secretary of the Assembly, to their associates and to all our esteemed colleagues.

267. Mr. ESIN (Turkey): It is a great honour for me to extend to you, on behalf of the Turkish delegation, our heartfelt thanks for the very wise, impartial and most patient way in which you have directed our proceedings. The gratitude and admiration of the Turkish delegation goes as well to our Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, and also to his very able staff for having assisted you so successfully in bringing your heavy schedule of work to an end at the scheduled time.

268. May I also add that in the view of my delegation no idea of aggression, as has just been alleged, has ever been entertained against Syria.

269. May I end by wishing you, Mr. President, as well as Lady Munro, a very well deserved holiday and a merry Christmas.

270. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Assembly, I am very touched, as I know my wife is, by the generosity and the warmth of the remarks which you have been kind enough to make about me and my work here. I have followed a distinguished line of Presidents; that in itself has been a source of great satisfaction to me, and to have been privileged to have received such commendations as you have been gracious enough to make about me today is something which I shall never forget for the rest of my life. Of course, I wish all of you the compliments of the season.

271. We have now completed our work for this session. I do not want to detain you, but I hope I may be permitted to express my gratitude and my profound sense of obligation to all those whose co-operation, so willingly proffered, has lightened my task and ensured the harmonious conclusion of our labours. My special thanks are due to our admirable and eminent Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, and to his executive assistant, Mr. Cordier. I have found their guidance and their wise counsel invaluable in the discharge of my office.

272. Nor would I wish to let this occasion pass without referring in the warmest terms to the work of the other members of the Secretary-General's staff—the conference officers, the interpreters and translators—and that modest majority which serves unobtrusively and unseen within the fastnesses of the Secretariat. All have met, with unflagging zeal and efficiency, the exacting tasks which have been laid upon them.

273. I count it also as an honour to have been associated during this session with the experienced and distinguished group of Vice-Presidents and Chairmen of Committees who have done so much to bring about the orderly and expeditious dispatch of our business.

274. To you, fellow delegates and Members of the Assembly, I wish to pay a tribute of praise in unstinted measure. While our debates have not been without anxieties, their difficulties and even at times their asperities, your fair-mindedness, your good humour and your courtesy have at all times been a source of inspiration to me.

275. You may recall the frequent references I have felt obliged to make in the course of our meetings to my being in the hands of the Assembly. They were, I am glad to say, kind and indulgent hands. It has, in truth, been a great privilege to have been able to act as your President.

276. I shall not embark here on any lengthy review of the work of this twelfth session but one or two issues of commanding importance do, perhaps, with your indulgence, merit some brief reference. In the economic sphere, I would mention the establishment of a special fund as an expansion of the existing technical assistance and development activities of our Organization. With the support and co-operation of Member Governments, this new measure can be expected to make a real contribution towards raising the levels of living in the less-developed countries of the world. The attainment of independence by these countries and their entry into international councils have brought our Organization new perspectives and new opportunities as well as new demands and new challenges. I am confident that it will not fail to meet those challenges.

277. I would not like to pass over the work of the Fourth Committee. It has dealt with great issues affecting the destiny of millions of people. There have been matters, naturally, upon which the Committee has been divided but, equally, there have been most important problems on which it has usefully succeeded in coming to unanimity, or near unanimity. Its work has not been less important for having been unspectacular.

278. Turning now to the political issues considered by the Assembly, it may be noted that a spirit of restraint and a willingness to compromise have not been lacking from our debates, even though, in some cases, unanimous votes have proceeded less from a common approach than from an inability to secure

general support for sharply divergent views. In respect of one important region, the Middle East, the Assembly has decided to continue the United Nations Emergency Force as a valuable restraint and a factor for stability in an area which has long been racked by discord. By agreeing, in principle, to the apportioning of the costs among its general membership it has placed a welcome emphasis on the concept of collective responsibility. In a related field, where humanitarian obligations are combined with a compelling political challenge, the Assembly has directed the attention of Member Governments to the critical need for greater voluntary support for the agency which it created to care for 900,000 Palestine refugees.

279. On yet another item connected with the Middle East and the relations between two neighbours, the Assembly, after full discussion in plenary session, passed no resolution, seeking instead to allow a respite for reflection and the abatement of tension.

280. I think we must in all frankness admit that the record of progress on the issue of disarmament is deeply disappointing. Our deliberations began in apparent deadlock and have unfortunately ended in a double deadlock, both on the substance of the problem and the procedure for future negotiation. This regrettable result must be judged as falling far short of what the world expects from our Organization. It expresses also, in an alarming form, the continued division of the world, a division which has, for more than ten years, reduced the effectiveness of the United Nations and restricted its capacity to realize its Charter potentialities. This division has cast in jeopardy the security of the uncommitted no less than the principal contestants and has made them all its victims. It has given local and regional disputes a universal significance, perpetuated old antagonisms, creating new ones and complicating the solution of every one of them.

281. At the beginning of our session, and referring to disarmament, I said that time was not on our side. I have been strengthened in this conviction by all that has happened since. I believe it to be more than ever essential—and I say this with the utmost earnestness—that we should grapple with this menace of great armaments. I believe that we must seek resolutely and without delay to break the nuclear stalemate, to end this coexistence of fear. It must be our constant endeavour to widen the margin between safety and deadly peril and to restore our Charter to its full strength and meaning.

282. I am one who subscribes to the belief that the urgency, the dangerous urgency, and the gravity of this problem will bring a timely and a full response from all the Powers which share the responsibility for its conclusion. Firmness of will and perseverance to surmount this latest perplexity are not lacking in the United Nations, which I am confident retains, in spite of its weaknesses, the capacity to serve a diplomacy of reconciliation and the aims of peace.

283. I lay down my office strong in the faith that the Charter road to a better life is still open. If at this session we have taken no more than one step, one short and tentative step nearer our goal, our efforts will have been amply rewarded.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Closing of the session

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

284. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

285. The PRESIDENT: The twelfth regular session of the General Assembly is closed.

The meeting rose at 8.5 p.m.