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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

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

AGENDA ITEM 31

Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/5387)

1. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: As Rapporteur of the

Special Political Committee, I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the Committee's report on its consideration of the item "Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East".

2. This year the Special Political Committee devoted nineteen meetings to the consideration of the Palestine refugee question, which again aroused considerable controversy. Over sixty statements were heard by the Committee during the course of the deliberations and a great many further statements were made in exercise of the right of reply. The Committee received three draft resolutions and one amendment in connexion with the item.

3. In response to appeals by members of the Committee for a spirit of conciliation, the sponsors of the twenty-one Power and the four-Power draft resolutions declared that they would not press for a vote on their drafts. Accordingly, I now submit to the General Assembly for its decision, the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee, the text of which is to be found in the Committee's report [A/5387].

4. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Syria in explanation of vote before the voting.

5. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): At its meeting the day before yesterday [375th meeting], the Special Political Committee adopted the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/5387, para. 9]. My delegation wishes to emphasize that it voted for this resolution only after the Committee had adopted the Cypriot amendment [*ibid.*, para. 10] noting that no progress has thus far been made in the repatriation and compensation of the refugees pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948. If the amendment had not been approved by the Committee, my delegation would have been unable to vote for the draft resolution as a whole.

6. The Committee also had before it two other draft resolutions, as the Rapporteur has stated. The first [*ibid.*, para. 7], submitted by twenty-one countries, asked the parties concerned to enter into negotiations. The second [*ibid.*, para. 8], submitted by Afghanistan, Indonesia, Mauritania and Pakistan, called for the appointment of a custodian to administer Arab property in accordance with resolution 394 (V). The first draft resolution was not put to the vote, nor, with the approval of the Palestine Arab delegation, was the second.

7. In view of the course taken by this debate and the various positions that have been adopted, my delegation wishes to make the following observations: (1) my Government, which is in agreement on this point with the Governments of the other Arab countries, feels that the solution of the Palestine question is a matter for the Palestine Arabs themselves, who were

the victims of the gravest injustice in contemporary history. It is for them to decide their future. Hence, the request put forward by the twenty-one countries was wholly unjustified. We are glad to note that those who favoured negotiations have at last discovered the truth, and we are grateful to them for the attitude they have taken in this regard. We should like to congratulate them on that gesture, for, in spite of Israel's machinations and manoeuvres, honesty has prevailed; (2) I think it pertinent to draw the General Assembly's attention to the position taken by the representative of the Israel authorities in the Committee voting. I refer to the fact that he cast a negative vote whenever it was a question of recalling the provisions of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), thus proving that Israel is unwilling to permit the Arab refugees to be repatriated and to return to their homes. All those who have been led astray by Israel's propaganda should ponder this fact carefully. It is illogical to ask the Arabs to be realistic when Israel flouts the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. When a country has been created out of nothing by the United Nations, it should have the modesty to show respect towards its maker. However, we know that Israel is an offshoot of imperialism, which it serves as broker, faithful agent and staunch stronghold in the Middle East. We also know that Israel was created only in order to prevent the Arab countries from flourishing and developing; that is why those countries remain an easy prey to imperialism in its old and new guises; (3) my delegation holds that any attempt to prevent the collective return of the Arab refugees is doomed to failure. The refugees constitute a homogeneous people whose legitimate rights cannot be the subject of a compromise of any kind. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine should always bear that fact in mind; (4) my delegation wishes to request a separate vote, by roll-call, on paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Political Committee [A/5387, para. 16].

8. In the light of the foregoing considerations, my delegation will vote for the draft resolution as a whole.

9. The PRESIDENT: Before the Assembly proceeds to the vote, I should like to state that at its 982nd meeting the Fifth Committee decided to inform the General Assembly, in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure, that under the terms of the draft resolution in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5387] it might prove necessary, not only to provide certain staff and facilities in connexion with the request that the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine continue its endeavours with the Member States concerned, but also to extend the present staff of its technical office beyond the period contemplated in the initial 1963 estimates, and perhaps to supplement such staff.

10. Under the circumstances, and since it is not possible to assess accurately what might be required in this regard, the Secretary-General will report fully to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions as soon as actual needs are determined and, with its prior concurrence, enter into commitments in 1963, under the terms of paragraph 1 of the draft resolution relating to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for that year [A/5391, annex II], for whatever further expenses will be necessary.

11. The General Assembly will now proceed to the vote. I first put to the vote the preamble to the draft resolution and paragraph 1 of the operative part.

12. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): I apologize for interrupting the vote, but in my statement I requested a separate vote, by roll-call, on paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution submitted by the Special Political Committee.

13. The PRESIDENT: That will be done, but I shall first put to the vote the preamble and operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5387].

The preamble and operative paragraph 1 were adopted by 92 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

14. The PRESIDENT: If it meets with the wishes of the representative of Syria, I shall put to the vote, by roll-call, operative paragraphs 2 and 3 together.

15. Mr. COMAY (Israel) (from the floor): My delegation would prefer a separate vote on each of those paragraphs.

16. The PRESIDENT: I shall therefore put to the vote operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan.

Operative paragraph 2 was adopted by 58 votes to none, with 41 abstentions.

17. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote by roll-call on operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana,

Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Federation of Malaya, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 67 votes to none, with 37 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 4 was adopted by 101 votes to none.

Operative paragraph 5 was adopted by 75 votes to none, with 25 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 100 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

18. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear explanations of votes after voting.

19. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation's votes in the Special Political Committee and in this plenary session on the resolution were influenced by three factors.

20. First, whatever the solution of their problems may be, it is clear that international assistance for the Palestine refugees will be required for some time to come. My Government has always unreservedly supported such United Nations assistance, both in taking care of the essential needs of the refugees and in promoting their self-support and ultimate integration into productive life. We particularly commend the efforts being made by UNRWA to teach refugee youth professional and vocational skills. My delegation therefore had no hesitation in supporting the paragraphs in the United States proposal which deal with the extension of UNRWA's mandate and with its financial requirements.

21. Secondly, we found unacceptable those provisions which relate to paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III). From the fourteenth session of the General Assembly onwards we have consistently opposed the view that the Commission's efforts to seek a solution of the refugee problem should be based on a single controversial paragraph torn out of the context of a resolution adopted fourteen years ago. That course has not resulted in progress and, in our judgement, it hampers endeavours to come to grips with the substance of the problem in the light of contemporary realities in the area.

22. Thirdly, we voted for the second part of operative paragraph 2 which requests the Commission to continue its endeavours with the Member States directly concerned. We have always co-operated with the Conciliation Commission in its efforts to bring the parties to agreement.

23. Our vote on the first part of operative paragraph 2 should not be interpreted as lack of appreciation for

the efforts the Commission has made in this field. We shall continue in the future to co-operate with the endeavours which may be made by the Commission to promote agreement between the parties.

24. We will conclude with a few words regarding the twenty-one Power draft resolution [see A/5387, paras. 7 and 13] which the sponsors, in a spirit of conciliation and good will, did not press to a vote in the Committee. We were gratified and encouraged by the renewal of this approach at the present session with a sponsorship which had grown from sixteen to twenty-one delegations since our previous session. We accept unreservedly the attitude of the sponsors that their proposal is neither for nor against Israel; neither for nor against the Arab States, but is for the renunciation of war and for the settlement of conflicts by peaceful negotiations. In other words, they are for the fundamental principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. The revival of this approach to the painful Israel-Arab conflict, and more especially to the humanitarian problem of the Arab refugees, may not yield immediate practical results but it could never be regarded as untimely in the wider sense.

25. Mr. ROWAN (United States of America): My delegation is pleased at the speedy adoption of this resolution. We are pleased because we regard it as a good resolution, so good, in fact, that had there been a paragraph-by-paragraph vote my delegation would have voted in favour of each and every paragraph.

26. It is the hope of my delegation that this resolution be the wedge that will open the door to speedy and meaningful progress on the problem with which the United Nations has been seized for much too long.

27. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): My delegation voted for the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee because it includes in the preambular part an expression of deep regret that paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), regarding the repatriation and compensation of Arab refugees of Palestine, has not been implemented.

28. It is our view that this is the key paragraph in the resolution and it is a further expression and reaffirmation by the General Assembly of the commitment that the international community has pledged to the refugees of Palestine: that their rights of free choice regarding repatriation and compensation shall be respected and that the international community is obliged to see that this free choice be implemented without delay.

29. The representative of Israel made reference to a draft resolution which was withdrawn in the Special Political Committee [see A/5387, para. 7]. Because of that reference, I feel it is my duty to make a brief reference to that draft resolution on behalf of my delegation.

30. Regarding the question of negotiations, under resolution 194 (III), which established the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, we have shown in the Special Political Committee that the question of the refugees was expressly and specifically put outside the scope of the negotiations envisaged in paragraph 5 of that resolution, because paragraph 5 was based on a resolution adopted on 16 November 1948 by the Security Council¹ regarding the Armistice

¹/ Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, No. 126, document S/1079.

Agreements which were concluded subsequently between the four Arab States and Israel.

31. I also wish to add that negotiations between those same Arab States and Israel continued through the Conciliation Commission even after the signing of the Armistice Agreements. In the third report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine^{2/} Israel said that it is prepared to accept all the Arab inhabitants of the Gaza Strip, refugees and original inhabitants, which in 1949 numbered more than 350,000 Arabs, providing that the whole of the Gaza Strip was incorporated into the State of Israel.

32. This was submitted when the Jewish population of Israel was less than one million. Therefore, the question of implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), which the Israel authorities claim is not feasible for security reasons, obviously could be accomplished. The Israel argument is not tenable in view of the fact that as far back as 1949, with a Jewish population of less than one million, they were prepared to accept 350,000 Arabs. However, they demanded a price for this acceptance: a territorial price for the aggrandizement of the State of Israel. This shows beyond any doubt that the argument of security is not genuine. What the Israel authorities are after is the taking of more territory at the expense of the Arabs. This is clearly shown, as I said, in the third progress report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine.

33. The refugee question is not negotiable and has not been negotiable under United Nations resolutions. In fact, resolution 194 (III) specifically said that the General Assembly resolves that refugees who wish to return may be permitted to do so and those who do not wish to return should be compensated for any properties they left behind. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, in its very first report to the Assembly,^{3/} accepted this interpretation of resolution 194 (III) when it said that, in addition to its general conciliation functions, it had specific and clear-cut directives regarding the refugees and the Holy Places.

34. Therefore we still maintain that the question of the refugees is not a negotiable question: it is a promise and a commitment by the international community entered into in 1948 that still awaits implementation, and it is the responsibility of the international community represented by the General Assembly that this implementation be delayed no further.

35. Mr. LUQMAN (Mauritania): In the Special Political Committee the delegation of Mauritania abstained from voting on operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of the resolution which has just been voted upon. The reason why we abstained was, as I stated in the Committee, that we have not as yet noted any substantial results from the work of the Conciliation Commission.

36. In operative paragraph 2 reference is made to peaceful relations between the Arab States and Israel. My delegation does not agree that there exists a problem between Israel and the Arab States with regard to the refugees. In the opinion of my delegation, it is a matter concerning Israel and the Palestinian refugees—that and nothing else. That is the reason why I have abstained from voting on operative paragraphs 2 and 3.

37. We hope that, between now and the eighteenth session of the Assembly, Israel will recognize the rights of the Palestine Arabs and will accept the will of this Organization according to the resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly as regards the compensation and repatriation of the Arab refugees.

38. I feel sure that I am expressing the feeling of the majority of this Assembly when I say that we look forward to finding, at the next session of the General Assembly, that Israel has applied the principles of the United Nations Charter with regard to the property rights of the refugees in Palestine.

AGENDA ITEM 85

Question of Hungary

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/5388)

39. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: As Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, I now have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the Committee's report on its consideration of the question of Hungary [A/5388].

40. This year, for the first time, the question was allocated to the Special Political Committee. The Committee took up its consideration of the item at its 376th meeting on 18 December 1962. The Committee heard, in the course of its discussion, sixteen statements. The Committee also agreed to invite to its table and to hear an address by the United Nations Special Representative on the question of Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, whose fourth report [A/5236] was among the documents before it.

41. The only draft resolution before the Committee on this item was one submitted by the delegation of the United States, requesting that the Secretary-General should take any initiative that he deemed helpful in relation to the Hungarian question, and deciding that, in the circumstances, the position of the United Nations Representative on the question of Hungary need no longer be continued. After voting by division on the various parts of that draft resolution, the Committee approved it as a whole. The text of the draft resolution recommended to the General Assembly is contained in the Committee's report [A/5388].

42. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): After six years of chicanery and cold war, it seems that we are about to wind up the so-called question of Hungary. Although the form and general tenor of the draft resolution now before us [A/5388] are unacceptable to my delegation, the resolution constitutes, in practice at any rate, recognition of the fact that this question, which has caused the United Nations nothing but harm and embarrassment, should finally be struck from our agenda.

43. From the very outset, my delegation has not only asserted but demonstrated, in a manner that should have been convincing to any objective observer, that the so-called question of Hungary has no place on our agenda—and for two reasons.

44. In the first place, all the accusations made by the United States against the Hungarian People's Republic arose from the fact that the representatives of one contemporary social system were unhappy to see another people wish to live under a different social system. In other words, the United States wanted to

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annexes, vol. II, document A/922.

^{3/} Ibid., document A/819.

summon the socialist Hungarian People's Republic before the United Nations because the people of that Republic defended the conquests of socialism. However, the fundamental principle of international co-existence, which lies at the basis of the United Nations Charter, is the sovereign equality of States. The cold war tactics of the United States were aimed at nullifying the two parts of that principle by denying both the sovereignty of a Member State and its equality with the United States, which sought to interfere in the internal affairs of the Hungarian people. All the arguments put forward by the United States were designed to camouflage and justify this attempted interference. If we had not firmly upheld the principles of the Charter in this matter, a harmful precedent would have been set and this great Power would henceforth have been able to interfere in the internal affairs of small States and foment counter-revolution with impunity. When my delegation, faithful to the principles of the United Nations, rejected that attempt, it was defending not only the sovereignty of the Hungarian people and State but also the right of all small States to equality—a principle whose violation could lead to the break-up of the United Nations.

45. The second reason why this question has no place on our agenda is that every single problem raised during all the debates on this subject, in previous years and again this year, has lain exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the Hungarian people and its constitutionally elected authorities.

46. This fact alone establishes the validity of what my delegation has asserted from the start, that is, that the whole question raised by this agenda item lies completely outside the competence of the United Nations.

47. As far as the so-called Hungarian question is concerned, we have demonstrated more than once that the Hungarian People's Republic does not represent for the United Nations or any other international body—either a danger or a problem to be debated. The only problem for discussion is that of the tense relations existing between the United States and the Hungarian People's Republic, but the solution of that problem is the exclusive concern of our two countries.

48. It follows logically from everything I have just said that the draft resolution now before us is unacceptable to my delegation.

49. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm from this rostrum that the Hungarian question—if it ever existed—was settled by the Hungarian people itself when it chose the path of socialism. I wish to proclaim solemnly that no power on earth can compel us to renounce that right.

50. Mr. SOSROWARDOJO (Indonesia): Unlike previous General Assembly resolutions on the item entitled "The question of Hungary", the draft resolution appearing in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5388] includes certain provisions that imply the hope that the United Nations will no longer be seized of the so-called question of Hungary. It is the considered opinion of my delegation, as explained before this Assembly in the course of the debate on the inscription of the agenda item, that the Assembly should not deal with matters such as this, which were made part of the cold war scene. My delegation therefore voted against the proposal for inscription of the item in the agenda.

51. We also have taken note of the particular sense that this draft resolution has attempted to specify and, in view of the general understanding that we have obtained under the present circumstances on this matter, my delegation did not oppose the draft resolution.

52. By acting in this way, my delegation expresses the hope that the Secretary-General, who is to take any initiative that he deems helpful in relation to the Hungarian question, will have a final word to say on the matter. My delegation, in reflecting the views of the Government of Indonesia, has complete confidence in the objectivity, tact and wisdom of the Secretary-General, and we are convinced that in this matter he will discharge his increased peace-making duties with the same vigour and foresight as in the past, within the spirit of the Charter.

53. It is therefore a matter of regret that the introductory speech made by the representative of the United States in the course of the debate in the Special Political Committee did not illustrate the message intended by the draft resolution. It was very unfortunate indeed, because it obviously helped to reduce the support of several delegations for the United States draft resolution—the more so, since some of the condemnatory allusions in that speech ignited the flame of acrimony which, in view of the nature of the draft resolution, might wisely have been avoided.

54. In this regard, one was clearly struck by the moderate tone in which the representative of Hungary spoke on a matter which deeply affects his people and Government.

55. My delegation will abstain on the draft resolution contained in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5388]. Finally, it is the hope of my delegation that the Assembly will no longer have to deal with this item in the future.

56. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in its report [A/5388]. First, however, I recognize the representative of India on a point of order.

57. Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): My delegation would like to have separate votes on the preambular portion of the resolution and on the operative part, and we would like to have a roll-call vote on each.

58. The PRESIDENT: We shall vote first on the preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5388].

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya.

Against: Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Finland.

Mali did not participate in the voting.

The preamble of the draft resolution was adopted by 49 votes to 15, with 41 abstentions.

59. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the operative part of the draft resolution.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia.

Abstaining: Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal.

Mali did not participate in the voting.

The operative part of the draft resolution was adopted by 51 votes to 12, with 42 abstentions.

60. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, France, Greece, Guatemala,

Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Mongolia.

Abstaining: Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria.

Mali did not participate in the voting.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 50 votes to 13, with 43 abstentions.

61. The PRESIDENT: I recognize representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote.

62. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): We have pointed out on more than one occasion that the discussion of the so-called "question of Hungary" was a legacy of the cold war which showed that the United States had not abandoned its attempts to prod the United Nations into meddling in the internal affairs of Hungary in defiance of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

63. As the results of the voting show, this view is shared by a majority of the Asian and African countries, which have refused to support the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/5388, para. 6]. More than half of the Members of the United Nations failed to vote for this resolution.

64. Further proof that the so-called Hungarian question's days are numbered is the fact that even the United States has had to admit that, as this resolution confirms, there is no need for the so-called "mission of Sir Leslie Munro", which has cost the United Nations about \$100,000.

65. It should be noted that the United States, which has insisted so stubbornly on discussing the so-called "question of Hungary" under the spurious pretext of defending human rights in Hungary, has always taken a completely different attitude—one of utter indifference—when it is a question, for example, of the really scandalous violations of human rights resulting from the undisguised racism practised in the Republic of South Africa, whose millions of inhabitants are groaning under the yoke of a racist régime, or when it is a question of halting the atrocities committed by the colonialists against the peoples of Angola, Southern Rhodesia, and other colonies of the Western Powers. In cases like those, the United States remains silent and votes with the colonialists.

66. My delegation regarded the draft resolution just voted on as wholly unacceptable and voted against it. This resolution contained unfounded accusations directed against the Soviet Union and Hungary.

67. We have stated repeatedly that the Soviet Union regards the General Assembly's decisions on the so-called "question of Hungary", which have been taken under pressure from the United States, as undisguised

attempts to meddle in the internal affairs of a sovereign State—a course of action which is contrary to the provisions of the Charter. Hence, we have found it impossible to agree in the present case to sanction these unlawful decisions.

68. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, in which the Secretary-General is requested to take any initiative that he deems helpful in relation to the Hungarian question, is also unacceptable. This request can only complicate the position of the Secretary-General, who, as chief administrative officer of the United Nations, is bound to observe the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

69. Since the "question of Hungary" does not in fact exist, one wonders just what action the Secretary-General is expected to take. It is clear to everyone that the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is pursuing a peaceful foreign policy aimed at the establishment of normal relations with all countries, regardless of their social or economic structure. The Hungarian Government shows complete willingness to co-operate closely with the United Nations on all questions, but as the Government of a sovereign State it naturally cannot permit interference from any quarter in the internal affairs of Hungary.

70. My delegation takes this opportunity to express its gratitude to the representatives of the many countries which, concerned with the relaxation of international tension and the establishment of normal, friendly relations between all peoples, refused to support the draft resolution submitted by the United States.

71. My delegation calls upon all countries concerned with eliminating the issues engendered by the cold war to put an end once and for all to the "question of Hungary", which can serve only to keep the "cold war" alive.

72. Mr. ROWAN (United States of America): I am sure that no one in this Assembly is surprised by the nature of the remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union. Certainly my delegation is not surprised because we have heard these remarks before. We have listened to six years of them. Fortunately, however, six years of fulminations and excuses have not blinded either the Assembly or the world to the bare and stark facts of what happened in Hungary in 1956.

73. The representative of the Soviet Union has indicated that he voted against the resolution because the Soviet Union found it unacceptable. I am sure that this is news to no one. I doubt that anything would have been acceptable, other than a draft resolution saying that what happened in 1956 in Hungary was a church picnic and that therefore this Assembly asks everybody who expressed his indignation to beg forgiveness and say that all is forgotten.

74. My delegation made it clear in the Special Political Committee that we shall not forget. I think the Assembly has made it clear today that the forces of time do not so greatly mute the indignation of people who care for freedom that they are willing to forget. I might say than an earlier speaker spoke of the action here today as a liquidation. Let me make it clear that, in the view of my delegation, this is far from a liquidation because we shall remember, as all those who have spoken in the past six years have remembered, the lessons learned from Hungary.

75. There is a statement by the philosopher Hegel: "We learn from history that men learn nothing from history". Now that is a rather cynical observation, but I am heartened to say that I believe the vote here today indicates that this kind of cynicism is not justified, because I believe that men have learned a great deal from that sorrowful episode in Hungary. They learned a lot about the real meaning of naked intervention, about brutality, about the police State, about the speed with which freedom of speech, and freedom of religion, can be crushed by those who have dreams of domination. I shall not belabour that point. The Members understand it; the world understands and it has made that understanding manifest in the resolution just adopted by the Assembly.

76. But there is one other lesson we have learned from this episode in Hungary which I feel compelled to comment upon, and the lesson is this: wherever freedom is threatened free men everywhere must be vigilantly concerned, for the poison of dictatorial oppression spreads fast and none of us can be sure at what moment we shall be the next victim. That is why my delegation voted with pride for the resolution, and why my delegation was pleased that the great majority of others present again expressed their support, not for a United States resolution, but for the Charter and for the ideals which it upholds, not only with the big and the rich and the strong but also with the weak and the poor, the needy and the harassed, including the harassed and the enslaved of Hungary.

77. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): It will be recalled that at the start of our work my delegation strongly opposed the inclusion of the so-called Hungarian question in the agenda of the present session. My Government, whose relations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic are very friendly, did this to show its respect for the sovereignty of the Hungarian Government. Since Hungary is an independent, sovereign nation, my delegation has always felt, and still feels, that the United Nations has no right to interfere in that country's internal affairs.

78. In order to express clearly and unambiguously its determination not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Hungary, my delegation felt that it should not take part either in the general debate on this question or in the vote which has just concluded that debate.

79. My delegation regards the so-called Hungarian question as a false issue and an outgrowth of the cold war. It was to avoid involvement in this cold war issue that we declined to take part in either the debate or the voting.

80. I have felt impelled to offer this explanation so that the position which we have taken throughout the debate on this so-called Hungarian question would be clear and intelligible.

AGENDA ITEM 77

The urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests (concluded)*

81. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to agenda item 77, on the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. The Assembly has before it the report, submitted by the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament [A/

*Resumed from the 1165th meeting.

5338 and Add.1 and 2], in response to the request contained in paragraph 7 of resolution 1762 (XVII), part A, and the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5385] on the financial implications of that resolution.

82. In taking note of this report, the Assembly will observe with gratification that the Committee gave priority to this question during the negotiations resumed on 26 November 1962. I am sure that I speak for the Assembly when I express the hope that similar priority will be accorded to this question in future sessions of the Committee and that the Committee will intensify its efforts to reach agreement.

83. I would also like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the last sentence of the report, and note with satisfaction that the Committee undertakes to keep both the General Assembly and the Secretary-General informed of future efforts at the Conference devoted to achieving agreement on this question.

The Assembly took note of the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

AGENDA ITEM 19

Appointment of members of the Peace Observation Commission

84. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it a note by the Secretary-General on this question [A/5175]. I propose to suggest to the Assembly that it decide to reappoint for the calendar years 1963 and 1964 the present members of the Peace Observation Commission.

85. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): My delegation has no objection to extending the life of the Peace Observation Commission as now constituted. However, that in no way signifies our assent to a situation in which the lawful place of the great Chinese people on this Commission is held by a Chiang Kai-shek adherent who represents no one. China can be represented on this Commission, as in other United Nations organs, only by its lawful representatives—the representatives of the Central People's Government of China.

86. We deem it essential, in this connexion, to remind the Assembly once again that the contrived and groundless exclusion of one of the great Powers—a founder Member of the United Nations—from participation in the work of this Organization continues to do immeasurable harm to all the activities of the United Nations. The sooner the lawful rights of the true representatives of the Chinese people are restored in the United Nations and all its organs, including the Peace Observation Commission, the greater will be the authority wielded by the United Nations.

87. The PRESIDENT: The present membership of the Peace Observation Commission is composed of China, Czechoslovakia, France, Honduras, India, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Uruguay.

88. If I hear no objection, I will declare the present members of the Peace Observation Commission reappointed for the calendar years 1963 and 1964.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 13, 58 AND 59

Report of the Trusteeship Council

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General

Dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/5390)

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

89. Mr. IBE (Nigeria), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have great pleasure in presenting the last report of the Fourth Committee at this session [A/5390] on items 13, 58 and 59 concerning Trust Territories. The report represents the completion of the work of the Committee for this session.

90. This report is being presented for the first time on the basis of a decision, taken by the Committee yesterday [1431st meeting], empowering the rapporteur to present a report directly to a plenary meeting of the General Assembly. I wish, therefore, to state that if any members find any errors in the report, I would be happy if such errors were brought to my notice so that the necessary corrections could be made. The two draft resolutions adopted by the Committee and now recommended to the General Assembly are contained in the report.

91. The shortness of the report belies the intense interest that the Committee has in the remaining Trust Territories, two of which—Nauru and New Guinea—were the subject of our deliberation. Neither their size nor the fact that they are situated far from this Hall mitigates the desire of us all to see that the peoples of these Territories soon achieve the objectives of the International Trusteeship System, in circumstances best suited to their particular conditions.

92. With those few words I commend this last report and the two draft resolutions contained in it to the Assembly for unanimous adoption.

93. I also take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the President and Members of the Assembly to an addendum to the Fourth Committee's report on agenda item 54, the question of the non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV). This addendum [A/5349/Add.1] reflects some events which occurred after the original report had been adopted, specifically the further hearing of petitioners from Angola and Portuguese Guinea. The President may wish to request the General Assembly to take note of this addendum.

94. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the vote on the two draft resolutions contained in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/5390].

Draft resolution I was adopted by 89 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously.

95. The PRESIDENT: The recommendation in the report of the Secretary-General [A/5228] relating to offers by Member States of study and training facilities

ties for inhabitants of Trust Territories is contained in the Committee's report [A/5390, para. 11].

The Assembly took note of that recommendation.

96. The PRESIDENT: The Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, in the statement which he has just made, has drawn the Assembly's attention to the report of the Fourth Committee [A/5349/Add.1]. This concerns agenda item 54, the non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with Great Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), and relates to the hearing by the Fourth Committee of Mr. Agostinho Neto and Mr. Henri Labery.

The Assembly took note of the report of the Fourth Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 56

Question of Southern Rhodesia: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) (concluded)*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/5396)

97. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that the Assembly decided, at the 1163rd plenary meeting on 31 October 1962, to keep this item on the agenda of the seventeenth session and to request the Secretary-General to report on the question to the Assembly at its present session. The report of the Secretary-General has been circulated [A/5396].

98. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana): My delegation has taken note of the report of the Secretary-General concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia [A/5396]. We should like to extend to the Secretary-General our appreciation for the prompt action he has taken in connexion with this question.

*Resumed from the 1163rd meeting.

99. We have read the letter dated 19 December 1962 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. From this letter it seems quite clear that the door is still open for the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices to promote conciliation among the various sections of the population of Southern Rhodesia and to see to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] with regard to Southern Rhodesia.

100. I have come to this rostrum only to state that my delegation hopes that the Secretary-General will continue his efforts and that, as requested by resolution 1760 (XVII), he will be able, in due course, to report to the Committee of Twenty-four that is, the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The Assembly took note of the report of the Secretary-General.

AGENDA ITEM 29

The situation in Angola: reports of the Sub-Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and of the Government of Portugal (continued)*

101. The PRESIDENT: There is again a request that consideration of the item on the situation in Angola be postponed to this afternoon's meeting and that it be taken up when the Assembly reconvenes at 3 o'clock. I take it that the Assembly agrees to this request.

It was so decided.

102. The PRESIDENT: If at 3 o'clock the Assembly is still not ready to proceed with this item, the item will be deferred to the eighteenth session.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

*Resumed from the 1196th meeting.