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*President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).*

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Guillermo Lang,  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Nicaragua*

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we take up the first item on our agenda for this afternoon, I should like to refer to the sad news which the representative of Uruguay mentioned earlier [110th meeting]: the passing of our colleague Mr. Guillermo Lang, who for many years led the Nicaraguan Mission to the United Nations. We all know of

Mr. Lang's dedication and contribution to the work and aims of the United Nations, and we shall miss him. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to convey to the family of Mr. Guillermo Lang and to the Government of Nicaragua our profound condolences in their bereavement.

2. Mr. ZELAYA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to record the appreciation of the Government of my country for the kind expressions of condolences which you, Mr. President, have voiced on the passing of Mr. Guillermo Lang. We shall transmit the condolences and feelings of sympathy of the Assembly to the family of the late Ambassador, and I should like to express my particular appreciation to the Latin American group, which thoughtfully chose as its spokesman Mr. Carlos Giambruno of Uruguay, a gentleman who was so close to and so friendly with the late Mr. Lang.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (*concluded*)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PARTS III  
AND IV) (A/32/397/ADD.2 AND 3)

3. The PRESIDENT: We turn first to part III of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 12 [A/32/397/Add.2].<sup>1</sup> The recommendation of the Committee appears in paragraph 4 of the report. The Committee adopted that recommendation without objection. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The recommendation was adopted (decision 32/428 B).<sup>2</sup>*

4. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to turn to part IV of the Fifth Committee's report [A/32/397/Add.3]. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of part IV of the report of the Fifth Committee?

*It was so decided (decision 32/428 C).*

5. The PRESIDENT: With the conclusion of our consideration of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 12, we have completed all the agenda items allocated to the Fifth Committee. May I, at this juncture, congratulate all the members of the Committee on their hard work and dedication. I should also like to make special mention of the work performed by the members of the Advisory

<sup>1</sup> For part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 12, see the 101st meeting, paras. 145-146; for part II, the 103rd meeting, para. 19.

<sup>2</sup> For decision 32/428 A, see the 103rd meeting, para. 19.

Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, which we all recognize. I thank them all on behalf of the General Assembly.

#### CHAPTERS CONSIDERED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO A MAIN COMMITTEE

6. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/32/3] that have been referred to us for consideration directly in plenary meeting. I refer to chapters I and VIII, sections A to D and F, concerning primarily organizational questions and intergovernmental organizations. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to take note of those parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council?

*It was so decided (decision 32/452).*

#### AGENDA ITEM 22

**Election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-Locked Developing Countries**

7. The PRESIDENT: Since it has not been possible to reach an agreement regarding the geographical distribution of the membership of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries, and since no candidate has been put forward by the regional groups, I suggest that the Assembly decide to defer this election to its thirty-third session. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the wish of the General Assembly.

*It was so decided (decision 32/326).*

#### AGENDA ITEM 105

**Pattern of conferences: report of the Committee on Conferences (concluded)\***

#### AGENDA ITEM 37

**Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)\*\***

#### AGENDA ITEMS 35 AND 36

**International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (concluded)\*\*\***

**Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (concluded)\*\*\***

\* Resumed from the 99th meeting.

\*\* Resumed from the 106th meeting.

\*\*\* Resumed from the 108th meeting.

#### AGENDA ITEM 56

**Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (concluded)\***

8. The PRESIDENT: The first pending appointment relates to agenda item 105, concerning the Committee on Conferences. Under General Assembly resolution 32/72 of 9 December 1977, paragraphs 1 and 2, the Assembly decided to retain the Committee on Conferences, composed of 22 States Members of the United Nations, and requested the President, after consultations with the chairmen of the regional groups, to appoint Member States, on the basis of an equitable geographical balance, to serve on the Committee for a three-year term.

9. I had very much hoped to be able to announce the composition of the Committee on Conferences before the closing of the session, but it has not been possible to do so. One regional group has not yet submitted its candidates. I am therefore obliged to follow the precedent established at earlier sessions and to defer the announcement of the composition of that body.

10. The second pending appointment relates to agenda item 37. Under resolution 32/150 of 19 December 1977, paragraph 1, the General Assembly decided to establish a Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations, composed of 35 Member States to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly on the basis of equitable geographical distribution and with representation of the principal legal systems of the world. I shall report to the Assembly on this matter in due time.

11. There is another pending appointment, which relates to agenda items 35 and 36. Under resolution 32/196 B of 20 December 1977, paragraphs 1 and 2, the General Assembly decided to expand the membership of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space from 37 to 47, and has requested the President of the Assembly, taking due account of the present membership of the Committee, to appoint the new members not later than 31 January 1978 in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution. I shall report to the Assembly on this matter also in due time.

12. May I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to document A/32/493, concerning the decision of the Government of Brazil to withdraw from the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations established by General Assembly resolution 2006 (XIX) of 18 February 1965. I should like to announce that after consultations I have appointed Guatemala as a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of that appointment?

*It was so decided (decision 32/318 B).<sup>3</sup>*

\* Resumed from the 103rd meeting.

<sup>3</sup> For decision 32/318 A, see the 103rd meeting, para. 8.

*Closing statements*

13. The PRESIDENT: We are now coming to the end of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. I shall call upon those representatives who have expressed a desire to speak at this stage.

14. I call first on the representative of Sri Lanka, who will speak on behalf of the non-aligned countries.

15. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, I thank you very much for departing from the established order of speakers so as to accommodate me, and I should like to express my deep appreciation to my colleagues who would have preceded me for the consideration they have shown me on this occasion.

16. May I take this opportunity to say how deeply grieved we were to hear the sad news of the death of Ambassador Lang of Nicaragua. I join you, Mr. President, in extending to the bereaved family of Ambassador Lang and to the Government of Nicaragua our sincere sympathy.

17. The non-aligned group, on whose behalf I speak today, occupies a special position in the United Nations. It is unique in that its membership includes countries from all regional groups, and that helps it to serve as a link between all those groups.

18. As a movement, we are secular in our outlook. We have no special global strategic preoccupations, and have no partisan military involvements. During the last few years the non-aligned group has as a body assumed an increasing initiative in all spheres of United Nations activities. Its influence and its role are now acknowledged, if not with admiration, at least with mild respect even by those who once viewed the movement with some degree of impatience and supercilious disdain. Our actions, our decisions and our attitude have not won uniform and universal approbation, and we are not so presumptuous as to expect it. We are a human institution, and given such a staggering diversity of interests, it is, in an imperfect world, impossible to attain the perfection of unanimity.

19. I must, however, emphasize that our sole purpose is to exert a temperate and moderating influence, as it is only through moderation and mutual tolerance, the middle path that is central to religious practice, which we consider indispensable in political behaviour and performance, that we believe we can find the way to international peace and reconciliation.

20. Our prime objective has been to function as a factor for harmonizing relations between States. The United Nations system in all spheres—political, economic, social and humanitarian—requires a catalyst. The principles, the philosophy and the doctrine of the non-aligned we feel do not need to be changed, but can bring about that catalysis in others which we need for the final realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter. We believe in justice and equity for all alike without any distinction.

21. Although the non-aligned movement in its early years laid major emphasis on what might be described as political matters—peaceful coexistence, self-determination and the

extirpation of all vestiges of colonialism—in the effort to build the political foundation for peace, security and economic progress, it has in recent times devoted no less attention to the question of international economic co-operation.

22. In this sphere, we of the non-aligned do not consider ourselves as separate and distinct from the Group of 77, whose Chairman, Ambassador Mills, yesterday [*109th meeting*] spoke incisively and cogently on the most important aspects of the problem of international economic co-operation, the establishment of the new international economic order, the integrated approach to commodity problems with the common fund that is central to it, and the question of the restructuring of the United Nations system—in short, the great reformation of the existing system on which the happiness and well-being of the overwhelming mass of mankind is so completely dependent. We are one with the Group of 77 in all matters relating to economic development and international economic relations.

23. During this session the non-aligned movement has taken a leading part in the preparation and negotiation of draft resolutions on the most critical issues before this Assembly: the Middle East, the problem of southern Africa, Cyprus, disarmament and the special session on disarmament, and international security. Not all our efforts won universal acclaim. Some have been denounced by those who felt the provisions of some of our draft resolutions to be adverse to their interests. We did not expect anything different. But if we have aroused interest, if we have overcome complacency, and if we have advanced the prospects of a change for the better, we have achieved some success even if, regrettably, we have caused discomfiture to certain parties, especially those whom we regard as our friends and who are not at variance with us in regard to our principal objectives. Dissent is the first stage in the attainment of consensus.

24. In these circumstances, Mr. President, your tenure of the presidency of this session assumes a special historic significance. You, Mr. President, are the embodiment of the principles, the policy and the philosophy of non-alignment to which your great country—great neither in size nor in material power, but great in the true sense of the term—under the inspiring leadership of your venerable President, has made such a phenomenal contribution.

25. You, Mr. President, in your person represent a remarkable combination of qualities, experience and talent. You have been a Partisan fighter, a guerrilla in a noble cause, and have proved beyond cavil your supreme command of the art of diplomacy. By the manner in which you have steered the work of this session, the adroitness, the patience, the firmness, the finesse, the courtesy and the conspicuous ability you have demonstrated, you have added greater lustre to the office of President of the General Assembly. You may well be described as a “gentle guerrilla”.

26. On behalf of the non-aligned group, I offer you our warmest congratulations. Your mission is not yet completed. The Assembly will look forward to your presiding over the special session on disarmament. If your past

performance is an index to the future, the success of that special session is assured.

27. I am particularly gratified, Mr. President, that, through the fortuitous circumstance of being the spokesman of the non-aligned, I have been able today, on their behalf, to pay you this well-merited tribute at the closure of this session. It is perhaps the last occasion I shall have of addressing this Assembly, and I could not have asked for a more propitious occasion than that of addressing it under the presidency of such a highly esteemed colleague and such a close friend.

28. As I look back over the last 10 years, what strikes me as the brightest feature of this Organization as a human institution is that, despite the often sharp and acrimonious terms of our exchanges and the mutual recriminations, in our relations with one another we can still behave with that dignity, mutual respect and total absence of individual animosity that make this Organization the largest existing reservoir of fervent, personal, human relationships. That is the true significance of the United Nations.

29. May I conclude, Mr. President, by extending to you and to your family, on behalf of the non-aligned movement, our sincerest wishes for a New Year which will bring you health, happiness and further success in your endeavours.

30. I should like to take this opportunity of including in this same expression of good wishes our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. William Buffum, with whom I have been closely associated, and all ranks of the Secretariat, as well as you, my colleagues and friends, from whom I have learned and to whom I owe so much.

31. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon, who wishes to speak on behalf of the group of African States.

32. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at the end of this thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, it is an agreeable and pleasant privilege, an honour and also a pleasant duty to tender to you, on behalf of the African group of States and personally, warmest congratulations on your discharging your important and difficult duties with such skill, competence and authority. One need not wonder at this since we are speaking of the eminent representative of Yugoslavia, a country which, thanks to its men, has never ceased to play a major role in our great family of the non-aligned, to which Africa is so closely linked.

33. It is pleasant, too, to extend our tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, who because of his devoted belief in the ideals of our Organization, his prudence, far-sightedness and quiet courage, has earned the admiration and esteem of all. We are grateful to him for constantly and with far-sightedness and dedication facilitating the work of the Assembly at all levels. We also wish to thank, together with him, the entire Secretariat, including Mr. Buffum, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs.

34. This session is ending, and it would be presumptuous of us to try to draw up a balance-sheet, which can only be summary and provisional. However, we must stress the predominant place occupied by Africa and its problems during these last three months of work. Africa in the southern portion of the continent is undergoing the world's most dramatic developments, because it is an area under the domination of régimes which pursue a policy that is based purely and simply on the negation of the human dignity of tens of millions of human beings. We are happy that the Security Council has at last recognized that this situation clearly poses a threat to international peace and security. Furthermore, we can but stress yet again our gratification at the fact that the General Assembly itself has endorsed the recommendations of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo,<sup>4</sup> and the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos,<sup>5</sup> and adopted a series of measures further to mobilize world public opinion and to encourage the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for their liberation and the restoration of the dignity of the African majority.

35. We stress in particular the important decision taken by the General Assembly to hold a special session in the next few months devoted to the question of Namibia. On behalf of Africa, we make an urgent appeal to all Powers, and in particular to those great Powers that, either from afar or nearby, still contribute to the maintenance of the anachronistic régimes of southern Africa, which daily violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles and purposes of the Charter and trample underfoot the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

36. But it is good to note at this moment, that with regard to entire peoples of the southern part of our continent that are suffering under a system that has been termed by us in the Assembly a "crime against mankind", the General Assembly has long tried to find ways and means and machinery to ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms all over the world. The specific stress laid on these matters in the course of the present session attests, if more proof were necessary, to their topicality and their disturbing nature and to the increased importance attached to them by the international community.

37. I do not think that it would be otiose to recall that it is particularly in southern Africa that human rights are systematically flouted, and that the racist and minority political régimes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania are based on the actual denial of those rights to the immense majority of the population, who have been made foreigners in their own land. We also feel that it is only fair to note that the international community should be reminded over and over again of what happens in that part of the world and we strongly reaffirm the pre-eminent responsibility of our Organization in the collective search for ways and means to ensure the effective enjoyment of human rights in that region.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1.

<sup>5</sup> See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2).

38. From this standpoint, the creation of a United Nations organ to ensure respect for the implementation of these rights is, in itself, an extremely important step that warrants very careful, profound and thorough study on the part of all Member States. This initiative, if successfully carried through, would enhance the prestige of our Organization without any doubt, but we nevertheless feel that its implementation must be the result of general consensus and must benefit from the political will and the support of the great majority of States whose diversity in their approach to the problem and in their economic, social and political systems makes it more difficult to define the content and purpose to be given to such a project.

39. However, it would be useless to believe that human rights are not indivisible or that political rights could be promulgated to the detriment of economic, social and cultural rights or by leaving them to one side. Rights are rights, and they must be achieved comprehensively. In fact, it appears to us that the creation of a new international economic order is part and parcel of the effective promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We are gratified at the consensus reached in the course of this session that led to the adoption of the recommendations whose implementation will allow the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of our Organization, better preparing them to face this new international economic order. The decisions taken for the transfer of science and technology to the developing countries should enable those countries to emerge from their wretchedness and their populations to aspire to improved well-being and to happiness. We are sorry, however, that no positive decision was arrived at regarding a new development strategy for the 1980s, and we hope that a satisfactory solution will be found during the next session.

40. While dealing with necessary conditions for the establishment of a new international economic order the Assembly has, very aptly, again stressed the urgency of diverting to development at least a part of the immense resources that our world in its madness is squandering on the development and accumulation of weapons of mass destruction. General and complete disarmament is, indeed, for the needy countries far more than for any others, a matter of immediate concern, for as far as we are concerned, the arms race is not just a long-term threat but places in jeopardy daily and increasingly the chance for millions of human beings to achieve happiness and well-being. Thus, it is with hope that we envisage the dialogue that is to be initiated during the special session on disarmament by the General Assembly, to be held in May and June of the coming year. We are convinced that today's world, of the singleness of whose destiny we are daily being reminded in all fields, can survive only if each component member, regardless of its size, can feel secure, politically, legally and economically.

41. It is by ensuring the happiness of peoples and respecting the goals and principles that they have together laid down that the members of the international community will ensure that peace and law prevail. Thus, the Member States, in order to assure the strengthening, credibility and authority of our Organization, owe it to themselves to ensure respect for and the application of the decisions of the Organization, for it is useless to accumulate decisions that are left unimplemented.

42. It is this task that falls, in the first place, to the Security Council because of the specific responsibilities incumbent upon it according to the terms of the Charter. The decision recently adopted by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) to establish an embargo on arms destined for South Africa and the creation of a subsidiary organ of the Council to ensure implementation of that decision thus offer new prospects for the strengthening of the role of our Organization, whose action has been, and remains, decisive in the political and economic liberation of the African continent.

43. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Papua New Guinea, who will speak on behalf of the Asian States.

44. Mr. MATANE (Papua New Guinea): The Asian group of States is saddened to hear of the death of one of our distinguished colleagues, the Ambassador of Nicaragua. We extend, with you, Mr. President, our sympathy to the Government of Nicaragua and to the members of the Ambassador's family for the loss of their servant and loved one.

45. Three months ago, when the thirty-second session began, the General Assembly admitted two new Members—the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti—to this international family. This brought the total membership to 149. Realistically, when there is an addition to a family—for instance when a new baby is born—the needs of the family change. For example, the family has to buy additional clothes, beds, chairs, tables, and so on. The United Nations family has also grown since it was established. Logically, there is a need for changes in some areas. With that in mind, over a week ago 29 sponsors from the Asian group decided to request the inclusion in the agenda of the "Question of the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations" [item 128]. Because of a lack of time the General Assembly decided to defer this item until the thirty-third session. In the meantime the contact group will study the question, and its deliberations will serve as a basis for the Assembly's consideration of the matter, when it comes up during the next session.

46. When this session began, many of us who are newcomers to the United Nations were strangers to other representatives. In a few minutes this session will be over. Within that period a lot has happened. We have made new friends and strengthened old ones. This has been achieved through friendly discussions, consultations and debates on the items that have kept us very busy in the various Committee rooms, in the corridors, in corners, during receptions in hotels, offices, homes—in fact everywhere.

47. The atmosphere has generally been peaceful and serious. We have all wanted to co-operate in finding solutions to the various major problems that face our world today. But we still fall short. There is a lot more we can do even to come closer to our goals. To achieve that there is a need, a great need, for all nations to look at all problems not only from the outside but also from within. There is a need also for the give-and-take rule. I believe that without that, we can never hope to make substantial progress towards the solution of problems. Though there have been some obvious disappointments, it is pleasing to know that we have made good progress in some areas.



48. We commend the Security Council for its resolution 418 (1977) imposing a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. That is a good start. South Africa still enjoys economic and trade relations with many Members of the United Nations today. It is a fact that we all want to see majority rule there. But that cannot be achieved if certain Members continue to violate some United Nations resolutions. If we are serious and honest enough with ourselves, we must ask, Has the time not yet come for a total economic boycott on dealings with that racist régime? Why do some countries still trade with South Africa? And why do we not hear the names of all countries that trade with that country?

49. The Middle East question has taken a big part of our debates. It is encouraging to see some progress there. Perhaps the give-and-take rule can be applied there also.

50. In some countries women are still looked upon as properties for the kitchen and as child-bearers. The adoption of the resolution on the Draft Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women [*resolution 32/136*] and other resolutions on the United Nations decade for the equality of women is timely.

51. The much-debated issue of the establishment of an office of a United Nations commissioner for human rights was not acceptable to the majority of the Members of the United Nations. There would not have been any need to debate this question if certain countries observed and respected human rights, including the freedom of their people to express themselves openly without fear of being arrested.

52. Today's needs are different from those of many years ago. It is obvious, however, that a review of the United Nations Charter should be made to fit in with the changing times. Unfortunately, some Members do not see the need for a review. We hope they soon will.

53. As my delegation's country is in the South Pacific, we are very happy to know that the United States, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have taken positive moves to decolonize their Territories in the region. The quicker the pace of the decolonization process, the better, not only for the Territories that must be freed from foreign domination, but also for all the nations in the South Pacific. We hope that after the countries attain their political independence they will apply for membership in the United Nations. Fiji, Samoa and Papua New Guinea will definitely welcome them because we want to have a bigger group which would adequately constitute a "South Pacific voice" here, just as the other regional groups speak for their areas.

54. I would not be far wrong if I said that every one of us in this hall, and indeed the international community at large, nowadays depends heavily on air transportation. We have in the recent past seen a frightening increase in terrorist aerial hijackings. Some cases have resulted in the loss of innocent lives. It is indeed our duty, as sovereign States and as Members of this world Organization, to do everything—and I mean everything—in our power to see that solutions to these problems are found. The item "Safety of international civil aviation" and the resolution

adopted on it [*resolution 32/8*] are steps in the right direction.

55. As Chairman of the Asian groups of States for this month, I have a pleasant duty to perform. First, Mr. President, you presided over our deliberations so skilfully and efficiently that I cannot find the words to use to express adequately what I should like to say. Your country should be very proud of you. I offer you my group's warmest congratulations. Your job was not an easy one, but it would have been even more difficult had you not received the good, co-operative support of the Under-Secretary for Political and General Assembly Affairs. Through you, we sincerely thank him and his officers for the excellent and courteous services and assistance they have accorded to our delegations.

56. Our thanks go also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his co-operation and understanding of our needs.

57. We thank also the Chairmen of all the Committees and their support staff for the job well done in their Committees.

58. Our thanks go also to the members of various offices of the specialized agencies and others who have worked tirelessly to enable the General Assembly to conduct its business smoothly right to the end.

59. It would be almost impossible for me to name the others who helped in the smooth running of the session in the short time at my disposal. They did a fine job for us. Whether they are visible or invisible, we wish to thank them all.

60. Upon leaving the General Assembly for a while, we extend our thanks to our hosts—the United States and the city of New York—for the care taken of the visiting foreign dignitaries who came to the general debate of the General Assembly and also for the care and attention paid to the various needs of our delegations.

61. The States members of the Asian group take this opportunity to thank the Member States of the other regions for the kindness, courtesy, hospitality and consideration that they offered. We wish representatives, delegations and their families peace and happiness. To those who are travelling back to their countries, we wish all the best for a safe journey. In other words, take care.

62. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the German Democratic Republic, who will speak on behalf of the group of Eastern European States.

63. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, it is a great honour and, at the same time, a very pleasant duty to express to you, on behalf of the group of Eastern European States, our gratitude for the skilful and pragmatic way in which you have guided the work of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your political flair and statesmanship have helped to bring about the successful culmination of our work on an extremely heavy agenda. Your personal authority, your

purposeful, patient and, at the same time, dynamic guidance have made it possible to solve a number of complex problems taking into account the legitimate interests of all sides.

64. We also wish to express our gratitude to the Vice-Presidents of this session, the Chairmen and the other officers of the General Committee, and all representatives of Member States, whose readiness to engage in fruitful co-operation has made it possible for a number of resolutions to be adopted in the interests of all peoples.

65. We also feel heartfelt gratitude for the assiduous and conscientious work done by the Secretariat. We should like to express our sincere thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim and all his associates and assistants, whose deep sense of responsibility made possible the success of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly.

66. At the end of the present session we are entitled to say with assurance that its work and its results have made it possible to strengthen peace, to curb the arms race and to offer genuine solidarity to the peoples in their struggle against colonial and racist oppression and, at the same time, to develop comprehensive and equitable co-operation among all States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. I should like particularly to refer to the business-like atmosphere and also the spirit of realism which prevailed during this session. This atmosphere prevailed even when contentious matters had to be discussed and solved. Numerous resolutions were adopted without a vote. At the same time, there was evidence of concern on the part of Member States about the implementation of the resolutions adopted, particularly those of the Security Council.

67. The opening of this session was marked by a particularly auspicious event: the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti took their rightful places in the Organization. This was an impressive demonstration of how the right of peoples to self-determination is steadily making headway. The period during which our session was held also coincided with the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in the life of mankind.

68. I am sure that I am speaking on behalf of us all when I say that the adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente [resolution 32/155] was an outstanding result of this session of the General Assembly. At a time when mankind was at the cross-roads, the Organization was able to make its authoritative voice heard in favour of a decisive continuation of the process of détente. This was a clear decision in favour of the only reasonable alternative and was fully in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter; it will foster further efforts in the struggle for international security and disarmament. The elaboration of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations in the Special Committee which was created for that purpose [see decision 32/442] will also help to serve this noble goal.

69. The growing role and importance of the United Nations in international life is evidenced by the fact that

the Assembly at this session dealt primarily with questions of disarmament. The results which have been achieved will undoubtedly help us to find a solution to this key issue in international relations. Of particular significance are those resolutions aimed at the adoption of immediate and effective steps to reduce and completely to remove the danger of nuclear war and also to eliminate nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. We acclaim the adoption of a resolution putting an end to all nuclear-weapons tests [resolution 32/78] and also of one to strengthen the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [resolution 32/87 F]. Of particular importance is the demand for the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons and, equally, for the elaboration and production of new systems of weapons of mass destruction. We also share the hope expressed by many other delegations that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, whose progress has had a very beneficent influence on the work of this session, will shortly produce successful results.

70. There will shortly be held a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to questions of disarmament. Let us make use of the positive results achieved at the present session of the General Assembly in order to ensure that it will be a successful enterprise and that preparations for a world disarmament conference will be duly undertaken.

71. This thirty-second session of the General Assembly has confirmed that lasting peace for the peoples of the Middle East can be achieved on the basis of the decisions adopted by the United Nations. It is essential that a comprehensive settlement be found to the conflict there with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative recognized by the United Nations of the interests of the Arab people of Palestine.

72. Through the adoption of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on problems relating to the southern part of Africa, the United Nations came out firmly in favour of the consistent implementation of the right to self-determination and against racism and *apartheid*. Now that the decision on the mandatory arms embargo has been adopted, further effective steps should be taken to remove sources of tension and the danger of war which has been created by the racist policy of the oppression of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the indigenous populations in South Africa. We are profoundly convinced that in 1978—the International Anti-Apartheid Year—even more forces to combat this evil will be mobilized.

73. The General Assembly has adopted a constructive and purposeful programme in connexion with discussions on matters of human rights. This could, and in fact should, help to promote practical co-operation among States in this area in a spirit of deepening international détente and, at the same time, in strict compliance with the basic principles of the Charter.

74. The importance and the responsibility of the United Nations have been further enhanced in the implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. The development of equitable

international economic relations is a vital and integral part of the over-all process of détente. What has to be done now is to do away with the fossilized structures of the colonial and neo-colonial division of labour. May I be permitted to voice the hope that the results of the present session in this particular sphere will help to ensure that an important step forward is taken to the implementation of these goals.

75. Our work in 1977 is reaching its end. Now it is our duty to promote the implementation of the steps which have been agreed upon and in this way to make a contribution to the complete fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. I conclude by expressing the hope that next year, 1978, will be marked by the strengthening of peace and universal security.

76. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Venezuela will now address the Assembly on behalf of the Latin American States.

77. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Now that the thirty-second session of the General Assembly is ending, to Venezuela falls the great honour and the privilege of expressing to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Latin American group of States, our sincere appreciation and profound thanks for the wisdom and efficiency with which you have directed our work.

78. We also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to his close associates for their unflagging efforts to ensure world peace. They have once again demonstrated their devotion, their dynamism and their patience.

79. This is also a propitious moment to express our thanks to the Vice-Presidents and to the Chairmen and other officers of all the Committees of the Assembly. We certainly do not overlook the Secretariat, to which thanks are due for its invaluable assistance.

80. Our appreciation goes also to the host country for having once again welcomed us and made our work so much easier.

81. The General Assembly, the most appropriate body to carry on the search for world problems, permits ideas to confront each other and constructive dialogue to take place; in it you, Mr. President, have demonstrated to us your competence and your great political skills and we have thus been able successfully to conclude the important programme of work that we set for ourselves. We are happy to note the outstanding fact that this session of the Assembly adopted many resolutions by consensus. We believe there is an urgent need to implement and ensure respect for those resolutions. This need becomes even more obvious when we are dealing with extremely important questions on which the very survival of many peoples rests. This is in fact true of many of the decisions designed to curb the arms race.

82. This is also true of the decisions on the Middle East, southern Africa and Cyprus. These are all intricate, difficult and delicate problems to which we have devoted all our attention; solutions to them cannot be found without a demonstration of great understanding by the countries that

have interests in the areas; it is from them that we now expect greater flexibility for the achievement of viable solutions.

83. A considerable number of delegations have shown their concern about the effectiveness of the resolutions of the United Nations, and particularly those of the Security Council, the organ which adopted one of the most outstanding resolutions of recent years when it established a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

84. The Charter of the Organization must be the framework in which States Members fulfil their international commitments.

85. The decisions adopted under your guidance, Mr. President, will doubtless contribute to the welfare and the future of those millions of human beings that are still subject to colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. By an overwhelming majority we have condemned the racist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa, and they are being further isolated more and more each day from our international community. We know full well that their very survival is the result of the constant co-operation they get from a group of States and by transnational corporations. But this General Assembly has once again reaffirmed its support for the legitimate struggle of the colonial peoples against the survival of colonialism and exploitation in any form.

86. We believe that our deliberations have significantly contributed to international détente and we trust that better prospects have been opened up so for the early reconvening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East in the near future, bringing together all the parties in a spirit of goodwill so that just solutions will be found which will lead to better understanding and coexistence among the Arabs, the Palestinians and the Israelis, and so that the peace that everyone desires for that part of the world may be achieved by peaceful means.

87. Our Organization has also contributed to alleviating the problems of the people of Cyprus and we trust that the tension will be replaced by tranquillity and justice and that the higher interests of that people, namely, their independence and their unity, will be borne in mind.

88. At this session the General Assembly also turned its attention to other important questions. Unfortunate international events relating to the safety of civil aviation called for decided action by the United Nations. The relevant resolution adopted by the General Assembly constitutes, in our opinion, a significant step in the urgent effort to wipe out this type of problem.

89. We can hardly say that 1977 was a year of great international progress. The dialogue between the developed and the developing countries, the so-called North-South dialogue, after one effort that produced limited results outside the United Nations, has now been referred back to our Organization. We have laid the groundwork for machinery that will allow us fully to carry out the responsibility of achieving a more just order; that has never ceased to be one of our responsibilities.

90. The recent United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for



Commodities held in Geneva did not reach an agreement, not even on the components that would make of the Fund the basic element of the Integrated Programme for Commodities. Therefore, there is a contradiction between the position assumed by the developed countries and the recent commitments that we undertook in Paris.

91. There can be no doubt that the dialogue will continue within the United Nations and it is for this reason that now more than ever we feel ourselves committed to do all that is necessary to ensure that the required changes are made in its structure and in the way it functions so that the dialogue here will be fruitful.

92. At the present moment the fiftieth meeting of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries is taking place in Caracas and the President of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez, has proposed an increase in the price of oil of 8 per cent in order to use those financial resources to benefit the countries of the third world, and particularly those countries that have been affected by the world-wide financial crisis.

93. We trust that similar initiatives to lighten the burden of foreign debt of the third world will be pursued by the developed countries.

94. It is imperative that with political will and vision we continue our efforts to ensure that in 1978 we may enjoy a year of new and important successes that will leave behind the uncertainties that disquiet us today, and thus that we may be able to devote ourselves to working towards peace, justice and international co-operation.

95. In conclusion, I can only wish all members a very prosperous 1978.

96. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Canada, who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

97. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, it is my privilege, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, to extend to you our gratitude and thanks for the efficient manner in which the proceedings of this session have been conducted. I should also like to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Buffum, and all the members of the Secretariat, for the conscientious way in which they approached their work and for their close co-operation with all delegations.

98. We gather together each year as a General Assembly of the Members of this Organization because we believe that there is a need for a common forum in which all the nations of the world can discuss and attempt to resolve the great issues of our time. The concept that every nation—great or small—has both the right and the responsibility to participate in such a process, is relatively new, and we still have a lot to learn about how to make it effective—how to give it a relevance which will persuade participating Governments to utilize the opportunities it presents and to take it seriously.

99. I believe this session represents a useful step in that learning process. We have not resolved the Middle East

situation, or launched a programme of real disarmament, or instituted the new international economic order, or brought a halt to *apartheid* and colonialism in Africa or indeed, to the cruelty and inhumanity that can be found on every continent of this globe. But we have seen some modest gains in the art of living and working together—in the recognition that in the final analysis we make progress not by confrontation but by the adaptations that lead to agreed solutions.

100. Let me now mention some of the developments which in our view have contributed to the record of accomplishment during the past three months.

101. Following upon the Maputo and Lagos Conferences earlier this year, the Security Council resolution imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa represents an important further measure aimed at influencing the policies of that Government in such a way as to bring about the end of *apartheid* and the introduction of basic human rights for the majority of the population. At the same time, we continue to wait for what we hope will be positive results from the negotiations concerning both Rhodesia and Namibia.

102. With respect to the Middle East, we are encouraged by the recent events and we sincerely hope that they will lead to the early establishment of an over-all peace settlement.

103. The adoption of the resolution on safety in international civil aviation serves as a lesson to those who often criticize the United Nations for not being able to respond promptly to a perceived need. In spite of the different points of view articulated during the debate, we are pleased to note that international opinion was expressed and action was proposed by consensus.

104. We are encouraged that some progress has been made in the area of disarmament, particularly with respect to the non-proliferation issues, the arms race and its consequences and the relationship between disarmament and development. The special session on disarmament next spring will provide fresh impetus to our common efforts to halt and reverse the arms race with the aim of achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It will also serve to underline the catalytic role which the United Nations can and should assume concerning disarmament questions.

105. In the economic area this has been a very important session. We attempted to improve the United Nations structures in the economic and social sectors and the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations shows some progress in this difficult area. The competence of the General Assembly has been enhanced by agreement to create an overview mechanism. We must now demonstrate that we can exercise the necessary wisdom in order that concrete progress may be made in the North-South dialogue.

106. In the administrative and budgetary area this Assembly analysed and approved a complex and growing biennial programme budget of now close on \$1 billion. The

introduction of new salaries for some 4,000 General Service staff in Geneva on the recommendation of the International Civil Service Commission marks an important step in the Assembly's effort to develop more equitable conditions of employment in the United Nations common system. A new scale of assessment whereby expenditures will be apportioned among Member States has been approved, with a degree of unanimity which once again confirms the basic soundness of the existing method of assessment.

107. The current session has shown a strengthening of some encouraging new trends. There seems to be greater willingness to take into account the perceptions of others in planning United Nations initiatives. Perhaps this is indicative of a greater degree of flexibility; indeed, we note with satisfaction that a greater number of resolutions were adopted by consensus during this session. We look forward to the prospect of these positive developments being repeated at future sessions of the General Assembly. It is our belief that in this way the chances of finding solutions to the difficult problems before us will improve.

108. The challenge before the United Nations and the international community it represents is to find solutions to the conflicts confronting it in order that it may remain effective and relevant. Mr. President, as you bring this session to a close, you carry our gratitude for the important contribution you have made to meeting this challenge.

109. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen, who will make a statement on behalf of the Arab States.

110. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Arab group and on behalf of my delegation, I have the pleasure to pay you, Sir, our sincere tribute for your distinguished qualities and to extend to you our appreciation for the prominent role that you have played as President of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. This has been a very active session and, thanks to your well-known skills and wide experience, you have been able to guide our deliberations with all success and precision. That only proves your great qualities and shows that the full trust placed in you by all United Nations circles and the international community as a whole was not misplaced.

111. The United Nations is not new to you. Your friends have the best memories of the time when you represented friendly Yugoslavia in the United Nations. Today we are even happier that you have returned in the capacity of President of the General Assembly, whose proceedings you have guided with your well-known precision and sincerity.

112. As this session comes to an end and until we meet at the special session next spring, I should like to extend to you our warmest wishes for health and success.

113. To conclude, I should like to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, who exerts his best efforts to ensure the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

114. On this occasion I should also like to thank Mr. Buffum, the Under-Secretary-General, and all the mem-

bers of the Secretariat for the efforts they have exerted to facilitate our task and ensure the success of this session.

115. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States of America, who will address the General Assembly on behalf of the host country.

116. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Thank you, Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General and my friends. I say "my friends" in a very genuine and sincere way, for I do not know when I have been with a group of people from such varied backgrounds, differing ideologies and beliefs, who, in spite of disagreements, have found a way to be together as we have been these last three months, without ever being personally disagreeable to each other. It is almost as though the nations of the world selected all of their nicest people and sent them here to make up this General Assembly; and it is the warm personal relationships that we enjoy here that I think make it possible for us to achieve such progress, in the interests of our nations.

117. I am pleased to say that I believe we have achieved an important and hopeful shift in the work of the General Assembly this year. We are drawing to the close of what has been in many ways the most constructive session in many years. In this General Assembly we have seen a clearer consensus of the concerned emerge to replace some of the politics of frustration which often seemed to drive the work of the Assembly in the past. The dawn of this dynamic dialogue offers great promise for our future work within the United Nations system.

118. This year we all saw an obvious change of mood, a sign that all our Governments and representatives are beginning to question the value of slogans and mere *clichés* which have governed their activities occasionally during the past several years. I sense an increasing agreement that slogans lead nowhere, that political and tactical manoeuvres in isolation from the substance not only are wasteful and damaging to this institution but also engender an unproductive confrontation which inhibits progress towards meaningful solutions of the crucial problems of mankind.

119. In short, this has been a good session of the Assembly. It may even have been historically important because of the progress on several fronts, but mainly because of this new will to talk together about the solution of our common problems. This is a solid record that my Government values highly and a record that I intend to convey to the American people in the weeks and months ahead.

120. What has this session of the Assembly accomplished, and why?

121. First, let us turn to the area where the United Nations has for 30 years borne special responsibilities for maintaining peace and security—the Middle East. This fall we saw in President El-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem one of the most courageous moves in the history of modern diplomacy. President El-Sadat's action and the response of Prime Minister Begin have created an unprecedented opportunity. Their visit demonstrated the profound desire for peace by peoples that have undergone the devastation of four tragic wars.

122. On most other issues this fall, this Assembly gave the impression of being closely conscious of and relevant to the real events. But resolutions which were adopted on the Middle East tended to reflect the rhetoric of the past rather than the refreshing and hopeful developments of the present. In all fairness, I think that representatives and their Governments may have sometimes found it difficult, because of the swift pace of developments, to reflect in New York the dynamic new possibilities for progress in the Middle East.

123. Despite the tone of some of these debates, the role of the United Nations as an institution in Middle East affairs has remained important and constructive. We must all keep that in mind, as did the Secretary-General when he called on Prime Minister Begin to discuss the contribution that the United Nations can make to the peace process. United Nations peace-keeping efforts for many years now have helped to provide the breathing-space which is necessary to permit the parties concerned to hammer out the terribly difficult but essential decisions which must be taken if we are to have an enduring and complete peace—at long last—in the Middle East.

124. Amidst the headlines this fall a fact overlooked was that the Security Council renewed without controversy the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in the Middle East, a process that in the past has been drawn out and painful. Nor did the world or the media focus on the fact that General Assembly approval of funding for the Middle East peace-keeping efforts this year, in contrast to the past, was essentially routine and non-controversial. Nor did the public place sufficient importance on the United Nations role this fall in enabling intensive consultations to take place among the leaders of the Governments principally concerned with a Middle East settlement. This included the opportunity for the United States and Soviet Foreign Ministers to further their talks on this subject.

125. All of those developments, which took place here in New York during the first weeks of this session of the Assembly, helped prepare the way for the kind of agreements on meaningful measures which are required for the ultimate settlement that we all desire in the Middle East.

126. An important part of the new atmosphere in this General Assembly was engendered by what my Government considers to be significant movement of the United Nations community towards a new degree of consensus on common goals in the southern African issues. I am proud that my Government and the people of the United States have drawn closer in association and co-operation with our African friends. The world community is virtually unanimous in its support for the goal of liberation of the people of southern Africa. There are few who would reject the work that has been launched to guarantee freedom, independence and self-rule for all the people of that region. My Government is still committed to that monumental task.

127. In Rhodesia, we have been sharply aware of the breathing-space granted the United Kingdom-United States effort by the way the General Assembly treated this problem in all its debates, in Committee as well as plenary

meetings. We also understand and accept the significance of the postponement of further debate in the Security Council.

128. The tragic actions of the Government of South Africa this fall sparked a justifiable explosion of protest around the world that found its expression in this Organization through the unanimous decision of the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions on South Africa—the first time sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter have been imposed on a Member State of the United Nations. This was a true consensus. It was a historic step forward by the United Nations in its long effort to achieve freedom and human dignity in Africa.

129. On economic and social issues, we have reached two important milestones rooted in consensus. We have achieved an agreement on a mechanism to oversee the continuing dialogue between the industrialized and the developing nations. Many thought we would not be able to come to terms on even the procedure for carrying on this dialogue—for we had failed numerous times in the past—but we were able to carry it off. In addition, after a two-year study on the restructuring of the economic and social functions of the United Nations, we reached agreement on some highly significant changes that should clearly improve the efficiency and effectiveness of these operations and ensure that the delivery of services of the United Nations agencies to the world's poor is greatly enhanced.

130. We have also made some progress on human rights. This was the Assembly session at which the President of the United States signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It was the Assembly session at which broad sponsorship of the proposal to create the post of United Nations high commissioner for human rights reflected support from most geographical regions, even though ultimate passage of the resolution was not possible this year. This was also the Assembly session at which delegations from a number of regions made significant human rights proposals. I think we have taken important steps towards the achievement of more awareness and agreement in this sensitive but critical field than we have ever had. At the same time, we have much work to do.

131. One of the most encouraging things about this fall's General Assembly session was the degree of agreement we reached on arms control. On a comprehensive test ban, for example, the key resolution commanded very broad support—not only from the Soviet Union and the United States but also from almost all the non-nuclear nations. On non-proliferation, there was a genuine readiness to exchange views seriously and to develop an acceptable resolution that recognized the broad responsibility of all nations not to contribute to proliferation. Resolutions calling for nuclear-free zones in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia commanded strong acceptance, and my Government was pleased to be able to support them; and both the United States and the Soviet Union were to vote for a resolution endorsing goals in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

132. The action of this Assembly in adopting by consensus—and I emphasize “by consensus”—a resolution on

aircraft hijacking was a particularly significant achievement of this session, making the world's airways safer for people of all nations.

133. In addition, this fall negotiations in the United Nations have made substantial progress towards establishing a joint committee on missing persons in Cyprus, a positive indication that there is willingness on both sides to resolve differences through negotiation. We have taken steps to support the important recommendations of the International Civil Service Commission for improvements in the staffing of the United Nations. We have expanded the United Nations membership as we work towards the ultimate goal of universality. We adopted a consensus resolution on Guam [*resolution 32/28*] and avoided the confrontational resolutions of the past.

134. The reasons for this quite positive record are many. I do not need to recite them to the representatives here, but I believe it is particularly important for people outside this body to focus on them.

135. First, I think, is the emerging agreement that the time for opportunism on many issues before the United Nations is passing. The issues are too pressing, the dangers too great. This year's Assembly session gives us more hope that this body has taken a new and positive course. While we clearly cannot agree on all precise policy prescriptions, there is growing agreement that it is incumbent on all of us to advance serious proposals for dealing with the critical issues we face.

136. Secondly, there is, I believe, growing agreement among Members that the developed and the developing countries have fundamental long-term interests that converge more often than they diverge. In my country, for example, changes of policy have resulted in deeper interest in the problems of southern Africa, progress on a Panama Canal treaty, renewed concern about human rights, and a closer relationship with many countries in the developing world. There are differences, to be sure, and some are hard to bridge; but for all nations—large and small—it is increasingly absurd to refuse to recognize the impact we have on one another.

137. On economic issues, for example, my country, which has historically been oriented towards our industrialized trading partners, now finds that the developing nations constitute its fastest-growing markets and continue to be a prime source of many of its raw materials. So we find that all regions are of growing importance to America's welfare and interests. In turn, developing nations are finding that industrialized societies offer indispensable markets, needed capital and vital technical assistance. Increasingly, we have to understand jointly that our task is not to pressure one another—both sides, after all, are quite capable of resisting pressure—but to find a much better process to help both sides discern and develop their common interests in co-operation. This is why the agreement of this Assembly to an overview mechanism for the North-South dialogue is so critical.

138. Thirdly—and this will be disputed by some, although I strongly believe it is true—we are moving towards a more widely shared set of common values and interests. Thirty

years ago, few in the developed world cared one way or another about economic or social conditions in the developing nations. In that period, few in the developing countries realized that internal domestic policies of the industrialized countries could have such significant impact on economic conditions in their own far-away lands. Today there is an intense international debate about the best means for achieving a new international economic order which will be more just and healthy. The question is not any longer whether we should do this, but how we should do it.

139. Fourthly—and unfortunately the world largely ignores this—effective new forms of decision-making have been employed in compiling our record at this General Assembly. One is the important development of small-group techniques of reaching agreement on potentially divisive issues. So-called contact groups consisting of representatives of the various interest groups, or “friends of the Chairmen” of larger committees, have been able to make important progress in informal sessions.

140. The major procedural technique that deserves mention is that of consensus decision-making. The public tends to focus on the disagreements among us, but over the past two years about 63 per cent of the decisions in the General Assembly have been taken by consensus. We are striking a more constructive and co-operative tone in the conduct of our deliberations here.

141. On the vital issues of maintaining peace, first of all we must keep the momentum going. Almost all of us agree that the time is right for movement. We must maintain that consensus, and this is possible only by continuing our efforts to clarify the issues and achieve agreements on the problems that threaten us all.

142. In the Middle East, then, let us build on the historic steps already taken, abandon destructive positions, and seize an unprecedented opportunity for peace. Let us set our minds, in the intersessional months ahead, to contribute our ideas, our information, and our wisdom in conducting the affairs of the United Nations to support the moves towards peace.

143. In Cyprus, now that the parties have moved close to agreement on one important issue, the commission on missing persons, let us in the United Nations maintain the momentum to broaden the areas of agreement and reach a lasting settlement.

144. In Rhodesia, the supportive consensus created here by this body has undoubtedly played a major role in bringing Ian Smith to understand that he must be removed in favour of a legitimate majority Government elected by the people of Zimbabwe. We continue to believe that the initiative which the United States has been pursuing in support of the United Kingdom remains the best framework for an internationally acceptable transition to majority rule. Let us continue to work together to bring about the necessary peaceful conclusion to this effort.

145. In Namibia, the five Western Ambassadors have just completed another round of talks with the front-line States, the South West Africa People's Organization, Nigeria and



South Africa. The differences between the parties have been narrowed considerably over the last months since our contact group first began functioning. But the remaining issues stubbornly resist final agreement between the parties. Let us continue to work together in pursuit of an internationally acceptable solution which will lead to true self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia.

146. In South Africa itself, let us build on the new consensus—not merely on the utter unacceptability of *apartheid*, but also on the need to convince South Africa to move in a progressive direction. The consensus of the world community is more solid and more sweeping than ever before. Let us make clear that our goal is not just to isolate South Africa but to encourage the kind of meaningful social change that can bring full participation by all South African citizens in their own governance and national life.

147. Next year we will mark the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its adoption was accomplished at a very early stage in the life of this Organization. It was virtually our first priority in those days. And while there has been some progress in human rights since then, we still have a very long way to go. There are still far too many abuses. As we mark this significant anniversary, let us restore to high priority this Organization's concern for human rights, and let us resolve that next year's session of the General Assembly will be a high point for constructive collective action to advance this vital cause.

148. Next year will also provide us with a significant opportunity for progress on arms control issues. Our special session on disarmament next May and June is unprecedented. Never before has the United Nations sponsored a gathering of this magnitude on this subject. Never before have we had a chance to concentrate the attention of all nations on these life-and-death questions in this way. This is no longer a concern of only the nations of the East and West. The developing countries, the non-nuclear countries—indeed, all countries—have an important stake in these discussions. Let us all pledge to work within our Governments to make a major effort to bring this special session significantly and successfully to meaningful understandings and practical ways to enhance our disarmament goals.

149. This session of the Assembly was another major step in the improved economic dialogue between the developing countries and the industrialized countries. As the resumed meetings of the thirty-first session ended, just prior to the opening of this one, it was clear to all that a major task would be to find a mutually acceptable framework for the continuation of a high-level overview of economic co-operation within the United Nations system. The thirty-second session of the General Assembly has met this challenge; let us all work for constructive discussions in the committee of the whole we have agreed upon.

150. For the United States, the expectations will be high. If the construction of a new international economic order is to be a growing consensus and not a verbal contest, each group of countries—East and West, oil producers and consumers, industrialized, industrializing and agricultural—must explore ways in which change can be achieved

consistent with economic security for all. We know one another's needs and concerns. We have learned even more about them during this session of the Assembly. Let us get on with the work that remains to be done.

151. In many areas once characterized by disagreement we have achieved consensus. In others we have thus far failed. One area in which work remains to be done relates to the negotiations for a common fund under the auspices of UNCTAD. The suspension of the negotiations in Geneva took place rather late in our session and, with so much else under way, it was certainly a difficult task for all of us here in New York to provide a real impetus for their constructive resumption.

152. Unfortunately we were not able to reach agreement on a resolution that would have facilitated the resumption of the negotiations. As the Assembly is aware, we worked towards a resolution in the Second Committee last week, one that would have permitted the negotiations to be resumed on a constructive basis. Regrettably it was not possible to achieve a positive non-prejudicial statement. Let us therefore work together to find a way to conduct a balanced and dispassionate assessment of the important issues involved. We believe that such an assessment is necessary before any further progress can be made.

153. Let me mention one final area that merits our attention next year. The budget we have just approved represents nearly a 30 per cent increase over that of the last biennium. We have approved many good programmes and projects. Indeed, nearly all of them are good. But the United Nations resources are not unlimited. I think it is fair to say that we are sponsoring too many conferences, too many special-interest groups, too many private bills of assistance to individual countries, when such steps should be reserved for only the most critical cases. I will be the first to admit that my Government has not always followed a policy of fiscal restraint itself. But the need for fiscal stringency is paramount. It applies to all of us. We need to set priorities, carefully analyse all proposals, clarify our objectives and restrain ourselves on expenditures until we have sorted out for ourselves exactly which actions are the most pressing. A consensus resolution of this Assembly last year expressed concern about this problem and requested the assistance of the Secretary-General in identifying expenditure priorities. The United Nations system budget was \$124 million in 1947. It was nearly \$2.5 billion in 1976. These are significant sums which, we all know, can with proper programming and management be better used. Let us commit ourselves to this task in the coming year.

154. In short, we have a difficult agenda before us. The problems do not vanish with the sound of the last gavel. But with the consensus of the concerned that has clearly emerged at this year's session of the General Assembly, we have begun to search for the common elements of our own interests, to stop shouting and to do more listening.

155. A senior official of another Government told me early in this session that the United Nations seemed to be catching its second wind. I think that is clearly true. This emerging consensus on how to work together on world issues provides us all with a source of new hope and optimism. That is good for the United Nations. It is good for the world. It is good for the people we represent.



156. In closing, Mr. President, I would be remiss and would not reflect the strong view of my Government if I did not speak directly about the superlative manner in which you have managed the difficult business of this Assembly over the past three months. You have been a superb President in a line of outstanding statesmen, and your Assembly session has one of the most constructive and positive records of any session in recent years.

157. My delegation also wishes to express appreciation to the Secretary-General, who once again this year has provided the United Nations with devoted and energetic leadership. We have missed Mrs. Waldheim's presence this fall, and we offer you, Mr. Secretary-General, and all the members of your family our sincere hope that you can be united with your family as soon as possible.

158. Finally, Mr. President, through you I should like to thank Under-Secretary-General Buffum and all the devoted members of the Secretariat staff for their warm support and hard work, which obviously have played an essential part in the achievements of this Assembly.

159. And may I take the liberty of closing with a rather personal note, for I think we have this year witnessed a change in foreign policy and the strategy of diplomacy which merits the attention of us all to some degree. For normally the decisions of world leaders and statesmen are decisions that do not create any risk to their own lives but rather, unfortunately, often involve risking the lives, limbs and happiness of the most promising and patriotic youth of their nations.

160. Whether we agree with the purposes, objectives and politics of President El-Sadat's initiative this year, I would recommend in this season of peace our all learning from his example by transferring the risk of war and destruction from those promising young people of our nations to our own persons, to our own careers and to the futures of our own Governments. And I think that, as we begin to approach our tasks and enter into our debates as though our lives are at stake and depend upon our decisions, we will also be able to find creative and dramatic break-throughs in all the issues that now divide us and call themselves to our attention, and that, as a result, we may advance the cause of peace through our work in these halls through the coming year and see this session of the Assembly as the dawn of a new era when the diplomats and statesmen of the world decided not to risk the lives of their young but to take the risks of peace and war upon themselves, to put their own careers on the line, to make those bold ventures that might move us closer to each other and closer to the goals of our Charter, which are world peace and universal brotherhood.

161. The PRESIDENT: I thank the co-ordinator of the non-aligned group, the Chairmen of the regional groups and the representative of the host country for the kind words they have addressed to me.

162. After 13 weeks, during which we have exerted joint efforts to consider all the items on our extensive agenda and, in doing so, to achieve some progress after numerous debates, consultations and meetings, the end of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly is drawing near.

163. After the fatigue, which is this year an almost unavoidable consequence of our voluminous workload, and the feeling of relief at the fact that a period of intensive activity has come to an end, can we also have a feeling of satisfaction resulting from the awareness that our task has been fulfilled successfully?

164. An established custom impels me now to try, as far as I am able, to offer, for my part, a reply to this question. I am conscious that it is not easy and that, regardless of my position, it will be a personal assessment that does not pretend to be the final word that will be said or recorded about this session.

165. The function of the President of the General Assembly, which I have had the honour and pleasure to carry out during the past months, enables one to have a comprehensive insight into the activities, tasks and results of this session of the General Assembly. In the performance of his duties the President must be informed of all relevant developments on the scene and behind it. This fact makes it somewhat easier for me to sum up the results of the session.

166. The credit for the results achieved, whatever they are, goes to all of you, distinguished representatives. At the beginning of the session, I expressed the confidence that, in the endeavour to enable the General Assembly to fulfil its tasks successfully, I would have the assistance and co-operation of all of you. Now, I can note with satisfaction that, during the past period, I have had not only your assistance and co-operation but also your full understanding for my efforts aimed at enabling the General Assembly at this session to conclude its work with positive results. If we achieved certain new break-throughs on some questions, it was because this atmosphere of co-operation and understanding could only have a positive impact. Where we were not completely successful, we have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that this was not due to a lack of attempts and efforts but, rather, to existing political realities that the General Assembly, at least for the time being, can neither overcome nor bypass.

167. Therefore, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express to you my gratitude for your co-operation and for the work performed. I thank all of you, in particular the members of the General Committee, and, especially, the Chairman and officers of the Main Committees.

168. The least that can be said about this session is that it was extremely busy. Statistical data show that the thirty-second session has gone further than all the preceding ones with regard to a number of aspects that can be expressed or measured in terms of figures. This trend—provided it continues, and all signs indicate that it will—testifies to the vitality of the United Nations and to increased interest in the world Organization in the present international climate, and also gives rise to certain thoughts to which I shall refer later.

169. We had the largest number of items on the agenda so far—131, of which 5 were inscribed subsequently. A record number of speakers took part in the general debate—142, of whom there were 7 heads of State who delivered special addresses, 6 heads of Government and 115 ministers for foreign affairs. Although the general debate reflected, as

always, a whole range of different views and approaches to existing problems, such an impressive participation in the debate and the presence of a large number of distinguished statesmen testify to the growing interest in the United Nations as an irreplaceable instrument for safeguarding peace and strengthening international security and co-operation. And, indeed, it seems to me that the need for further strengthening of the role of the United Nations in solving world problems was emphasized by all speakers, without exception.

170. A total of 262 resolutions was adopted at this session, which is also the largest number so far. Although the number of adopted resolutions is not a criterion for judging the success of the session, this fact, nevertheless, indicates the volume of work that had to be performed. Therefore, the thirty-second session was characterized by a working atmosphere. I feel that it was a session about which one could not say that it produced spectacular results—and one could hardly expect them—but that it was one where considerable efforts were exerted further to consolidate the position of our Organization regarding the ways of solving the most important world problems and to achieve some progress in implementing them. I believe that it is also a positive development this year that, regardless of existing differences, we have avoided creating situations in which the Assembly could find itself divided and polarized over some very controversial issue, with the resulting bitter conflicts and negative impact on the consideration of other items.

171. As it is every year, one of the main tasks of the General Assembly was to consider the question of the most acute crises in the world. Before, as well as during, the session some new developments took place in connexion with these problems. By its decisions on each of these questions, the Assembly made possible further progress towards their solution.

172. As regards the problem of the Middle East, intensive diplomatic activity and consultations, within the United Nations and outside, took place during the first part of the session in the course of the general debate, which later led, in the opinion of many people, to a spectacular turn of events in the Middle East. New ways to solve that problem were tried, which added further momentum to the developments. For its part, the General Assembly adopted decisions concerning the question of the Middle East and Palestine which confirm all the United Nations principles on which a comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East crisis should be based. We can only hope that, after the thirty-second session, there will be a more resolute and rapid movement towards the establishment of a comprehensive and all-embracing peace in the Middle East based on just and lasting solutions.

173. By its decisions taken in the course of the thirty-second session, the General Assembly, as well as the Security Council, showed that the international community had become even more aware of the fact that the racist régimes in southern Africa pose a real danger to peace and security, not only in that part of Africa but also in the world at large. Although the régimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe persist in defying the condemnation of the whole international community and continue their

attempts at dealing with the situation in which they find themselves by adopting measures contrary to the decisions of the United Nations, our Organization has taken further steps in the right direction. The Security Council adopted by a unanimous vote—including the votes of its five permanent members—the historic decision imposing a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. Debates during this session have clearly shown that the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa is condemned by all the Member States, as is reflected in the large number of resolutions adopted, and that the international isolation of the South African régime has been further strengthened.

174. By adopting several resolutions on Namibia, the General Assembly strongly condemned once again the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and demanded its liberation and independence. A comprehensive programme of measures to be taken by the international community has been elaborated with a view to achieving the independence of Namibia in 1978. Of particular significance is the decision to convene a special session of the General Assembly on Namibia before the thirty-third regular session of the Assembly. Let us hope that, among the Members of the United Nations, we shall soon have Namibia as an independent and free country.

175. The General Assembly also adopted resolutions confirming principles and recommending measures for the solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). It was again unequivocally emphasized that the solution of this problem calls for the establishment of majority rule with a view to accelerating the achievement of independence, while the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence was reaffirmed.

176. The resolution adopted with regard to the problem of Cyprus [*resolution 32/15*], in addition to reaffirming the principles adopted for the solution of this problem, calls for the urgent resumption of negotiations between the representatives of the two communities in a meaningful and constructive manner. It is to be hoped that this call will evoke a response and that the two communities will finally embark on the road leading to the solution of this problem.

177. As regards the other items on the agenda of the main Committees, I think that it is significant that at the current session the Assembly devoted special attention to problems of disarmament. This shows the keen interest of all States Members of the United Nations in those questions, which undoubtedly rank among the most difficult and most complicated issues confronting the international community in its efforts to safeguard peace and strengthen international security.

178. Many important resolutions were adopted in this field. These decisions, as well as the results achieved by the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, have contributed towards creating a favourable atmosphere for preparations for the forthcoming special session. Agreement has been reached regarding the agenda of the special session and the nature of the documents to be adopted by it. A constructive dialogue concerning the contents of those documents has been rendered possible through the sub-

mission of a number of informal working papers. I believe that we may note with satisfaction the fact that we are approaching this important event with a growing awareness of the necessity of putting a stop to the current senseless arms race and to starting a process of genuine disarmament. The decisions of the special session should mark a turning-point in the manner of dealing with the problem of disarmament and should reflect a qualitatively new approach by the international community to those problems. This would accelerate the process of the relaxation of tension in the world and strengthen peace and security, as well as create conditions for the establishment of the new international economic order.

179. In this connexion, both the consideration of the items on the strengthening of international security, on the consolidation of détente and on non-interference and the adoption of the resolutions represent an additional contribution to the efforts aimed at easing tensions and paving the way for the realization of lasting peace in the world.

180. I think that it is a very positive fact that the link between disarmament and development has been further emphasized and the elaboration of a study on this question initiated at this session. It is also important that, within the framework of the item on the report of IAEA, a resolution on the principles of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for economic and social development [*resolution 32/50*] was adopted this year for the first time. This important resolution was adopted by consensus, a fact that has further enhanced its significance.

181. The great attention devoted at this session to problems of development is illustrated by the intensive negotiations that were conducted on a number of important issues and by the adoption of a record number of resolutions. Many of the resolutions adopted make it possible to continue such negotiation within the United Nations system as those being conducted in the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries and in the conferences of plenipotentiaries for transforming UNIDO into a specialized agency and for establishing a code of conduct on the transfer of technology. The tasks facing these gatherings are not easy and they will have to adopt concrete and substantive decisions, which in some instances have been the subject of negotiations for a number of years.

182. After the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, it is encouraging that the current session adopted, by consensus, the decision to establish a committee of the whole and to convene a special session of the General Assembly in 1980 that will enable all countries to become even more actively involved in negotiations, in the search for solutions and in the elimination of obstacles standing in the way of the establishment of the new international economic order. This has also enhanced the role and importance of the United Nations as an organization in whose work all countries can participate on an equal footing and contribute towards the solution of acute problems of international economic relations and the accelerated development of the developing countries.

183. The adoption of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System [*resolution 32/197*] undoubtedly ranks among the positive achievements of the session. The results have certainly not fulfilled all our expectations, but they amount to the maximum that could be attained, bearing in mind the interdependence between the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system and progress towards solving the key issues of international economic relations and the establishment of the new international economic order.

184. The consideration of human rights issues resulted in the adoption of a large number of resolutions—44, of which 32 were adopted by consensus. As in preceding years, great attention was devoted to questions of racism and racial discrimination; then to the items dealing with the right of peoples to self-determination and to the items dealing with torture, crime prevention and control, the rights of women, various aspects of the protection of human rights of certain categories of persons, and so forth. It is worth emphasizing that a great number of delegations attach particular importance to the adoption of the resolution on alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms [*resolution 32/130*]. By this resolution, guidelines have been laid down for future work within the United Nations with respect to human rights questions. This work will have to be continued and intensified until the letter and spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights become a reality.

185. This session has also emphasized the need for the international community to continue and intensify its efforts towards accelerating the process of decolonization of all Territories under colonial rule, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Assembly has noted with satisfaction the fact that, in the course of the coming year, some more Territories will become independent. The fact remains, however, that there are approximately 10 million people in the world, of whom 7 million are in southern Africa, for whom resolution 1514 (XV) is still an unfulfilled promise. In that connexion, the Assembly adopted a number of resolutions aimed at promoting the process of decolonization of small Territories.

186. A whole series of questions in the field of administrative and budgetary problems, some of which are of great importance to the unhampered functioning of the Organization, have been dealt with in the course of the session. It is sufficient to mention the adoption of the programme budget for the biennium 1978-1979 and the scale of assessments of the contributions of Member States to the regular budget of the United Nations during the same period. I feel that we should pay a tribute to the Fifth Committee, which was burdened this year with an exceptionally voluminous agenda with which it dealt successfully, thanks primarily to the efficient guidance of its Chairman and other officers of the Committee.

187. As regards the work of the Legal Committee, it should be pointed out that out of the 12 resolutions considered by the Committee under the agenda items allocated to it, 10 were adopted by consensus. This is an encouraging sign. It shows that a spirit of co-operation and

accommodation prevailed during the deliberations of the Committee, a spirit that can only be of benefit to its further work.

188. The same kind of spirit prevailed in yet another case during the session, namely, when the General Assembly found itself confronted with the imperative demand that it deal, as a matter of urgency, with the problem of the safety of international civil aviation. It is significant that the Assembly succeeded in adopting by consensus, with relative speed and efficiency, a resolution that satisfied all the interests involved.

189. One of the important positive results of this session of the General Assembly is also, in my opinion, the fact that many of the resolutions adopted provide for further negotiations, particularly regarding the solving of existing international crises. Some of these negotiations are already under way. Moreover, a number of decisions to hold conferences within the United Nations system dealing with various problems have also been adopted. If we add to this the holding of two special sessions of the General Assembly, then it becomes clear that we have before us a very active period and that the coming year will evolve under the sign of intensive international activities, conferences and negotiations aimed at solving problems which have been burdening international relations for such a long time. One gets the impression—and we hope that it is correct—that the period of blocking the solution of numerous problems is, let us hope, behind us.

190. All that shows, it seems to me, that the thirty-second session has evolved, on the whole, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual accommodation of interests, without sharp divisions and polarizations, and even without the cold-war intonations which used to characterize some of the earlier sessions. If this reflects a certain departure from existing practice or a new trend, I believe that we should welcome this trend and do all in our power to ensure that it continues. Our Organization is endeavouring to find solutions to the most acute problems of the present-day world, and therefore unnecessary confrontations, which are an aim in themselves, do not exert a positive influence on our work.

191. An ever greater trend towards adopting decisions by consensus has also become apparent. If the statistics given to me are correct, out of the 262 resolutions adopted at this session, 158 have been adopted by consensus, without objection or without a vote. I hope that this means, as it should mean, that the efforts invested in and the attention devoted to the consideration of the majority of questions has made it possible to harmonize different interests, and that the atmosphere thus created has contributed towards making some rather rigid stands more flexible. We are all aware that the adoption of a decision does not mean that a problem has been solved; it is, therefore, necessary for each decision to obtain the broadest possible or, better yet, the universal support of Member States. Consequently, the adoption of common decisions, achieved through genuine dialogue, through a system of broad and timely consultations and negotiations among Member States or groups of States, is undoubtedly the method which we should strive for whenever it is objectively possible to do so. In an Organization of which all countries are Members, we should

seek common solutions to common problems, while the tendency towards consensus reflects also the desire to identify problems more clearly and to find solutions that will be implemented. However, this movement should not be aimed at delaying, diluting or postponing indispensable solutions but, on the contrary, at improving methods and speeding up efforts towards the achievement of definite results. We must pay due attention to the trend towards consensus, properly conceived in this manner, and endeavour to define, as much as possible, this method of work, which should contribute to the implementation of decisions thus adopted.

192. At this session we admitted Djibouti and, finally, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in our Organization. There are now 149 of us. The Organization has come nearer to achieving universal membership, but the process of decolonization is still under way and we can still expect the admission of a considerable number of new Members.

193. It is not only the number of Members that is growing in our Organization. The number of problems under consideration is growing as well. Our agenda is ever more extensive each year, but one factor, the duration of the session, remains constant. The duration is the same as 30 years ago. Under these circumstances, the General Assembly must analyse the existing situation and find ways and means of adapting its work to new conditions. A certain rationalization of the procedure and methods of work of the Assembly has already become unavoidable. Therefore, I believe that we should devote attention to the existing rules of procedure and to their better use and further improvement. One could also give thought to some organizational forms through which this indispensable task could be carried out. The Secretariat, too, could adapt itself to the new conditions and to the altered structure of the General Assembly, if this is indispensable for improving the efficiency of its work.

194. Finally, I should like to extend my sincere thanks, not because it is a custom but because I genuinely feel grateful to all those who have helped us to make this session as successful as possible. I think that I can express, on behalf of all of us, our warmest thanks to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and without exception to all the other members of the Secretariat and, above all, to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. William Buffum. All of them have, by their tireless work during long hours over the past three months, by their expertise and dedication, enabled us to fulfil the many tasks with which we have been faced. I am particularly grateful to all those with whom I was in close contact every day and whose assistance was invaluable.

195. I also wish to thank sincerely all the Vice-Presidents who have helped me considerably in the performance of my duties, as well as all the Chairmen and officers of the main Committees, who coped successfully with the heavy burden of work during the session. I am also grateful to the Chairmen of all the regional groups for their co-operation and for the understanding shown by them, which enabled us to find solutions to the most delicate problems with which we have been confronted.



196. Ladies and gentlemen, in spite of all the hard work, I must say that my association with you, during the past three months, has been for me a source of genuine satisfaction and inspiration. I thank you all and I wish a *bon voyage* to the representatives who are returning home. To all of you, as well as to all the members of the Secretariat, I wish all the best and much happiness in the coming year.

197. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I shall read out to all representatives the last draft resolution of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly:

*"Whereas the thirty-second session of the General Assembly is coming to an end, and hence an objective appraisal should be made of its work without going into the mazes of specifics and particulars,*

*"Taking into account the fact that this session should have adjourned yesterday but for the intricate financial questions that had to be disposed of in the Fifth Committee,*

*"Noting that, notwithstanding the fact that the number of Member States has tripled since this Organization was founded in San Francisco in the year 1945, the thirty-second regular session tackled an agenda with a record number of items within the period allotted to it to finish its work, a feat which should not go unnoticed,*

*"The General Assembly*

*"1. Declares that the remarkable efficiency which was evident in dealing with the work of the Assembly was to a large extent due to:*

*(a) Having Lazar Mojsov as President of the thirty-second session; hailing from Yugoslavia he indeed manifested characteristics that combined genuine proletarian zeal with high managerial acumen in guiding our work to a happy conclusion; cool and collected, like an orchestra leader devoid of histrionics, he conducted the Assembly with the serenity that derives from his deep love of music; Lazar Mojsov may truly be considered one of the very best Presidents the General Assembly has had since the founding of this Organization;*

*(b) The deep dedication of Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, and all his aides, without enumerating each one separately, to the purposes and principles of the Charter; unruffled in the face of what sometimes seemed to be intractable problems, the Secretary-General and his aides have laboured with unremitting efforts to keep in motion the process that, it is hoped, will one day lead to world peace and universal brotherhood; the same merited praise should be accorded to all members of the Secretariat, who provide the unpolluted fuel on which runs the machinery of the United Nations, its subsidiary bodies and the specialized agencies;*

*"2. Notes with deep satisfaction that the incursion of young and energetic representatives has rekindled hopes that there will eventually be a new approach to international affairs in the not too distant future when they become leaders in their respective countries—this includes Andrew Young, because he is young—*

*"3. Further notes with gratification the participation of a steadily increasing number of women representatives at the thirty-second session; besides the fact that they made significant contributions, it did not escape the attention of the Assembly that, when once in a while some statements became tedious and platitudinous, the fortunate male representatives were afforded a delectable distraction as they lent their ears to the lilt of the women's voices and basking in the sheen of their beautiful eyes—whether during meetings or in the Delegates' Lounge or in some quiet enclaves far from the babble of speeches (women's reactions are not covered in this draft resolution but might be ascertained in future sessions);*

*"4. Thanks all members of the United States Mission, whether visible delegates or invisible employees working across the street from the United Nations Headquarters, for their courtesy in dealing with all members of the international community;*

*"5. Observes with satisfaction that kidnappers and hijackers have not molested United Nations delegates during the thirty-second session, probably on the ground that as individuals the delegates do not wallow in excessive wealth, nor do they wield such power as to make them worth-while targets for pirates or the politically disgruntled;*

*"6. Finally, with few exceptions, appreciates the forbearance and camaraderie that on the whole was manifest during the thirty-second session."*

198. If this General Assembly hall had a tongue it would say to you all, "Keep healthy and hearty and *au revoir* till the thirty-third session of the General Assembly."

199. As sole sponsor of this draft resolution, which I hope will be adopted by consensus, my last words are: Happy New Year to all—and, of course, including myself.

200. The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Baroody. The text he just read will not be circulated in a written form and certainly will not be put to the vote, but will stay on record as an additional sign of the dedication of Ambassador Baroody to the United Nations and his great contribution to the work of the General Assembly.

## AGENDA ITEM 2

### Minute of silent prayer or meditation

201. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The members stood in silence.*

### Closing of the session

202. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.*