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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 26

Examination of the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor; and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/7477)

1. Mr. ZOLLNER (Dahomey), Rapporteur of the First Committee, (*translated from French*): I have the privilege to submit, on behalf of the First Committee, this last report [A/7477] concerning agenda item 26.

2. The examination of this item aroused a great deal of interest in the Committee, as may be judged by the report, which is the longest of those dealing with questions discussed in the First Committee at this session. A large number of draft resolutions and amendments were submitted, providing evidence of the special importance attached by all regional and political groups within our Organization to this recent question, which was proposed only a year ago by Mr. Pardo of Malta.¹

3. After lengthy discussion and prolonged negotiation, the First Committee took a decision on those proposals which their sponsors had finally chosen to put to the vote. Thus the Committee adopted four draft resolutions: draft resolutions A, B, C and D, which appear in paragraph 29 of the report and whose adoption the First Committee recommends to the General Assembly.

4. I should like at this point to draw the attention of representatives to a small error which has slipped in on the last page of the report. In draft resolution D, paragraph 4, the words "to invite" should be replaced by the word "that". Instead of reading:

"Requests the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to invite its Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission to:"

the text should read:

"Requests the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization that its Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission:"

and the beginning of sub-paragraphs (a), (b), (c) and (d) should be modified accordingly in the languages which require it.

5. Before concluding my presentation of this last report, I should like to stress the exceptional atmosphere of understanding which prevailed in the First Committee and the spirit of co-operation and compromise shown by its members throughout the work of the twenty-third session. The debates in the Committee were marked by constant willingness to seek a consensus and to reach acceptable compromise solutions which made it possible, under the

outstanding guidance of the Chairman, Mr. Vinci, and the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Galindo Pohl, to smooth over all difficulties and to reconcile inevitable divergencies of opinion. As a result, the draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee in its reports were adopted by a very large majority and, sometimes, even unanimously or almost unanimously.

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

6. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Representatives who wish to explain their votes may refer to any of the four draft resolutions (A, B, C and D) recommended for adoption by the First Committee [A/7477, para. 29].

7. Mr. SCHUURMANS (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The statement I wish to make now that the Assembly is about to take a decision on draft resolution A is not an explanation of vote; rather, it should probably be described as a "point of order", as it concerns the manner in which the vote is to be taken.

8. The draft resolution proposes the establishment of a Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed, and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. It is the result of intensive negotiations conducted over a period of more than three months. In fact, talks on the subject began well before the opening of the present session of the General Assembly. The draft resolution is sponsored by sixty-six delegations. It was the subject of numerous amendments, none of which, however, was put to the vote because their sponsors had obtained satisfaction in the meantime, particularly through successive changes in the initial text. In other words, no effort was spared to take account of every point of view. That is why we feel entitled to think that any residual doubts and hesitations which certain delegations might still entertain have been stated exhaustively, on the occasion of the vote in the Committee. The time would seem to have come to try and bring out that general agreement, that consensus which was so often advocated during the past year as the ideal method of proceeding in the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

9. We fail to see how a country which insists on a formal vote being taken today or which abstains from voting, should a vote be taken, could ever, in future, so much as refer to the consensus procedure.

10. I mentioned the *Ad Hoc* Committee a moment ago; that Committee has come to the end of its mandate which it successfully fulfilled without having to resort to a vote because it constantly kept in mind the spirit of unanimity that prevailed on the occasion of the adoption of resolution 2340 (XXII) last year.

11. The Committee which the Assembly is about to establish will have to take over the *Ad Hoc* Committee's work and pursue its tasks.

12. The appeal I should like to make on behalf of the sponsors—I was unable to consult them all, but a majority at least have authorized me to make this appeal—is addressed to the delegations which, in the First Committee, have had occasion to express their reservations, whether

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, agenda item 92, document A/6695.

regarding the terms of reference given to the new Committee or its membership (which, by the way, is not stated in the operative part of the draft resolution but only in the report of the First Committee). If these delegations really consider it important that the Committee should fulfil its task in a spirit of understanding, on the basis of a consensus whenever it can be reached, then they should, I feel, give an example today and by so doing establish a precedent justified by the length of the consultations, the extent of the concessions made, and, above all, by the assurances given, formally or informally, in the course of three months' intensive negotiations.

13. It is not necessary for me to point out here that in the opinion of most of the sponsors an undertaking given, even informally, is just as valid as a public declaration included in the records of the Committee. The word of a representative of a sovereign State is his bond; both his credit and his honour are at stake. That is why I should like to suggest that the President, in putting resolution A to the vote, might ask the Assembly whether it would agree to adopt it without objection.

14. If this procedure seems acceptable, I think we shall have put an important milestone on the road towards international co-operation, based on mutual trust, in this new field. If not, I will ask for a recorded vote in accordance with rule 89 (b) of the rules of procedure.

15. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): May I, first of all, ask the Assembly if there is any objection to the proposal made by the representative of Belgium that draft resolution A should be adopted without a vote. In other words, I am enquiring not about the substance of the draft resolution but about the procedural suggestion made.

16. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): We are somewhat taken aback to find that instead of explaining our votes we are beginning to discuss the procedural question of how the voting should take place and in what form the decision should be adopted.

17. The Soviet delegation, as already stated in the First Committee, has a number of well-founded and serious reservations concerning draft resolution A. In view of these reservations we abstained in the First Committee, and we see no possibility of avoiding a vote on the draft resolution here in the General Assembly.

18. In deference to your appeal, Mr. President, I shall not now expound the reasons for the Soviet delegation's vote. But when you permit the Soviet representative to do so, he will explain those reasons in detail and it will become clear why we cannot agree to the draft resolution being adopted on the basis of a consensus, since a consensus has not, unfortunately, been reached on all the provisions of the draft resolution, and, much as we desire co-operation and, still more, unanimity in the adoption of decisions on questions concerning the sea-bed and the ocean floor, we think that it would be incorrect to disguise this fact.

19. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): An objection has been raised to the proposal of the representative of Belgium that draft resolution A should be adopted without

a vote. That representative has also made the alternative proposal that, in the event of objections being raised, a recorded vote should be taken.

20. As I have no further speakers on my list wishing to explain their vote before voting takes place, we shall have a recorded vote on draft resolution A, as the representative of Belgium has requested.

21. The representative of Guinea has asked for the floor to explain his vote before voting takes place.

22. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*translated from French*): A few words will suffice for my delegation to express the doubts it entertained and still entertains concerning the reasons underlying the drafting of resolution B on the study to be undertaken on the subject of marine pollution.

23. My delegation abstained from voting on this draft resolution in the First Committee because it considered that, throughout the history of international conventions and treaties, the peoples of the Third World have been wronged, or at any rate their national interests have always been relegated to the background, because those peoples had not yet achieved international sovereignty. But since their emergence on the international scene these States have always insisted on their national legislation being taken into account in the preparation of all conventions or treaties and on the strictest observance of national legislation in the execution of any studies that might be undertaken around their national territory.

24. For these reasons my delegation wishes to express its reservations concerning the explanations which have been given, especially as regards paragraph 3 of draft resolution B. We greatly hope that our doubts will be taken into consideration so that the study undertaken under this draft resolution will take full account of national legislation, thus enabling the United Nations to ensure that the wealth of the ocean space will be harvested without injury to the interests of countries whose coasts are suitable for studies of this kind. In brief, the international treaties we draw up must guarantee the superior interests of each State.

25. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I have no other speakers on my list wishing to explain their votes before the voting. We shall therefore proceed to take a recorded vote on draft resolution A [A/7477, para. 29] as requested by the representative of Belgium, on the understanding that the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution are indicated in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7478].

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos,

Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Hungary, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 112 votes to none, with 7 abstentions [resolution 2467 A (XXIII)].

26. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I put draft resolution B to the vote.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 119 votes to none [resolution 2467 B (XXIII)].

27. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I put draft resolution C to the vote. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Trinidad and Tobago, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo.

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

Abstaining: United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Australia, Belgium, Cambodia, Canada, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, France, Guinea,

Ireland,* Israel, Italy, Jordan, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Sudan, Syria.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 85 votes to 9, with 25 abstentions [resolution 2467 C (XXIII)].

28. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Canada has asked for the floor on a point of order.

29. Mr. KAPLAN (Canada): My delegation proposes that draft resolution D should be adopted without a vote. It has been substantially amended since it was introduced and it now reflects the view of a number of developing countries which were not original co-sponsors. In the light of the broad consensus which this draft resolution has attained, I would ask that it be adopted without objection.

30. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): May I take it that the Assembly agrees with the proposal of the representative of Canada that draft resolution D should be adopted without a vote?

It was so decided.

31. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Does the Assembly wish to adopt draft resolution D?

Draft resolution D was adopted [resolution 2467 (XXIII)].

32. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now give the floor to those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the voting.

33. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): In sponsoring and voting in favour of draft resolution A, the delegation of Chile takes the expression "beyond the limits of national jurisdiction" to be an abbreviation of the terms of resolution 2340 (XXII), which are cited in the first preambular paragraph. They therefore refer to the region "underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction", that is, beyond the limits of existing jurisdiction.

34. Mr. ARORA (India): During the discussion on agenda item 26 in the First Committee, it was stated, when draft resolutions on principles came up for consideration, that the draft resolutions which were submitted in the *Ad Hoc* Committee should also be taken as being under consideration, and that consideration should be given to them if and when the First Committee made recommendations on that question.

35. Paragraph 16 of the report of the First Committee [A/7477] states that it was decided that the draft resolutions in document A/C.1/L.430, A/C.1/L.432/Rev.1, A/C.1/L.433, A/C.1/L.434/Rev.1 and A/C.1/L.437, should be referred to the proposed standing committee for consideration. We are in agreement with that decision.

36. We should also like to state that it is our understanding that draft resolutions on principles submitted in

* The delegation of Ireland subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of draft resolution C.

the *Ad Hoc* Committee will also be transmitted to the standing committee.

37. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The Government and the delegation of Malta are very appreciative of the generous praise with which the introduction of the agenda item on the sea-bed has been greeted, and we are very gratified to note the interest which the item has generated. We were disappointed that, despite the near unanimity reached at the third session of the *Ad Hoc* Committee² on some principles which would have laid the foundation for future progress, it was not found possible at this session to adopt a resolution incorporating those principles. We were also disappointed that on draft resolution A, setting up the permanent committee—and we wish to extend a cordial welcome to the new members of that committee—the vote was not entirely unanimous despite the long and arduous negotiations conducted so admirably by Mr. Denorme of the Belgian delegation—negotiations in which my delegation was glad to participate—and despite the understanding that complete agreement had been reached.

38. However, there is also some reason for satisfaction at the progress that has been made; and in good faith and hopeful optimism we will join the other members of the committee in a determined effort to report substantial progress to this Assembly at the next session. With this end in view, my delegation supported all the resolutions before this Assembly, despite some doubts about the appropriateness of pressing resolution C to a vote at this stage.

39. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation, as it has already stated today, would like to give a brief explanation of its vote on the resolutions just voted upon by the General Assembly.

40. First, we should like to speak on the resolution which appeared in the report of the First Committee as draft resolution A which establishes a new body, the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed.³ Throughout the consideration of this question in the First Committee the Soviet delegation adopted a favourable attitude towards the creation of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed as a body which would, on a regular basis, examine the multiple economic, technical, legal and, within certain limits, political questions connected with international co-operation in matters concerning the sea-bed, an area as yet unexplored and remote for purposes of practical human activity, but one which will, in future, undoubtedly become the object of intense activity by individuals and States.

41. At the same time, in the course of negotiations and discussions in the First Committee on a number of provisions of the draft resolutions, which were repeatedly amended and improved from one revision to another, the Soviet delegation expressed its view on what it considered to be the most appropriate way of determining the Committee's specific tasks as well as its membership.

42. We are bound to say with satisfaction that the views expressed by the Soviet delegation, as well as by other delegations, were to a large extent taken into account in the course of the First Committee's work, and that this fact is reflected in the resolution [*resolution 2467 A (XXIII)*] which has just been adopted by the General Assembly.

43. However, we still have two points to make which we consider to be of some importance. We stated these points in detail in the First Committee and I shall therefore confine myself now to summarizing them very briefly.

44. The first observation relates to paragraph 3 of the resolution, which lays down the framework and orientation of the Committee's work, as regards the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

45. It is the Soviet Government's profound conviction, which was stated by the Soviet delegation in the First Committee, that the most correct solution of this question would be to study the exclusively peaceful utilization of the sea-bed beyond the limits of territorial waters, or, to put this complicated legal language into everyday language, we are firmly and unequivocally in favour of prohibiting the military use of the sea-bed and ocean floor, including the entire continental shelf belonging to States. We consider that if any ambiguity is allowed to persist in respect of the continental shelf, this may undermine the whole future solution of the question of prohibiting the military use of the sea-bed and ocean floor.

46. Unfortunately, the wording which has just been adopted as part of the resolution as a whole is somewhat ambiguous. It contains a phrase to the effect that the Committee will discuss this range of questions within the context of the title of the item. Yet the title of the item does not speak of the limits of territorial waters, or of leaving the matter open and making it the subject of future negotiations; it speaks of the limits of national jurisdiction. This creates some obscurity regarding the way in which this question may be solved in future, and it could be used to prejudice the position of those States which favour the most logical solution of the question of prohibiting the military use of the sea-bed as a whole, including the vast area of the continental shelf.

47. We duly acknowledge that the sponsors of the resolution in the First Committee, in particular the representatives of Belgium and Ceylon, offered explanations on this point, which, in spirit at any rate, followed the lines we consider to be rational and correct. However, the text of the resolution continues to include an ambiguous and unclear phrase which made it impossible for us to fully support it.

48. Our second observation concerns the membership of the Committee. Although the membership of the Committee is not directly set forth in the text of the resolution, nevertheless, as the Chairman of the First Committee pointed out—in our opinion, rightly—when announcing the membership, this question forms part of the general consensus on the activities of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed. That is precisely why, in considering the draft resolution, we

² Held in Rio de Janeiro from 19 to 30 August 1968.

³ The United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

should have devoted particular attention to the question of the Committee's membership.

49. In the Soviet delegation's view, the socialist countries are not sufficiently fully represented in the membership of the Committee as laid down in the First Committee and announced by the Chairman of that Committee. We considered it essential, and we continue to do so, that at least one other seat should be granted to the socialist States, since the Committee now being set up will have a broader composition than the Committee which functioned on an *ad hoc* basis during the past year.

50. It is argued, of course, that in arithmetical terms the socialist countries are represented on the Committee by six States, and, on the basis of arithmetical considerations, they would seem to have no reason to claim more. But the point of issue here is not one of arithmetic but of politics, which is a good deal more complex than the first four rules of arithmetic.

51. We are speaking of a United Nations body which, in one way or another, is connected with the settlement of questions of war and peace. This body will consider, *inter alia*, the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean floor, taking into account negotiations in the field of disarmament which also relate to this question. But since the work of the Committee will, in the last analysis, touch upon questions related to war and peace, a purely arithmetical approach cannot be adopted in deciding upon the Committee's membership; other criteria, which we consider to be extremely important, also come into play. These criteria are important because the socialist countries are under constant threat from the imperialist forces, which carry events to the brink of war now in one, now in another part of the world.

52. We are therefore convinced that in defending the legitimate rights and positions of the socialist countries, we are defending the cause of universal peace. One of the lines of defence of the interests of the socialist countries is their due representation in all international bodies, particularly those connected with questions of war and peace and international security. In the present case we believe that the interests of the socialist countries are not adequately guaranteed by the composition of the Committee. That is why we still entertain certain doubts, and, for all the reasons stated above, the Soviet delegation, though generally supporting the establishment of the Committee and hoping that it will do useful and constructive work—to which the Soviet delegation will, of course, make a constructive contribution—nevertheless abstained from voting on the resolution.

53. The Soviet delegation voted in the First Committee and now again in plenary in favour of the draft resolution on the prevention of marine pollution resulting from the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed (draft resolution B in the report of the First Committee) and on the draft resolution concerning the undertaking of an International Decade of Ocean Exploration (draft resolution D in the report of the First Committee).

54. We consider that the activities envisaged in these resolutions are important and useful from the viewpoint of

the development of international co-operation in the exploration of the sea-bed.

55. As many delegations convincingly demonstrated during the discussion in the First Committee, knowledge of the sea-bed and ocean floor and their resources, as well as of marine areas in general, is so far very limited and incomplete. At this stage, therefore, the efforts of States in this field should be mainly directed towards scientific research and the exploration of the ocean and the sea-bed.

56. For these reasons the Soviet delegation voted in favour of the above-mentioned resolutions.

57. As in the First Committee, the Soviet delegation today voted against draft resolution C in the report of the First Committee, which provides that the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to undertake a study on the question of establishing international machinery for the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed and that this matter be considered by the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed at one of its sessions in 1969.

58. During the discussion in the First Committee we gave a detailed and circumstantial explanation of the considerations which forced us to vote against this draft resolution. The essential purpose of the draft resolution, which has now become a resolution, is to orient all United Nations work in matters concerning the sea-bed towards the establishment, already at this stage of international machinery which, as was evident from the statements by the initiators of this idea in the First Committee, is to have a supranational character and to be based on the concept of joint ownership of the sea-bed and ocean floor.

59. The Soviet delegation, for the considerations of principle which we stated in detail in the First Committee, objects to this orientation of the work of United Nations bodies in matters concerning the sea-bed, an orientation which it considers to be wrong. It goes without saying that our view has not changed. The Soviet delegation therefore voted against this resolution, whose implementation we believe could only serve the interests of the capitalist monopolies which are the principal instrument of the neo-colonial policy of the imperialist Powers.

60. Furthermore, we believe, with all due respect to the Secretary-General and the Secretariat, that it is incorrect to entrust to the Secretary-General the study of such an important new question having serious political aspects, a question on which the positions of States are not identical but, divergent, as the results of today's vote have again shown. The preparation of a study of this kind cannot and should not be a matter for the Secretariat, particularly in view of the conflicting attitudes of States on this question, as manifested in the First Committee and in this plenary meeting of the General Assembly. We believe that today's vote on the four draft resolutions on the sea-bed [draft resolutions A, B, C and D] submitted by the First Committee has clearly shown that broad agreement among States already exists on some important aspects of work in this field. In those cases where a consensus really exists there is naturally every possibility of adopting decisions without a vote. But on those questions where positions do

not fully coincide of where a number of delegations are not quite clear in their minds on certain questions, it is difficult to speak of a consensus having been fully reached. On such resolutions as the one requesting the Secretary-General to study the possibility of establishing international machinery to deal with questions of the sea-bed, so far from there being a consensus, there are different and divergent views, and here, of course, voting shows the positions actually held by each State.

61. In conclusion, allow me to express the hope and even the certainty that the new United Nations body—the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed—will do useful work if it acts in accordance with the interests of all States and if its decisions and recommendations reflect agreed points of view.

62. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As no one else has asked to speak in explanation of vote, we can take it that the Assembly has concluded its consideration of agenda item 26.

AGENDA ITEM 73

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1968

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/7466 AND CORR.1)

AGENDA ITEM 76

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (*concluded*):*

- (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
- (b) Committee on Contributions;
- (c) Board of Auditors;
- (d) United Nations Administrative Tribunal

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/7311, A/7312/ADD.1 AND 2, A/7313, A/7314)

AGENDA ITEM 77

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7451)

AGENDA ITEM 78

Audit reports relating to expenditure by the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:

- (a) Earmarking and contingency authorizations from the Technical Assistance Account of the United Nations Development Programme;
- (b) Allocations from the Special Fund Account of the United Nations Development Programme.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7474)

* Resumed from the 1709th meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 79

Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7473)

AGENDA ITEM 80

Implementation of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies:

- (a) Report of the Economic and Social Council;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7479)

AGENDA ITEM 82

Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7471)

AGENDA ITEM 83

United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7470)

AGENDA ITEM 75

Pattern of conferences: report of the Committee on Conferences

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7475)

AGENDA ITEM 81

Personnel questions:

- (a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Other personnel questions.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7472)

AGENDA ITEM 74

Budget estimates for the financial year 1969

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7476)

AGENDA ITEM 12

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

63. Mr. MEYER PICON (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): It is an honour for me, on behalf of the Fifth

Committee, to present for consideration by the Assembly the reports relating to twelve agenda items. As this is an exceptionally large number, I shall refrain from making detailed comments on them, and, with your permission, Mr. President, I shall confine myself to indicating the paragraphs that contain the recommendations of the Fifth Committee.

64. The first report of the Fifth Committee dealing with agenda item 73 will be found in document A/7466 and Corr.1. Paragraph 18 of that report contains the Committee's recommendation to the General Assembly to adopt a draft resolution divided into two parts: A and B.

65. The reports relating to agenda item 76 can be found in documents A/7311, A/7312/Add.1 and 2, A/7313 and A/7314. Each of these reports contains a draft resolution on appointments to fill vacancies in the various subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly.

66. The report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 77 is in document A/7451. I would draw the Assembly's attention to paragraph 20, in which the Committee recommends the adoption of a draft resolution in two parts: A and B.

67. The report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 78 is contained in document A/7474. In paragraph 3 of that document, the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution, which merely takes note of these reports.

68. The fifth Committee's report on agenda item 79 is to be found in document A/7473. I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to paragraph 7, in which the Committee recommends the adoption of a draft resolution in two parts: A and B.

69. The Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 80 is contained in document A/7479. In paragraph 13 of that document, there is a draft resolution also divided into parts A and B.

70. The report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 82 will be found in document A/7471. In paragraph 9 of that document, the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which simply takes note of the relevant report.

71. The Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 83 will be found in document A/7470. In paragraph 3 of that document, the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution on the subject.

72. Document A/7475 contains the Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 75. In paragraph 9 there is a draft resolution which the Committee recommends to the Assembly for adoption.

73. The Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 81 is in document A/7472. I would draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that paragraph 48 of that report contains three draft resolutions (I, II and III). Draft resolutions II and III are divided in their turn into two parts: A and B.

74. The report of the Fifth Committee, on agenda item 74 will be found in document A/7476. Paragraph 178 of the document contains eleven draft resolutions which the Committee recommends for consideration by the Assembly. The first draft resolution is in three parts: A, B and C.

75. Finally, with regard to agenda item 12, chapters XIV, XV, and XVI (sections A and B) of the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/7203], which were referred to the Fifth Committee, were examined when the Committee was considering agenda items 79 and 80. With regard to sections E and F of chapter XVII, which the General Assembly decided to draw to the attention of the Fifth Committee, the latter's report will be found in document A/7456. The Fifth Committee recommends the Assembly to take note of those parts of the report that were referred to the Committee for consideration.

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

76. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The General Assembly will first consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 73, which is contained in document A/7466 and Corr.1. I invite the Assembly to take a decision on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 18 of its report.

77. I shall first put draft resolution A to the vote.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 14 abstentions [resolution 2468 A (XXIII)].

78. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now consider draft resolution B. As this was adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

Draft resolution B was adopted unanimously [resolution 2468 B (XXIII)].

79. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): This concludes our consideration of agenda item 73.

80. The General Assembly will now proceed to consider the reports of the Fifth Committee on sub-items (a), (b) (c) and (d) of agenda item 76.

81. The first report of the Fifth Committee on this item refers to the vacancies in the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (item 76(a)). The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 6 of its report [A/7311]. In the absence of any objections, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee.

The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2469 (XXIII)].

82. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The next report of the Fifth Committee refers to the membership of the Committee on Contributions (item 76(b)). The Fifth Committee's recommendations will be found in documents A/7312/Add.1 and 2 (para. 5).

83. May I take it that the Assembly confirms the elections that took place in the Fifth Committee, as indicated in the two draft resolutions recommended by that Committee?

The draft resolutions were adopted [resolutions 2381 B (XXIII) and 2381 C (XXIII)].

84. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The next recommendation of the Fifth Committee relates to an appointment to the Board of Auditors (item 76 (c)) [A/7313, para. 5].

85. May I take it that the Assembly adopts this draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2470 (XXIII)].

86. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The next report concerns appointments to the United Nations Administrative Tribunal (item 76 (d)). In the absence of any objections, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee [A/7314, para. 5].

The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2471 (XXIII)].

87. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 76.

88. The report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 77 will be found in document A/7451, paragraph 20 of which contains two draft resolutions: A and B.

89. I put draft resolution A to the vote.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 119 votes to none [resolution 2472 A (XXIII)].

90. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now put to the vote draft resolution B.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 109 votes to none, with 11 abstentions. [resolution 2472 B (XXIII)].

91. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 77.

92. The next report of the Fifth Committee concerns agenda item 78, and recommends the adoption of a draft resolution [A/7474, para. 3]. In the absence of any objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2473 (XXIII)].

93. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We have now concluded our consideration of agenda item 78.

94. The Assembly will now take up the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 79, which is contained in document A/7473. I invite the Assembly to take a decision on the two draft resolutions—A and B—recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report.

95. The Assembly will vote first on draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Abstaining: None.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 110 votes to 10 [resolution 2474 A (XXIII)].

96. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In the absence of any objections, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution B.

Draft resolution B was adopted [resolution 2474 B (XXIII)].

97. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We have now concluded our consideration of agenda item 79.

98. The Assembly will next consider the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7479] on agenda item 80. The Committee's recommendations will be found in paragraph 13 of the report. The Assembly will take separate decisions on the two draft resolutions: A and B.

99. Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the Assembly will also adopt it unanimously?

Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously [resolution 2475 A (XXIII)].

100. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Draft resolution B was also adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee. In the absence of any objections, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt it unanimously as well.

Draft resolution B was adopted unanimously [resolution 2475 B (XXIII)].

101. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 80.

102. The next report of the Fifth Committee [A/7471] relates to agenda item 82. The Committee recommends the adoption of the draft resolution contained in paragraph 9 of its report. In the absence of any objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2476 (XXIII)].

103. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 82.

104. The next report of the Fifth Committee [A/7470] deals with agenda item 83. The Committee's recommendation appears in paragraph 3 of its report. As the draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee, may I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2477 (XXIII)].

105. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our examination of agenda item 83.

106. The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7475] on agenda item 75.

107. I give the floor to the representative of India, who wishes to introduce an amendment.

108. Mr. GONSALVES (India): It is indeed a privilege for me to introduce the amendment, sponsored by twenty-six delegations including my own, which is contained in document A/L.565.

109. The first twelve operative paragraphs of the draft resolution now under consideration by the General Assembly represent a delicate balance of different points of view worked out with considerable care and precision in the Committee on Conferences and further refined to the mutual satisfaction of all parties in the Fifth Committee. The position was, and must be considered to continue to be, that the package contained in those twelve operative paragraphs represent the totality of the position acceptable to the great majority of Member States as to how the complicated problems of meetings and documentation should be tackled in a rational and orderly manner. Operative paragraph 13 of the draft resolution, which suggests that the recommendations of the Committee on the Reorganization of the Secretariat should in fact take precedence over the recommendations made by the Committee on Conferences, is objectionable on at least two counts. In the first place, it tends to negate and nullify the more limited and rational procedures on which broad agreement exists. In the second place, it seeks to endorse proposals which have not received any serious consideration by the Fifth Committee or the General Assembly.

110. It was for that very reason that a draft resolution which sought to give much more specific effect to the effect to the recommendations of the Committee on the

Reorganization of the Secretariat was not pressed to a vote in the Fifth Committee. At the same time it should be pointed out for the record that in the discussion of this draft paragraph in the Fifth Committee, several statements were made which drew attention—for the very reasons I have just outlined—to the need to avoid consideration and inclusion of this paragraph in the draft resolution at this stage.

111. To sum up, it is our considered view that the deletion of paragraph 13 of the draft resolution would result in the most accurate reflection of the wishes of the great majority of Member States and would at the same time enable the Committee on Conferences to proceed with its work on this question in an orderly and rational manner. We would therefore appeal to all delegations to lend their support to our draft amendment, which seeks to delete paragraph 13 of the draft resolution.

112. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now give the floor to representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting takes place.

113. Mr. MSELLE (United Republic of Tanzania): I do not wish to repeat the views of the representative of India, who has just introduced this amendment [A/L.565]. These views entirely accord with those of the Tanzanian delegation. My delegation is a co-sponsor of this draft amendment. The views of my delegation on the merits or otherwise of including the present paragraph 13 of the draft resolution on conferences [A/7475, para. 9] were stated in the Fifth Committee.

114. In brief, I stated that my delegation was totally opposed to the adoption of the paragraph in question. As is stated in the report of the Fifth Committee on item 75:

"A number of delegations pointed out that the Fifth Committee did not consider and debate in detail the recommendations on conferences and documentation of the Committee on the Reorganization of the Secretariat in chapter VII of its report [A/7359] nor the related recommendations of the Joint Inspection Unit" [A/7475, para. 4].

115. In addition to that, the recommendations on conferences and documentation of the Committee on the Reorganisation of the Secretariat cannot be implemented overnight. Indeed, the Secretary-General in his foreword to that document stated:

"On the basis of further study of the recommendations in consultation with his senior colleagues, as relevant, the Secretary-General proposes to take such action as he deems appropriate in regard to these recommendations and to submit further observations on them, and to report on the extent to which they have been implemented to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session" [A/7359, para. 2].

116. My delegation therefore believes that the best course to be taken is for the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee but excluding paragraph 13. This will enable Member States to study further and in greater detail the recommendations of the Committee of Seven as well as the comments of the

Secretary-General at the twenty-fourth session on the implementation of these recommendations.

117. Mr. WILTSHIRE (Trinidad and Tobago): My delegation wishes to support the amendment contained in document A/L.565, which the representative of India has just introduced on behalf of twenty-six co-sponsors, and supported by the representative of Tanzania. Operative paragraph 13 of the draft resolution included in the report of the Fifth Committee on this subject [A/7475], which was adopted in the Fifth Committee virtually in a moment of inadvertence, has the effect of replacing most of the preceding operative paragraphs of that draft resolution, to which it was tacked on. It does that because it enacts all the recommendations of the Committee on the Reorganization of the Secretariat on the subject of conferences and documentation. Those recommendations were not substantially discussed in the Fifth Committee and replace the compromises on those subjects which were carefully worked out in the Intergovernmental Committee on Conferences, and subsequently in the Fifth Committee.

118. My delegation is aware that the size of the conference programme and the volume of documentation have imposed severe strains on the resources of the United Nations in recent years. We believe that those problems must be faced and that a solution must be found which reconciles the legitimate needs of the Member Nations and the resources which they are willing to put at the disposal of the Organization.

119. But we equally believe that that process requires a careful inquiry into all the various components of the problem. The procedures outlined in the first twelve operative paragraphs of the draft resolution appearing in paragraph 9 of the report of the Fifth Committee, will, we are convinced, result in a satisfactory solution of the problems in this field, a solution which will be able to stand the test of time.

120. But my delegation is convinced that operative paragraph 13 simply represents a drastic attempt to bypass that process of reconciliation of needs and resources by an imposed solution. The process of consultation in an intergovernmental system may be frustratingly slow. But that fact by itself is not a justification for eliminating it. It is because my delegation has confidence in the system and in its capacity to evolve decisions related to these problems that we support this proposal to delete operative paragraph 13 from the draft resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee on this subject, and we shall vote accordingly.

121. Mr. YUNUS (Pakistan): Among the more important roles of the plenary meetings of the General Assembly is the function of adjusting the decisions reached in Committees, as far as possible, to the collective will of the Organization's membership. This meeting is now called upon to play that role which is sorely needed in the case of the draft resolution [A/7475, para. 9] recommended by the Fifth Committee on the pattern of conferences. Paragraph 13 of that draft resolution is an element of discord in its provisions; that is even more so when it is appreciated that the entire attention and effort of the Committee were devoted to working out a consensus on the first twelve paragraphs. Then, owing to a certain procedural

situation, paragraph 13 was included in the draft resolution. Even those delegations who had worked tirelessly to produce an agreed formula on this complicated question and had succeeded in doing so, found themselves in the unhappy position of having to oppose or abstain from voting on the resolution which they had helped to draft.

122. Paragraph 13 states that whatever may have been provided in the first twelve paragraphs, which does indeed contain the Committee's consensus, will be superseded by a set of recommendations which has not been approved or even considered by the Committee. That is a paragraph which, in terms of good legislation, cannot be allowed to remain in the draft resolution.

123. My delegation is therefore a co-sponsor of the amendment [A/L.565] to delete that paragraph from the draft resolution, and will, of course, vote in favour of that amendment. If the amendment is adopted, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

124. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with the rules of procedure, the Assembly will first vote on the amendment in document A/L.565. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia.

Against: Canada, Ireland, Italy, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia.

Abstaining: Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Belgium.

The amendment was adopted by 86 votes to 9, with 24 abstentions.

125. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I put to the vote the draft resolution [A/7475, para. 9], as amended.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 119 votes to none [resolution 2478 (XXIII)].

126. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 75.

127. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The next report of the Fifth Committee [A/7472] relates to agenda item 81.

128. The representative of Spain, who wishes to introduce some amendments, has the floor.

129. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation and the delegations of Chile, Equatorial Guinea, Peru and the Philippines, I have the honour to submit the amendments contained in document A/L.564 to draft resolution I in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7472, para. 48].

130. The object of these amendments is to delete the latter part of the second preambular paragraph from the words "and, in particular, chapter IV thereof" onwards. We also ask for operative paragraph 2 of the text to be replaced by the following:

"2. Considers it desirable to include Russian and Spanish among the working languages of the Security Council."

131. My delegation believes that language is the medium through which unity, co-operation and understanding may be achieved, and hopes that its views on this are shared by the great majority of countries. For many years now we have been a hopeful spectator of the efforts made to develop a language which would embody the essential features of traditional languages, but unhappily these attempts have so far remained laboratory experiments with no public support.

132. The United Nations, where fine shades of meaning, the right choice of words and accuracy of expression are necessary for reaching an understanding on so many problems, requires not only that representatives should speak one or more of the languages of the majority, but also that decisions should be adopted on the basis of documents drafted in those same languages. In view of the history of the Spanish tongue, which has come to be spoken on every continent, an organ such as the Security Council should be able to consider and draft documents in Spanish. The adoption of this new working language, together with Russian, in the Security Council where, as of 1 January, there will be three Spanish-speaking countries present and there may be as many as five Spanish-speaking delegations at the same time, can only enhance the possibilities of understanding, peace and co-operation among peoples. Is this not precisely what we are all so fervently seeking? In the name of these hallowed principles, I therefore trust that the Assembly will adopt the amendment which I have had the honour to introduce.

133. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of New Zealand has asked for the floor on a point of order.

134. Mr. FARRELL (New Zealand): My point of order relates in fact to operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I,

appearing in paragraph 48 of document A/7472, on which I understand a separate vote has been requested. When we proceed to that paragraph, we shall be proceeding to consider an element of the draft resolution before us which, in the view of my delegation, clearly raises an important question under Article 18 of the Charter, requiring the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Members present and voting.

135. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, as I said, would, if adopted, have very considerable financial implications, both immediately as regards the 1969 budget and for the budgets of future years as well. Moreover, the proposal is in itself a matter of substantive importance involving not only the expenditure of large sums of money, but, necessarily, a determination of the relative priorities to be followed in the allocation of the funds made available to the United Nations. For those reasons, my delegation believes that the Assembly should treat operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution as important in terms of Article 18 of the Charter, and I move accordingly.

136. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of New Zealand has made a formal proposal that the question of the inclusion of Russian among the working languages of the General Assembly should be considered an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations. In that case, the decision of the Assembly on this question would require a two-thirds majority.

137. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): It is impossible to accept the motion submitted by the representative of New Zealand that the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee [A/7472, para. 48, draft resolution I] on the inclusion of Russian among the working languages of the General Assembly and the Security Council should be considered a question governed by Article 18 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations and that the decision on this question be adopted by a two-thirds majority. There are no grounds for doing so.

138. As we all know, paragraph 1 of the operative part of this draft resolution provides for the inclusion of Russian among the working languages of the General Assembly and for the corresponding amendment of rule 51 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

139. Consequently, this main paragraph of the draft resolution is of a purely procedural character. It merely involves transferring one of the official languages of the General Assembly as provided in its rules of procedure into the category of working languages, i.e., amending the rules of procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

140. According to rule 164 of the rules of procedure, the rules of procedure may be amended by a decision of the General Assembly taken by a majority of the members present and voting, after a committee has reported on the proposed amendment.

141. In the present case we are dealing precisely with such a procedural proposal submitted for the General Assembly's

consideration by the Fifth Committee. This is also borne out by the fact that this proposal, approved in the Fifth Committee, by more than two-thirds of the votes cast, was examined by that Committee not in connexion with the discussion of financial and budgetary matters but in connexion with the consideration of administrative matters related to questions of personnel and of a more equitable linguistic balance.

142. This is obviously a clear instance where rule 164 of the rules of procedure, i.e., the simple majority vote, should be applied.

143. As for operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, the Assembly here confines itself to stating that it considers it desirable to include Russian, and, in this case, on the proposal of the Spanish delegation, also Spanish, among the working languages of the Security Council. Consequently this part of the resolution, too, is procedural in nature.

144. As we know, the Security Council is master of its own procedure and, as such, will have to take the final decision on whether and how its own rules of procedure should be amended. The General Assembly is now called upon only to state its wish or recommendation, but not to adopt a decision on the substance of the question. There is obviously even less justification in this case for applying the procedure of the two-thirds majority vote.

145. All this makes it perfectly clear that the draft resolution under consideration is procedural in nature and the General Assembly's decision on it should be adopted by a simple, rather than a two-thirds majority. This is also borne out by all the past experience of the work of the United Nations.

146. The General Assembly's practice with regard to decisions on questions of this kind from the earliest years of its existence supports this position. For example, when at the eighteenth meeting of the first part of the first session of the United Nations General Assembly the question was raised of a two-thirds majority being required to amend the rules of procedure in the matter of nominations, which everyone recognised to be important, various delegations pointed out that questions relating to procedure, irrespective of their importance, are decided by a simple majority. The decision on amending the rules of procedure was adopted by a simple majority of votes.

147. Last and most important, still more striking and convincing precedents can be found in the practice of the General Assembly—precedents which are particularly relevant to the present case in that they completely coincide with the question now under discussion. I have in mind the vote taken at the 174th plenary meeting of the third session of the General Assembly on 7 December 1948 on a proposal to include Spanish among the working languages of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

148. The proposal discussed at that time was, in substance completely identical with the present proposal contained in operative paragraph I of the draft resolution on the inclusion of Russian recommended by the Fifth Committee. It read as follows:

(The speaker continued in English.)

"The General Assembly,

"Resolves that Spanish should be included as a working language of the General Assembly and that rule 44 of the rules of procedure be modified accordingly".

(The speaker resumed in Russian.)

149. I wish to lay special emphasis on the fact that this draft resolution, which later became General Assembly resolution 247 (III), was adopted in plenary by a simple majority of votes. There are no grounds whatever in a case of this kind for applying a simple majority in respect of one official language and a two-thirds majority in respect of another official language of the United Nations. I am bound to say that I view the New Zealand representative's statement in a political light. The repeated statements made by the New Zealand delegation in the First Committee and in a number of other Committees against the Soviet Union, the Soviet delegation and the socialist countries are well known. This proposal should, therefore, be viewed in a political light rather than as a matter concerning voting procedure. It goes without saying that statements and proposals of this kind cannot be accepted.

150. These arguments, facts and precedents, based as they are on the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and borne out by the established practice of the United Nations, provide irrefutable evidence that there is no foundation whatever for the New Zealand representative's proposal that the draft resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee and considered by the present plenary meeting of the General Assembly should be voted upon in accordance with Article 18 (2) of the Charter.

151. For all these reasons, the Soviet delegation requests that voting on this draft resolution be taken by simple majority.

152. Mr. BUFFUM (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to request clarification as to the procedure on which we are now embarked. We have before us a motion from the representative of New Zealand raising the issue of whether or not draft resolution I [A/7472, para. 48] is an important question. The representative of the Soviet Union has stated his position on that point, and in that statement he went further and made certain allegations about the motives and the reactions of those who take a certain position on this issue. I should like to say that I am quite prepared to speak fully on the substance of this issue, but it would help me if the President could clarify whether it is his intention to proceed to a vote on the motion as to whether or not this is an important question before we have a full discussion and explanations of vote on the substance of the draft resolution before us. Therefore I would request his ruling as to whether or not our statements now should be confined exclusively to the matter of the important-question motion, or whether we may proceed to discuss our position on the entire draft before us.

153. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): It is my understanding that, since a formal motion has been made on a point of order, it is that motion which should be

discussed and not necessarily the substance of the question before the Assembly.

154. Mr. BUFFUM (United States of America): In that event, at this stage of the deliberations, I shall confine my remarks—which will be very brief—to the issue of whether or not draft resolution I is an important question.

155. In this connexion I call to Members' attention Article 18 of the Charter, which, as they are aware, specifies in paragraph 2 that: "Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting." The same Article goes on to identify by category a number of questions which are considered as falling clearly in the important-question category, and the very last of these is of course the very precise formulation, "budgetary questions".

156. As my delegation has examined the draft resolution before us, it appears to us that we have what is very clearly both an important question and a budgetary question. I think we must make a distinction between the two paragraphs of the draft resolution. The representative of the Soviet Union has chosen to treat them all as procedural. I think it is fair to concede that one part of it is procedural: that part of paragraph 1 which decides to amend the rules I concede is strictly procedural. However, what is involved now is a decision that for the first time in the twenty-three years of the history of the United Nations, Russian should be added as a working language of the General Assembly. It is not our intention to disparage the Russian language; we have the highest regard for it as a language of great literary value. But we must take account of the requirements of our Organization and of the fact that this is a language servicing only four delegations. When we consider the total cost involved, we must, I think, be aware that in embarking on this step we should be taking a decision that has implications going far beyond this one immediate step.

157. Now the question of the cost itself is, I think, quite relevant, and we have some official information on that which I believe shows that it is a budgetary question. The cost of publishing documents at the moment in Russian is, according to official figures, \$2.3 million a year—that is, as an official language of the institution, which has been part of our practice since the beginning. But now, if we are to add Russian as a working language throughout the United Nations—and this does not include the specialized agencies—our estimate is that there would be a further cost of \$2.8 million a year for Russian language services, making a total cost to the United Nations in the neighbourhood of \$5 million. This, in our judgement, is only for direct costs to the Organization, without any attempt to estimate the total cost of the decreased efficiency of the United Nations staff and the vast increase in the documentation which would be bound to result.

158. Now we must also bear in mind that the sponsor of this draft resolution has made it clear in the Committee that the proposal before us is just the first step. The ultimate aim of the sponsor is to make Russian a working language of all principal United Nations organs, including the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice—in addition to the specific request for adding it to the General Assembly and the Security Council. Therefore in judging

whether we are dealing with a simple procedural matter or with what is indeed an important question, and one which in the words of the Charter is a "budgetary question", as draft resolutions coming from the Fifth Committee are habitually treated, I think we really need to look at this matter in its total perspective.

159. For these reasons, without going into the merits of the adding of Russian, I submit that the motion by the representative of New Zealand is well founded and that Members should consider carefully whether or not we are to embark on the practice of adding additional burdens to the administration of this Organization, with its limited resources, by treating such a decision lightly, as one to be taken merely by a simple majority.

160. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*translated from Russian*): I was surprised to hear the United States representative, in speaking on this agenda item, and, in particular, on the procedural issue raised by the representative of New Zealand, ask twice whether he should speak on the procedural question or on the agenda item and the resolution associated with it, and yet proceed to discuss the substance of the question in some depth.

161. I do not, of course, propose to dwell in any detail on the question raised by the New Zealand representative. He is the representative of an English-speaking country and he would naturally like everyone here to speak English and English to be the first, or even the only language spoken here in the United Nations. That is, quite naturally, his wish. I know that other English speaking countries wish the same. The Bulgarian delegation, too, would like Bulgarian to be the only language spoken here. But that is impossible, as we all know. Many countries are represented here, we represent countries where different languages are spoken, and the United Nations would only benefit if each of us could speak in his own language. That is certainly true, but it is impossible.

162. However, other languages, too, are spoken in the world; and since the United States representative has mentioned that Russian is used by only four delegations, I should like to mention certain facts which might prove of interest to him.

163. Many countries of eastern Europe, especially the Slav countries, use Russian for conversation, correspondence and reading in all institutions having any international relations. In my country the work of all institutions connected with the United Nations would be made considerably easier if literature relating to the United Nations was submitted to them in Russian, since this language is more readily understood and these institutions would have more possibilities of maintaining their links with the United Nations.

164. I can understand that the Spanish speaking countries would also like to receive all United Nations documents in Spanish, to facilitate the work not only of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where the diplomats are required to speak foreign languages, but also of other institutions whose officials do not know foreign languages.

165. That is why we consider that in order to help the United Nations and all countries interested in the United

Nations it is necessary to make things easier for institutions having international relations in all countries.

166. Furthermore, we should also like to receive United Nations documents in French in good time, but here too we encounter certain difficulties.

167. The United States representative claimed that this is an important question because it involves additional expenditure. Yet the representative of the Soviet Union has explained to us that at the third session of the General Assembly in 1948, when a decision was taken on the Spanish language, that question was settled by a simple majority of votes.

168. Why, then, is it proposed that the two-thirds majority rule should be applied in voting on this question? Because it is, of course, not the Soviet delegation but the United States delegation which is raising a political issue. But I think that the time has come to stop transforming questions of languages into political problems. The United Nations should not be forced to speak in the language of the country where its Headquarters is located. And it is essential to provide more opportunities for information within the United Nations and about the United Nations.

169. That is why we should observe the rules of procedure and, in amending the rules of procedure, follow the precedents established in the United Nations in connexion with the adoption of Spanish.

170. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): We must go to the genesis of this language question. Why were English and French adopted in 1945 under the Charter, not only as official but also as working languages? Mainly for two reasons. Of course, the most valid reason was that French and English were spoken by many peoples. Furthermore, French had become after Latin the diplomatic language in Europe. French became the diplomatic language during the days of the monarchy, especially after the reign of Louis XIV.

171. The English language did not gain currency until the United Kingdom spread its colonial wings in many continents, and more particularly not until, I would say, the middle of the nineteenth century after the United Kingdom consolidated its position in India, and later in Africa. French was the diplomatic language before English; and I must say also that France spread its influence in Africa and in certain parts of Asia, and also in Latin America, but not to the same extent as England had done after the middle of the nineteenth century. Both were considered diplomatic languages in Europe. They gained currency because of colonialism. That is why it was practical to use French and English as working languages in the United Nations.

172. Behind this was power. Had there been no power wielded by the British in their erstwhile Empire, and also by France in its Empire, their languages would not have gained such currency. After the Second World War the Soviet Union emerged as a great Power. Whether we like it or not is beside the point; many of us do not like it because the Soviet Union became a Communist State and challenged capitalism—and I am a capitalist. But this is beside the point. The Soviet Union emerged as a great Power.

173. Classical colonialism is dead. Instead, what do we have? Spheres of influence, balance of power—even in the era of the United Nations. And what is accessory to this post-war arrangement is what is called "aid". The great Powers extend aid to many developing countries. Aid cannot be extended by telephone or wireless. Aid is extended by way of delegations, of missions, that are sent from these great Powers to the developing countries. Incidentally, Saudi Arabia receives no aid from any great Power. That is why I can speak objectively and honestly on this question; and at this late age of sixty-three I am not going to learn the Russian language.

174. But let us be fair. Would the Russians—and I do not want to call them Soviets, be handicapped if they were to send missions the members of which need not be proficient in English and French? Of course, somebody would contend that it was necessary for them to speak English and French because the people to whom the missions were sent did not speak Russian. This is all the more reason why there should be more active interest in the Russian language to enable even the great Powers to become involved linguistically with one another.

175. It would be easier if more Americans knew Russian. The United States is the host country. There is an active interest in Russian—and I am sure that Mr. Buffum would confirm this—but what are those cultural exchanges for? I do not think that they should be limited to music, which is a universal language. Music is only one part, and art is another phase of culture. Mr. Buffum mentioned literature. For four or five years of my life—and I am sure that many here present have had the same experience—I thought it was a privilege to read Russian literature. But in what language? In either English or French translations. I think that the next generation should become more involved in understanding and appreciating the Russian language and Russian literature. I am speaking of Russian literature of the Czarist period. The only Russian literature which I read in the post-Czarist period was Gorky. But in spite of his greatness, he can scarcely measure up to those who lived under the Czars, such as Dostoevski, Gogol, Turgenev, Chekhov—whose plays appear on Broadway, and also sometimes in Shaftesbury Avenue or in the Haymarket in London's theatre centre.

176. I can speak objectively and detachedly because, as I said, Saudi Arabia is not involved; it does not receive and does not intend to receive any aid from any of the great Powers. We live within our means; we stretch our legs to the hem of our rug. If we did not, I suppose, in spite of the hot climate there, we might develop cold feet. There are too many cold feet nowadays, but it is the great Powers which are trying to warm them by extending aid.

177. I come now to the substance of the question. Mr. Buffum of the United States, my good friend, referred to Article 18. No doubt there is a reference in it to budgetary questions, as all representatives can see. But has my good friend Mr. Buffum considered that every item that had financial implications was in itself a budgetary question and had to be provided for in the budget? What about our decision this year in the Fifth Committee to expand Headquarters which involved \$250,000 additional expenditure for preparing a plan? Nobody raised the question of a

two-thirds majority, although I was hesitant about that amount. Somebody might say: It is a non-recurrent expenditure. But what about the \$50 million that will be involved in the expansion? In the past when we voted for sums much greater than that which is now asked for the adoption of Russian as a working language, nobody raised any such budgetary questions. I may remind you that it is only in two organs of the General Assembly, because there is no insistence or request that Russian should be used in the International Court of Justice nor in the Trusteeship Council or any other organs of the United Nations.

Mr. Åström (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

178. Now again, talking on the substance of the question, not the substance of the Russian language, never in the past have we singled out something which we might not have liked. When we do not like something we become subjective and when we become subjective, we cannot be impartial. Now that Russia has emerged on the world stage, I do not see why consideration should not be given to Russian as a working language in the General Assembly.

179. With regard to the argument that only four countries or delegations use Russian, I have heard that at least eight or ten delegations, if not more, speak Russian in the United Nations since 1945. But this is not the criterion. If we go by numbers, then Chinese should be the first working language and Hindustani should likewise be another working language. I am not talking about Arabic; they are only 100 million. The Chinese in the world number about 900 million; I am not talking only of mainland China, which incidentally my country does not recognize. Here again we have to be fair. My colleague from India can give some figures for Hindustani or Sanskrit or, for that matter, Urdu. Not Sanskrit, it is an old language. So it is not a question of the number of delegations speaking a particular language.

180. If we go by the number of delegations, we go by the worth and dignity of the individual, and then we have to decide the question of language on the basis of the number of individuals, because individuals are equal in rights and in dignity. But we do not adopt that criterion. Therefore this question of allegedly only four countries using the Russian language becomes invalid in the light of my argument about the worth and dignity of the individual.

181. I do not like the undertones of the opposition to the Russian language as I identify myself here as a United Nations man, as everyone of us should be—more than merely representatives of our national States that as often as not pursue a path that serves narrow national interests.

182. Nor for that matter, am I saying this jokingly. In twenty years—I may not be around but our friend, Mr. Buffum, will be—some American will want the American language to be used as a working language, if at that time the United States still exercises world power. Why not? A disciple of Mr. Mencken will probably help us to do so. I think that representatives know Mr. Mencken; he wrote dictionaries about the American language.

183. When I visited this country for the first time in 1939, air-conditioned rooms were scarce. In the middle of

summer I happened to feel hot and somebody opened the air conditioner. I said: "I feel so fresh". The three or four girls in the room blushed to their eyelids since, to them "fresh" in the American language represented something different from what it did in English. It happened that I had come from London and when I said "fresh" I meant "cool". "Fresh" in the American language meant something else for them. So, I have to ask Mr. Buffum to be a little cool about the Russian language and in American not even a little fresh! It is sometimes good to have laughter, because it purges us of certain complexes that everyone of us is prone to develop.

184. Going back to the substance of the issue, all that the draft resolution is asking for is to amend rule 51. Once rule 51 of the rules of procedure is amended, nobody can raise a question of appropriation. I repeat, if the amendment of rule 51 is carried by a simple majority, nobody can raise the question of a two-thirds majority in connexion with budgetary questions that may involve an expenditure of \$5 million or \$6 million.

185. In concluding, may I appeal to our American friends—and they are good friends—not to press this request for a two-thirds majority, because I do not think it will create a better atmosphere between them and another great Power.

186. Let them not count the dollars and the cents or the pennies or the farthings because I believe that when it comes to disbursing millions and hundreds of millions in currency—I am not talking about the Americans only, and I should not be disbursed, and talk about war or politics—nobody objects. So let there be some chivalry amongst us here especially amongst the big Powers. Let them exercise the goodwill which they are capable of manifesting and let more people, after Russian is adopted as a working language, get interested in that language so that they may probe the Russian mind and the Russians can in turn probe other minds—their linguists amongst them, so that there may be better understanding among nations.

187. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I am very pleased to address you in Russian because I know that you know Russian although you are a representative of a Western country. We are well aware of this fact, and so is the plenary meeting.

188. I have asked for the floor in connexion with the procedural discussion which has arisen, and should like to draw the attention of the plenary meeting to certain points which have come up in the course of the discussion.

189. One of the previous speakers has called—I must say it plainly—for a blatant violation of the rules of procedure, a blatant violation of logic and common sense.

190. Everyone is well aware from the report [A/7472] submitted by the Fifth Committee on the composition of the Secretariat that the proposal on Russian involves an amendment to rule 51 of the rules of procedure. The General Assembly and all its Members, including the Member who submitted this motion and the representative of the United States who has defended it, are very well

acquainted with the text of rule 164. The text of this rule reads as follows:

"These rules of procedure may be amended by a decision of the General Assembly taken by a majority of the Members present and voting, after a committee has reported on the proposed amendment."

191. What is the purport of the resolution on Russian adopted by the Fifth Committee? Paragraph 1 of the operative part speaks of amending the rules of procedure. How can the proposal of the champions of a two-thirds majority be reconciled with rule 164 of the rules of procedure? Is their proposal not a gross violation of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly?

192. Forgive me if I take the liberty of quoting a few figures. The United States representative in his intervention departed from a purely formal statement of his views on the question of how we should vote. He quoted certain figures connected with that issue. I shall therefore take the liberty of doing the same. I think the United States representative was rather carried away when he mentioned figures relating to the cost of introducing Russian as a working language. We know that only the General Assembly and Security Council are involved. What is the figure of nearly 3 million dollars, or, more precisely, of 2.8 million dollars, doing in this context?

193. I should like to point out to Mr. Buffum that members of the Fifth Committee, experts on these matters, are present here. They are very well aware of the figure which was actually approved by the Committee in connexion with the introduction of Russian as a working language of the General Assembly and Security Council. That figure is one-seventh of the one he mentioned. If we are to have a serious discussion based on serious arguments, we must proceed on the strength of facts, realities, the rules of procedure—that is to say, all the things that help us in the General Assembly to solve problems in a correct and equitable manner in the interests of States Members of the United Nations.

194. The PRESIDENT: If I hear no objection it is my intention now to put to the vote the motion made by the representative of New Zealand. This motion states that operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I, proposed by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 48 of its report [A/7472] should be considered an important question in the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Gabon, Haiti, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, South Africa, Sweden, Tunisia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Central African Republic, China, Congo (Democratic Republic of).

Against: Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, France, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Laos, Lesotho, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Austria, Barbados, Ceylon, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus.

The motion was rejected by 53 votes to 36, with 33 abstentions.

195. The PRESIDENT: I will now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote on the draft resolutions.

196. Mr. KOUYATE (Guinea) (*translated from French*): Because my country is a signatory of the Charter of the United Nations and believes that the peoples of the world should live fraternally so that their joint efforts might help to build a world of peace and sincere friendship, my delegation, having explained its position in the Fifth Committee [1286th meeting], wishes to take the floor again in the General Assembly in order to reaffirm once more its views on the subject of linguistic balance as provided for in rule 51 of the rules of procedure.

197. Allow me first to describe very briefly the philosophical conception which the great and genuinely independent people of Guinea have of spoken language. None of the languages on which we shall soon be called upon to take a definitive decision is African. Indeed, it is sufficient to glance at the available statistics to see that more than 80 per cent of the African populations are still illiterate and that no African State can claim to be entirely French—English—or Spanish-speaking; on the contrary, Africa is Arabic-speaking, Africa is "Mandingo-speaking", Africa is "Swahili-speaking", etc.

198. In saying this, I should explain that the Republic of Guinea, where French remains the official language, is firmly convinced that such languages are nothing more means of human communication and cannot under any circumstances reflect either the civilization or the culture of the African people. Africa has many spoken languages through which the African can best express himself by defining himself and modifying his relations with his fellow men.

199. The Guinean people, firmly resolved never again to be the plaything of history, has just launched a great cultural revolution, one of whose principal features is to make the entire population literate through use of selected letters of the Latin alphabet which are common to our various national languages.

200. The Guinean people does not wish this decision to be interpreted as a rejection of other cultures; on the contrary, it will offer to the Guinean people an efficient means of arriving at a better understanding of the problems confronting it and the other people's of the world.

201. Let us say with President Ahmed Sekou Touré that:

“...in the construction of democracy and people's power, the seizure of political power by the people is necessary and indispensable, but it is not enough; seizure of economic power is also imperative but it, too, is insufficient by itself. The people must master its creations, must let its creative faculties open out and bloom, must establish its own culture. Any political revolution leading to an economic revolution which does not pursue its work until it also becomes a permanent cultural revolution transcending all barriers is ultimately threatened.”

202. If it is true that men must learn in order to know, know in order to understand, and understand in order to act, this Assembly should have no further difficulty in adopting Russian as a working language of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

203. At a time when mankind seems to be in grave peril and co-operation is absolutely necessary, nothing should stand in the way of measures likely to promote understanding among peoples. To see the adoption of Russian as a political issue without recognizing that in less than half a century the country of the Soviets, using the Russian language, has succeeded in mastering science and technology cannot be consistent with the goals the United Nations has set itself.

204. Even if the financial implications are higher than the estimates of certain delegations opposed to the draft resolutions contained in document A/7472, should the United Nations for that reason refuse to assume its responsibilities? No, for when we speak of money, we must first speak of man who is the creator of that liquid asset. My delegation continues to hold, as it did in the Fifth Committee, that because of the present world situation and of the great progress achieved in science and technology, no barrier should henceforth exist between what we call “working languages” and “official languages”. We think that the object to be attained by means of a linguistic balance is essentially a matter of better understanding, which is the only guarantee of friendship and brotherhood among all peoples.

205. As I have already stated, Russian is one of those languages through which mastery of modern science and technology has become a reality in a large number of developing countries and, more particularly, in Africa and Asia.

206. My delegation will support draft resolutions I, II and III. It believes that the financial implications which certain delegations have invoked here to prevent the adoption of these draft resolutions certainly do not constitute a well-founded argument if we are all agreed that the essential task of the United Nations is to promote understanding and co-operation among all Member States.

207. For all these reasons, which we have stated in the Fifth Committee, the Guinean delegation remains convinced that the proposed amendment to rule 51 of the rules of procedure should be endorsed and that those who argue on the basis of the financial aspect of the problem—which is not negligible—will yield to those who wish the United Nations to achieve full universality in the furtherance of peace and friendship among people.

208. The fact that English and French were at a certain point the working languages of the Security Council should no longer serve certain States seeking cultural hegemony as a pretext for vetoing the other official languages of the United Nations.

209. We should recognize that we are gradually advancing towards a new concept of the use of languages within the United Nations, a concept which will inevitably involve a certain amount of adaptation. So far as Guinea is concerned, what matters above all is understanding among men so that peace, friendship, solidarity and fraternity may triumph and reign.

210. Mr. ONGAGOU (Congo (Brazzaville)) (*translated from French*): We are at present considering a draft resolution originally submitted by the Soviet Union [A/7472, para. 27] whose object is the adoption of Russian as a working language of the General Assembly.

211. The delegation of Congo (Brazzaville) considers that this is a topic which the General Assembly has examined before, and is, therefore, a simple question. We note with regret that certain delegations are inclined to turn this simple question into a problem, and have built up various arguments whose analysis is unlikely to simplify the debate.

212. It has been said that Russian is not spoken by more than one nation, and mention has been made of the financial implications for the United Nations in the event of Russian being adopted as a working language. Neither of these arguments appears valid to my delegation.

213. The first argument is that Russian is not spoken by more than one nation. A magnifying glass is hardly needed to observe that the sponsor of draft resolution I is not the only one to speak that language; in the first place, there exists a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and furthermore there are sister unions or republics where Russian is spoken. Moreover, the Soviet Union is co-operating with a number of countries of the Third World in the training of technical experts and is using Russian for teaching purposes. Russian is taught as a modern language in secondary schools and universities in many countries throughout the world. Hence the argument that Russian is not spoken by more than one nation is not valid.

214. The second argument relates to the financial implications for the United Nations in the event of the adoption of the draft resolution by the Assembly. At the time when Spanish was accepted as a working language, i.e. at the third session of the General Assembly, such an argument would have been valid.

215. All the Allied Powers, even the United States of America, were then emerging from a second terrible world

conflict with ruined economies. Yet at that critical period the General Assembly adopted resolution 247 (III) on the inclusion of Spanish as a working language of the United Nations by a simple majority and without reference to the financial implications.

216. Today, however, at the very moment when the Powers have recovered, or, in some cases, more than doubled their financial resources, when some of them are using these resources for the destruction of man, we are asked to concern ourselves over the financial implications of the adoption of Russian, a language spoken by hundreds of millions of people!

217. As we have just demonstrated, none of the arguments advanced carries sufficient weight to prevent us voting in favour of the draft resolution originally submitted by the Soviet Union. My delegation unreservedly supports the draft resolution and will vote for it because it is consistent with the spirit of the Charter and is based on the universal nature of the Russian language.

218. The PRESIDENT: That exhausts the list of representatives wishing to speak before the vote. We shall now proceed to the vote on the three draft resolutions on item 81, which appear in paragraph 48 of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7472]. Two amendments have been submitted in connexion with draft resolution I; they are contained in document A/L.564.

219. The first one proposes to delete from the second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution the phrase beginning with the words "and, in particular, part IV" to the end. I now put that first amendment to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Ireland, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Central African Republic, China, Congo (Democratic Republic), Dahomey, Denmark, Ghana, Iceland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kuwait,* Luxemb-

bourg, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritius, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta.

The first amendment was adopted by 86 votes to 6, with 26 abstentions.

220. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the second amendment. This amendment would replace operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution I by the following text:

"Considers it desirable to include Russian and Spanish among the working languages of the Security Council."

A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia.

Against: Gabon, Ireland, Malta, United States of America, Australia, China.

Abstaining: Dahomey, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Belgium, Central African Republic, Congo (Democratic Republic).

The second amendment was adopted by 93 votes to 6, with 22 abstentions.

221. The PRESIDENT: The two decisions just taken by the General Assembly will be reflected in the text of the draft resolution as a whole as it will ultimately be put to the vote.

222. A separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I. I shall read the text of the paragraph:

"Decides to include Russian among the working languages of the General Assembly and to amend accordingly rule 51 of the rules of procedure of the Assembly."

* The representative of Kuwait subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the first amendment.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, France, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Maldive Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, China, Costa Rica, Gabon, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Central African Republic, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Rwanda, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Upper Volta, Venezuela.

Operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I was adopted by 69 votes to 23, with 29 abstentions.

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

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, France, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Maldive Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of

America, Australia, Barbados, Belgium, China, Gabon, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand.

Abstaining: Niger, Norway, Paraguay, Swaziland, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Upper Volta, Austria, Bolivia, Central African Republic, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia.

Draft resolution I as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 81 votes to 17, with 24 abstentions [resolution 2479 (XXIII)].

224. The PRESIDENT: The financial implications that would arise if Spanish were to be included as a working language of the Security Council were provided to the Fifth Committee in a report by the Secretary-General [A/C.5/L.970] in a total amount of \$240,200, following a request for this information from the representative of Chile.

225. In accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, I have been informed by the Secretary-General that if the Security Council were to decide to include Spanish as one of its working languages, it would be necessary to appropriate \$240,200 in 1969, distributed under sections 3 and 4 of the budget in the following amounts: under section 3, \$179,200; under section 4, \$61,000. Accordingly, this would have the effect of increasing the level of the appropriation approved by the Fifth Committee under section 3 to \$68,674,500, and under section 4, to \$16,423,000; and the total appropriation, from \$154,915,250 to \$155,155,450.

226. We shall now proceed to vote on draft resolution II, which consists of two parts, A and B.

227. I put to the vote draft resolution II A.

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 119 votes to none [resolution 2480 A (XXIII)].

228. The PRESIDENT: I shall next put to the vote draft resolution II B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra

Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Ghana, Japan.

*Draft resolution II B was adopted by 118 votes to none, with 2 abstentions [resolution 2480 B (XXIII)]. **

29. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution II, which consists of two parts, A and B.

30. Since draft resolution A was adopted unanimously in the Fifth Committee, may I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly also to adopt it unanimously?

Draft resolution III A was adopted unanimously [resolution 2481 A (XXIII)].

31. The PRESIDENT: Since draft resolution B too was adopted unanimously in the Fifth Committee, may I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution III B was adopted unanimously [resolution 2481 B (XXIII)].

32. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who have signified a wish to explain their votes after the vote.

33. Mr. MATOU (Democratic Republic of the Congo) *(translated from French)*: I should like to make the following statement in explanation of my delegation's vote. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution II, the purpose of which, as my delegation pointed out, is to propose ways of ensuring a better application of article 101 of the Charter and of the relevant General Assembly resolutions on the equitable use of languages within the Secretariat and to prevent serious prejudice, in that connexion, to the rights of States and of international civil servants. In so doing, we have merely reaffirmed the same essentially practical considerations as those which guided the sponsors of the provisions specifying the working languages at present in use within the Secretariat.

4. We had also intended to support draft resolution I commending the inclusion of Russian in the category of working languages, especially as the recommendation was confined, quite reasonably, to the work of the General Assembly, thus confirming the practice now in force which tends to all the official languages, including Chinese.

5. We were greatly surprised, however, to find that the delegations which championed the inclusion of Russian were opposed to the same treatment being granted to

Chinese. In such an attitude, we could not help seeing political motivations which, in our delegation's view, should have been completely excluded from the consideration of this issue. Since that was not the case, we were unable to support draft resolution I, as we should have liked to do.

236. We were likewise unable to support the second amendment contained in document A/L.564 because we consider that the wish it expresses is inappropriate, particularly as it refers to a field in which the Security Council is fully competent to take a decision upon a simple request by any of its members, who will soon include some of the sponsors of the amendment.

237. In view of the budgetary implications of the proposal, we had not the slightest hesitation in supporting the motion to consider the question as an important one. We know how reluctant some delegations are to agree that certain moderate expenses connected with specific United Nations programmes should be financed from the regular budget. We therefore think it essential to ensure under Article 18 of the Charter that a decision placing a financial burden of this kind upon the United Nations be taken by a large majority of Member States.

238. Mr. TEVOEDJRE (Dahomey) *(translated from French)*: The delegation of Dahomey wishes to explain its vote on part B of the resolution on the composition of the Secretariat, and, in particular, on the question of linguistic balance within the Secretariat.

239. My delegation feels that the results of the vote represent a victory of common sense and of the collective conscience of the United Nations over an unjustifiable prejudice which has lasted too long. The problem of linguistic balance within the Secretariat is of the greatest importance to the universality of the United Nations, an organization which should take care to ensure that the language problem is not used by certain groups to impose their cultural domination on others.

240. That is the fundamental reason why the delegation of Dahomey was among those which took the initiative of submitting this resolution designed to re-establish linguistic balance within the Secretariat.

241. The need for linguistic balance is felt by almost all Members of the United Nations, as the voting on this item has clearly shown.

242. The delegation of Dahomey wishes to place on record its understanding of the application of this resolution—namely that all the working languages of the Secretariat will henceforth be considered on a footing of absolute and effective equality as regards the recruitment of staff, and that as regards staff promotions, account will be taken of all the official languages listed in rule 51 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly when knowledge of a second language is confirmed on the basis of a language proficiency certificate.

243. The delegation of Dahomey considers, of course, that although knowledge of a second language will now be a necessary condition for obtaining promotion, it is by no means the sole condition; technical knowledge must obvi-

The representative of Gabon subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

ously be taken into account together with knowledge of languages to determine whether promotion is justified. At the level of promotions connected with language qualifications, the resolution, in the interests of flexibility and efficiency, expressly provides, both in letter and in spirit, for exceptions—we repeat, exceptions—which the Secretary-General might deem it necessary to make in applying the principle, henceforth accepted, of making promotion conditional upon knowledge of languages for a staff serving the harmonized interests of a universal organization.

244. The draft resolution therefore provides for exceptions which are to be mentioned in the Secretary-General's annual report to the General Assembly, it being understood that there is no question of the General Assembly carrying out an enquiry incompatible with the confidential and personal nature of certain questions relating to the status of international civil servants. It will be sufficient if we all recognise that we are dealing with genuine exceptions to a rule which has now been established and which must become effective; the reasons for making such exceptions will have to be given to us in suitable form, which the Secretary-General will doubtless find and with the necessary discretion having regard to the persons who would benefit from these rare exceptions.

245. That is the precise meaning which the delegation of Dahomey attaches to the resolution on linguistic balance within the Secretariat, a precise and unambiguous resolution which the Members of the General Assembly have, to their credit, adopted almost unanimously, showing by their massive support of this resolution that they desire henceforth, in every day practice, in the United Nations and within the Secretariat, to ensure the linguistic balance necessary for understanding among all and for the increased efficiency of a staff dedicated to the international cause and free from fear of serving as a tool for domination, which would be patently inconsistent with the aims of a universal organization such as the United Nations. The delegation of Dahomey is convinced that the co-operation of all parties interested in the effective application of this resolution will enable the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session in 1973 to make a judicious study of progress achieved in this field.

246. Miss FORCIGNANO (Italy): My delegation voted against draft resolution I, concerning the use of the Russian language in certain organs of the United Nations. It did so for the reasons abundantly explained by the Italian representative at the 1281st and 1283rd meetings of the Fifth Committee. It is indeed my delegation's opinion that the changes recommended by the draft resolution would not be in the best interests of the Organization because of the heavy additional expenditures arising out of such changes, especially in the present financial situation of the United Nations.

247. As for the second amendment contained in document A/L.564, my delegation, though understanding and fully sympathizing with the reasons for its introduction, had to abstain in view of the reasons of principle which I have just explained.

248. The PRESIDENT: That concludes the consideration by the General Assembly of agenda item 81.

249. The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7476] on agenda item 74. The eleven draft resolutions recommended by the Committee appear in paragraph 178 of its report.

250. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

251. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): On behalf of the delegations of Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, I should like to explain the reasons why the Nordic countries will vote against draft resolution X, concerning the United Nations bonds. [A/7476, para. 178].

252. Members of the General Assembly will recall the critical financial situation which arose in 1961 as a result of the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in the Congo. Like other Members, we believed that in the circumstances the best solution would be a loan in the form of issuance of low-interest carrying United Nations bonds to be purchased principally by Member States. Resolution 1739 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, which had Norway and Denmark among its sponsors, authorized the Secretary-General to issue those bonds in accordance with the terms and conditions laid down in an annex to the draft resolution.

253. The five Nordic countries, moreover, were among the very first Member States to purchase those bonds: No 1 went to Norway, No. 2 to Finland, No. 3 to Denmark, No. 4 to Iceland and No. 7 to Sweden. By their prompt response to the appeal of the General Assembly, the Nordic countries wanted to set an example to other Member countries. Subsequently, additional bonds were purchased and the total amount subscribed to by the Nordic countries thus rose to more than \$27 million, or no less than one seventh of the total loan of \$200 million authorized by the General Assembly.

254. In purchasing the bonds, the Nordic countries acted in good faith and in the firm belief that the terms and conditions as laid down in the annex to resolution 1739 (XVI) would be respected and not subsequently changed or tampered with.

255. It is true that the draft resolution now before the General Assembly does not in itself attempt to alter the terms and conditions of the bond issue. However, the study requested of the Advisory Committee on the question of amortization and payment of interest will, in our opinion, inevitably cast doubts on what is and remains a clear and unequivocal commitment of the United Nations. For our Organization, which stands for law and order in the world, an action of that kind creates a serious credibility gap, not only legally, but also morally, politically and financially.

256. For those reasons, we shall vote against draft resolution XI.

257. Mr. WILTSHIRE (Trinidad and Tobago): My delegation explained its position on the proposed study of the bond issue in the Fifth Committee [1276th meeting]. But there continues to be a suggestion that this study of the divergent views and methods of financing the repayment of the bonds implies in some indirect way a willingness to

entertain the possibility of defaulting on the actual repayments. The Trinidad and Tobago delegation, therefore, wishes to explain that in its view this proposed study does not imply anything other than a possibility of obtaining an expert analysis of the issues involved in this controversy. My delegation will never support any proposed solution of the problem of financing these repayments which will result in, or be likely to result in, any default on the bond repayments.

258. My delegation is aware that the United Nations has a collective commitment in this regard and we believe that this should be honoured. We do not, however, believe that the proposal for a study of the methods of financing the bond repayments in any way whatever violates that commitment, and we shall accordingly vote in favour of the study proposed in draft resolution XI [A/7476, para. 178].

259. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): I should like very briefly to explain why the Canadian delegation will vote against draft resolution XI. [A/7476, para. 178], concerning the bonds, and also to make a few comments on the budget estimates for 1969 in explanation of the Canadian note.

260. First of all the question of the United Nations bonds is, in our view, important not only because Canada is a bond holder, but also because of our concern for the credit and stature of the United Nations.

261. The draft resolution on which we are being called upon to vote gives, as has been suggested, the appearance of being innocuous; it simply calls for a study by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, of the whole question of United Nations bonds issued in earlier years of this decade. One point is vital if this bond matter is to be understood in its proper perspective. It is necessary to recall that the United Nations entered into a firm and solemn contract with a number of its own Member States, coming from every segment of the geographical spectrum, to repay the funds which they had lent to the United Nations. It is the Canadian delegation's firm belief that not only is the very credit standing of the Organization at stake but, if anything more important, its credibility and its ability to enter into future financial commitments. For these reasons Canada cannot accept either the intent or the content of this draft resolution.

262. It has been claimed that the proposal is simply to study this matter, and that this is just a modest question. I wonder how modest and innocuous a proposal is to study any contractual commitment with the clear implication of reopening that commitment.

263. My delegation has already gone on record as saying that we in no way question the expertise, judgement or sagacity of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. I would like to re-emphasize that the request to the Advisory Committee to study and report on the United Nations bond question would be to put that expert Committee and its members in what we believe is an invidious position. It seems to us rather anomalous that we are in effect asking the Advisory Committee to make recommendations which would seem to us to be quite outside its terms of reference. No amount of study by the Advisory Committee can alter the terms of resolution

1739 (XVI), under which the bonds were issued, and which forms an integral part of the bond issue, and the basis of the contractual relationship between the United Nations and its bond holders. Those terms can be altered only by a political decision by this body, and not by the Advisory Committee or any of its recommendations.

264. It is the Canadian Government's view that there is much more at stake here than dollars and cents. It is our view that it is not a question either of the developing versus the developed countries. We have taken our position on this matter because of our concern for the United Nations, because of our concern for its ability to play its full role, as it should, for world peace and prosperity in the future. We believe that the stature of the United Nations is at stake, and that the best way to celebrate the forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is to stand by its commitments and restore the wealth and health of this Organization.

265. While at this rostrum, may I also explain my vote briefly with regard to the budget estimates about to be approved. The Canadian delegation will abstain on sections 3 and 4 of the budget and vote against section 14. I may say that we will vote for the budget as a whole, but with a good deal of reluctance this year.

266. We think it appropriate to express our view that the additional financial burdens which are being imposed on the membership, and the consequent total budgetary figure which now faces us, should be a matter of consequence to us all. As one of the major contributors to the United Nations family of organizations, the Canadian delegation is concerned that we are now faced with a budget figure of \$155 million. The Secretary-General, it will be recalled, as late as August when he presented the initial estimates, was forecasting a budget figure of \$140.5 million, although we had no indication then of the appropriations yet to be called for under part V.

267. The Canadian Government has since the beginning been one of the most consistent supporters of the United Nations in its manifold activities and this is particularly true with regard to the financing of this Organization. Canada has always shouldered its assessed contributions and we have paid when we have been asked to do so. Let me make it clear that Canada is by no means opposed to justifiable increases in the budget level, provided they are kept within reasonable bounds. Within deliberations of the various Committees, particularly the Fifth Committee, the Canadian delegation unfortunately witnessed very few serious attempts to introduce measures which would result in financial restraint and discipline. It is true that in each case where we have been presented with new financial implications we have had an opportunity, albeit very limited, to discuss each item. We recognize, too, that in most cases we did not object to the increase of many of the items which have contributed to an increase in the over-all budget level. But the plain fact is that if we were to question each and every single item in the first reading, the first reading would take very much longer than it does at present. It is true, I think, to say that the Fifth Committee is not always given a fair chance to look at each item as it comes along, and from the budgetary point of view this is not good practice. We were warned to expect additional

items, but we were not forewarned of the magnitude of the items which were brought before us.

268. I should also like to take this opportunity to note that this year a decision was taken to defer the report of the Advisory Committee on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses. In addition, the Committee on Conference, [A/7361] although not deferred, was in our view seriously weakened through a number of amendments. The adoption of both these reports as they were issued would, we think, have contributed greatly to alleviating a number of our present problems.

269. On the question of part V of the budget, it is regrettable that the increase of half a million dollars was due to a decision taken in an organization other than the General Assembly itself; it is unfortunate, to say the least, that the membership was asked to bear the financial burden of a decision on which it was not consulted and before all the facts, which had an effect on the increase, were available for our study.

270. Finally, I think it is fair to state that if some of the present tendencies continue, and if the present rate of increase continues, the Canadian Government will be forced to take a long look at the total level of its contributions to the Organization as well as at the problem of the over-all financial burdens and how to keep them within bounds.

271. Mr. HALL (Jamaica): My delegation is prepared to vote for the study of the United Nations bond issue called for in draft resolution XI [A/7476, para. 178]. I have, however, asked for the floor as it is considered necessary to reiterate the stand taken by my delegation in the Fifth Committee at the twenty-first General Assembly session in 1966, when we said, *inter alia*:

"...any modification of the terms and conditions of the United Nations bond issue would destroy the confidence which States had placed in the Organization and would impair not only the Organization's future borrowing possibilities, but also its prestige." [1144th meeting, para. 19.]

That view of my delegation remains unaltered.

272. Mr. WIGGINS (United States of America): The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution [A/7476, para. 178, draft resolution XI.] calling for a study of the legal commitments it made in 1961 when it provided for the repayment of approximately \$170 million worth of United Nations bonds. It is just seven years too late for this body to revise the terms of a contract which it freely entered into or to study the rearrangement of the security it then pledged for the liquidation of this debt.

273. The authors of this proposal have made clear their wish to abandon the established formula, on the basis of which the United Nations has pledged its good faith and its credit, and to put in its place some other formula by which certain Members would pay less than they now do, and others would be expected to pay more.

274. I do not question the intentions of the proponents of this draft resolution; I speak only of its certain effect. The question which it would reopen was conclusively decided

seven years ago by the General Assembly, which stipulated in authorizing the issuance of United Nations bonds that the repayment of the principal and interest on these bonds would be provided for in the regular budget of the United Nations—and thus would be assessed against the Members according to the regular scale of assessments.

275. The authority for United Nations bonds was contained in resolution 1739 (XVI). It provided for bonds with an interest rate of 2 per cent and a term of twenty-five years—very unattractive terms; yet nearly \$170 million of bonds were subscribed by sixty-four Member States, simple because these Members set a great value on the United Nations and wished to help restore it to financial health. On that basis my own country subscribed some \$76 million of the bond issue—nearly half of the bonds that were sold.

276. It was the same resolution [1738 (XVI)] that provided also for the repayment of principal and interest on the bonds through the regular budget of the United Nations, and therefore under the regular scale of assessments on each Member. And let me point out to the members that the bonds themselves have printed on them, as an earnest testimony of the good faith of the United Nations, the full text of resolution 1739 (XVI), adopted on 20 December 1961. Here is a facsimile copy of a United Nations bond, and from that bond I now read paragraph 3 of the resolution, by which the Assembly:

"Decides to include annually in the regular budget of the United Nations, beginning with the budget for the year 1963, an amount sufficient to pay the interest charges on such bonds and the instalments of principal due on the bonds."

277. Now, why was that resolution printed on the bonds? Clearly because the General Assembly's decision concerning the terms of the bonds, including particularly the method of repayment, was the fundamental assurance of the good faith of the United Nations that the bonds would be honoured. The words of the resolution which I have just quoted concerning repayment through the regular budget are, as the representative of Italy said in the debate in the Fifth Committee [1272nd meeting], the very clause which guaranteed the execution of the contract". Yet that is the clause which the draft resolution now before us proposes reopen.

278. Let me remind the Assembly that sixty-four Governments, including the United States, in presenting the request for purchase of United Nations bonds to their respective parliaments, relied on the commitment of the General Assembly as to the basis on which the bonds would be repaid. The United States Government assured the United States Congress that the United Nations would live up to its commitments as to the method of repayment.

279. In spite of those considerations the pending draft resolution has been recommended to us by its sponsors on two counts, both of which, I submit, are not persuasive. First, the sponsors have made it clear that they would like to relieve the less-developed countries of what is represented as a heavy burden on them. Second, they propose by this means to bolster the hope of the Secretary-General that the United Nations might celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary as a financially sound and solvent organization. I

submit that the draft resolution is the wrong way to pursue both of these declared objectives.

280. As for the burden on the less-developed countries, the dollars and cents involved are not large amounts by any standard. For the majority of Members falling in the less-developed category, the assessment that goes to repay the bonds is of the order of \$3,500 a year, that such a country would save if its share were reduced would thus be some amount between that figure and zero.

281. Moreover, the analogy by which the draft resolution suggests that this already small burden be reduced does not stand up to scrutiny. The preamble refers to resolutions [1854 B (XVII)] of 1962 and 1874 (S-IV) of 1963, reducing the share of the less developed countries for the further costs of the two peace-keeping operations in question. When those resolutions were adopted, the bond issue had already been approved and its method of repayment had been established; yet nothing was said in the resolutions of 1962 and 1963, or in any subsequent decision of the Assembly, about changing the method of repayment of the bonds. It was recognized then, as it must still be recognized now, that the method of repayment had been conclusively decided; that the good faith of the United Nations was engaged upon it; and it could not be reopened.

282. Now let me say a word about the second argument, that the proposed move would in some way improve the prospects for the United Nations to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary in a financially sound and solvent condition. This is the exact reverse of the reality. A decision to reopen the method of repayment of the bonds would immediately call into question the credit of the United Nations.

283. This may not be the last time in history that the United Nations finds it necessary to resort to an issue of its bonds in order to meet a financial crisis, and it will be a poor assurance to any future bond purchaser if the United Nations should acknowledge that it is willing to reconsider the terms nominated in its bonds, to contemplate the revision of the method of repayment or to diminish the reliability of the source of that repayment. I am obliged to say that if the Assembly were to make a change in the methods, terms or conditions of repayment of the bonds, the United States would have to take a very hard look at the entire range of United Nations finances.

284. Let me make it quite clear why the United States feels so strongly on this issue, and what interests of ours we seek to protect. To us this is not simply a pocketbook matter. My country's pecuniary interest in the bonds is and will be protected regardless of the pending draft resolution. The law of the United States requires that, as a bondholder, the United States deduct from its annual assessed contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations "an amount equal to the corresponding annual instalment of principal and interest due to the United States" on account of the \$76 million in United Nations bonds which we hold.

285. But the interest of the United States in this matter is more than financial and budgetary. It is an interest in the United Nations itself—in its vigour, its honour, its standing

and its effectiveness in the councils of the world. That, I trust, is an interest which all Members, whatever our differences, hold in common and must defend in common.

286. The pending draft resolution is a direct threat to that common interest. Nor can we take any comfort from the fact that the draft resolution only provides for a study by an essentially technical body, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. The question proposed for study is not a technical but a political question of great magnitude. It is entirely inappropriate for consideration by the Advisory Committee. The injection of such a far-reaching question into such a technical body would be an exceedingly bad precedent, but no matter what body is given such an assignment, the raising of this question by the General Assembly would be rightly regarded throughout the world as a self-inflicted blow to the good name of this Organization. There are ways in which to advance the financial soundness of the United Nations, and to relieve the burdens of all of us who now contribute to the repayment of the bonds.

287. The best way is one which the pending draft resolution does not even mention. It is to insist that all duly levied assessments against Member States be paid, especially those assessments for peace-keeping expenditures which a number of important Members have refused to pay, although they are financially quite able to do so. Let all such past assessments and arrearages be paid without further delay, and most of the bond issue can be quickly retired. Let current assessments be paid in full, and let those countries that now arbitrarily withhold certain parts of their duly assessed contributions to the regular budget stop this crippling practice. That is the proper road to financial soundness and to a lifting of the unfair burdens which fall on the more conscientious Members, developed and less developed alike. The size of any country's pledged obligations is indeed a proper subject for concern, whether the payment in question be a few thousand dollars or many millions. However, far more important is whether we keep to those obligations which we have pledged in the name of the United Nations, for the good name and good health of the United Nations are a boon to all of us, far beyond any monetary price that has been spoken of in this debate.

288. Whatever the future may hold for the family of nations, the United Nations, as a centre for peace and freedom and fruitful collaboration among the nations of the earth, will have a great and noble work to perform. Let us now be mindful of that future and let us resolve not to weaken or undermine this, our common instrument and our common hope.

289. I trust that the draft resolution will be rejected.

290. Mr. TARASSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation made a detailed statement of its position on the question of the budget estimates for 1969 during the general debate and again during the discussion of separate parts of the budget at meetings of the Fifth Committee. At this stage we shall confine ourselves to a brief explanation of our vote.

291. The Soviet delegation is regretfully obliged to note that although in recent years many delegations at sessions

of the General Assembly have rightly criticized the Secretariat's budgetary policy, draws attention to the need for establishing strict control over the expenditure contributed by States Members of the United Nations and called for effective measures to curtail the excessive growth of the budget, the problems existing in previous years have remained unsolved. The proposals for an enormous increase in administrative expenditure once again submitted to the Assembly by the Secretariat bear eloquent witness to this fact. The budget estimates for 1969 have risen to \$155 million mainly for this reason.

292. We are obliged to note once again that, as before, a large part of this amount is to be spent on the United Nations Secretariat, which has expanded to incredible proportions.

293. Although at previous sessions of the General Assembly attention has repeatedly been drawn to the need to simplify the unwieldy structure of the Secretariat, to eliminate redundancy and duplication, to redeploy staff among the various departments, to reduce the staff of departments whose activities have undergone considerable reduction and to carry out other measures which might lead to a decrease in expenditure, no serious steps have so far been taken in that direction.

294. We should like to hope that, taking into account the comments and suggestions made by a number of delegations on the question of improving the work of the United Nations Secretariat, as well as the recommendations of the Committee on the Re-organization of the Secretariat, the Secretary-General will take the necessary steps towards a substantial reduction of staff and of appropriations for the maintenance of the Secretariat.

295. However, bearing in mind that this has not yet been done and also that the appropriations proposed in section 3 and a number of other sections of the budget estimates are unjustifiably high, the Soviet delegation is obliged to vote against approval of the appropriations under section 3 and to abstain from voting on a number of other sections.

296. The Soviet delegations notes with regret that despite the express objections of many delegations, the budget estimates for 1969 again include illegal appropriations for the financing of measures carried out in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, such as repayment of amortization and interest on United Nations bonds issued to cover the cost of United Nations operations in the Middle East and the Congo and expenditure connected with financing the so-called United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the Memorial Cemetery in Korea.

297. The Soviet delegation reaffirms its position of principle on these questions and, naturally, calls for the exclusion of expenditure on measures carried out in violation of the Charter of the United Nations from the regular budget. That will explain our vote on sections 12 and 17 of the budget estimates.

298. In 1969, as in the past the Soviet Union will not pay a contribution towards the cost of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of

Korea and for the Memorial Cemetery in Korea or for the repayment of amortization and interest on United Nations bonds.

299. The Soviet delegation deems it necessary to give an explanation of its position in connexion with part V of the budget estimates. As is known, the Soviet Union was and is in favour of granting technical assistance to developing countries both on a bilateral basis and through the United Nations.

300. In accordance with Government agreements, my country is giving broad and varied technical assistance to many States in various continents by sending Soviet experts, supplying materials and equipment and training local specialists in Soviet educational establishments.

301. The Soviet Union also makes extensive voluntary contributions towards the implementation of United Nations technical assistance programmes. Hence our objections to part V of the budget estimates and our vote against that part are not the result of any denial of the importance of technical assistance but of a position of principle with regard to the observance of the Charter of the United Nations, the sense of which is that the regular budget of the United Nations is a budget for administrative expenditure. The Soviet delegation considers it improper for technical assistance to be financed from the regular budget; expenditure for these purposes in the United Nations budget cannot be regarded as binding on Member States. We are convinced that such items should be financed exclusively on a voluntary basis.

302. Nevertheless, as in previous years, the Soviet Union will pay in national currency that part of its contribution which corresponds to appropriations under sections 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the 1969 budget.

303. Further, the Soviet delegation wishes to comment on the draft resolutions contained in document A/7476. First of all we should like to state that our delegation will vote against the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1969, authorizing the United Nations Secretariat to enter into commitments up to \$10 million to meet expenses relating to the maintenance of peace and security. We consider that the United Nations Secretariat is not entitled to make decisions on financing United Nations measures relating to the maintenance of peace and security. Under the Charter of the United Nations, this right is vested solely in the Security Council and no other body of the United Nations can deprive the Security Council of it without violating the Charter.

304. The Soviet delegation will abstain from voting on draft resolution III on maintaining the Working Capital Fund for 1969 at the level of \$40 million. As before, our delegation considers that the increase in the Working Capital Fund from \$25 million to \$40 million is unjustified and is not dictated by any real requirements.

305. Some comments must also be made in connexion with draft resolution XI on the study of the question of United Nations bond issue. We have stressed in the Fifth Committee, and wish to stress again here, that this draft

resolution seems to us rather weak and, moreover, its preamble contains references to resolutions which the Soviet delegation voted against. Our unfavourable attitude towards these resolutions has not changed. At the same time we have pointed out that, on the whole, the Soviet delegation views with sympathy the desire of the sponsors of the draft resolution to obtain the exclusion from the regular budget of expenditure on the payment of interest on, and amortization of the United Nations bond issue. This desire corresponds to the position held by the Soviet Union.

306. From the fact that the Fifth Committee has approved this draft resolution we deduce that the majority of delegations would prefer, pending further and, as we hope, more decisive steps in that direction, to study the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation, guided by the wish for further co-operation with these delegations, has reconsidered its attitude towards the above-mentioned draft resolution and will vote in its favour.

307. These are our comments on the item under discussion. It goes without saying that they also fully apply to the appropriate sections of the supplementary estimates for 1968, discussed earlier.

308. In view of all that I have just said, the Soviet delegation will vote in favour of a number of draft resolutions included in the report in document A/7476, but will abstain from voting on the resolution concerning the adoption of the United Nations budget for 1969 as a whole.

309. Mr. TILAKARATNA (Ceylon): My delegation wishes briefly to explain its vote on draft resolution XI, on the United Nations bond issue [A/7476, para. 178].

310. My delegation recalls that at the twenty-first session we voted against draft resolution A/C.5/L.876 of 7 November 1966⁴ because it contained a proposal to establish a special account for the amortization and interest of the United Nations bond issue to be financed according to a special scale of assessment. This is no doubt amounted to a breach of trust in the United Nations by Member States which had purchased bonds on the understanding that the General Assembly would include annually in its regular budget provision for payment of interest charges and instalments of principle. However, as draft resolution XI calls only for a study of the question by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, my delegation will vote in favour of it. But our support does not imply support also for any course of action which would amount to breach of any contract created by resolution 1739 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, authorizing the bond issue. That resolution did not indicate the possibility of a special scale of assessment being applied to this portion of the regular budget. We feel that any adoption of a different scale should be by negotiation and with the consent of the bond holders.

311. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to speak very briefly on one subject only. The Fifth Committee

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 74, document A/6631, para. 69.

usually behaves in an exemplary manner but it must have been nodding or negligent when it allowed draft resolution XI [A/7476, para. 178] on the United Nations bond issue, to slip through. Perhaps that was because the draft resolution is deceptively mild. It calls only for a study, and that by one of the General Assembly's most respectable committees. We must be careful not to fall into the same trap today.

312. The terms of issue of the bonds are perfectly clear; they are plainly set down in print on the back of each bond. These are the terms on which the bond holders, in full confidence, subscribed. If no change in those terms is contemplated, then there is no need for a study. If, on the other hand, any change in the terms of issue is contemplated, then we should have nothing whatsoever to do with this draft resolution. Its passage could only call into question the financial integrity of this Organization.

313. We can understand the feelings of the co-sponsors, but we believe that they should seek their redress in other ways. They should look to those who withhold their contributions, those who are, as I have often pointed out before, the first to criticize and the last to contribute. We cannot afford to risk the good name of the Organization, to do it lasting damage, to risk destroying at one stroke its financial credit and credibility.

314. For those reasons we shall vote against the draft resolution on the bond issue.

315. Mr. YUNUS (Pakistan): In explanation of our vote on the draft resolutions [A/7476, para. 178] recommended by the Fifth Committee under agenda item 74, the delegation of Pakistan would first like to refer to draft resolution I A as far as part V of the budget pertaining to the technical programmes is concerned.

316. The planning level of the United Nations regular programme of technical co-operation is a matter of considerable importance to developing countries. This level rose gradually from a mere \$670,186 in 1947 to \$6.4 million in 1962. But since then it has remained frozen at the same figure of \$6.4 million. Over the last few years, therefore, developing countries have consistently questioned the desirability of freezing appropriations for this purpose, which is covered under sections 13, 14, 15 and 16, or part V of the United Nations budget.

317. A few considerations which have found due recognition also in the reports of the Secretary-General on this subject and which support the developing countries' view have impressed my delegation. These are: firstly, the proportion of the budget devoted to technical co-operation declined from 7.8 per cent in 1962 to 5.3 per cent in 1966. This proportion has declined still further in 1967 and in 1968 to about 4.5 per cent. The reason is that while the increase in the cost of goods and services is regarded as valid for increasing the budget, that consideration is not applied to part V of the same budget.

318. Secondly, the number of requests received from Governments which had to be turned down due to lack of appropriations in the regular programme has continued to increase since 1962.

319. Thirdly, in view of the increase in programme costs a minimum of \$1,320,000 or 21.6 per cent was required to be added to the present level of part V, exclusive of human rights and narcotic drugs control, merely to enable the Secretary-General to respond to Government requests by providing approximately the same number of units of assistance as in 1962.

320. As regards the justification of this programme being included in the regular budget and its utility in the present structure and system of multilateral assistance, it may be pointed out that not only developing but also several advanced countries recognize the importance of the regular programme, emphasizing its flexibility and speed in meeting the changing needs and priorities for assistance of developing countries. Those countries emphasize that the regular programme provides the means for translating the general recommendations and policies established in the regional and functional commissions into institutional and practical realities. The programme provides financing for the greater volume of regional technical assistance activities. The role of the programme in preparing and implementing projects which in time develop into activities under the technical assistance and Special Fund components of the United Nations Development Programme is also underlined.

321. As regards section 14 which reflects the decision of the Industrial Development Board recommending a planning level of \$1.5 million for development in the industrial field and its approval by the Second Committee, let me recall here that last year the Assembly adopted resolution 2298 (XXII) establishing a separate section in part V, which became section 14 of the budget for technical programmes in the field of industrial development. Apprehension was expressed by certain delegations at that time that the resources provided in 1968 under the new section 14 of the budget would not be fully utilized. In the event, the appropriations were fully utilized.

322. The fact is that the Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization had received requests for assistance from Governments totalling \$2.2 million. The Board, however, recommended only a sum of \$1.5 million as the planning level of the regular programme for industrial development in 1969 and 1970. This figure is far short of the actual requirements based on requests received from Governments, and in view of the importance of the industrial development of developing countries, could in no way be considered as excessive.

323. The Board's decision has led to a long-awaited, though modest, increase in appropriations under part V, from \$6.4 million to \$6.9 million. My delegation is among those who have regarded it as a compromise figure, a figure showing an increase of only 8 per cent instead of the 21.6 per cent which would have been necessary to provide the same number of units of assistance in 1962 when the level of \$6.4 million was established. This will be our understanding while voting in favour of sections 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the budget together with other sections.

324. I should next like to turn to draft resolution VI. My delegation will vote in favour of the provision of \$250,000 for the preparation of detailed plans and specifications on which final cost estimates of the proposed extension of Headquarters facilities in New York could be based.

325. During the lively debate which took place in the Fifth Committee on this request of the Secretary-General, two apparently conflicting considerations were outlined: (a) that a decision to extend the Headquarters facilities should precede, should be taken before the expenditure on the preparation of detailed plans was authorized; and (b) that a decision on such expansion could not be adopted unless detailed plans were available on which cost estimates could be based and other aspects like financing of the project could be worked out.

326. Frankly, my delegation found itself on the horns of a dilemma in deciding upon one of the two courses of action. No information, such as a master plan for catering to accommodation requirements of United Nations offices throughout the world, was available on the basis of which one could consider whether it would be wise, economical and practical to build additional Headquarters facilities at New York or not. And yet we had been asked to sanction \$250,000 for preparation of detailed plans as if a decision to build at New York had already been taken. We found ourselves in agreement with those delegations which underlined the need for further information, proper planning and exhaustive consideration of all the factors involved in the proposed construction.

327. In this regard, however, my delegation has noted paragraph 20 of the twenty-first report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, particularly the following sentence:

"The Advisory Committee's concurrence is predicated on the Secretary-General's assurance that such authorization does not constitute any commitment on the part of the General Assembly to the total project" [A/7366, para. 20.]

328. The hypothetical basis upon which the General Assembly has to authorize an expenditure of \$250,000 on the preparation of the detailed plans in question, in our opinion, becomes more acceptable in the light of this clarification by the Advisory Committee. In any case, the choice is between inaction this year, which would augment the total expenditure which we must eventually incur on rentals, and the tentative progress which the Secretary-General's request promises. In choosing the latter course, we have been sustained by the hope that the detailed plans made possible by the expenditure of \$250,000 would, on the one hand, assist in the finalization of all aspects of the proposal and, on the other, lead to a full consideration of all those aspects, not later than the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Naturally, therefore, we reserve our position on the question of principle and reiterate that our support of this expenditure is intended to make possible a detailed examination of the proposed additional construction in New York before its approval by the General Assembly.

329. The last proposal on which my delegation would like to explain its vote is contained in draft resolution XI. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution XI recommended by the Fifth Committee, relating to the United Nations Bond Issue, in the belief that it does not seek to give rise to a controversy. To the contrary, we believe that the implementation of this draft resolution should contribute to the orderly settlement of a contro-

versy that already exists. The draft resolution only asks for a study, not for a substantive action. Our affirmative vote on this draft resolution does not in any way prejudice the outcome of that study.

330. My delegation will naturally not support any proposal that seeks to put into question any contractual obligation of the United Nations. That is borne out by our affirmative vote on section 12 of the budget.

331. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): My delegation did not participate in the voting in Committee on draft resolution XI concerning the United Nations bond issue due to the fact that our representative in the Fifth Committee was unfortunately indisposed on that day. Had my delegation voted, we would have voted against that draft resolution. Today we still consider it necessary to vote against draft resolution XI [A/7476, para. 178].

332. As has already been emphasized by previous speakers, we believe that the adoption of such a draft resolution would impair the credibility of United Nations bonds. This draft resolution, were it to pass, would, we believe, even run the risk of creating doubt regarding the financial integrity of the United Nations. General Assembly resolution 1739 (XVI), which authorized the issuance of those bonds, is a contract between the United Nations and the bondholders. An attempt to consider an alteration in any way to one or more of its clauses without the agreement of all concerned, we believe, could be considered a unilateral and, therefore, an irregular move.

333. For those reasons among others, and in the interest of brevity, I wish simply to state that we cannot support this draft resolution.

334. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): I wish to explain the vote of my delegation on draft resolution XI [A/7476, para. 178].

335. South Africa has regularly recorded its opposition to the inclusion annually of a provision in the regular budget to cover the payment of interest and the instalments of principal due on the United Nations bonds. Our views on this question appear to have been supported in principle by the General Assembly itself, for the budgets of ONUC and UNEF have been kept apart from the regular budget. In fact, the clear distinction between the regular budget and the budgets for peace-keeping operations seem to have been accepted even by those who have insisted that all Member States should be assessed for the expenses of peace-keeping operations.

336. It therefore appears illogical to us that on the one hand separate budgets have been maintained for ONUC and UNEF while on the other the payment of capital and interest on the bond issue which was floated as a method of financing those two operations for a particular period, namely, June 1962 to July 1963, should be covered by the regular budget.

337. As regards draft resolution XI, my delegation does not feel that it is appropriate to request the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to study and report on the question of the bond issue. The

positions of most Member States on the bond issue are perfectly clear, and this would not therefore seem to be a subject on which the Advisory Committee could throw any additional light. This view, together with our objections to certain other aspects of the draft resolution, prompts us to vote against it.

338. On the other hand, we do not agree with those other opponents of the draft resolution whose position is that this is a matter affecting the integrity of the Organization and that the bond issue is a closed subject which cannot be reopened. My delegation, for one, is certainly prepared to consider any reasonable proposal provided that it accords with our fundamental position of principle.

339. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The explanation of my vote on draft resolution XI [A/7476, para. 178] on the bond issue shall be strictly financial and totally non-political.

340. With all due respect to the sponsors of the resolution, I must say that if they had pondered what repercussions might ensue from its adoption in the General Assembly, I am sure they would have preferred to think, not twice, but ten times before involving themselves in a very sensitive financial question that may shake trust in the Organization. What is at stake is the credit of the United Nations. Should confidence in the United Nations be shaken at a time when it needs new financing, the Organization will be left in the lurch and no Member State will feel inclined to contribute a single cent in new financing. Unless financial commitments such as the bonds—by individuals or by organizations, whether they be private organizations or international organizations like the United Nations—unless such commitments are honoured, this Organization will ultimately become totally insolvent.

341. This is a serious matter. You ask about a man, "What is his credit?" If people say, "His credit is bad", nobody will lend him a single cent, unless they give him some money out of charity—and today people are not very charitable with their money.

342. The resolution which will be put to the vote requests the Advisory Committee to initiate studies regarding the question of amortization of and payment of the interest on the United Nations bonds. In the light—what light?—of various debates in the Fifth Committee when submitting a report on its recommendations, it would be most unwise to rock the boat in connexion with the said bonds for many reasons, the most important of which is that the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions may find that the 2 per cent interest which the United Nations bonds yield is indeed less than nominal. Why less than nominal? Because nowadays Triple A bonds command from 6 to 7 per cent interest in the host country and much more abroad. Furthermore, the value of the bonds has depreciated tremendously during the last few years; taking into account the financial erosion of the currency in which the United Nations bonds were issued, they have depreciated in value by at least an average of 5 per cent a year. The bonds that have not been amortized are worth only 60 per cent, if not less, of their original value.

343. Does anybody think that those who bought the bonds bought them to make any money? It would be

questioning the motives of those who lent that money to the United Nations at an infinitesimal interest, which has dissolved in air because of inflation. The United Nations should indeed consider itself lucky that it could borrow funds which they are repaying a little more than half of their real value. Therefore it would be foolish of us to open the question of those bonds under the guise of studies that will only reveal that the bondholders have been steadily losing their capital, in other words, losing on the bonds which they bought to extricate this Organization from what would have been insurmountable difficulties.

344. I agree with Lord Caradon when he said that some of us in the Fifth Committee were either nodding or negligent. I think many of us were fast asleep; for indeed, inflation is no longer creeping. In some countries it is not even walking, it is galloping. I would like to ask my colleagues in the Fifth Committee whether they have studied the question of inflation and its relation to bonds. That is why most people are placing their funds in equities, hoping that they can make something reasonable on their funds. Any one who wants extreme safety does not today put all his funds in bonds. Those bonds were purchased several years ago, and the real value will be only a fraction of what would be paid through amortization by the United Nations.

345. Therefore I urge my colleagues here to think before they cast their vote. This is not a question of solidarity; it is not a political issue, either; it is a question of keeping our confidence in the United Nations and not shaking our trust, lest indeed, if we as an organization do not deteriorate because of the balance of power and spheres of influence, we founder because we become bankrupt.

346. Mr. VALLET (Mauritius) (*translated from French*): My delegation in the Fifth Committee voted in favour of the draft resolution now submitted to the General Assembly as draft resolution XI [A/7476, para. 178].

347. The reason why we voted in favour of the draft resolution was that it provided only for a study which involved no commitment and could not prejudice any change in conditions and obligations. It seems, however, that even a study of this kind might create a psychological malaise which in turn might have unfavourable economic repercussions. Although we think that such a malaise is groundless and unjustified, the mere fact of its possibility or probability induces my delegation to abstain from voting on this draft resolution, since nothing we do here should be detrimental to the good name of the United Nations.

348. The PRESIDENT: May I request those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the voting to do so after the votes on all the draft resolutions under agenda item 74 have been taken?

349. We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 178 of its report [A/7476]. Draft resolution I is composed of three sections, A, B and C.

350. We shall vote first of all on draft resolution I A.

Draft resolution I A was adopted by 101 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions [resolution 2482 A (XXIII)].

351. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution I B.

Draft resolution I B was adopted by 118 votes to none [resolution 2482 B (XXIII)].

352. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution I C.

Draft resolution I C was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 12 abstentions [resolution 2482 C (XXIII)].

353. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 107 votes to 11, with 1 abstention [resolution 2483 (XXIII)].

354. The PRESIDENT: We shall vote on draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 12 abstentions [resolution 2484 (XXIII)].

355. The PRESIDENT: We shall vote on draft resolution IV.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 103 votes to 8, with 3 abstentions [resolution 2485 (XXIII)].

356. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution V. This draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee. May I therefore take it that the General Assembly also adopts that draft resolution unanimously?

Draft resolution V was adopted unanimously [resolution 2486 (XXIII)].

357. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution VI.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 102 votes to 11, with 6 abstentions [resolution 2487 (XXIII)].

358. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VII deals with the plans for the extension of conference facilities at the Palais des Nations in Geneva. I now put draft resolution VII to the vote.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 117 votes to none [resolution 2488 (XXIII)].

359. The PRESIDENT: We come to draft resolution VIII. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution.

Draft resolution VIII was adopted [resolution 2489 (XXIII)].

360. The PRESIDENT: We pass to draft resolution IX. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts this draft resolution.

Draft resolution IX was adopted [resolution 2490 (XXIII)].

361. The PRESIDENT: I put draft resolution X to the vote.

Draft resolution X was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 10 abstentions [resolution 2491 (XXIII)].

362. The PRESIDENT: We now pass to draft resolution XI. Before putting it to the vote, I call on the representative of the United Kingdom to speak on a point of order.

363. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): On a point of order at this late hour, I am very happy to make one of the shortest speeches of this session. But the argument I wish to put forward is of the greatest consequence.

364. As other speakers have emphasized, the budgeting matter before us now raises a question of the credit of this Organization. I cannot imagine any subject more important than the credit of the United Nations. Our good faith is surely of the utmost importance. Therefore, I confidently submit that this is an important question, within Article 18 of the Charter, and I formally ask that the Assembly should be requested to decide accordingly.

365. Mr. WIGGINS (United States of America): My delegation is convinced that the draft resolution on the United Nations bond issue raises an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter, and consequently cannot be adopted unless it receives the affirmative votes of two-thirds of the Members present and voting.

366. First, it raises a "budgetary question", within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2. This fact is apparent on the face of the draft resolution. The draft resolution originates in the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the Assembly. It would send to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions the question of the handling of an important item on the Organization's budget. And the question which the Committee would be required to examine concerns the structure of the budget itself: the issue referred to the Committee is not whether the amount of a given item on the budget should be a few dollars more or less, but rather the very method by which the funds are to be acquired to finance an important item of the budget. I think there is no dispute—least of all from the co-sponsors—that this is the intent and effect of the draft resolution. But if there were, any doubt would be laid to rest by a glance at the third and fourth preambular paragraphs. In short, it is difficult to imagine what the term "budgetary questions" in paragraph 2 of Article 18 would indicate if it did not include draft resolutions of this nature.

367. Secondly, even if this item were not a "budgetary question" under paragraph 2 of Article 18, the Assembly would be bound to regard it as important under paragraph 3 of Article 18 in the light of the entire history of the matter and the sweeping implications for the future which this draft resolution carries. The importance of the resolution deciding to issue the bonds [1739 (XVI)] has never been challenged. To say that a decision relating to terms of repayment could be regarded as separable from the bonds themselves is to misconstrue the very nature of a bond. If the question of original issuance of the bonds required the affirmative vote of two-thirds, so does a draft resolution relating to the alteration of the method of their repayment.

368. In sum, the question raised by this draft resolution is both a "budgetary question" and a question of substantial and intrinsic importance. For these reasons, my delegation is firmly convinced that this draft resolution is important, within the meaning of the terms of Article 18.

369. Mr. MSELLE (United Republic of Tanzania): I do not want to make a long statement; all I should like to request is that the procedural motion submitted by the representative of the United Kingdom be put to the vote and that the General Assembly decide accordingly; and the Tanzanian delegation would request a roll-call vote on the motion of the United Kingdom representative.

370. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): With all due respect to my good colleague from Tanzania, I believe that the General Assembly is master of its own procedures, but on questions of a structural character, such as the one before us, I should like a legal interpretation of Article 18. Without embarrassing the President, I would like to ask him to make a ruling in the light of a legal interpretation of Article 18. My request is prompted by the fact that if we do not heed such—shall I call it—manoeuvring we shall in the future see the principles of the Charter ruled out by a majority that can be contrived either by political solidarity or just by contrariness, voting with certain countries and against certain others. If we are not careful at this juncture, today, we shall be setting a precedent that the Charter of the United Nations may go unheeded and we shall be regulating our business here in accordance with the votes of the majority, without respect for the principles which are constitutionally in the Charter.

371. The PRESIDENT: I have listened with interest to the statement made by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

372. There is only one motion before the Assembly—the motion of the United Kingdom representative—and I shall now put that to the vote. The United Kingdom motion before the Assembly is that the issue in draft resolution XI is an important one within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Malta, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, China, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Iceland, Indonesia.

Against: Jordan, Kenya, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Nigeria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United

Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Albania, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Hungary.

Abstaining: Iraq, Jamaica, Kuwait, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, France, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, India.

The motion was adopted by 52 votes to 29, with 38 abstentions.

373. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution XI. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, Mongolia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Sierra Leone.

Against: South Africa, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Singapore.

Abstaining: Somalia, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Algeria, Bolivia, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Nepal, Niger, Peru, Romania, Senegal.

Draft resolution XI was rejected by 51 votes to 34, with 33 abstentions.

374. The PRESIDENT: The consideration of agenda item 74 is now concluded.

375. We now pass to agenda item 12 (Report of the Economic and Social Council). Chapters XIV, XV and XVI (sections A and B) were referred to the Fifth Committee. I have been informed that those chapters have been dealt

with by the Fifth Committee in its consideration of the agenda items allocated to it, in particular items 79 and 80.

376. With regard to chapters XVII and XVIII, which the Assembly decided to consider in plenary meeting, the Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7456] on sections E and F of chapter XVII to which the Assembly decided to draw the attention of that Committee.

377. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to take note of those parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council?

It was so decided.

378. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 12.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly (concluded)*

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

379. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228]. The recommendation of the Committee appears in paragraph 26 of its report.

380. Mr. ORKOSALAK (Cambodia) (*translated from French*): As in previous years, the Cambodian delegation wishes to reaffirm its position with regard to the report of the Credentials Committee to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly [A/7228].

381. The Cambodian delegation continues to refuse to recognize as valid the credentials of the representatives of a group of individuals who, thanks to the intervention and military protection of the United States of America, have installed themselves in the Chinese province of Taiwan and are illegally occupying China's seat in the United Nations and in all the bodies associated with it. So far as Cambodia is concerned, the only legitimate representative of China and of the Chinese people are those appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

382. For this reason, the Cambodian delegation will abstain from voting on the report submitted by the Credentials Committee.

383. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): I regret that I should have to take the precious time of the Assembly to refer to the extraordinary performance of the Tanzanian representative in the Credentials Committee as reported in paragraph 22 of its report [A/7228]. I do not intend to defend the credentials of my delegation, the validity of which is beyond question and universally recognized.

384. I merely wish for the record to reject out of hand as baseless and malevolent the remarks made by the Tanzanian representative. The Organization of African Unity, which embodies the political conscience, will and aspirations of

* Resumed from the 1674th meeting.

Africa, in Algeria last September⁵ called upon all Member States of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to refrain from any action detrimental to the peace, unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. I hope that Tanzania, a loyal member of both organizations, will see its way clear to heeding that appeal.

385. Mr. PLAKA (Albania) (*translated from French*): The Albanian delegation would like to explain briefly its position with regard to the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228].

386. In the first place, the Committee's decision to recognise once more the credentials of members of Chiang Kai-shek's venal clique, which has been overthrown and rejected once and for all by the Chinese people and recruited into the pay of United States imperialism is illegal and contrary to the Charter. It represents yet another attempt to endorse the totally unacceptable position of the United States which consists in preventing the People's Republic of China from occupying its rightful and legitimate place in the United Nations.

387. There is one China in the world, one and indivisible; that is a fact that nobody can deny. The only Government that is duly authorized and empowered to represent the great Chinese people, seven hundred million strong, in international relations and in all international conferences and institutions is the lawful Government of the People's Republic of China. The island of Taiwan, as is well known, is a Chinese province forming an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China, and the military occupation of that island by the United States of America cannot under any circumstances serve as a pretext to justify the denial of the legitimate rights of China in the United Nations.

388. The fact that China is deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations and that the United Nations is deprived of the collaboration of the largest State in the world, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, constitutes the most flagrant and shameless violation of the Charter itself; this denial is a direct result of the pernicious manipulation of the United Nations by the United States of America, and it causes prejudice only to the United Nations itself, its prestige and its ability to fulfil its role in accordance with the fundamental purposes of the Charter, for without People's China it is impossible to solve any important problems of our time.

389. China is advancing with giant steps, scoring ever greater and more striking victories in every field of socialist construction. By its unshakeable position of resolute support of the struggle of peoples against imperialist and colonial domination, it has won the sympathy of all progressive humanity and enjoys an immense and well-deserved prestige at the international level.

390. The Albanian delegation protests energetically against this illegal and absurd decision of the Credentials Committee and considers it null and void.

391. Furthermore, we consider that the white racist clique of Pretoria cannot be regarded as representing the South African people and we fully support the position of the African countries as to the credentials of that clique, which should be declared invalid.

392. For these reasons, the Albanian delegation will abstain from voting on the recommendations of the Credentials Committee [A/7228, para. 26].

393. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*translated from French*): The Romanian delegation has carefully studied the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228]. The document submitted to the Assembly informs us that the Committee has accepted the credentials of all representatives to the present session. We regret having to draw the General Assembly's attention once again to the fact that there are no legal grounds whatever for concluding that the decision of the Credentials Committee is applicable to the persons claiming to represent China in the United Nations.

394. The discussions which have taken place during this session on the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have shown once again that China is one and indivisible, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council.

395. At the same time, the discussion revealed once again how important it is for the international community and for the United Nations itself that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored without delay. The only Government entitled to speak and act on behalf of the great Chinese people and to represent China legally in the United Nations and elsewhere is the Government of the People's Republic of China. According to all norms of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, that Government is the only one entitled to issue valid credentials to the Chinese delegation. The credentials submitted by Chiang Kai-shek's emissaries do not satisfy these criteria in any way and should therefore have been rejected by the Credentials Committee as null and void.

396. For the reasons stated, the Romanian delegation will be obliged to abstain from voting on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee [*ibid.*, para. 26].

397. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): As the Afghan delegation has stated on similar occasions in the past, we are of the view that the only legitimate Government of China is the People's Republic of China, and therefore they are the only authority which can represent the Chinese people in the United Nations. On this basis, my delegation considers as invalid the credentials of Chinese representatives which come from any source other than the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is with this reservation that my delegation supports the report [A/7228] of the Credentials Committee.

398. Mr. HAQUE (Pakistan): With reference to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee [A/7228, para. 26], the delegation of Pakistan would like to explain that its vote, which will be in favour of that draft resolution, will be subject to the reservations expressed by us at the 1522nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

⁵ Fifth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in Algiers from 13 to 16 September 1968.

399. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): In considering the recommendations [A/7228, para. 26] submitted for the approval of the General Assembly by the Credentials Committee, the Polish delegation considers it necessary to state the following. We cannot recognize the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek's régime as representing China in the United Nations. The fact that the persons present here have arrogated to themselves the title of representatives of China in the United Nations cannot change the obvious truth that only representatives of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of China can speak on behalf of the Chinese people, and only the representatives appointed by that Government can be the legal representatives of China in the United Nations.

400. The Polish delegation associates itself also with the objections that have been raised here with respect to the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of South Africa. We cannot acknowledge the credentials presented by the minority Government of South Africa, which, through practising the inhuman policies of *apartheid*, deprive the majority of its population of its rights to political representation both in the country and in this Organization.

401. Accordingly, my delegation is unable to support the recommendations of the Credentials Committee, and will abstain from voting on them.

Mr. Arenales (Guatemala) resumed the Chair.

402. Mr. SONAVANE (India): My delegation would like briefly to explain that its vote in favour of the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228] does not derogate from the well-known position of the Government of India regarding the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

403. U AUNG MYAT KYAW (Burma): I wish briefly to explain my delegation's vote in connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228], which is now before the Assembly. The delegation of Burma would like to place on record its reservation regarding the credentials of the representatives of China in the United Nations. To the Government of Burma, the legitimate Government of China is the Government of the People's Republic of China, and as such only the representatives appointed by that Government can be the legal representatives of China in the General Assembly. It is with this reservation that my delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee.

404. Mr. JAZIĆ (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228]. However, I wish to have the following reservation placed on record. The attitude of my delegation on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations remains unchanged, namely, that only the representatives of the People's Republic of China can occupy the place of China in the United Nations.

405. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia): I should like to speak briefly on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228]. For nineteen years the Government of one of the founding Members of the United Nations has been

prevented from taking part in the activities of our Organization. Today we are again discussing a report which suggests that recognition should be given to the credentials with which the Chiang Kai-shek group has come to this Assembly. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic recognizes only the Government of the People's Republic of China as entitled to send representatives to the United Nations. The credentials of persons present here as representatives of China do not correspond to the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, and my delegation rejects their validity.

406. My delegation also associates itself with the objections voiced against the credentials of the minority régime of South Africa. We share the motives and reasons expressed here and before the Credentials Committee by several representatives on that subject.

407. For the aforementioned reasons it is evident that the Czechoslovak delegation cannot support the report of the Credentials Committee, and will abstain from voting on the draft resolution related to that report.

408. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation wishes to make the following statement in connexion with the recommendations submitted by the Credentials Committee for the approval of the General Assembly.

409. The Soviet delegation, like the delegations of many other States Members of the United Nations, does not recognise the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shekists who call themselves the representatives of China in the United Nations. The credentials submitted by them do not meet the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

410. The position of principle of the Soviet Union on this matter has been repeatedly stated in the United Nations and is well known to all Member States. We proceed from the premise that only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China in the United Nations. For this reason, the Soviet delegation submitted a draft resolution [A/7228, para. 6] to the Credentials Committee [52nd meeting] proposing that the credentials of the persons calling themselves the representatives of the Republic of China should be considered invalid. In reality these persons represent nobody. Those who issued their credentials are nobody and have no status in law. Therefore these credentials cannot be regarded as anything but a piece of paper without any legal validity whatsoever.

411. As for the Soviet delegation's position on the credentials of the representatives of the régime of Pretoria, we emphatically endorse the attitude of the African and Asian States, as outlined in the Credentials Committee and in the General Assembly. The Soviet delegation shares the view of these States that the fascist régime in Pretoria, which blatantly flouts the elementary rights of the millions of indigenous inhabitants cannot, in reality, represent the people of South Africa.

412. The overwhelming majority of the population of the Republic of South Africa, its true masters, are the victims of *apartheid*, that consummate criminal form of racial

discrimination; they are victims of outright terror on the part of the racist authorities of Pretoria. The policy of *apartheid*, which deprives the country's indigenous population of elementary human rights and freedoms, has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. The General Assembly has repeatedly called upon the South African régime to put an immediate end to the criminal policy in which it is engaged.

413. The Soviet delegation considers that the régime of Pretoria, which is a criminal régime, is incapable of sending persons genuinely representing the people of South Africa to the United Nations. The persons who have come here from South Africa as the alleged representatives of the Republic of South Africa have no legal right to sit with other delegations in the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies. For it is obvious that, inasmuch as the régime in Pretoria is a criminal one and is committing crimes against humanity, the leaders of that régime are criminals within the meaning of the Statute of the International Court of Justice and the verdict of the Nuremberg Tribunal. How, then, can they issue credentials to anyone? These credentials have been issued by criminals. These criminals—the persons who issued these credentials—should be brought to trial. It naturally follows that the credentials of those who claim to represent South Africa here cannot be valid.

414. That is why the Soviet delegation supported the proposal by the delegation of Tanzania in the Credentials Committee [52nd meeting] that the credentials submitted on behalf of the racist régime of Pretoria should be declared invalid, and voted in favour of the Tanzanian proposal.

415. Since the views expressed by us in the Credentials Committee were not taken into consideration by the Committee and were not reflected in its decisions, the Soviet delegation is unable to support the Committee's recommendation and will abstain from voting.

416. Mr. Chun-ming CHANG (China): My delegation will vote for the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228]. The credentials of my delegation have been found by the Credentials Committee to be valid and in order; that is in accord with all the applicable rules of procedure. They are not open to challenge in any form or manner.

417. It is, of course, not surprising to my delegation that a few delegations should find themselves called upon to make the kind of reservations they have been in the habit of making year after year. It is, of course, obviously not in order for them to go beyond such reservations and touch upon the substance of the so-called question of Chinese representation. My delegation categorically rejects all slanderous insinuations against my Government.

418. Mr. SHAH (Nepal): Our vote in approval of the report [A/7228] will be subject to the well-known views of my Government with regard to the proper place of China in the United Nations.

419. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (*translated from French*): The position of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania on the question of China has often been stated here in

the General Assembly. We should like briefly to reiterate that position and to state that our attitude remains unchanged.

420. We consider that there is only one China and that the Chinese people is represented only by the People's Republic of China, which is in authority on the Chinese mainland.

421. Furthermore, we should like to emphasize and recall the position we have always maintained with regard to the régime of *apartheid*. We consider that the authorities of Pretoria and the persons they send here do not represent the people of South Africa. Hence the vote which the Mauritanian delegation will cast in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the Credentials Committee [A/7228, para. 26] is without prejudice to this position held by our delegation.

422. Mr. KOUYATE (Guinea) (*translated from French*): The report of the Credentials Committee [A/7228] is a document recommending the recognition of two Member States which already stand condemned by the whole of mankind. We think that the fugitives of Taiwan, the gentlemen sent by Chiang Kai-shek, are here thanks only to the unjust support of international imperialism.

423. The international community should take strong measures to expel the stateless puppets who are to be found in a province of People's China called Taiwan.

424. As for the fascists of Pretoria, my delegation really has no need to explain its vote in this respect, for the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa is a Guinean. We shall therefore abstain from voting on the report of the Credentials Committee.

425. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The reservations made by representatives will appear in the verbatim record.

426. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in its report [A/7228, para. 26].

The draft resolution was adopted by 82 votes to none, with 24 abstentions [resolution 2492 (XXIII)].

427. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of South Africa has the floor to explain his vote after the voting.

428. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): The South African delegation has previously set out its arguments on the validity of its credentials, and they remain on the record. The South African delegation voted for the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee. This does not of course imply concurrence with the views expressed by individual members of that Committee, as contained in the report. I do not intend to reply to those individual views, nor to the statements which were made this evening regarding my Government and its policies, except to reject them in their entirety. I shall especially not dignify with a reply the abusive comments of the Soviet representative.

429. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 3.

AGENDA ITEM 14**Report of the International Court of Justice**

430. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The next item is the report of the International Court of Justice for the period 1 August 1967 to 31 July 1968 [A/7217 and Corr.1 and Corr.1/Rev.1].

431. In the absence of any objection, I propose that the General Assembly should take note of the report of the International Court of Justice.

It was so decided.

432. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 14.

AGENDA ITEM 95**The situation in the Middle East**

433. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): From the talks I have had with various delegations, I understand the general feeling to be that consideration of agenda item 95 should be deferred until the next regular session.

434. In the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees to place this item on the provisional agenda for its twenty-fourth regular session.

It was so decided.

435. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 95.

AGENDA ITEM 10**Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization**

436. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The General Assembly still has to consider an item which does not require the adoption of any specific measure. I refer to agenda item 10 "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization." This report, and the introduction to it, were presented to the General Assembly in document A/7201 and Add.1.

437. In the absence of any objection, I propose that the General Assembly should take note of the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.

It was so decided.

438. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 10.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*concluded*)

AGENDA ITEM 37**United Nations Development Decade: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)*****AGENDA ITEM 62****International Year for Human Rights (*concluded*)****

(a) Measures and activities undertaken in connexion with the International Year for Human Rights: report of the Secretary-General

(b) International Conference on Human Rights

439. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before we conclude our work, I should like to refer to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly under agenda items 23, 37 and 62.

440. Item 23 relates to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In operative paragraph 16 of resolution 2465 (XXIII), adopted at the 1751st plenary meeting on 20 December 1968, the General Assembly has established a Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, consisting of the members of the Special Committee and six other members to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly in consultation with the Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Mestiri of Tunisia. I shall undertake the necessary consultations in this respect as soon as possible, and make a further announcement in due course.

441. The next pending appointment concerns item 37. Under operative paragraph 1 of resolution 2411 (XXIII) of 17 December 1968, the General Assembly "Requests the Economic and Social Council to enlarge its Economic Committee by twenty-seven States Members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies and of the International Atomic Energy Agency to be designated annually, until the preparatory work has been completed by the President of the General Assembly, keeping in view the composition of the Economic and Social Council, equitable geographical distribution and the need to ensure the maximum degree of continuity". In pursuance of this resolution, the Economic and Social Council, at its 1567th meeting on 19 December 1968, decided to enlarge its economic Committee by twenty-seven members.

442. I have not received nominations for this purpose from some of the regional groups. When these have been received, I shall, after undertaking the necessary consultations, designate the additional members of the enlarged Economic Committee, so that it may serve as the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

443. The next pending appointment concerns agenda item 62. At its 1748th plenary meeting, the General Assembly established by operative paragraph 1 of resolution 2443 (XXIII), a Special Committee of three Member States

* Resumed from the 1745th meeting.

** Resumed from the 1748th meeting.

to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories.

444. In operative paragraph 2 of the resolution, the President of the General Assembly is requested to appoint the members of the Special Committee. I shall undertake the necessary consultations in this respect as soon as possible.

Completion of the work of the twenty-third session

445. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The General Assembly has now completed its consideration of all the items on the agenda of the twenty-third session except for the last two.

446. I shall now give the floor to those representatives who have expressed a wish to address the Assembly on this occasion.

447. Mr. NJINE (Cameroon) (*translated from French*): As we approach the end of our work, it is my pleasant duty to thank you, Mr. President, for all you have done during this session and for the way in which you handled the problems close to the hearts of the African people in particular and of the Third World in general. At a certain moment your state of health caused lively concern and profound anxiety in United Nations circles. We are glad that you were able to return to our midst to conduct our work to its conclusion. On behalf of the African group, we wish you a complete recovery.

448. Mr. HAYMERLE (Austria): As we are about to conclude the work of this session of the General Assembly, it is my honour and pleasure to convey to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations of Western European and other States, the expression of our sincere appreciation and gratitude.

449. The General Assembly throughout its history has been fortunate in having as its Presidents personalities of international renown, of wisdom and experience, of courage and determination. To all those qualities you have added another dimension. You have had to master, during the time you held this high office, a most exacting period of physical stress. By your strength and endurance you have given all of us a shining example of that high sense of responsibility which has honoured you and deeply impressed us.

450. The twenty-third session of the General Assembly has taken place during a time marked by international tension and by unresolved problems. As we conclude its work, we realize, of course, that we have not been able to bridge all existing differences or to reconcile all points of view, but I believe that on many problems and wherever possible we have found common ground. To that you have greatly contributed. For your guidance we owe you our respect and our admiration. In conveying these feelings to you, we add to them our best wishes for your future.

451. I do not wish to let this opportunity pass without expressing to our esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, our gratitude for the devotion and ability, energy and perseverance with which he has served once again the cause of the

United Nations. Our appreciation goes likewise to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Narasimhan, and to all members of the Secretariat connected with the work of this Assembly for their untiring efforts dedicated to the organization of this session.

452. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): Mr. President, it is my great privilege on behalf of the group of Eastern European countries and Mongolia to convey to you our deep appreciation for the able and efficient manner in which you have conducted the affairs of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. I wish to express our warmest thanks to you for your impartial, courteous, able and fair administration of your high office. Your sense of duty and the stamina and devotion with which you have always approached your heavy obligations were probably best demonstrated when we all welcomed you back here so soon after your serious illness. Your diplomatic experience contributed in large measure to the fact that during this session—a session which appeared peaceful but which was in reality a difficult one—certain important decisions were taken.

453. The year 1968 has been a difficult one in international affairs and one loaded with tensions. The grave problems of the present time, especially in the Middle East and the continuation of the cruel war in Viet-Nam, filled the minds of all of us. In Africa the national forces of the newly-independent nations are continuously facing the stubborn opposition of the Portuguese colonialists and the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists. We are happy to note that this session of the Assembly, under your guidance, has adopted a number of important decisions, such as those on the questions of general and complete disarmament and the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, as well as resolutions in the field of economic and social relations. It was also this session that adopted the decision [*resolution 2391 (XXII)*] on the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes.

454. I wish also to express our warm appreciation to our highly esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, for his wise counsel and his firmness in his devotion and his dedication to the cause of world peace and international co-operation. Our special thanks also go to the entire staff of the Secretariat for their energetic work excellently done.

455. In closing, Mr. President, I wish to extend our sincere seasons' greetings to you, to the Secretary-General and to all members of the General Assembly and of the Secretariat.

456. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Yemen) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Yemen is greatly honoured to assume the chairmanship of the Asian group, and we are all the more happy to do so as this gives us the opportunity today to express, on behalf of the twenty-seven countries of Asia and also on behalf of Yugoslavia, our thanks to Mr. Arenales, President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

457. We think that our work has yielded better results than might have been expected; in any case, our faith in international co-operation and particularly in the work of

the United Nations remains—like yours, Mr. President—unshakable. In our humble opinion, that is the only means of contributing towards the progress of mankind, of restoring peace with justice—for there can be no peace without justice—and of accomplishing economic and social development, which is the main, the most ambitious and also the noblest objective of the United Nations.

458. I should not like to conclude without recalling the links which unite our countries: first, under-development, that problem affecting your part of the world, which is likewise our problem in Asia; and, secondly, our firm intention to strive to ensure that our peoples are worthy of their civilization's past and can contribute to the development of mankind.

459. May I also be allowed to extend a word of thanks to the Vice-Presidents, to the Secretary-General, U Thant, to the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs and to the Rapporteurs. We would also like to mention all the services rendered by the Secretariat and members of the United Nations staff, and to thank them for their efforts during this session.

460. May I, on behalf of the group I represent here and of my own country, offer you, Mr. President, our best wishes for an early and complete recovery on the eve of the holiday season and extend to you our most cordial wishes.

461. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): To you, Mr. President, to our indefatigable Secretary-General, to the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs and all their colleagues and assistants, we extend our greetings and tender our warmest appreciation.

462. The twenty-third session of the General Assembly has come to a close and we have all been enriched by the experience of another great international gathering. This has been an Assembly in which the search for understanding and co-operation seems to have generally prevailed over division and discord. This has been a session in which the United Nations, despite numerous unresolved problems within and outside the Organization—and perhaps because of them—has been able to direct attention primarily to those realms in which rapprochement and unity are possible. Indeed this has been a session distinguished by constructive quiescence rather than by explosive acrimony. If this has been so, it is to the spirit in which you, Excellency, have guided our work that we are indebted.

463. Yours has been a presidency of boundless devotion, of sensitive comprehension and profound wisdom. The nations of the world cast their eyes upon you, Mr. President, and were filled with admiration. They turned to you for leadership and found inspiration in your indomitable personal valour and in total and limitless dedication to the service of humanity. You have elevated on high the name of your country and its noble people. You have brought honour to the entire Latin American family of nations.

464. It is written in the Bible: "Mark the man of integrity and behold the upright, for there is a future for the man of peace." The people of Israel pray that this may come about and that the time of your high office may be a time of peace, for then there will be a future for all of us.

465. Mr. RUDA (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of many of the Latin American delegations, I have the great honour to extend to you our warmest congratulations on your outstandingly able presidency of this General Assembly session. You have given full proof of your great abilities and of the perspicacity of the delegations which nominated you for such a high position. We are well aware that these last few months have not been easy for you, but despite the heavy personal sacrifice entailed, you have managed to bring this session to a successful conclusion tonight under your guidance.

466. This Assembly, despite the differences of opinion that may exist on the questions put before it, has always been an appropriate forum for a meeting of minds in our common effort to maintain world peace and security. In your high office of President, you have interpreted this mandate very skilfully, concluding our work in a constructive and fruitful atmosphere and drawing ever more tightly the bonds that should link all our countries, and especially those of Africa, Asia and our own Latin America.

467. What has been achieved this session is far from negligible. It will readily be seen from an objective assessment at this juncture that the international climate has appreciably improved during the session, and that we may well have laid the groundwork that will enable us to meet again at next year's regular session in an atmosphere more conducive to world peace.

468. Mr. WIGGINS (United States of America): The United States values very highly the privilege of being host to the delegations to the General Assembly of the United Nations and I am honoured, as representative of the host country, to be able to voice that satisfaction. To my fellow representatives I wish to say that I hope they have found their stay here agreeable and that they will have a safe journey home.

469. At the conclusion of the session of the General Assembly we are all likely to agree with recent remarks of Ambassador Charles Yost, who will succeed me here. He observed that

"Foreign relations continue for the most part to be conducted in a hurly-burly of hasty encounters, bringing forth most often only platitudes, expedients or stalemate."

470. In his recent book he rightly said: "Nothing less scientific, efficient or even rational could be imagined", and he added that "It is little short of amazing that from time to time progress is actually made".⁶ Still, some progress is made, and we have made progress in this session. Perhaps more would be made if we followed a well-known handbook on diplomacy, which includes this advice to diplomats:

"The public servant should press persistently but patiently toward agreement. He should never be disheartened; be always polite and considerate; never proud or irritated; and do not make a fuss over trifles. Above all never be carried away by a vain desire to triumph over or

⁶ Charles Yost, *The Insecurity of Nations*, (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968) p. 5.

score off those with whom negotiations take place. Seek only mutual understanding and accommodation, bearing in mind the interests of the organization and of the community of which it is an expression."

471. I have quoted from a short treatise about ambassadors written in 1436 by Bernard de Rosier, Archbishop of Toulouse. May the representatives to the twenty-fourth session keep his counsel in mind.

472. Mr. President, I wish to thank you for your impartial, courteous and capable administration of your high office and pay my personal tribute to the gallantry and courage you have exhibited in carrying on despite your recent illness. I wish to express as well our appreciation for the work of the Secretary-General and for that of the other members of the Secretariat who have been confronted with so many difficult and trying problems.

473. If I may be permitted a personal word, I should like to say at the conclusion of my own very brief career in this Assembly that I have been impressed and encouraged by the high calibre of the diplomats who have assembled here from all parts of the world. It has been a privilege to work in such distinguished company.

474. As we leave this session of the General Assembly, let each of us repair to his own land and people, imbued with a new realization that none of us can have hopes or fears that all do not share in this shrinking world. And may I express a parting wish that in this Organization and elsewhere those who continue their public careers will increasingly feel that urgency that arises from the knowledge that in this thermonuclear age we live moment by moment on a razor's edge of danger, and that the consciousness of that danger will prod us all into greater exertions in the cause of peace.

475. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): This closing address will not be a speech, but merely a few final words to mark the end of a session which, for various reasons, has been unique and has proved a surprise to many people.

476. I am not going to enumerate the resolutions and speeches, or try to classify them. Likewise, I shall not undertake to point out which items have been the most important. It often happens that the major topics are not on our agenda, or are not considered by us, usually for valid reasons. Without being on our agenda, the question of Viet-Nam has occupied a prominent place in the general debates, since it is inconceivable that the largest war of our day should not be a subject of concern to an Organization which was set up precisely to prevent war.

477. The problem of the Middle East, which has been constantly before the United Nations since 1948, has not yet been solved for reasons which are not always discussed here. There are other matters which have not even come before the General Assembly, as they were, if not solved, at least ventilated and deflated in the Security Council or in direct negotiations; the problem of the *Pueblo*, which, for a time, looked as if it might lead to a breach of the peace on other world fronts, became less inflammatory when submitted to the Security Council. The humanitarian problem in Nigeria has not come before the General

Assembly. But our gratitude should go out to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Children's Fund, the representative of the Secretary-General and to all those Governments, institutions and individuals that have so generously concerned themselves with the situation in Nigeria.

478. I shall refrain from commenting on a number of other questions which might have been raised at this twenty-third session of the General Assembly, as it would not be germane to our purpose. What is needed, however, is a brief evaluation of the general features of the session.

479. Possibly the most important of these, there being no items of paramount world interest, has been the illness of your President. This was a personal matter, but it undoubtedly affected our work, and it was certainly one of the reasons, if not the only one, why this session was unable to fulfil altogether the hope expressed in my opening address that this Assembly might be one of stock-taking and rectification.

480. However, as the Secretary-General so aptly pointed out at the last weekly lunch of the President of the Assembly, for the Vice-Presidents and Committee Chairman, it is perhaps a session at which there has been less acrimony, in other words, rather less cold war. This is the only explanation of the fact that the agenda for our session was adopted and allocated at a single meeting of the General Committee, except for two minor items that were easy to discuss and negotiate.

481. What is the reason for the peaceful atmosphere of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly? Is it a good or a bad sign? I think that the great international problems, with the possible exception of the Middle East, development, peaceful co-existence and a few others, were left off our agenda for understandable and possibly justifiable reasons. While it may seem extraordinary that Viet-Nam should not have been put on the United Nations agenda, it would have been extremely awkward if the question had been discussed in all its delicate ramifications while peace negotiations were being held in Paris and an election campaign conducted in the United States. The question of the Middle East, which, although on our agenda, was not the subject of any substantive resolutions, has been practically exhausted here. Let us not forget, moreover, that the Security Council is almost constantly concerned with it, and that we cannot and must not interfere with the Council's jurisdiction or that of the Jarring Mission.

482. So far as the question of Czechoslovakia is concerned, there seems to have been a tacit understanding between East and West not to embark upon a futile cold war debate. Neither side can have felt unconcerned about the question of foreign intervention, perhaps because, as someone put it, it is very easy to begin a cold war but not too easy to stop it.

483. To sum up, apart from a few other important aspects which need not be mentioned here, I think that the most striking feature I have again observed during this Assembly and which is one of the shortcomings of the United Nations, is the unrealistic and rather emotional approach of a great many representatives. Unrealistic, because regret-

tably one cannot fail to perceive how often the delegations or representatives expend all their skill and diplomacy on producing a resolution on each topic, regardless of the fact that the ills of this world are not cured simply by the adoption of resolutions but by the action of Governments, and emotional because emotion is often placed before reason, irrespective of the consequences for the Organization and for the world.

484. Many Member States may not yet have experienced the scepticism or disillusionment felt in other countries and at other levels. The truth is that we who come to the United Nations year after year fall prey to such illusions more readily than countries which are perhaps more advanced, with civil services that are more experienced or have a longer tradition, and are realistic enough to avoid them. The worst in this respect are those who spend their whole time at international conferences. They are so involved with their own immediate parliamentary problems that they fail to realize that the solution lies close to them in the hands of our own Governments. What we need at times is not more speeches and resolutions, but more good faith and the political will to settle problems directly. Without that will and good faith, it will be very difficult to solve those very problems which inspire the resolutions and the speeches.

485. The mission of our Organization will not be fulfilled solely by the adoption of resolutions, however important they may be. There is an essential counterpart to this, namely the fulfilment of the Organization's objectives by the Government's which constitute the international community.

486. This brings me to the last part of my short statement, in which I have undoubtedly repeated some of the ideas I outlined in my speech of 24 September 1968 accepting the Presidency of the Assembly. It is a mistake to think that the United Nations is merely an organization with its Headquarters on the East River. True, this magnificent building is its physical symbol and the Secretary-General is its permanent intellectual and moral symbol. But the United Nations is not simply a body composed of five organs—the General Assembly, the three Councils and the Secretariat—nor is it even its constantly growing host of subsidiary organs. The United Nations is all this and something more, which for twenty-three years we have forgotten: its Member States, their peoples and Governments. These form the sixth and undoubtedly the most important of the United Nations organs. The rest merely serves to channel and facilitate expressions of opinion and intention. Whenever there is a question of effective action, this is primarily the responsibility of the Member States; and so long as they fail to realize this responsibility and obligation, or shirk assuming them and translating thought into action, the United Nations will remain a mythical entity in which only those of us who work here believe.

487. Then, too, we must not forget that before these Member States, that is, we ourselves and the Governments that we represent, take action and decisions, it is imperative for us to disarm our peoples emotionally. Until the people are ready to eschew emotion and violence, their leaders can do nothing, and political and diplomatic efforts will be of no avail.

488. With these reflexions, which I would ask you to convey to your Governments, we conclude our twenty-third session. It has been many years now since the Assembly last left any agenda items pending, and we hope that international relations in the coming year will not compel us to meet again. During this session, besides the discussions, and resolutions adopted, two new Members were admitted to the United Nations—Swaziland and Equatorial Guinea—to which I again extend a most cordial welcome.

489. I should like to thank you all, especially for your consideration during my illness, which prevented me from being with you at certain times to shape the character of this twenty-third session of the General Assembly or to direct it along certain paths. I am particularly grateful to the seventeen Vice-Presidents, who so loyally took over the leadership of the Assembly when, almost without warning, I had to drop the reins myself. My appreciation also goes to the Chairmen, and to the Vice-Chairmen, Rapporteurs and Secretaries, of the main Committees. My last words will be to thank the Secretary-General for his intelligent and calm understanding, his unwavering support and loyalty, and the friendship which he has extended to me and which I more than reciprocate. His immediate collaborators and advisers, particularly Mr. Narasimhan, the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, have also earned my gratitude.

490. I wish you all a merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

491. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now invite the representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

Closure of the twenty-third session

492. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I declare closed the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 9.20 p.m.