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President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 41

Question of the frontier between the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration and Ethiopia: reports of the Governments of Ethiopia and Italy (concluded)*

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4073) (concluded)

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ireland to tell us the results of the consultations which have taken place on this matter.

*Resumed from the 790th meeting.

2. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland): This morning [790th meeting], the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Killian of Ireland, presented to the Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4073] on the subject of the frontier between the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration and Ethiopia. In that report the Rapporteur was unfortunately unable to announce, with the regret which all of us feel I am sure, that it had not been possible for the Fourth Committee to present for adoption by the General Assembly a draft resolution on this subject, the urgency and importance of which is apparent to us all.

3. Since then developments have taken place which have encouraged the Irish delegation to table a draft resolution [A/1/320]. Delegations will already be familiar with most of the text of this draft; many of its paragraphs are set out in the Rapporteur’s report. The only paragraph to which I wish to draw the special attention of the Assembly is operative paragraph 3, which reads as follows:

*Recommend that the two Governments agree on the choice of an independent person within three months and, failing such agreement, invite His Majesty the King of Norway to nominate such independent person."

4. Paragraph 3 is the kernel of the proposal which my delegation had the honour to submit to the Assembly. I should like to say clearly and explicitly that what has transpired so far and that which has moved my delegation to put forward this proposal is the belief, and indeed the knowledge, that this paragraph is acceptable to the delegations of both Ethiopia and Italy.

5. Delegations will note that operative paragraph 3 contemplating recourse to the auspice action of His Majesty the King of Norway if the parties are unable to agree on the choice of an independent person, I am sure that all Members of the United Nations will feel profoundly and respectfully grateful to His Majesty if he graciously agrees to act in this connexion in the event of its proving necessary.

6. Speaking as Chairman of the Fourth Committee, I think it is a true observation to make that the desire of the overwhelming majority of delegations is considering this matter was to arrive at a draft resolution which the two countries most directly concerned would feel that they could accept. I feel that it will be a source of deep gratification to us all that that result has been achieved, and I hope that as a mark of that feeling of satisfaction the draft resolution which the Assembly has now before it may be adopted unanimously.

7. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): My delegation is gratified that the delegations of Ethiopia and Italy have agreed on a formula which makes it possible for the General Assembly to adopt a resolution on the item now under consideration.

8. Mr. VITELLI (Italy): I should like at this moment to express the sincere gratification of my delegation.
that an agreement has been reached at between the delegation of Ethiopia and my own.

9. Mr. NIJELS (Norway): I should like also to extend my congratulations to the parties concerned for having succeeded in reaching an agreement on the establishment of an arbitration tribunal to delimit the frontier between the two countries, contained in General Assembly resolution 123 (XII). This has made it possible for His Majesty the King of Norway for the appointment of a third jurist to the arbitration tribunal.

10. Having just heard the statements made by the two parties concerned, I feel somewhat concerned regarding the possibility of reaching a just solution in this matter, based on mutual understanding and giving satisfaction to both parties, as the parties will also succeed in reaching an agreement on the appointment of an independent referee to draw up the terms of reference for the arbitration tribunal.

11. As the representative of Ireland and the able Chairman of the Fourth Committee has explained in introducing the draft resolution (A/L.256) which we have before us, His Majesty the King of Norway has now been invited—and I repeat, invited—to appoint such an independent person, should the parties not succeed in reaching an agreement in this matter within three months. If, against our expectations, the parties should prove unable to agree on the independent person, it would then be a matter for His Majesty to determine whether he can consider as acceptable the invitation which will then be addressed to him by the two parties.

12. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution presented by the Ireland.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

13. The PRESIDENT: I assume that the Assembly would want it to be put in the record that it has taken note of the report of the Fourth Committee, if there is no objection the record will so indicate.

It was so decided.

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

15. Miss ANDERSON (United States of America): We are very pleased and highly favorable to the General Assembly to adopt a resolution on the Somali border dispute that is acceptable to both parties concerned and which gives promise of expediting the arbitration procedure established by General Assembly resolution 123 (XII). Such an outcome has been the sole aim of our delegation and, we are sure, of representatives in the Fourth Committee who have worked so hard to this end. We congratulate the Ethiopian and Italian delegations here, including the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Kassahun, for the spirit of compromise they have demonstrated. At the same time we express the fervent hope that this resolution will contribute to the elimination of the frontier prior to the independence of Somaliland on 2 December 1960.

16. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I should like to say how happy my delegation is that the General Assembly has been able unanimously to adopt this resolution to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. I should like to be allowed to congratulate all those concerned and, in particular, to express the appreciation which we feel to the delegation of Ethiopia and the delegation of Italy; and I would mention here the distinguished mediator who represents here the Government of Somalia.

17. I think, if I may be allowed to say so, that although the Fourth Committee did not in fact reach agreement on a draft resolution on this subject, this resolution which has now been unanimously adopted may be regarded as a fitting crown to the work of the Fourth Committee, whose Chairman has just introduced this resolution.

18. Mr. AL-HAKIM (Arab Republic of Egypt): The United Arab Republic delegation is indeed very happy in the unanimous adoption of this resolution by the Assembly. We were encouraged by the words of the Chairman of the Committee, but, due to the ceaseless efforts of some representatives on the Committee—I am thinking particularly of the head of the delegation of Ireland—this resolution has now been adopted unanimously.

19. It is our fervent hope that a solution will be found to this question well before 2 December 1960, when Somaliland will accede to independence and, we hope, to membership of our Organization. We are grateful to the representatives of Ethiopia and Italy for their cooperation during the last twenty-four hours.

20. I would ask the Minister from Somaliland to assure him of our full support in his efforts to bring to life the Assembly has the matter at heart and will never fail them.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentialed representatives to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly (concluded)

(a) Report of the Committee

Mr. Ramos (Argentina), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, presented the report of the Committee (A/4074).

Mr. MURATORI (Hungary): I wish to deal briefly with the legal, and then the political, aspects of this part of the report of the Credentials Committee (A/4074), which concerns itself with the legal question.

22. With regard to the legal aspect, I must call the attention of the Assembly to the fact that the Constitution of Hungary today is exactly the same as it was at the time when Hungary was admitted to membership of this Organization. All the political, social and economic changes which have taken place in the country since then are, as we know, constitutional changes. It is not a question of the legitimacy of the Hungarian constitution, but only of the manner in which it is interpreted.

23. At this juncture, I would like to mention the adoption at the General Assembly of the United States, on 18 June 1958, the resolution of the United States delegation to the United Nations. This resolution has initiated unfounded objections to the credentials of the Hungarian delegation, and I do not wish to deal here with the various inconsistencies in this attitude; this is neither the time nor the place for that. I wish, however, to emphasize that the General Assembly would be acting in the spirit of the great ideals of the United Nations if it would free Hungary from the position of being constantly used by the representatives of the United States for their "cold war" purposes. This discriminatory report in itself is another indication of the attitude of the United States Government towards Hungary.

24. I do not want to go into the moral aspect of the present resolution, or of the question of how detrimental such illegitimate actions are to the Organization as a whole. I think that is self-evident.

25. On the basis of the above considerations, my delegation will vote against the report of the Credentials Committee.

Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States delegation wishes to report the Credentials Committee (A/4074).

26. Again, as at every session since the 1950 Hungarian national uprising, the report of the Credentials Committee recommends that the General Assembly take such decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of the present representative of Hungary in the United Nations, the General Assembly has at five sessions already rejected such credentials on the basis of the non-fulfillment of all the obligations of the Charte.

27. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in the report of the Credentials Committee in its report (A/4974).

The draft resolution was adopted by 79 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

28. Mr. BELOVSKY (Yugoslavia): In voting in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation wishes to place on the record the following: first, the position of the representatives of the Chinese representation remains unchanged; and, second, the Yugoslav Government and delegation do not accept the procedure adopted by the Credentials Committee with regard to the credentials of the United Nations.

29. The PRESIDENT (Indonesia): Vice-President, took the Chair.

30. U THANT (Burma): My delegation has voted in favour of the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee, but this should not be construed as an acceptance of all
its implications. The point of view of my delegation has been that the aspirations of the Chinese in the United Nations in regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, which is now occupying the seat of the former Republic of China, is a case in point once again, to strengthen our conviction that the Government of the Republic of China which is now operating in Formosa does not represent the people of China or its influence over any part of China, and is in no way legitimate to be installed on the mainland of China. My delegation has convinced itself that the Government of the Republic of China alone exercises effective control over the mainland of China, the conviction that the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China now present on Formosa are invalid. With these reservations, my delegation votes in favor of the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee.

40. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation votes in favor of the approval of the Credentials Committee's report. This vote does not, however, signify any change in the Soviet delegation's attitude to the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations or to the General Assembly's decision regarding the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

41. The Soviet delegation feels obliged to draw the attention of the members of the General Assembly to the question of the credentials of the People's Republic of China and to claim representation for the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

42. The People's Republic of China has achieved great progress in developing its economy and strengthening its national independence, and has become a mighty bastion of peace, not only in Asia but in the world as a whole. It is a country now having a major role in world affairs, or that China's achievements derive from its evolution into a genuinely democratic and fully sovereign State.

43. The fact that China—a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council—has not been represented in the UN for the past two years cannot fail to detract from the authority and prestige of this Organization, which is called upon to unite the widely-spoiled people in their struggle for a lasting peace.

44. The reason for this abnormal situation in the matter of China's representation in the United Nations is no secret, nor does the United States make a secret of the fact that its attitude to the People's Republic of China is based on the revision of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. The People's Republic of China is represented on the delegations of many countries to prevent the General Assembly from so much as discussing the question of China's representation in the United Nations.

45. It is the Soviet delegation's opinion that the General Assembly should stand indifferent to the United Nations to serve the interests of the United States and should resolve the abnormal situation over China's representation in the United Nations in the General Assembly could repute the credentials of the private persons who are the agents of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. It is the duty of the United Nations to resolve the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations without delay.

46. With regard to the credentials of the Hungarian delegation, my delegation has been unable to protest vigorously against the decision, imposed by the United States, casting doubt on the validity of the credentials issued to the Hungarian representatives. There are no grounds, nor have there been in the past, for doubting the validity of the Hungarian delegation's credentials, which have been presented in accordance with United Nations procedure. That delegation represents the only lawful Government of the Hungarian State, and with which the majority of States Members of the United Nations maintain diplomatic relations.

47. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic enjoys the confidence and the full support of the Hungarian people. Manifest proof of this was recently furnished by the results last November of the elections to the central and local administrative organs of the Hungarian People's Republic. In answer to the slanderous fabrications of their enemies, the entire adult population of Hungary resolutely demonstrated at those elections that democracy is the only way to build and defend the Hungarian People's Republic. Over nine years ago the Chinese people swept away the corrupt régime of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and established their own genuine democratic State—the People's Republic of China.

48. The People's Republic of China has achieved great progress in developing its economy and strengthening its national independence, and has become a mighty bastion of peace, not only in Asia but in the world as a whole. It is a country now having a major role in world affairs, or that China's achievements derive from its evolution into a genuinely democratic and fully sovereign State.

49. The fact that China—a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council—has not been represented in the UN for the past two years cannot fail to detract from the authority and prestige of this Organization, which is called upon to unite the widely-spoiled people in their struggle for a lasting peace.

50. Such a position can be explained only by the unremitting anti-Hungarian intrigues of the Western Powers and their attempt to subvert the United Nations and its General Assembly from so much as discussing the question of China's representation in the United Nations.

51. Those who raised the issue of the Hungarian delegation's credentials evidently attempted to compromise the Hungarian delegation would enable them to continue their campaign of slander against the Hungarian People's Republic and to make the issue of the new strength to the defeated reactionaries both inside Hungary and abroad. Any attempted attempts to complicate the issue would be a mistake. It is certain that neither the slanderers of the United States representative and Indonesia's proposals are valid. The first attempt to cast doubt on the validity of the Hungarian delegation's credentials will disturb the normal life of the Hungarian People's Republic.

52. The Soviet delegation regards the decision of the Credentials Committee not to rule on the credentials of the Hungarian People's Republic as unlawful and contrary to the United Nations Charter and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

53. Mr. BENABUD (Morocco) (translated from Spanish): The report contains a reference to the credentials of the representatives to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. Nevertheless, the delegation has interpreted it as altering my Government's position on the representation of the People's Republic of China.

54. Mr. GABRIELI (Laos) took the Chair.

55. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) (translated from French): The Romanian delegation voted in favor of the report of the Credentials Committee, but wishes to make the following explanation:

56. First of all, the Romanian delegation considers that the credentials submitted by the persons illegally occupying China's seat here are not valid. As has already been pointed out more than once in the General Assembly, the only Government which has the right to represent the People's Republic of China is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, as proclaimed by the Provisional Government of the Constitution which the great Chinese people has established for itself, and which effectively exercises its authority, with the successes we are all aware of, over the territory of China.

57. Secondly, the recent discussion of the so-called Hungarian question has once again demonstrated the desire of the initiators of that discussion to poison the international atmosphere and to find numerous pretexts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. The People's Republic of China cannot be challenged. Not to take a decision on this question would amount to ignoring the problem itself. The United Nations has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Member States. The explanation of vote made by the United States representative before the vote was a further illustration of that fact. The Romanian delegation wishes to emphasize that the validity of the credentials of the delegation of the People's Republic of China is beyond question.

58. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): The Polish delegation voted for the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee; this is the first attempt to cast doubt on the validity of the Hungarian delegation's credentials will disturb the normal life of the Hungarian People's Republic.

59. I would like to add that in our opinion the real representative of China is to act as a harmonizing and stabilizing factor in international relations and calm international controversies. Unfortunately, in our opinion, the discussions of the credentials do not contribute toward this end. I think that the question of the legal representation of the Chinese people in the United Nations is also very clear, I am certain that it is clear even for the majority of those who this year still insist on voting for the Committee's decision.

60. We hope that the United Nations will not repeat in the future the erroneous and harmful decisions of last year, and that in the near future the representatives of China will work here in this hall together with us for the peace and well-being of the United Nations.

61. Mr. PERSOON DIXON (United Kingdom): The views of my delegation on the representation of China have already been stated on previous occasions at this session of the General Assembly, and I do not want to repeat them now. I should like, however, to say a few words about the question of the representation of Hungary.

62. At both the eleventh and twelfth sessions of the General Assembly [see A/3536 and A/3723], the Credentials Committee's report on the credentials of the Hungarian People's Republic was not adopted. Nevertheless, the Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3849] have strengthened our misgivings and doubts in these circumstances, my delegation would have been unable to support any recommendation that the Assembly should accept the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary.
65. The Albanian delegation cannot recognize the validity of the credentials submitted by the representatives of the United States of America, since it is certain that this clique was driven out by the Chinese people in 1949 and has taken refuge in Taiwan under the protection of the United Nations. We must be satisfied that the great Chinese people are not yet represented in the United Nations.

66. The Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate Government of the Chinese people. It has the right to speak in this Assembly and the organs of the United Nations in the name of the Chinese people. That Government has always been and will always be the mediator in the controversy, except for the island of Taiwan, which is occupied by the United States. The People's Republic of China is a great country, and an important factor in the maintenance of peace in Asia and throughout the world. Its presence is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The efforts made to prevent one of the chief Powers of the world from occupying its lawful place in the United Nations and the organs of the United Nations jeopardize the authority and effectiveness of our Organization. This abnormal situation is incompatible with the fundamental principles of the Charter and will always lead to negative results.

67. As regards the part of the report which deals with the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, my delegation considers it necessary to state that the credentials of the Committee's conclusion. My delegation believes that there is no evidence or other observations concerning the validity of the Hungarian delegation's credentials, because those credentials are entirely in agreement with the General Assembly's rules of procedure. The Hungarian delegation represents the legal Government of Hungary, and any objection to it has been artificially raised by the delegations of the United States and certain other Powers in flagrant contradiction to the Charter.

68. Mr. Krishna MENO (India): My delegation voted for the report of the Credentials Committee. This does not mean that the Government of India is in agreement with all the sentiments expressed in this report. Indeed, there are serious differences of opinion on this question, but the Government of India is in agreement with all the sentiments expressed in this report. Therefore, there are serious differences of opinion on this question, but the Government of India is in agreement with all the sentiments expressed in this report. Therefore, there are serious differences of opinion on this question, but the Government of India is in agreement with all the sentiments expressed in this report.

69. The first of these is in regard to the representation of China. The views of the Government of India are in agreement with those expressed by the Chairman, and they stand unchanged. There is, however, one observation that I am asked to make, namely, that this report and the rules of the Committee of the Credentials Committee set out therein prove only the point that we have already submitted, that the resolution which the Assembly adopted banning the discussion of this question for twelve months [Resolution 1230 (XII)] really anticipates the functions of the Credentials Committee and the Assembly to the same extent. That is clearly proved by this report.

70. Then we come to the matter of Hungary. My delegation was instructed to support the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic because it represents a country with which we have diplomatic relations. My delegation has no desire to reopen the debate that has taken place in this Assembly. We did not take part in that debate for reasons which I shall set out in a moment. However, since the matter has been opened in the debate on credentials, I should like to make this statement under the auspices of my delegation. We must be satisfied that the great Chinese people are not yet represented in the United Nations.

71. We regretted the incidents that took place in Hungary in October 1956, and subsequently we expressed our sympathy for the agreement reached with the Hungarian Government. We have also expressed the hope that the Hungarian people will be able to live in conditions of freedom without fear and want, to enjoy all rights under present conditions from the United States delegation, again questions the validity of the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic.

72. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly has proper credentials, issued by the Hungarian Government. The Assembly is in full accordance with its Constitution, satisfying all requirements. The refusal of the Credentials Committee to accept these credentials is without valid argument and is an attempt to provoke the political United States and does not mean that international cooperation which should be the primary aim of the United Nations.

80. Mr. NONG KIMNY (Cambodia): The vote which the Cambodian delegation has cast in favour of the resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee should not be interpreted as a change in our position concerning the question of the representation of China.

81. My Government has recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China. As Prince Norodom Sihanouk and I expressed in our joint statement of July 29th, my delegation, said during the general debate [57th meeting], my Government considers that the Government of the People's Republic of China exercises de facto the sole authority over the United Nations and that it is the legitimate representative of China. It was with this reservation that we voted in favour of the resolution.

82. Mr. KWEDEJHOO (Indonesia): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution. We agree that the resolution is in line with the credentials of the Committee. My delegation did so with certain reservations with regard to the representation of China.

83. To the question of the representation of China is well known and remains unchanged. My Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of China in effective control over the Chinese mainland and over the Chinese people, and my delegation maintains that this Government being the only legitimate Government, should be represented at the United Nations.

84. Mr. TSANG (China): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution. This is the only legitimate Government of China in effective control over the Chinese mainland and over the Chinese people, and my delegation maintains that this Government being the only legitimate Government, should be represented at the United Nations.

85. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria holds the view that by recognizing the credentials of the self-appointed representatives of China a serious insult is being inflicted on and an act of great injustice is being done to the Republic of China by the Bulgarian delegation. The only legitimate representation of China, from taking part in this Organization's work is a loss, not to the People's Republic of China, but to the United Nations.

86. The Czechoslovak delegation also strongly protests against the fact that in its report the Credentials Committee, while accepting certain fact, under present conditions from the United States delegation, again questions the validity of the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic.

87. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly has proper credentials, issued by the Bulgarian Government. The Assembly is in full accordance with its Constitution, satisfying all requirements. The refusal of the Credentials Committee to accept these credentials is without valid argument and is an attempt to provoke the political United States and does not mean that international cooperation which should be the primary aim of the United Nations.

88. The Bulgarian delegation declines once more that it cannot accept as representatives of the Chinese People's Republic the representatives of the Chinese People's Government, and that the credentials of the Bulgarian delegation do not approve the report of the Credentials Committee concerning the representation of China.

89. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria cannot agree to the proposal that no decision be taken on the credentials of the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic. We consider that there are absolutely no grounds for voicing any doubts as to the legitimacy of the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. The aims of the proposal made in the report are entirely transparent.

90. The aims of certain interested circles in some Western countries as regards the People's Republic of China, which considers the People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic to be the legitimate Government of the Chinese people, are to keep up the spirit of the enemies of the Hungarian and Chinese people, and to promote the old regime in Hungary which has been already shattered.

91. Having all this in mind, the Bulgarian delegation cannot approve the report of the Credentials Committee as regards the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the People's Republic of China. The credentials of the Hungarian or the Chinese delegation are not under discussion to the Assembly. The Assembly is legitimate and perfect in order.

92. Mr. TSANG (China): My delegation voted for the acceptance of the report of the Credentials Committee although at the time of voting we were not aware of possible reservations on the part of some of the delegations present. I will therefore make a brief explanation.

93. The representatives who have come to this rostrum to record their reservations in regard to the credentials of my delegation may be divided into two groups: those who belong to the Soviet bloc and those who do not.

94. To those who belong to the Soviet bloc, I have nothing to say. Their purpose is plain. They wish to strengthen and consolidate the hold of international communism, and they are no representatives of the people of Asia. They have a further role of an agent of the power of the United States. This Assembly has chosen not to allow this Organization to be employed for such a sinister purpose.

95. I should like to say a brief word to those repre-
spectives such as the prohibition of launching of rockets in the context of military purposes and the elimi-
nation of all foreign military bases in the territory of
other countries. In order to facilitate agreement
on the narrower proposition of international co-operation
in the use of cosmic space for peaceful purposes,
the military aspects were no longer included in a revised
draft resolution proposed by the USSR.
107. Other representatives urged that these military
aspects should be considered within the framework of
disarmament and in the context of disarmament questions,
it said, might even be facilitated by the further
enhancement of facts, relations among peoples strengthened, if international co-operation in the use of outer space became a reality.
108. The debate further showed the complexity of the problem of outer space and its jurisdictional, scientific, technical and political aspects. The idea of the international character of outer space as a new forum seemed to have been generally accepted.
109. Although the benefits mankind could derive from outer space were envisaged in the debate, it was pointed out that it was not yet known in exactly what form it might be possible to use the knowledge derived from exploring space for peaceful purposes. The debate clearly proved the necessity for international action to study and to solve collectively the numerous problems arising from the exploration of unknown infinite space.
110. Twenty Powers introduced a draft resolution that provided, as a first step, for the establishment of an ad hoc committee on the peaceful uses of outer space. It was proposed that the General Assembly at its fourteenth session on four relevant categories of studies on outer space ques-
tions. This draft resolution was approved by the twenty Powers in the course of the debate, which showed that the main difference of opinion between the two positions did not relate to the substance of the work to be started but concerned the composition of the pre-existing organs. Efforts to come to an agreement in this matter failed.
111. In the revised twenty-Power draft resolution, as submitted by the General Assembly, the important elements of the original Soviet resolution were retained, including a membership of eighteen countries was proposed. The fact that over twenty sponsors, the eighteen countries proposed represented not only the nations most advanced in outer space technology as well as those that strayed an active interest in the peaceful uses of outer space, and they also reflected the membership of the General Assembly.
112. With regard to the proposed composition of the ad hoc committee, the representative of the USSR stated, contrary to the voting of the twenty Powers, that the attempt to impose a membership list and com-
mmittee structure was unacceptable to the Soviet Union. Therefore his country would not take part in such a committee. He further stated that he could not accept the fact that an unanimous decision was in sight regarding the Soviet draft resolution, the USSR would not press for a vote on its proposal.
113. The revised draft resolution was adopted by the First Committee by 54 votes to 9, with 18 abstentions. After the vote was taken several repre-
sentatives expressed the hope that it might still be possible to establish a firm basis for the elaboration of the proposed ad hoc committee before the item came before the Assembly, since the participation of the USSR, one of the most advanced in this field, would be most desirable.
114. Mr. SOLOBIE (Union of Soviet Socialist Repub-
lics) (in writing): The report of the First Committee [A/4090] on the investigation of the peace-
ful use of outer space has been submitted to the Gen-
eral Assembly. This report considers it justi-
fied to extend its jurisdiction to scientific, technical and political aspects. The idea of the international character of outer space as a new forum seemed to have been generally accepted.
115. An overwhelming majority of the countries rep-
resented in the First Committee quite clearly ex-
pressed their interest in ensuring the exclusively peaceful use of outer space, and favoured the estab-
lishment of international co-operation to that end under the auspices of the United Nations. The general tone of the debate in the Committee gave evidence of a desire to reach an agreement acceptable to all States and particularly to the Soviet Union and the United States, since it is the fundament-
mental research on outer space. The negative position expressed by the United States delegation, however, made it impossible to reach an agreement.
116. The Soviet delegation spared no effort in its search for a mutually acceptable solution. Suffice it to recall that it was on behalf of the Sov-
etic Union that the question of cosmic space was sub-
mitted to the General Assembly for consideration [see A/3818 (Corr. 1)]. In that initiative the Soviet delegation submitted specific proposals for a solution of the outer space problem, including the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the related question of the elimination of foreign military bases on the territory of outer space and the establishment within the United Nations framework of an international organ for co-operation in the study of cosmic space.
117. The United States flatly refused to consider the military aspects of the problem of outer space, thus revealing its intention to use intensively the rocket and nuclear weapons race which constitutes an ever increasing threat to peace, and its unwillingness to subject to any control their military establishments.
118. The repeated assertions of the United States re-
sulted in the decision of the First Committee that the United States military establishment and expansion of military bases on the territory of countries of the socialist camp and as a means of exerting influence on the countries on whose terri-
tory such bases are established.
119. The repeated assertions of the United States re-
sulted in the decision of the First Committee that the United States military establishment and expansion of military bases on the territory of countries of the socialist camp and as a means of exerting influence on the countries on whose terri-
tory such bases are established.
countries on whose territories the United States has constructed military bases have long been trying with some success to persuade the United States to eliminate those bases.

119. The United States delegation was unable to give any convincing answer to those statements, because it is obvious that the United States is still at all cost to maintain and expand its network of military bases, which constitutes a threat to peace in various parts of the world.

120. Realizing that at the present time the United States and the other Western Powers refuse altogether to discuss the question of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, and seeking to meet the wills of the many countries which are interested in the development of the United States in matters concerning the peaceful conquest of cosmic space, the United States delegation stated in its opening statement at the 9th meeting that the establishment within the United Nations framework of an inter-governmental committee for international co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space should be taken up as an inequitable basis. The representatives of Czechoslovakia and Poland also stated that the commission of the ad hoc committee proposed by the United States was unacceptable, and that they would refuse to take part in the work of such a committee.

121. The United Nations' new proposals were regarded by a majority of the delegations in the First Committee as an important step towards the formulation of a compromise solution which would be acceptable to all. The self-stated purpose of the representatives of the United Nations was to seek to ensure that the United States should be able to develop and use the outer space in accordance with the dictates of the United Nations.

122. In the circumstances the United States was obliged to agree. Owing to the obvious unwillingness of the United States delegation to proceed to a conclusion in earnest, however, that conversation actually lasted not more than 15 minutes, and the Soviet delegation made a real effort to meet the wills of the United States on the thorny question of the composition of the preparatory group. Although the composition of the group originally proposed by the Soviet Union was balanced, it was considered to exclude one or two Latin American countries, thereby giving the Western states an advantage. The Soviet delegation was prepared to continue the discussion with the expectation that mutual concessions would result. The United States, however, rejected the proposal, saying: "What is more, it hastened to break off negotiations and, without even informing the Soviet delegation, submitted the draft resolution in which it proposed the formation of an ad hoc committee consisting of eighteen countries, twelve of which was to include all the industrial countries and only six to be given to other countries (three to so-called and three to neutral countries). It is obvious that such a composition would have ensured the domination of the United States. The United States invasion of the General Assembly would not have offered an equitable basis for co-operation among the States members of the committee.

123. The Soviet Union, however, naturally cannot and cannot agree to such a one-sided and biased composition of the committee. The Soviet delegation stated that this proposal meant nothing but the peaceful conquest of outer space under the auspices of the United Nations.

124. The unwillingness of the United States to co-operate in the exploration of outer space is not an isolated case; rather it is characteristic of the whole foreign policy of the United States foreign policy, whose salient feature is recourse to pressure and dictatorial methods. Clear manifestation of this policy are to be found in other fields as well.

125. The Soviet delegation considers that in so new and important a matter as the peaceful use of outer space it is essential to act in agreement from the very beginning. Only in that way can a firm foundation be laid for genuine and equitable co-operation in the matter between Governments.

126. As the draft resolution imposed on the First Committee by the United States delegation cannot serve as a basis for such co-operation, the Soviet delegation will vote against it, even though it does not object in principle to the continuation of the discussion on this important problem. The Soviet Union will eventually change its position and join this committee. Such reasoning is entirely unfounded, and based on a desire to save face at the expense of the United States and to reassure public opinion, which may be disturbed by the United States' refusal to co-operate on the peaceful use of outer space. The delegation of the United States wishes to state that an ad hoc committee with the United Nations is not acceptable to the United States cannot be an organ of international co-operation for the exploration of outer space. The Soviet Union is opposed to the establishment of a committee set up by the United Nations in accordance with the dictates of the United States.

127. Frutful co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space will be possible only with the participation of the committee which is to lay the groundwork for that important question. The Soviet delegation believes that the United States should be forced to co-operate in the peaceful use of outer space, and that its membership in the committee should be one-sided and not would not ensure an objective scrutiny of this important problem.

128. It should be clear to everyone that a committee would not participate in this important question, and that a later General Assembly would find itself in the position of having to consider the results of the attempts by the United States to force the General Assembly to accept the disarmament Com- misiona composition suitable only to the Western Powers is still fresh in the minds of all. As a result, a solution of the question before the General Assembly will be impossible at the present session to correct the mistake made in the course of the 9th meeting.

129. The First Committee of its own accord is to undertake to consider the important problem of the composition of the ad hoc committee. The Soviet delegation is not prepared to go into the details of the matter and the lack of agreement on it. The fact is that the United States did not accept the proposal of the ad hoc committee, and here we are, in the first cosmic blind alley. My country has been nominated to serve on the ad hoc committee. We would gladly assume this responsibility under one condition: that both great Powers which have achieved successes in the field of cosmic exploration take part in its work. We have just heard the statement of the representative of the USSR announcing that his country will not under the circumstances accept the proposed committee. In view of this fact I have to declare that any delegation does not accept this proposal. But it is of no use to work from this cripplied committee, and therefore will not take part in such a committee, nor will we accept its conclusions, nor will we support any committee which takes a step against the establishment of a committee set up by the United Nations as the basis for international co-operation in the exploration of outer space. The Soviet Union reserves the right to bring up the matter again at a later time and place and to seek a positive solution, as the peoples of different countries demand, in the interests of the peace and the security of States and small and medium.

130. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): We can be sure of one thing: the item which has appeared for the first time on the agenda of the General Assembly. The question of "The peaceful use of outer space" is here to stay. Every year this problem will be more and more important, and it will contribute to the greatness of the human race as well as for its survival. Born out of the search for deadly weapons by human ingenuity, the greatest adventure of our era has begun. We have embarked upon the road which can lead us to the stars and galaxies or to annihilation.

131. My country, the Soviet Union, in the first step, and unfortunately we have already stepped, it was a wrong step, a step on a dangerous road. Up to this point the diplomatic effort has failed to bring the world closer to technical realism. But the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee in its report [A/4067] presupposes that there will be no amendment. While basic agreement on the substance of the peaceful use of cosmic space has been reached, there is still considerable difference of opinion on the important problem of the composition of the ad hoc committee to implement this important undertaking. There is no point in our going to get details of the matter and the lack of agreement on it. The fact is that the United States did not accept the proposal of the ad hoc committee, and here we are, in the first cosmic blind alley. My country has been nominated to serve on the ad hoc committee. We would gladly assume this responsibility under one condition: that both great Powers which have achieved successes in the field of cosmic exploration take part in its work.
of the Soviet draft resolution. We took those ideas over and put them in and adopted them as an example of our good will and our desire for harmony. We, the spokesmen of the Governments of the United Nations, have a number of offers which, I think, can be characterized as generous as regards the membership of the proposed committee. I think that Dr. Molotov, the Soviet Union, has given us something more than half way. But when we tried to do this, the French Government, for instance, not from the USSR representative was to be eliminated from the original committee of six countries, all of which have a big part to play in the future, I do not think they should not give the Assembly the list of the names of the countries which Mr. Zorin wanted to eliminate from the proposed committee. The names were: Italy, Belgium, Japan, Brazil, Iran and Australia—all of them countries with a considerable voice, he made it, he should insist that they indeed said it, he agreed to add Romania. We thought that that might make the ad hoc committee even more attractive to him. But Mr. Zorin said no.

138. I heard Mr. Sobolev this evening talk about automatism, majorities. One of the things that has interested me here—well, I have, I have impressed quite a number of delegations—is the automatic minority which we see performing fairly regularly, I think that if the day ever comes when the Soviet Union gets a majority in this body—and I hope that it will come because it will mean the end of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its attitude—he will not call it an automatic majority, it is automatic when the other fellow gets it.

139. The United States would like a resolution on the peaceful use of outer space. We think that it should contain the unanimous support of the Assembly. And in particular, the insistence by the Soviet Union on what we consider to be a distorted and unprecedented composition for the ad hoc committee.

140. The Soviet Union representative has made it clear he is unwilling to accept a committee of composition which is based on two criteria: that is, scientific advancement and technical activity, on the one hand, in the field of outer space, and equitable geographical representation, on the other. If one looks at the list of the members of the proposed committee, one will see that they reflect those two criteria.

141. The Soviet Union insisted on certain conditions regarding the composition which we consider to be entirely incompatible with the principles upon which the United Nations was founded. It insisted, with respect to a new venture in international co-operation, that the working party be divided into two hostile camps, or two sides, as Mr. Zorin phrased it. Then the two camps, as represented by equal numbers of countries on the proposed committee. Decisions would be made by voting blocks. There would not be a free vote, and there would not be consideration regarding the merits of questions, there would be voting blocks. And I do not think that the United Nations can accept something like that.

142. If this effort succeeds, in dividing the world into a group of satellites of the Soviet Union—which does exist—and a group of satellites of the United States—which does not exist, and which will never exist—then the rest of the delegations might as well go home. There would be no meeting of the Security Council, that is exactly what is at stake here.

143. The composition of the ad hoc committee on the peaceful uses of outer space is more than fair to the Soviet Union and its adherents, and, in spite of the differences which have developed, we still hope that the Soviet Union will recognize the fact that it will ultimately decide to participate. The work of the Committee will proceed in any event, but we hope that it can proceed cooperatively.

144. The United Nations should assume its role in the peaceful uses of outer space now that a new era is starting. This is the time at which, according to the General Assembly, we have to consider the peaceful uses of outer space and to establish a committee which will react to the situation and draft specific rules and sources involved and would recommend at the fourteenth session of the Assembly a programme of international co-operation in the field of outer space which might be undertaken under United Nations auspices and under organizational arrangements which would be suitable and constructive.

145. The proposed ad hoc committee has important work ahead of it. The Soviet Union can make a great and unique contribution to its work. In spite of the differences which the Assembly has witnessed here today, we still maintain that the Soviet Union does not withhold the great contribution which it can make to international co-operation in this field. The United States, for its part, is ready to work with the Soviet Union, while Mr. Lodge proposed two. The negotiations were interrupted at that point. Agreement had not been reached on any of the United Nations countries and the group of British Commonwealth countries.

146. The President: I call on the Soviet Union representative who writes to exercise his right of reply.

147. Mr. SOBOLEY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation cannot understand and cannot accept the proposals which have just been made by the United States representatives. Once again, Mr. Lodge and the wishes of the United States regarding the two British Commonwealth countries, the Soviet Union proposed the additions of the United Nations countries—countries instead of the twelve it had named. Ceylon is also mentioned, so that addition would increase the representation of the Asian continent.

148. At a meeting recently after the Committee had adopted its decision, the Soviet delegation naturally proposed amendments. I am pleased to say that we were able to get one of them accepted, thereby breaking the deadlock and bring about a harmonious conclusion to this issue, he will be making a saving contribution to the cause of peace. For my part, I can only voice this feeling, and hope that something similar will happen.

149. We believe that the Soviet Union has done everything possible in that respect. The Soviet Union therefore the States once again that no fruitful co-operation can be expected from a committee whose composition is dictated and not arrived at by mutual agreement. Without such agreement, the committee would be useless and the Soviet Union will not participate in the work of any such body.

150. The President: I wish to say how deeply disappointed I am—and I am sure many of you felt the same way—that this deadlock between the two negotiating countries has not been broken. If, at this late hour, we were to break this deadlock and bring about agreement and a harmonious conclusion to this issue, we will be making a saving contribution to the cause of peace. For my part, I can only voice this feeling, and hope that something similar will happen.

151. I call on the representative of the United States who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

152. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Let me begin by saying, in response to the remark made by the President, that we are not about to break the deadlock. Now, I am just going to give the Assembly an opportunity of acting on the United Nations. The Soviet Union has tried to cultivate the impression that it has been eminently reasonable, and that the fifty-one countries who voted in the First Committee for the twenty-Powers revised draft resolution, but particularly the United States, have been inflexible and unreasonable and have refused
to negotiate seriously. So let us see exactly what happened.

163. First, the United States gave the Soviet Union its draft resolution, a draft that had begun a few days before, and offered the Soviet Union an opportunity to co-sponsor, and we gave it time to consider the question. One hour before the meeting of the United States, submitted its own draft resolution. Four days later the Soviet representative finally agreed to our approach, that they would decide, and the Soviet Union preferred the debate to proceed. Now, that was the kind of co-operation which we expected.

164. Second, the Soviet Union submitted its revised draft resolution which deleted the military base issue, but which also specified what States should be on the committee. And it also specified the composition. The Soviet Union was carefully arranged to include four members from the Western group, four from what it called Western countries, and four which it regarded as neutrals. It was clearly based on the concept of two sides. This was the second example of Soviet co-operation. We welcomed evolution of the Soviet position, and, after consultation with our co-sponsors, we entered into discussions with the Soviet Union to try to produce a joint resolution with a reasonable composition.

165. Third, the United States delegation, on behalf of the co-sponsors, had private talks with the Soviet Union on 20 and 21 November 1958. We took the position that the committee should reflect technical competence in outer space and the membership of the United Nations. The Soviet Union agreed that it must be made up of two sides and that the Soviet Union should have the right to veto all candidates. We suggested two criteria, four members, and fair to the Soviet Union: one of nine members, one of thirteen. The Soviet Union continued to insist on a committee consisting of four communist countries and reflecting the equality of the two sides. It stated that it would not accept any countries from Latin America with which it did not have diplomatic relations, and that it would not accept Australia or Belgium, countries which it considered to be imperialist, a fact which both of us recognized at that time. In fact, that actual word was used at the end of our final discussions, and that was the third example of co-operation.

166. In the fourth place, the co-sponsors had decided to introduce a resolution on their own slate of eighteen members, with a ratio still more favourable to the Soviet Union, which they did after discussion of the two issues during the discussions of the First Committee. Then the Committee approved this list by a vote on the pertinent paragraph 491 to 9. The Soviet Union then stated it would not serve on the committee, even though the Soviet Union and its satellite would have a larger proportion of seats than they enjoyed in the United Nations itself. This was the fourth example of Soviet co-operation.

167. Fifth, because of the obvious value of Soviet co-operation in the proposed committee several delegations have expressed the view that the draft resolution was adopted by the First Committee to ascertain whether some agreement could be reached. The Soviet Union tried to convey the impression in these conversations that it wished on the committee, and that the United States alone prevented its participation. But we were not aware that the Soviet Union was ever further explored, in each instance it has become clear that it has no intention of negotiating. It continues to insist on the equality of the two sides have a majority. Everyone can count. The most elementary arithmetic shows which side has a majority and which a minority.

168. In 1958, what was the list of eighteen proposed by Mr. Lodge? Twelve countries (which I shall not enumerate) bound by military agreements with the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp, three neutral countries. Consider for a moment: twelve countries on the side of Mr. Lodge, with the balance of power in the United States under the control of the Soviet Union and three neutral countries. Now, we know that the Soviet Union cannot accept any of the other. On the contrary, they are neutral precisely because they are not aligned with either side and maintain their own independence. It was along this reason that the Soviet proposals placed a group of neutral countries in a position where they could tip the scales one way or the other.

169. What is wrong with this? Why is it unacceptable? Why does Mr. Lodge consider that the only fair composition is one in which the representatives of the Western military blocs have a two-to-one majority? This is a curious conception of fairness which we do not agree with, nor do we believe there are many who will share our view.

170. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the voting on resolution A/4098. A roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

India, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called on first.

In favour: Iran, Israel, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, the United States, United Kingdom, Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Federal Germany, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland.


Abstaining: India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Libya, Madagascar, Malaya, Malta, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 53 votes to 9, with 19 abstentions.

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

Mr. FSCOLKA (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): I should like to explain why the Czechoslovak delegation voted against the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee. Our delegation regrets that, owing to the atmosphere existing in the United States, we were unable to reach agreement on such an important issue as the resolution of the outer space challenge. The debate on this question in the First Committee showed that there was every opportunity for reaching such an agreement, since the Western parties and the Soviet parties concerned held fundamentally identical views on the essential aspects of the problem. The cause of the failure to negotiate on the outer space issue was the attitude of the United States, which, when there was a chance of reaching a compromise resolution on the peaceful use of outer space, declined to discuss the composition of the proposed preparatory group, and thus obstructed the only possible two-sided and entirely unacceptable composition, which would have placed members of military blocs associated with the Western position, on the committee. This, incidentally, was clearly demonstrated by the debate which preceded the vote today. For all his efforts, Mr. Lodge failed to prove that the United States had sincerely tried to reach agreement on a composition acceptable to both sides.

172. During the debate on the peaceful use of outer space in the First Committee, the great majority of representatives emphasized the need for free and open cooperation could be achieved in this new field, it was essential to adopt such organizations and procedures to enable decisions and negotiations to be reached short of a constructive international understanding concerning the peaceful use of outer space unless its decisions were unanimous. It is surely not the role of the General Assembly to impose a one-sided decision in this field.

In favour: Iran, Israel, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, the United States, United Kingdom, Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Federal Germany, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland.


Abstaining: India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaya, Malta, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 53 votes to 9, with 19 abstentions.

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

Mr. FSCOLKA (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): I should like to explain why the Czechoslovakia
That being the case, it is indeed regrettable that the Ad Hoc Committee, central though it is in giving much useful work without Soviet participation, should be deprecating the Committee's right. It seems that the Soviet Union could make its work. We regret that the Soviet delegation felt unable to accept the modifications in the composition of the Committee offered to them by the United States delegation on behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution.

183. The Soviet delegation has, it seems to me, advanced no very strong reasons for their decision to boycott the Ad Hoc Committee. Perhaps the most revealing argument was one used by Mr. Voron in his statement to the Press on 25 November 1958, when he said:

"It is worth of attention that of eighteen resolutions proposed by the United States for the composition of the preparatory committee, twelve countries belong to military blocs created by the United States of America and dependent on it, and only six seats are reserved for other countries, three for socialist countries and three for neutral countries."

The statement continues:

"Thus, in the question of using outer space for peaceful purposes, the United States of America sets itself the task of establishing a committee which would be fully under its control and would not provide any space for the equal co-operation of States parties." 5

184. Mr. Sobolov and his colleagues have spoken in the same vein this evening. It is not surprising that is the case, but it is not acceptable to us. We know the Soviet conception that the world is divided into two blocs engaged in mortal strife, but we do not share this view of the international scene.

185. In any case, there seems to us no reason why the Committee should take the form of one group of States under the leadership of the Soviet Union and another group under the leadership of the United States. That is not the way we look at the Committee at all. Indeed, composition on the lines of the other committee that is to say that the United States should be affected by the differences between the inhabitants of this single planet. The historians of the future will find it difficult to understand the considerations which have been behind our failure to reach unanimous agreement on this point.

186. Now that the Assembly has adopted the resolution, I would appeal to the Soviet Union to reconsider their decision to boycott the Committee. As we do not now ask their co-operation—let us see newly to find at hand from the rest of the world in this field.

AGENDA ITEM 63
Question of Algeria

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/4075)

186. Mr. MATSCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the First Committee on the question of Algeria and the draft resolution adopted by that Committee.

187. Many representatives expressed regret that the Federation of Mali was absent from the First Committee when this item was discussed, and that no solutions were suggested. Recalling their efforts to achieve a solution in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, the Soviet Union is concerned.

188. The political and military events which occurred in Algeria last year were outlined in the discussion, and all speakers expressed their general concern over the situation in Algeria.

189. Many representatives stated that it was the duty of the United Nations not only to advise the parties concerned to bring to an end the tragic conflict which, because of its implications, went far beyond the domestic sphere of the territory thereby. This conflict was taking place, but also to point out what the orientation of a solution in harmony with the basic right of peoples to freedom and independence were.

190. Some representatives contended that, in conformity with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, the United Nations should be entitled to define a final solution in this matter, even if international aspects were not involved. The position of the United States was the same as that of the French Government and the Algerians; therefore, the United Nations should be led merely to make an appeal that negotiations take place with a view to finding a peaceful and just solution.

191. In any case, the two positions advocated in the debate.

192. In the draft resolution presented by seventeen Powers and adopted by the First Committee [1023rd meeting], the rights of the Algerian people to independence was recognized in the preamble, and in the main part the General Assembly would urge negotiations between the parties concerned, the French Government and the provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, with a view to reaching a solution in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

193. Mr. ISMAI (Federation of Malayia): Before the debate started in the report of the First Committee [A/4075], I referred to the draft resolution of the Federation of Malayia would like to appeal to the delegates of the various parties to the conflict which on the General Assembly to make on the deletion of the seventh paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Taking note of the willingness of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to enter into negotiations with the Government of France, ".

194. This would enable my delegation and other like-minded delegations to accept the draft resolution as a whole because of this paragraph to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

195. Mr. RAJAKHAPTIANA (Ceylon): The Assembly has heard the appeal made by the representative of the Federation of Malayia. The sponsors in general, and the Ceylon delegation in particular, feel that a spirit that animates our colleague from Malayia in making this appeal. We wish to respond cordially to the sentiments of the Assembly and to accept the proposal of the representative of the Provisional Government of the Malaya to help the representatives of the Malaya to tell the Assembly the form they wish this delegation to take.

196. On behalf of the co-sponsors, I formally agree to the deletion of the seventh paragraph of the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

197. Mr. NUNEZ PORTUGUDE (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): As I understand the draft resolution in no longer the property of the sponsors, but it now a draft resolution of the First Committee. Therefore, the sponsors cannot amend it. That is prohibited by the rules of procedure. It is no longer a draft resolution of the First Committee which was submitted it. It is a draft resolution of the first Committee.

198. Therefore, the seventh paragraph of the draft resolution put forward by the review Committee may not be amended. In my opinion, it is not in accordance with the rules of procedure to amend a draft resolution of a committee merely because the sponsors say so.

199. The President: I understand perfectly the situation which the representative of Cuba has raising. All that has happened in that the sponsors, on reflect, have decided not to insist on this particular text, and obviously they have every right to say so here for the General Assembly; they are not interfering with its sovereignty in any way. It is the General Assembly itself that will have to decide whether or not the draft resolution submitted. The representative of Cuba said is perfectly clear: the draft resolution over the General Assembly's opinions any longer; it had been submitted by the First Committee and it is the property of the General Assembly.

200. Mr. NUNEZ PORTUGUDE (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The Assembly can do with draft resolutions submitted by Committees vote on them. It cannot change a draft resolution in the power of the first Committee. Therefore, the opinion expressed therein is that of the First Committee and all that the General Assembly can do is reject or accept the recommendations of the First Committee by vote.

201. What the President proposes, therefore, is not in accordance with the rules of procedure, the General Assembly can do nothing. It cannot change so the draft resolution, and reject it. This it can definitely do. But what it can do is to assume that the draft has not been submitted, because the present of the draft, the draft that is supposed to have agreed on it is not the General Assembly but the First Committee. They are two entirely different bodies.

202. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): Our delegation would like to call attention to the question that is the draft resolution not to pass to the General Assembly. When the resolution which has been deleted as a result of the vote which has just been taken.

203. The seventh paragraph of the preamble, which has been deleted, named two parties. The operative paragraph reads: "Urges negotiations between the two parties concerned with a view to reaching a solution..." Now that the seventh paragraph has been deleted, the operative paragraph makes no sense. Therefore, it is not possible to draft a separate, roll-call vote.

204. The President: The representative of the Dominican Republic has a valid point here. The operative paragraph of the draft resolution. May I suggest that we both in the Report of the General Assembly whether he is moving the deletion of that paragraph whether he wishes a separate vote to be taken on a part of the paragraph?
211. Mr. DE MARCENA (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): All that I did was to point out that there is no longer any justification for retaining the operative paragraph after deleting the seventh preambular paragraph. There is no logical reason.

212. The PRESIDENT: What are you moving for us?

Please formulate your proposal.

213. Mr. DE MARCENA (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): The Assembly should delete the operative paragraph because it takes sense or does not make sense by taking a separate, roll-call vote.

Mr. NUÑEZ POSTIVO (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): What the representative of the Dominican Republic has requested—and if he has not done so the Committee delegation requests that a separate vote should be taken on the operative paragraph, and that the words "between the two parties concerned" should also be voted upon separately. Logically, since the seventh preambular paragraph has been deleted, the words "the two parties concerned" should no longer appear in the operative paragraph. Therefore it is necessary to vote separately on the words "between the two parties concerned" and then on the rest of the operative paragraph.

214. The PRESIDENT: I understand the representative of the Dominican Republic to say that he was asking the Assembly to delete the operative paragraph of this draft resolution. That is quite proper, I now understand, is the request that a separate vote be taken on a part of this paragraph, namely, "between the two parties concerned".

215. You have before you a Cuban proposal, which has priority over the Dominican Republic's proposal, and then a Dominican Republic proposal.

216. I call on the representative of Tunisia on a point of order.

217. Mr. SLM (Tunisia) (translated from French): A separate vote has just been requested on the operative paragraph, which is contrary to rule 91 of the rules of procedure I have the right to express my opinion on this way of voting.

218. I wish to say that my delegation would oppose a separate vote either on the whole paragraph or on part of it. I would like the Assembly to understand my delegation's position. Together with other delegations, we agreed to the withdrawal of the seventh preambular paragraph. I hope in opposing a separate vote we can obtain a sizable majority which will be the true expression of the General Assembly's decision for peace.

219. The PRESIDENT: I did not quite understand the representative of Tunisia. Did he hear that he does not want to put this proposal to the decision of the Assembly?

220. Mr. SLM (Tunisia) (translated from French): Under the rules of procedure, the President has the right to call for a vote on the proposal made by the representative of the Dominican Republic, as amended by the Committee's initiative. But I have the right to express my opinion and to say that my delegation is opposed to this way of voting.

221. The PRESIDENT: Rule 91 reads as follows:

"A representative may move that parts of a proposal or of an amendment shall be voted on separately."

That is what the representatives of Cuba and the Dominican Republic have done.

If objection is made to the request for division, division shall be voted upon.

Objection has obviously been made by the representative of Tunisia.

The motion for division shall be voted upon.

Permission to speak on the motion for division shall be given only to two speakers in favour and two speakers against it. In all cases the vote on whether the proposal or the amendment shall be considered to have been rejected as a whole.

It is the last part which is the mind, obviously, of the representative of Tunisia.

222. I call on the representative of Uruguay on a point of order.

223. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): A request has been made for the deletion, either in whole, or in part, of the only paragraph in the operative part of the draft resolution. So that we may be able to vote on this paragraph with eyes open, I feel it necessary that the Assembly has to request by asking that a separate vote be taken on a part of this paragraph, namely, "between the two parties concerned".

224. You have before you a Cuban proposal, which has priority over the Dominican Republic's proposal, and then a Dominican Republic proposal.

225. I call on the representative of Tunisia on a point of order.

226. Mr. SLM (Tunisia) (translated from French): A separate vote has just been requested on the operative paragraph, which is contrary to rule 91 of the rules of procedure I have the right to express my opinion on this way of voting.

227. I wish to say that my delegation would oppose a separate vote either on the whole paragraph or on part of it. I would like the Assembly to understand my delegation's position. Together with other delegations, we agreed to the withdrawal of the seventh preambular paragraph. I hope in opposing a separate vote we can obtain a sizable majority which will be the true expression of the General Assembly's decision for peace.

228. The PRESIDENT: I did not quite understand the representative of Tunisia. Did he hear that he does not want to put this proposal to the decision of the Assembly?

229. Mr. SLM (Tunisia) (translated from French): Under the rules of procedure, the President has the right to call for a vote on the proposal made by the representative of the Dominican Republic, as amended by the Committee's initiative. But I have the right to express my opinion and to say that my delegation is opposed to this way of voting.

230. This draft resolution was examined thoroughly in the Committee. It now stands before the Assembly as one of the three draft resolutions of Algiers, to its far-reaching importance and to its relevance to the cause of peace in the region and in the whole world, this Assembly showed itself one way or the other on the whole draft resolution.

231. The co-sponsors, through our collegue from Cuba, accused in a spirit of solidarity the appeal to delete that paragraph which caused a great deal of controversy in the Committee and was a source of difficulty to some delegations in arriving at their position. We did so in a spirit of harmony, and here in the United Nations we are to harmonize our views. But I am afraid that we are to repeat it again. From Cuba, Uruguay and the Dominican Republic are in a sense dissociating themselves from this appeal.

232. I therefore ask the General Assembly with all humility to take the draft resolution as a whole or to leave it as a whole. This is a matter which does not raise questions of political controversy; it raises an issue of peace or war. It is for the Assembly to take a stand on whether it is for peace or for war. This is a very regrettable and serious situation.

233. The co-sponsors of the draft resolution accepted the deletion of a controversial proviso, and now we are faced with the destruction of the whole draft resolution. This is neither fair to the Algerian question, nor to the cause of peace, nor to the spirit of cooperation. I think that we should be met half-way. It is only fair that this division should be proposed and should not be accepted by the Assembly.

234. The PRESIDENT: Separate votes have been requested on two paragraphs, and I will call for a vote on the order in which they appear in the draft resolution.

235. Purely in an effort to be helpful, I shall ask the representatives to put their hands together, and their colleagues to make a similar contribution so that not only will they consider the possibility of redrafting the operative paragraphs in such a way as to make it more acceptable.

236. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I beg to disagree with the President. I have the right to consider rephrasing that operative part. The co-sponsors have always been quite co-operative and agreeable to examining any possible way of phrasing the operative paragraphs, and I think we are ready to examine any possible way of phrasing the operative paragraphs.

237. But the present text is the minimum that the co-sponsors can accept. This is a moderate paragraph; there is no excessiveness in it. It simply states that the two parties concerned should enter into negotiations.

238. We all agree that there is a dispute, a dispute in which the Arab states which have brought this into the area of Algeria half a million soldiers. This disastrous episode, this great tragedy in Algeria, Algeria, Algeria, has plunged the region into endless negotiations. And this is not only the minimum of the co-sponsors; it must be the minimum of the whole world. Therefore we demand that the General Assembly be ready to examine any possible way of phrasing the operative paragraphs, and I think we are ready to do that.
In favour: Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Israel.

Against: Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Ethiopia, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan.

Abstaining: Thailand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.

The motion was rejected by 36 votes to 8, with 27 abstentions.

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

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

Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): I regret having to say so, but my figures are exactly the same as the Russian representative’s. Moreover, several delegations made the same figure. Could you not re-read the results?

The President: Upon verification, it has been established that he had voted “yes” and not “no” as he had recorded.

The result of the vote was 35 in favour and 18 against, with 1 abstention.

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

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

Mr. GUEVARA (Cuba) (translated from French): This morning in the First Committee (1023rd meeting) I had the opportunity to explain the position of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea and the spirit in which it intended to fulfil its obligations during the work of this session. Out of deference to the General Assembly and in order to make our attitude quite clear, we wished, on the occasion of the first plenary meetings of which we have taken part, to express our paramount desire to make a positive and effective contribution to the Organization.

That desire has led my delegation to abstain from discussing this item, as we felt that it was insufficiently acquainted with it to cast a vote in full awareness of all the facts. On the other hand, we are prepared to consider the question whenever it has considered that it had a clear understanding of the facts. We cannot fail to meet with your equally unanimous approval.

It is in the light of those observations that my delegation considers that it could not and cannot abstain on questions of policy, especially when they concern the African continent.

Those problems concern our own fate and our most legitimate aspirations too closely to make any abstention in such matters seem anything but a pure and simple refusal to give any definition to the policy of my Government. Those unequivocal instructions of my representative in his resolution in our vote. That vote was cast in full knowledge of the facts on a subject we are well acquainted with because it concerns us and our future.

The Algerian question, which has been debated, has for the last four years been discussed by all the qualified authorities and organs of my country. All the political and trade unions, all the youth organizations, our former Territorial Assembly, now the National Assembly of Guinea, our former Government Department during the period of the loy-franc and the present Government of the Republic of Guinea have taken a clear stand in favour of a peaceful, democratic and just solution of the conflict. That is why we cannot fail to make our contribution in favour of the West African and their political and trade union representatives, is known to France.

We would add, in conclusion, that the people and Government of Guinea consider that the liberal policy
so happily initiated in black Africa by General de Gaulle, on behalf of the Government of France, is far more important in Algeria in order to satisfy the most obvious of the true interests at stake there and to put an end to the conflict. That is the sincere and deeply felt purpose of the President, is the clear interests of the French and Algerian peoples.

Adjournment of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly

267. The PRESIDENT: We have finished the substantive part of our work and we are ready to adjourn.

268. Mr. LODGE (United States): Mr. President, I am not going to bid you goodbye because you will be here at the resumed session on the Came- ronesc peace proposal and the other matters. But I do want to express appreciation, on behalf of the United States delegation, for all your efforts and to wish you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year and also to express our thanks to the many staff members of the United Nations who have worked so hard during this arduous session to enable us to carry on our work expeditiously and in good order. All of the secretaries, experts, members of the security force, the interpreters, and everyone connected with the United Nations deserve our hearty thanks.

269. Thank you again, Mr. President, for all of your efforts, and may I thank the Secretary-General for his never-failing courtesy and intelligence, and his kind concern for the United States?

270. Mr. OSMAN (Sudan): On behalf of my colleagues and the representatives of the Arab delegations, I have the honor to convey to the President of the General Assembly the gratitude and appreciation of the Arab delegations and of the Assembly for the able manner in which he has conducted the work of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. We have always recognized in Mr. Malik a man of vast knowledge, of tremendous energy, which he has always put at the disposal of his fellow men. Those of us who watched him closely at work were highly impressed by his moral courage, his sense of duty, and his fine sense of humor, not to forget the efficient and business-like manner in which he has discharged the important and sometimes difficult tasks of his high office.

271. May I repeat that we are deeply grateful to Mr. Malik for putting his vast knowledge and his wealth of experience at the disposal of the General Assembly, and through it to the rest of the world, to serve the cause of peace and the cause of humanity. May it wish him good health and long life to come.

272. Before I conclude, I also wish to tender my heartfelt thanks to the Secretary-General, to his assistants, and to those who have in one way or another contributed to the success of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly.

273. Sir Samuel DIXON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations of Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, India, New Zea- land, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and also on behalf of the delegations of Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Portugal, and finally on behalf of the British delegation, I should like to express our thanks and to offer our grateful thanks and to a sincere expression of our recognition of the ability, impartiality and distinction with which you have presided over our debates.

274. To your years of experience at the United Na- tions, Mr. President, you have added a wealth of humor which have set an example to us all. We feel that the Assembly is greatly in your debt, Mr. Presi- dent, and we would like to convey to you our warm thanks and our very best wishes.

275. Mr. TSANG (China): Mr. President, you have presided over the General Assembly with fairness and courtesy and deep insight into the problems which we have tried to solve. The able delegation of the General Assembly to which I have the honor of belonging wish you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

276. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FARREGAT (Uruguay) (trans-lation): I wish to convey to the President the work of what might be called the first part of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. At this session the representative of my country had the honor to be appointed to one of the vice-presidencies of the Assembly.

277. Consequently, I have the great honor to be temporarily presiding over the Latin American group, an honor of which I am very deeply conscious at this moment when I address you, Mr. President, at the conclusion of our work for this part of the session.

278. The delegations of the Latin American group, linked in a spirit of continental brotherhood, have asked me to express their profound respect and admiration for the work which has been accomplished by the Presi- dent of the Assembly, Mr. Charles Malik of Lebanon.

279. At this time we extend to him our best wishes for a long and happy life and congratulated him. Mr. Malik's name is inscribed in that distinguished legion of men and women who have dedicated their principles and their lives to the world cause. We extend to the able representative of the General Assembly that sense of honor, that a barden of hope for all men on earth. Three days ago we heard him deliver a brilliant speech here in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In this same hall, from this same rostrum, after a great orchestra had filled the air with sound and music, the great message of Beethoven, Mr. Malik, our friends and colleagues, described to us the essential meaning of that Declaration.

280. We speak of human rights, we are reviving the possibility of a new destiny for all peoples, especially those who have been marked by history and by the ages has been marked by humility and suffering. Mr. Malik's words, coming from a country that has been able to take advantage of the task of the world in order to bring any understanding of the man who will appoint President of the General Assembly.

281. Good luck to you personally, Mr. President, and good luck in everything which you may undertake on behalf of justice, peace and the solidarity of nations for the good of the people and all the peoples of the world, and for the unceasing expression of the hope and the respect. And I should like to add the expression of our gratitude and respect in a particular way to the illu- minous and thoughtful guidance of Assistant, Mr. Cordier, to all those who have worked together with us at this session, especially interpreters who translate into so many languages what I, in all humility, am saying here at this moment on behalf of the other delegations.

282. And with this feeling of gratitude, we express the hope that many long and prosperous days await you in the discharge of your common task. This is the best tribute, Mr. Malik, which your Latin American colleagues can pay you.

283. Prince Ali KHAN (Pakistan): This is the first session in which I have participated as a member of the delegation of Pakistan, and I wish to express to you the profound respect of all the other delegations who have worked with us in such a close and friendly and co-operative way during this thirteenth session.

284. To you, Mr. President, I may extend warm congratulations from the delegation of Pakistan on your very arduous task with which you guided our deliberations.

285. I may also add how we appreciate our sentiments to Mr. Hammarskjold and to Mr. Cordier, and through them to all the Secretariat personnel. All of them, both those who appear on the scene and those who work so tirelessly on our behalf behind the scenes night and day, more than deserve our deep gratitude.

286. I also thank all of those services of the Press, radio and television which, while not a formal part of the official duties of the President, are really an integral part of our deliberations. It is they who help so effectively to carry our voices to the peoples of the world whom we have the honor to represent.

287. As we close our session, let us not forget that although in a technical sense we are the representatives of the peoples of the world, it is the representatives of the General Assembly that are the representatives of the peoples of the world whom we are responsible. It is for them that we have labored. It is to them that we must render our accounting, and it is they who will judge us if we have done well.

288. Mr. Ali SASTROMIDJOJO (Indonesia): Mr. President, the proclamation by the delegations of the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of Afghanist, Cambodia, and Nepal and my own delega- tion, to associate myself with the eloquent words spoken by your Deputy President and president of this session of the General Assembly. If my words now are brief, it is not from any smallness of appreciation or but because of the laconism of the delegate, and you all the best and thank you. Our thanks also to the hard-working staff of the Secretariat.

289. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): Mr. President, I wish to address this letter on behalf of my delegation and the delegation of Ethiopia, to join our voices to those of previous speakers in extending to you our congratulations on the able manner in which you have conducted our meetings. We ask for your indulgence for all the irregularities and an- noyances which may arise, and may we also be permitted to say that we appreciate your being late at certain meetings, hesitation to speak at times, and at other times we may not be making long speeches. We also ask for your indulgence for the occasional inattention. I am very pleased to see you on all points of order we have raised. We wish you continued good health, long life and a happy and prosperous New Year.

290. Mr. ESN (Turkey): Mr. President, on behalf of the Turkish delegation, I beg you to accept our heart-
session, I believe it could fairly be called the "African session."

298. I should like to express my profound personal appreciation for the co-operation that I have received from every single Member of the United Nations, from the chairmen of delegations and from the members of delegations. They have all been courteous, kind, understanding, and co-operative. Especially I want to mention the Chairman of the Committee, my own colleagues on the General Committee of the General Assembly, and those colleagues who have prepared the excellent reports which have been submitted to the Assembly. I must also say a word of appreciation about the secretaries of Committees, who have been most invaluable in helping both the Chairmen and the Rapporteurs in their work.

299. To the Secretary-General, to Mr. Cordier, to their lieutenants and their assistants, I extend my profound personal gratitude and appreciation for the co-operation and the co-operation and the organisation and for the organisation that they have always shown towards me. They have done everything to make my task lighter, happier and more fruitful.

300. I cannot fail to mention in particular the interpreters, those hidden wonder workers who enable us to understand each other and to follow the argument as it develops. I want to express my appreciation for their work. We should not forget many many other humble workers here in the United Nations who have made our task possible and profitable. I think of the workers in the dining room and in the delegates lounge, and of the telephoneists; I think of the guides and the guards, and I also think of the various other men and women who work in the Press, radio and television services. To all these we owe a real debt of gratitude and appreciation for what they have done for us.

301. I was profoundly grateful for the words of congratulations spoken by so many of you in the general debate at the beginning of the session. This is the first time I have had an opportunity of thanking you for them, and also for the words that have just been spoken. Nobody is more keenly aware of one's own limitations, failings, and inadequacies than one's self. But I hold genuine admiration for each and everyone of you. And I believe in the United Nations.

302. I admire the dedication of Mr. Hammarskjold to his duties, and I believe in the growing importance and dignity of the function of the Secretary-General under his dynamic leadership.

303. I believe in and shall work to the best of my ability for the cause of peace and understanding between nations and between peoples. And, above all, I believe in the abiding value of the friendships and camaraderie that are developed here.

304. Finally, I believe that where the mind is clear and certain and the heart is pure and contrite and the will is firm and good, then man need not fear. He is certainly on the side of God. And so I wish each and everyone of you good and perfect gift and every happiness and peace.

305. Now we have completed our work, that is to say, the items that are on the agenda. However, in accordance with the decision taken at the 72nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the thirteenth session will be resumed on 20 February 1959 to consider exclusively the question of the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French Administration and the Cameroons under the United Kingdom Administration. Therefore, the thirteenth session is not coming to a close today.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silence or prayer or meditation

306. The PRESIDENT: Now, according to rule 64, a minute of silence should be observed at the end of the session. Although this is not the end of the thirteenth session, it will still be very profitable to spend a minute of quiet, having heard and participated ourselves in a good deal of noise. I assure the Assembly that in February I shall begin that part of this thirteenth session, and close it also, with a moment of quiet and prayer.

307. Therefore, I now invite the representatives to stand for a minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation. The representatives stand in silence.

Statement by the President

308. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the thirteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations adjourned until 20 February 1959.

The meeting rose at 12 midnight.

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Agenda item 9
General debate (continued)
Speech by Mr. Palamarchuk (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian) Mr. President, Gentlemen, by a happy chance the Ukrainian delegation is speaking in the general debate on the eve of the anniversary of the launching of the first earth satellite into outer space. This event of world-wide importance took place in the Soviet Union on 4 October 1957.

1. This penetration of the outer space gave rise to many important problems both in science and international politics which remain to be studied and evaluated thoroughly, and this will certainly take some time.

2. Now that the third Soviet satellite, incomparably greater in weight and scientific importance, is making its two-thousandth trip around the earth and can be easily observed, even here in New York, we must indeed pay a tribute to the ability and daring of the Soviet peoples who have blazed a path into outer space and have opened a new and splendid chapter in the history of mankind.

4. The satellite is circling the earth at a speed of 7,600 miles per hour, enriching our knowledge of the universe and extending man's potential mastery of the profound secrets of nature. But it also makes us think of something else--how important it is for all of us to seek the path of co-operation, of peaceful coexistence and of the application of the great discoveries of science and technology for the good of man, and not his harm.

5. The Ukrainian delegation feels that it is our duty to make these observations on the first anniversary of the launching of the earth satellite because the activity of the United Nations is still not on a level with the tasks mankind is facing through the rapid development of science. Do we really need to convince anyone here that the power of earth satellites, both Soviet and American--and we may see satellites launched in other countries as well--make it more urgent than ever for us to answer the question: how can we turn our United Nations Organization into an effective instrument of peace, how can we prevent a development of events by which the greatest discovery of the human mind—the release of nuclear energy—can be used by the imperialist forces for the harm instead of for the good of mankind?

6. We have only to ask that question to realize what a noble task it is in which confronts the United Nations and how inadequately it is being carried out. And, I may say, is not fortuitous. There are still forces in the West, primarily here in the United States, to whom the peaceful development of mankind is distasteful. They want conflicts, wars and international tension in order to maintain a war economy and to prevent a full the profits of monopolies.

7. What record of "achievements" have the United States and Britain brought to this session of the General Assembly? Their intervention in Lebanon and Jordan! Their blustery refusal to admit the People's Republic of China to the United Nations! Provocative measures against peace in the Far East! These are truly unenviable achievements.

8. The Soviet Union and the other peace-loving States have made and are still making every effort to improve the international atmosphere. They have done everything they could to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence. As an example of this was the resolution of the twelfth session of the General Assembly [resolution 1296 (XII)]—"Peaceful and neighbourly relations among States"—which called upon all States to make every effort to strengthen international peace, and to develop friendly and co-operative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means, in everything they do the Socialist States are setting as an example of the practical application of these important principles.

9. The Soviet Union has presented certain proposals for the establishment of a security system in Europe, it has called upon the United States to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship and prevent intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the Near and Middle East, it has ceased its own nuclear tests unilaterally, and it has called upon the United States and Great Britain to do the same. These are only some of the Soviet Union's proposals aimed at extending the sphere of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourly relations between all States. The Ukrainian people naturally supported the Soviet Government's policy, since they regard it as a manifestation of true concern for the preservation of international peace.

10. It cannot certainly be said that the efforts of the United States officials and the efforts of the State Department have been directed toward the same aim. No, it cannot. Last year the United States voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution which I have mentioned. This resolution was adopted underfoot by the American Marines in Lebanon.

President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).