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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*):
Before calling on the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee I should like, personally as President and also on behalf of everyone here, to thank all the members of the bodies which traditionally bear the burden and the moral pressure of the Assembly at the end of the session. They must have worked hard over the weekend and during the last day or so to accomplish what is a thankless but yet important task. I thank them for having given of their best to enable us to begin our last plenary meeting today.

AGENDA ITEM 95

**Programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975:
report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/10503)

AGENDA ITEM 96

Proposed programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977 and medium-term plan for the period 1976-1979 (*concluded*)*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/10500)

AGENDA ITEM 12

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/10502)

* Resumed from the 2436th meeting.

** Resumed from the 2441st meeting.

2. Mr. ABoul GHEIT (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: It is my honour, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, to present to the General Assembly the Committee's final reports for the current session. These reports are in respect of agenda items 12 [A/10502], 95 [A/10503] and 96 [A/10500].

3. Agenda item 12 deals with certain chapters of the report of the Economic and Social Council on its work at its fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth sessions which were referred to the Fifth Committee for consideration. In paragraph 3 of document A/10502 before Members, the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should take note of those chapters which it has not already noted under agenda items during the current session.

4. Under agenda item 95, in paragraph 9 of document A/10503, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption a draft resolution dealing with the final budget appropriations for the biennium 1974-1975. The Fifth Committee has approved this draft resolution without objection.

5. Finally, and most importantly, there is before you the report of the Fifth Committee [A/10500] which contains the Committee's recommendations under agenda item 96. In paragraph 223 there are 10 draft resolutions which the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption, as well as several decisions under paragraph 224. Draft resolution VIII recommends a gross appropriation of \$745,813,800 for the biennium 1976-1977, and an estimate for income, other than income derived from staff assessment, of \$16,740,300. The net expenditure for the biennium is thus estimated at \$729,073,500. The Committee also recommends an assessment of \$101,552,000 as staff assessment for transfer in the course of the biennium to the Tax Equalization Fund for distribution as credits to Member States. Draft resolution IX deals with the unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the biennium 1976-1977, and draft resolution X is concerned with the Working Capital Fund for the biennium 1976-1977. The appropriations recommended by the Fifth Committee are summarized in draft resolution VIII.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall first consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 95 [A/10503]. We shall now take a decision on the two draft resolutions which have been recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 9 of that report. I shall now put to the vote draft resolution A, entitled "Final budget appropriations for the financial period 1974-1975".

Draft resolution A was adopted by 100 votes to 10, with 1 abstention (resolution 3531 A (XXX)).

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on draft resolution B, entitled "Final income estimates for the financial period 1974-1975". The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 3531 B (XXX)).

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 96 [A/10500]. Once again, I should like to pay a tribute to the members of both the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee for the outstanding manner in which they have carried out their work because their task was by no means an easy one. I give the floor to the representative of Algeria, who wishes to make a statement.

9. Mr. BOUAYAD-AGHA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to introduce an amendment to draft resolution IV, entitled "United Nations public information policies and activities", and contained in paragraph 223 of the report of the Fifth Committee. The amendment relates to operative paragraph 3 and my proposal is to replace the words "thirty-first session" by the words "thirty-third session" immediately after "Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its".

10. My delegation wished to propose that amendment because the Fifth Committee at its 1746th meeting decided to introduce the following text in paragraph 125 of its report:

"(a) It was the sense of the Fifth Committee that it would prefer that the question entitled 'United Nations public information policies and activities' should continue to be considered by the Fifth Committee."

However, next year is not a budgetary year. We must therefore wait until the Committee considers the biennial budget in 1977 in order to be able to give due attention to the question of concern to us, that is, public information policies and activities.

11. The amendment will allow the General Assembly time to give proper consideration to this very important issue. The text of the beginning of operative paragraph 3 would therefore read as follows: "Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session . . .".

12. Mrs. IVARS de ZEA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Fifth Committee this morning considered document A/10500, which is now before the Assembly, and it approved without objection draft resolution IV, entitled "United Nations public information policies and activities". It is not a pleasure for my delegation to come up here to oppose an amendment submitted by a brother country, with which we have much in common. However, I do not understand why this morning, when the report was studied in the Committee where we had enough time to study it, that delegation did not submit that amendment.

13. When my delegation proposed the draft resolution on "United Nations public information policies and activities" over two months ago in the Fifth Committee, we did so on the basis of the Secretary-

General's report [A/C.5/1679] in which he displayed concern at the attitude of certain mass information media with respect to the United Nations and it was our intention to preserve the image of the United Nations. During the debate in the Fifth Committee, at the end of which a very substantial majority voted in favour of the draft, the general opinion was that public information activities should not be studied by the Assembly merely from the point of view of finance, but that there should be a separate item on the agenda calling for a study of the tasks of the Office of Public Information of the Secretariat, quite apart from budgetary matters as such.

14. Hence the delegation of Algeria is in a sense contradicting the draft resolution. The draft resolution would have the matter of public information considered apart from the budget rather than as part of the budget item, as it has been considered hitherto. It would be considered as a separate agenda item since it relates to a matter of such great importance to the United Nations as its public image.

15. When the vote was taken on this draft resolution in the Fifth Committee, the result was 63 votes to 17, with 20 abstentions. Throughout the debate it was unmistakably the general view among delegations that this item should be taken up separately from the budget and that it should be submitted to the Assembly for study next year.

16. Accordingly, my delegation, which took the initiative in this matter in an idealistic spirit, urges the Assembly to keep the draft resolution as it was adopted in the Fifth Committee, and I must reluctantly ask members to reject the amendment submitted by Algeria, which merely calls for the postponement of a subject which is of pressing importance to the United Nations, as indeed the Secretary-General himself acknowledges in his report.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before we proceed further in our discussion on this proposed amendment or on any other point, I would remind members that rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly states that, as a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote unless copies of it have been circulated not later than the day preceding the meeting. Of course, we have often taken a different decision, which is why I would put it to the Assembly. As provided in rule 78 of the rules of procedure: "The President may, however, permit the discussion and consideration of amendments, or of motions as to procedure, even though such amendments and motions have not been circulated or have only been circulated the same day."

18. The amendment proposed by Algeria is very clearly worded, since it would merely replace "thirty-first" by "thirty-third"; moreover, since we are coming to the end of this session, I am sure the Assembly would not wish to begin a procedural debate and would agree with the President that the proposed amendment be declared receivable. I in no way wish to force the hand of members of the Assembly but we should, in my view, on the basis of rule 78 of the rules of procedure, declare the proposed amendment receivable and vote upon it. If I hear no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly agrees to this procedure.

It was so decided.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those delegations wishing to speak in explanation of vote before the vote on the Algerian proposed amendment.

20. Mr. OUEÐRAOGO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): It is true that this morning, in the Fifth Committee [1746th meeting], we had occasion to adopt this draft resolution without any opposition whatsoever. It is also true that this morning, in the Fifth Committee, we were given to understand quite clearly that we were partly responsible for the delay in closing this session. That is why I think all delegations here should be grateful to Algeria for not having raised the question this morning in the Fifth Committee.

21. As to the substance of the matter, my delegation believes that the amendment which has been put forward does not prejudice the manner in which this matter will be taken up at the thirty-third session. If we are to enable the United Nations to evaluate the significance of efforts made in the information field, I do not think we can take a decision this year and request a report next year. A certain amount of time will have to be given to the Secretary-General for him to be able to produce a report that is up to the standard which the Assembly expects from the Secretariat. For that reason, my delegation supports the amendment submitted by Algeria, and will vote in favour of it.

22. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): We understand the considerations which prompted the Algerian delegation to submit its amendment, but we feel that in the light of the particular circumstances under which the Assembly is now required to finish its work, and also of the circumstances in which the Fifth Committee has had to work, it would be very difficult for the General Assembly now to judge properly the true motives and the basis of this proposed amendment.

23. The Secretary-General is being requested to submit a report at the thirty-first session. In case this does not allow him adequate time to discharge his mandate, the Secretary-General could submit the report at the thirty-second or even at the thirty-third session. But I submit that to say at this point that he should not submit it until the thirty-third session would be to diminish the importance we attach to the matter of information, which requires an in-depth study on our part.

24. Under these circumstances, the delegation of Benin is in considerable difficulty as a result of the Algerian proposal. We would therefore appeal to the Algerian delegation not to press its proposed amendment so that we may adopt draft resolution IV as submitted by the Fifth Committee.

25. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As no one else wishes to speak on this point, I shall now call on speakers wishing to explain their votes before the vote on any of the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in its report [A/10500].

26. Mr. MAJOLI (Italy): On behalf of the delegations of the nine member countries of the European Community, I wish to state that we do not find it possible to support with our votes draft resolution IV, prin-

cipally because of the wording of its fifth preambular paragraph. That wording has, in our view, a negative tone, and implies a criticism of the media and public opinion of certain Member States which is hardly likely to lead to a constructive response. We would have preferred the draft resolution to take a more positive attitude and to state the determination of the General Assembly to ensure that the media and the general public continue to receive a comprehensive and balanced account of the functioning of the United Nations. We are also uneasy at the possibility that the draft resolution as a whole might be interpreted as a reorientation of the mandate of the Office of Public Information of the Secretariat as formulated in General Assembly resolutions 13 (I) of 1946 and 595 (VI) of 1952. Therefore, the delegations of the nine member countries of the European Community will have to abstain in the voting on draft resolution IV as it is at present formulated.

27. Mr. HAUGH (United States of America): The United States delegation will vote against draft resolution IV because we do not accept its underlying premise, namely, that public opinion in countries has been deceived about what is going on at the United Nations. This line of reasoning holds that if only a little better selling job is done everything will be all right again and all peoples will once again applaud the United Nations and all its works. The fact is that the tarnished image of the United Nations results from the accurate work which the free portion of the world's press has done in showing just what has happened here. In these circumstances, there is only one way to improve the image of the United Nations and that is by making our acts here worthy of esteem. Let us do this, and the restoration of the good name of our Organization will soon follow.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on the 10 draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 223 of its report [A/10500]. Draft resolution I is entitled "Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator: financing of emergency relief assistance and technical co-operation activities". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo,

Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: None.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 117 votes to 9 (resolution 3532 (XXX)).¹

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote draft resolution II, entitled "Revised estimates for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Benin, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Madagascar, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 117 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 3533 (XXX)).¹

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on draft resolution III, entitled "Presentation of the United Nations programme budget". The Fifth Committee adopted draft resolution III without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 3534 (XXX)).

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We now come to draft resolution IV, entitled "United Nations public information policies and activities". The General Assembly has before it the amendment already introduced by Algeria. It is of course essential that we vote first on this amendment. It relates to operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution and would replace the words "thirty-first" by the words "thirty-third". I call on the representative of Benin on a point of order.

32. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): I apologize, Mr. President. I believe that I appealed to the Algerian delegation not to press its amendment. I should be grateful if you could put this question to the Algerian delegation in order that we may have its response to my appeal.

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): It is of course not for the President to give any expression of sympathy or otherwise for the appeal of the representative of Benin. Just like everything else said from the rostrum, his appeal has surely been heard by all the delegations. The appeal was addressed to the Algerian delegation. It is said that silence means consent, but that adage does not hold in this instance. I have an amendment before me, and as there has not been any formal response to the appeal, I am obliged by the rules of procedure to put the amendment to the vote. The Algerian delegation has indicated that it has heard me. Since it has nothing to say, a vote must be taken on the amendment. We shall therefore now proceed to vote on the Algerian oral amendment that seeks to replace the words "thirty-first" by the words "thirty-third" in operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution IV. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, Congo, Democratic Yemen, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Laos, New Zealand, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Yemen.

Against: Benin, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guinea, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Liberia, Mauritania, Morocco, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tunisia, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Iraq, Japan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United

Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*The amendment was adopted by 26 votes to 23, with 77 abstentions.*²

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote draft resolution IV, as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution IV, as amended, was adopted by 109 votes to 1, with 22 abstentions (resolution 3535 (XXX)).*³

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Draft resolution V is entitled "Honoraria payable to members of the International Law Commission, the International Narcotics Control Board and the United Nations Administrative Tribunal". The Fifth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 3536 (XXX)).

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Draft resolution VI is entitled "Pension scheme and emoluments of the members of the International Court of Justice". May I take it that the Assembly adopts this draft resolution?

37. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): This draft resolution was voted on in the Fifth Com-

mittee; the Soviet delegation would like to have a vote taken on it at this plenary meeting as well.

38. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly has noted the proposal of the Soviet delegation. I had thought that this draft resolution could be adopted without a vote since the Fifth Committee itself, after voting on an amendment, did not vote on the whole draft resolution. On the basis of the results in the Committee, I had anticipated a consensus in the Assembly similar to that in the Committee. However, as a vote has been requested, we shall now vote on draft resolution VI.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: None.

*Draft resolution VI was adopted by 119 votes to 11 (resolution 3537 (XXX)).*¹

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution VII, entitled "Financial problems of the United Nations". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India,

Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Benin, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (resolution 3538 (XXX)).¹

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Under operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly “decides to establish a Negotiating Committee on the Financial Emergency of the United Nations, consisting of fifty-four Member States” and “requests the President of the General Assembly, after consultation with the chairmen of the regional groups, to designate Member States, on the basis of an equitable geographical balance, to serve on the Committee”.

41. I had very much hoped to be able to announce the composition of the Negotiating Committee before the closure of the session, but it has not been possible. Therefore I am obliged to follow the precedent established at earlier sessions and to defer the announcement of the composition of the Committee. Nevertheless, it is my intention to make this announcement as soon as possible.

42. I now invite members of the Assembly to turn to the draft decisions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 224 of its report [A/10500]. We shall first deal with the draft decisions contained in subparagraphs (a) to (g) inclusive. The Fifth Committee adopted these draft decisions without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft decisions were adopted.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now turn to the draft decision appearing in subparagraph (h). A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia,

Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Benin, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Madagascar, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft decision was adopted by 116 votes to none, with 13 abstentions.⁴

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We now come to the draft decision contained in subparagraph (i). A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: China.

The draft decision was adopted by 119 votes to 10, with 1 abstention.

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite members to turn to the draft decisions contained in subparagraphs (j) to (m) inclusive. The Fifth Committee adopted these draft decisions without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft decisions were adopted.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We now come to the draft decisions contained in subparagraph (n). The Assembly will vote first on the draft decision in subparagraph (n) (i). A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Brazil.

The draft decision was adopted by 120 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.⁴

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now proceed to consider the draft decision in subparagraph (n) (ii). The Fifth Committee adopted that draft decision without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft decision was adopted.

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now consider the draft decisions appearing in subparagraphs (o) to (u). No vote was taken in the Fifth Committee on those subparagraphs.

May I consider that the General Assembly adopts those draft decisions?

The draft decisions were adopted.

49. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now consider the draft decision contained in subparagraph (v). There was no vote taken on that draft decision in the Committee. There was, however, a draft resolution submitted on the same subject, which was rejected. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft decision without taking a vote?

The draft decision was adopted.

50. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now consider the draft decision contained in subparagraph (w).

51. Mr. STUART (United Kingdom): In the draft decision contained in subparagraph (w) (i) there appears to be an error in the English text. It says "on the latest available forecasts", whereas the decision taken by the Fifth Committee was to word it "on his latest available forecasts". I trust that this can be amended by consensus now, so that we adopt the decision as it was worded by the Fifth Committee.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

53. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, you did not put to the vote the draft decisions contained in subparagraph (r) (i), on which the Committee took a vote, and in subparagraph (t) and went straight on to subparagraph (w). We now request that a vote be taken on subparagraphs (r) (i), (t) and (u).

54. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I am sorry but I cannot accede to the request of the representative of the Soviet Union. Acting on the basis of the information submitted by the Committee and the documents that were given to me by the Secretariat a few moments ago, I put to the vote the draft decisions in subparagraphs (o) to (u). Obviously all the subparagraphs between (o) and (u), including subparagraphs (r) and (t), were adopted. I asked the Assembly whether it agreed to that procedure and, as there was no objection, acting as spokesman of the Assembly, I stated that those draft decisions were adopted. The President can do very few things, but what he certainly cannot do is reverse a decision.

55. We now have before us the point of clarification raised by the representative of the United Kingdom. I call on the representative of Brazil.

56. Mr. LINDENBERG SETTE (Brazil): If we correctly understood the representative of the United Kingdom, he suggested a correction to subparagraph (w) (i). May I suggest that a similar correction be made in that same subparagraph. Instead of stating "with regard to his rate of inflation", we might say "with regard to the rate of inflation". I did not know before this that the Secretary-General had his own rate of inflation.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I apologize. As President I can agree to be an arbiter, but not in linguistic matters and certainly not in English.

I now address myself to the United Kingdom delegation on this point.

58. Mr. STUART (United Kingdom): The further amendment proposed by the representative of Brazil is entirely acceptable and in accordance with my delegation's recollection of what was agreed. Indeed, I see that paragraph 185 of the English text clearly states that the representative of New Zealand accepted the amendment proposed by the United Kingdom and the Upper Volta. The amendment I suggested in my previous statement is just a correction of what is clearly a typing error, and I suggest it need not detain the General Assembly any longer.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): If I understood correctly, subparagraph (w) (i) would read:

“Decides to request the Secretary-General, in preparing the final revised estimates for the programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977, to base his assumptions with regard to the”—not “his”—“rate of inflation in each year of the biennium, on his”—not “the”—“latest available forecasts . . .”.

60. We shall now return to the vote on draft decision (w). A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Benin, China, Cuba, Romania.

The draft decision was adopted by 119 votes to 9, with 4 abstentions.⁴

61. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We now come to the draft decisions in subpara-

graphs (x) and (y). Since these two draft decisions were not put to the vote in the Fifth Committee, may I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt them without a vote?

The draft decisions were adopted.

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now decide upon the draft decision in subparagraph (z). A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: None.

The draft decision was adopted.

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Brazil for an explanation of vote.

64. Mr. LINDENBERG SETTE (Brazil): On the draft decision in subparagraph (n) (i), by mistake the Brazilian vote was recorded as an abstention. I would request that it be recorded as a positive vote.

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The correction of the vote of the Brazilian delegation will be duly recorded.

66. We shall now proceed to take up draft resolutions VIII to X contained in paragraph 223 of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 96 [A/10500]. I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting on these draft resolutions.

67. Miss FORCIGNANO (Italy): On behalf of the nine member States of the European Community

I should like to explain our vote on the budget estimates as a whole. The Nine will vote in favour of the budget because of our support for the activities of the United Nations and because we believe that the final budget figures represent a solid and reasonable compromise which has been worked out in the Fifth Committee. We welcome the assurances given by the Controller on behalf of the Secretary-General that he will administer the budget as economically as possible, and we look forward to a full discussion of the budget performance at the thirty-first session. We expect the performance report of the Secretary-General at that session to include a detailed account of the actual rates of inflation and the currency fluctuations experienced during that year.

68. The Nine are voting in favour of the budget despite some reservations about certain individual estimates. In general, we do not share the opinion that the importance attached by the international community to a particular activity should necessarily find its expression in the creation of new posts and in additional expenditures for reasons which we would not always consider technically sound. In this regard we also share the concern of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions on the trend towards the upward reclassification of posts.

69. In the broader context, we have certain reservations on the automatic and progressive inclusion of presumed inflation and currency exchange rates in the budget estimates, and we regret that no further reduction of the estimates was found possible, which could have led to some absorption of those additional expenditures caused by inflation and currency instability.

70. Although we recognize the efforts of the Secretary-General in this direction, and in particular his co-operation in adjusting the estimates at such a late stage of our consideration of the budget, we would welcome greater initiative from the Secretary-General in finding and carrying out economies and reducing unnecessary expenditures at a time of global economic stringency. Having said that, I should like on behalf of the delegations of the nine member States to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his assistants, and in particular to the staff of the Office of Financial Services for the very great effort they have expended in serving the Fifth Committee throughout the session.

71. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In considering the draft budget estimates for the forthcoming biennium, my delegation has proceeded from the premise that the funds in the budget should be used towards the fulfilment of the major tasks of the United Nations, as set forth clearly in the Charter: the strengthening of international peace and security and the promotion and further development of the positive process of international détente, in order to make it permanent.

72. We believe also that the budgetary funds should be spent rationally and economically.

73. The total amount of the budget estimates before us for the biennium 1976-1977 is \$745.8 million, which is \$205.3 million, or 38 per cent, more than the figure for the biennium 1974-1975. Such an increase in the United Nations budget is absolutely unprecedented

in the history of the Organization. It is a record growth indeed, but a sorry record.

74. The fact that the United Nations budget has been growing at a rate considerably faster than that of the g.c.p. in the gross national product of Member States cannot fail to give rise to serious concern. The reasons for this deplorable budgetary situation are the uncontrolled and totally unwarranted growth in the personnel of the Organization's Secretariat and the artificial inflation of administrative and management costs.

75. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the budget estimates are drawn up without due analysis of the effectiveness and necessity of the programmes in the budget and without due analysis of the priorities and justification for those programmes, and the possible redeployment of the Organization's resources on the basis of such an analysis. Not only did the Secretariat propose, in the programme budget submitted to us, the continuation of virtually all the current activities of the United Nations, but, in violation of the rules of procedure and decisions of the General Assembly, it also provided for the expansion of certain programmes without prior authorization from the decision-making organs.

76. The draft budget estimates submitted by the Secretariat should contain information on the time-limits and the projected annual expenditures for the implementation of the programmes. They should give detailed information on the staff which becomes available as a result of the conclusion or the curtailment of programmes, and should contain proposals concerning the use of the amounts thus released. Unfortunately, such details are lacking in the budget estimates for the biennium 1976-1977. That approach is incorrect and results in an irrational and unjustifiable growth in budgetary expenditures.

77. In recent years the growing monetary crisis in the capitalist countries, together with inflation and the fluctuation in exchange rates, has had a very negative influence on the United Nations budget, as well as on the budgets of the specialized agencies. Nevertheless, we cannot agree with the Secretariat's decision to include in the draft budget estimates a considerable allocation to cover the consequences of anticipated inflation. That runs counter to previous decisions of the General Assembly that, to the extent possible, the increase of expenditures caused by rising prices and other factors should be offset by economies, reassessment of priorities for programmes, redeployment of resources, and corrections within the budget.

78. The draft budget estimates for 1976-1977 contain, as have past budget estimates, allocations for expenditures entailed in violation of the Charter of the United Nations—for example, payment of interest and the redemption of the so-called "United Nations loan". These expenditures are a deplorable and onerous consequence of operations undertaken in the Congo and the Middle East, in violation of the Charter. Basing itself on the Charter, the Soviet Union voted against the decisions on carrying out those operations; it is not and will not be responsible for them, and it will not take any part in paying for the expenditures on them.

79. The Soviet delegation would also like to confirm its position with regard to the financing of technical

assistance. Under Article 17 of the Charter, the United Nations budget cannot be used for the financing of technical assistance, which, like UNDP, should be based entirely on voluntary contributions. This is why, as in previous years, the Soviet Union will make its voluntary contribution in roubles to technical assistance programmes.

80. Unfortunately, the shortcomings in the budget estimates for 1976-1977 submitted by the Secretariat, to which I have just drawn attention, were not redressed during the consideration of those estimates in the Fifth Committee. The estimates were not corrected so as to ensure a more rational and economic use of United Nations resources.

81. Furthermore, the unjustifiably high rate of growth of the United Nations budget must be halted. That is one of the main administrative and budgetary tasks of the United Nations.

82. With regard to the financial situation of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation wishes to emphasize that the complexity of that situation is a result of expenditures that have been made and continue to be made in violation of perfectly clear provisions of the Charter. The search for a solution to the financial problems of the United Nations should be carried out bearing in mind the causes of those problems, so as to avoid them in the future and to stem the further deterioration of the financial situation of the Organization. The Soviet delegation shares the grave concern of other States at the difficult financial situation of the United Nations, and at one point we made proposals providing for a just and realistic way to solve this problem.

83. The draft budget estimates for the biennium 1976-1977 contain many unwarranted and superfluous expenditures, to which the Soviet delegation raised very serious objections during the discussions in the Fifth Committee. Furthermore, those estimates maintain allocations for illegal measures, taken in violation of the Charter. Therefore, the Soviet delegation will vote against the draft budget estimates submitted for the biennium 1976-1977. The Soviet delegation will also vote against the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the biennium 1976-1977, because we believe that under the Charter the right to resolve the question of the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations is within the exclusive competence of the Security Council. To give to the Secretariat the right to expend resources for those purposes is a violation of the Charter.

84. Finally, we wish also to confirm the position we stated in the Fifth Committee on subparagraph (u) of paragraph 224 in document A/10500. That paragraph was not put to the vote here because of a procedural error on the part of the Secretariat.

85. Mr. HAUGH (United States of America): Mr. President, I am going to make two explanations of vote here. The first is on draft resolution VIII A, section 18, Human rights, an expenditure of \$5.9 million. From the time when it was first proposed in 1972 until this year, the United States has firmly supported all of the programmes of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It has been an important programme and one on which all Members of the United Nations were able to agree.

86. This is no longer the case. Certain delegations, spurred by motivations entirely extraneous to the effort to eliminate racial discrimination, succeeded this year in making it impossible for my country, among others, to continue to support this important programme. We stated in explanation of vote in the Third Committee and in plenary Assembly that, if the programme were changed to include zionism as a form of racism, we would not support it in the future. We repeated this position in the Fifth Committee. We repeat it today. The United States will no longer support the programme of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Consequently, if there is a vote on this section, we will vote against the appropriation for section 18 which includes this programme, and strongly urge other delegations that share our view on this fundamental issue to do likewise.

87. Now, I turn to the draft resolution as a whole, the total budget: \$745.8 million.

88. My delegation has attempted to exercise care and selectivity in its approach to the individual sections of the Secretary-General's programme budget for the 1976-1977 biennium. With each of the sections having benefited from the thorough sifting which is a hallmark of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, we found that we were able to vote affirmatively on 15 of them. However, on eight others our perception that extravagance was still deeply embedded forced us to abstain. Finally, we cast a negative vote on four sections mainly because matters of important principle were involved.

89. My delegation's decision with regard to the budget as a whole was not easy to make. Several considerations this year inclined us to a negative vote. One was the sheer size of the budget. It is almost 40 per cent larger than its predecessor, an astonishing increase which is only partly accounted for by inflation.

90. It is particularly astonishing at a time when throughout the world Governments and individuals at every level are being forced to economize resources. We have looked in vain for some evidence that this economy-mindedness has begun to take hold in the United Nations. The fact that the Secretary-General proposed a budget of such magnitude to us at the same time that he disclosed that the United Nations financial situation had become extraordinarily grave seemed to my delegation to be paradoxical, to put it mildly.

91. Finally, we have serious reservations about the Secretary-General's so-called full budgeting system, whereby an extra appropriation is requested for expected inflation for a full two-year period in advance. Not only is inflation extremely difficult to forecast over that long a period, but such an arrangement destroys the incentive to economize and concentrate on essentials.

92. Those were the principal reasons which caused my delegation to weigh seriously the option of opposing the budget. On the other hand, since we found many sections of the budget, as refined by the Advisory Committee, sufficiently acceptable for us either to vote for them or to abstain, and taking into account also the willingness of the Secretary-General to scale down his inflation estimates for 1976 in the light of new facts, we

shall abstain on, rather than vote against, the budget as a whole.

93. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee, in paragraph 223 of document A/10500. I shall now put to the vote draft resolution VIII A, entitled "Budget appropriations for the biennium 1976-1977". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Benin, Cuba, Nicaragua, Romania, United States of America.

Draft resolution VIII A was adopted by 113 votes to 9, with 5 abstentions (resolution 3539 A (XXX)).⁵

94. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Draft resolution VIII B is entitled "Income estimates for the biennium 1976-1977". The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VIII B was adopted (resolution 3539 B (XXX)).

95. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now vote on draft resolution VIII C, entitled "Financing of appropriations for the year 1976". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic

Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Benin, Cuba, Romania.

Draft resolution VIII C was adopted by 119 votes to 9, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3539 C (XXX)).

96. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution VIII as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Re-

public, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Benin, Cuba, Nicaragua, Romania, United States of America.

Draft resolution VIII as a whole was adopted by 116 votes to 9, with 5 abstentions (resolution 3539 (XXX)).

97. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We come now to draft resolution IX, entitled "Unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the biennium 1976-1977". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Benin, Cuba, Romania.

Draft resolution IX was adopted by 121 votes to 9, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3540 (XXX)).

98. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We come now to draft resolution X, entitled "Working Capital Fund for the biennium 1976-1977". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala,

Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Benin, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Indonesia, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution X was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 3541 (XXX)).¹

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 96, with the exception, I recall, of the designation of the members of the Negotiating Committee on the Financial Emergency of the United Nations.

100. We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/10502] on agenda item 12, dealing with the report of the Economic and Social Council. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 3 of its report. The Committee adopted that recommendation without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The recommendation was adopted.

101. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have thus completed consideration of all the agenda items allocated to the Fifth Committee.

102. We turn now to the parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council which have been referred for consideration directly to the plenary Assembly. I refer to chapters I and VII (sections A to F), primarily concerning organizational questions and intergovernmental organizations. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to take note of those parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council?

It was so decided.

Closing statements

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We are now coming to the end of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I shall call on those representatives who have expressed a desire to speak at this stage of our discussions. I call first on the representative of Gabon, Mr. Essonghe, who wishes to speak on behalf of the group of African States.

104. Mr. ESSONGHE (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): At the end of a session of the General As-

sembly it is customary not only to draw up a balance-sheet but also to express one's feelings and it is in this context that the great continent of Africa, speaking through one of its sons, now wishes to pay to you, Mr. President, a solemn tribute for the masterly way in which you have conducted the very difficult work of the session which is now coming to an end.

105. This session, perhaps because of its anniversary nature, has proved to be quite a turbulent session but it will also prove to have been a session of truth. The accomplishments of this session are very noteworthy. It is true that many problems are still pending, but hope has not been lost.

106. The African, who is philosophical by nature, knows that it is often vain to try to pick a fruit which is not yet ripe. Allow me, in this respect, to paraphrase the words of Bossuet by saying that wisdom does not consist always in doing things promptly but in doing them at the right time.

107. Throughout this session, the sons and daughters of Africa, of the great continent of Africa, have demonstrated magnificently their ability at the international level by making an immense, specific, intelligent and disinterested contribution to the common undertaking for the further progress of the universal community and for the strengthening of the interdependence between peoples and nations.

108. As has been made evident, in the difficult votes here, the Africans have disproved the malicious legend according to which they constitute a systematic, mechanical or automatic majority. They have shown discernment and have proved with great clarity that they are far from being a flock of sheep.

109. Africa, the mysterious continent of Africa, is not always understood, but the time has now come to learn to understand it.

110. Passing between the shoals and notwithstanding the pitching and rolling of the vessel, you, Sir, with a firm and judicious hand have steered the great but delicate vessel which is the General Assembly. It may hurt your modesty to hear me say this, but let me say that your success confers upon you true international status. Your name will henceforth be emblazoned in gold in the annals of the United Nations.

111. Africa, the great continent of Africa, wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless dedication and for the perfect organization of services for the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

112. Mr. President, the gratitude of Africa, of the great continent of Africa, also goes to all those who have helped you in your difficult job—the members of the General Committee, the officers of the committees and the Secretariat as a whole, not forgetting a veritable bulldozer of the General Assembly, our tireless servant, our kind friend with the contagious smile whose readiness to help is matched only by his great professional conscientiousness, which he has made available to us all: I mean Mr. Morse.

113. Lastly, our gratitude goes, in a particular way, to the vanguard troops, as it were, without whom nothing can be done, that vanguard whose competence, patience and selfless dedication is so vital and fundamental to our work: I am speaking of the interpreters. To each of the men among them we say thanks, and

to each of the women we offer in our mind a well-deserved bouquet of flowers.

114. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Akhund, who will address the Assembly on behalf of the group of Asian States.

115. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): I have the honour and pleasure, on behalf of the Asian States Members of the United Nations, to convey to you their appreciation of the skill and efficacy, the fairness and the dignity with which you conducted the proceedings of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly which is now approaching its end.

116. I would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, whose absence we feel here today, although we know that he is detained in Paris in the performance of a very important task, that of representing the United Nations at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

117. Our particular thanks and appreciation also go to the capable Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, who will shortly be leaving us to take up an even more arduous responsibility. I wish to thank also the staff of the General Assembly and the Secretariat for their hard work which facilitated our deliberations.

118. Without wishing in the least to impinge on your prerogative of summing up the work of the current session, if I may impose on your patience I should like to make a few observations of a general character relating to the work of this session. Its agenda consisted of a list of items neither longer than usual nor exceptionally controversial. Yet debate on many items was more than usually animated, division on some was sharper and a few aroused emotion and bitterness instead of the objective and rational consideration which their substance and nature demanded and which we all of us so rightly and so frequently commend to each other.

119. A contrast has been drawn between the spirit of consensus which prevailed at the seventh special session of the General Assembly and the somewhat agitated atmosphere of the current one. I am not sure what conclusion is to be drawn from this except that in the affairs of men and of States there will be ups and downs.

120. The General Assembly, together with and perhaps more than the other principal organs of the United Nations, is a forum wherein we find reflected the image of our heterogeneous and disjointed world. We do not come here seeking to be sheltered from the echoes of the discord outside. The United Nations was designed to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends. It is neither contrary to this purpose nor is it paradoxical that frank and untrammelled discussion of conflicting ideas, viewpoints and interests should take place in the General Assembly.

121. We are entitled, each of us, to consider the viewpoint of those with whom we disagree as partisan, misguided or even absurd. There is indeed no monopoly of righteousness or of self-righteousness. It is in the nature of parliamentary institutions that members will differ and disagree among themselves, denounce

one thing and decry the other and, finally, if it comes to it, settle matters by counting votes.

122. The Assembly at this session did indeed pass a large number of resolutions on subjects ranging from disarmament to development, from the rights of women to the plight of man. On the basis of the record, it is difficult to discern any pattern in the voting on various issues. A great many of the resolutions were in fact adopted by consensus or by very broad agreement. When there was voting, members voted, as they vote in national parliaments, in the light of their best judgement of the issues involved and of their interests, philosophy and approach.

123. The disillusionment and scepticism which is voiced so freely these days about the United Nations as an organization would more properly be directed at the failure of Member States to live up to their obligations under the Charter and to practise themselves what they urge upon others. There is much room for improving the procedures and practices of the Organization, but, if the United Nations is defamed or disabled, the world will become a more difficult place to live in and States less well able to deal with their problems.

124. At all events, it fell to you, Mr. President, in addition to your other high functions and responsibilities, to preside over the tumults and turmoils of this year. It was the Assembly's good fortune to have at its helm, in our passage through rough waters and smooth, someone whose hand scarcely ever faltered. Perhaps when the resentments and anxieties aroused by our debates have diminished we may come to see the present session in the perspective of those which have gone before and those which will follow, as having been neither a crusade nor a morality play, but yet another and necessarily imperfect effort of nations to face up to their problems without shirking controversy. The special combination of firmness and pragmatism, of understanding and good humour which you, Mr. President, brought to the conduct of our proceedings provided a counterpoint to our disputes and differences for which we are all indebted to you. The presidency of the General Assembly to which you were elected by acclaim is an honour as well as a responsibility. You have well deserved the one and faithfully discharged the other.

125. On behalf of the group of Asian States, Mr. President, I wish you success in your future endeavours in your own country, in your continent and in the world at large.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Romania, Mr. Gheorghe, who will address the Assembly on behalf of the group of Eastern European States.

127. Mr. GHEORGHE (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, now that the work of this session is coming to a close, it is a great honour for me, as Chairman of the group of Eastern European States for this month, to convey to you our sincere congratulations, our gratitude and our feeling of indebtedness for the very enlightened and efficient way in which you have conducted the debates of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

128. Your remarkable qualities as a statesman—particularly one who also bears the great respon-

sibilities of Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Luxembourg at the same time—have made it possible for you to perform outstandingly the delicate tasks which came before you as President of the General Assembly.

129. We also offer our highest esteem and sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General, to his associates and staff, as well as to the entire Secretariat, for their valuable contribution to the smooth progress of this session. I assure you that we have very greatly appreciated the efficient assistance which they have given us, with such patience and courtesy, in order to enable us to conclude the important work of this session.

130. In congratulating most particularly the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, our good friend Mr. Bradford Morse, I wish to emphasize our pleasure at hearing that he has been appointed to the very important position of Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and at the same time our sincere regret at losing him and his reassuring presence on the podium. We wish him the best of success in this new stage of his brilliant career.

131. Mr. President, you have presided with distinction over a session which has produced a generally positive balance-sheet, a session characterized by unrelenting hard work and the quest for solutions to a great number of complex and delicate problems. But, despite their complexity, what has really prevailed throughout the session has been, in our opinion, a genuine desire to find in common suitable and workable solutions. By doing that, the United Nations has proved yet again to be the most indispensable instrument and the most suitable framework for the consideration of ways and means of bringing about the establishment of new relations between all States, the building of a better and more just world and for agreement on these matters with the participation of all. No forum is more suited than the Assembly for the exchange of ideas and the holding of a dialogue on matters of pressing current concern. Such has been the case, for example, in the decisions and debates on the enhancement of the efficiency and the improvement of the activities of the Organization.

132. New initiatives in the field of disarmament, the resolutions adopted on the strengthening of international security, as well as on the acute problems that persist in various parts of the world, have shown once again that the Member countries want the Organization to play an increased and leading role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

133. The General Assembly, by adopting a resolution on the creation of favourable conditions to transform the armistice into a lasting peace and to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea [*resolution 3390 A and B (XXX)*], has thus made a positive contribution to the peace and understanding that should reign in that part of the world.

134. By adopting a series of important decisions on economic and social questions, particularly in the priority area of development, the General Assembly has expressed once again the determination of the United Nations to contribute to the solution of those vital problems and to give practical effect to its own decisions concerning the establishment of a new international economic order.

135. The resolutions on questions of decolonization, *apartheid* and racial discrimination indicate clearly the firm will of virtually the whole membership to act resolutely in order to abolish without delay those anachronistic practices, which are contrary to human dignity and the most elementary principles of international legality.

136. This session also saw the admission of six new States which recently acceded to independence. We sincerely welcome this remarkable development, and at the same time would like to state our confidence that the Vietnamese people will in the not too distant future occupy its rightful place in the United Nations.

137. I would not like to conclude without expressing our friendship, appreciation and sincere compliments to all the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, the Chairmen and other officers of Committees, and to all delegations which have striven throughout this session to further the cause of peace and co-operation.

138. In conclusion, allow me, Sir, to offer you our best wishes for prosperity, peace and personal happiness in this festive season and in the new year. These good wishes go also to all delegations and to all members of the United Nations staff.

139. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Barbados, Mr. Waldron-Ramsey, will now address the Assembly on behalf of the group of Latin American States.

140. Mr. WALDRON-RAMSEY (Barbados): To say that the challenges usually associated with a session of the General Assembly have not been missing during this year's deliberations is a gross understatement, but I am happy nevertheless that the accident of succession has given me the pleasant duty, as Chairman of the group of Latin American States for this month, of speaking on their behalf at the end of the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly.

141. Peace and security have not yet come to this deeply troubled world, but the search continues; and if the climate for their propagation is to be found, men and women of goodwill must in the United Nations Assembly of States accept the responsibility for its earnest pursuit.

142. The group of Latin American States believes, Mr. President, that your example of hard work, tact, equanimity and wisdom have been largely responsible for the success of this very hard-working and exciting session; for you have exemplified the truth of the assertion that it is possible with goodwill to bring to a successful conclusion problems which seem both delicate and intractable.

143. As this session comes to an end, we seem to catch a glimpse of the light at the end of the tunnel although we remain deeply conscious that along the way the thick underbrush of human emotions and divisive political issues is always present and tends to becloud the clearness of vision which is necessary for the perception of a rational and effective prognosis.

144. This unclarity, coupled with understandable emotion, has led to frequent eruptions in the various parts of the Assembly. We have sustained attacks from the slings and arrows of untoward fortune, from the international press and the peoples of the world. We

have been characterized in our business here as irresponsible and divisive. We have replied with a didactic stoicism; and we have continued on our merry way, in pursuit of the business we had placed on our agenda.

145. And so we adopted in the Assembly a resolution which declared that zionism was racism and racial discrimination. We adopted two resolutions on the question of Korea that are, at best, in conflict with each other. But, as if that were not enough, a few days ago, we again adopted two more resolutions on Western Sahara that are not only in direct contradiction with each other, but place the Secretary-General and the Secretariat in an even more invidious and difficult position: for, in one, we say the Secretary-General must initiate action to guarantee the expression of the general will of the inhabitants of Western Sahara; and, in the other, we say he should simply observe the manifestation of that general will of self-determination.

146. Yet, if you will allow me, I do not know that we should bow our heads in shame completely on these matters, for, after all, what is the United Nations? It is no more than the world itself in microcosm. The Assembly is but the mirror in which we see more clearly the real perplexities and the intractability of the various issues which arise in and between the Member States which make up the international community. We live in difficult times—indeed, in the best of times and in the worst of times. And the season would seem to be out of joint. However, the principles of friendly co-operation, respect for the dignity and worth of the human person, the resort to peaceful means for the settlement of disputes and the abandonment of a régime of confrontation for the fruitful dividends of friendly collaboration must suffice to sustain us as we continue our relentless search to make our world a safe and enjoyable place. And, above all, we have elected as a methodology for the conduct of our business a system of parliamentary multilateral diplomacy.

147. Our task will not be easy; nor does any realistic prognostication indicate any relief in the future. But, Mr. President, in the same manner in which the eighteenth century philosophers of your great continent rediscovered that man was the centre of the universe, dwelling in an age of reason, and that there was an inevitable progress abroad in the society of man, we in the General Assembly must always accept the challenges of our times and realize that to identify a problem is already the beginning of the finding of a solution to that problem; for we live in a society of men, and not a society of gods. And thus a rational approach to the problems on our human agenda will bring us to a safe and secure harbour, in the heavenly city of twentieth century man.

148. We must never shirk our responsibilities in the Organization. Even if, in the political domain, we fail to capture the sweet equanimity of the consensus syndrome, which pervaded the deliberations of the seventh special session, we must persist despite the diversity of views which reflect the conflicting tendencies of the real world itself. Nor must we be daunted or intimidated in the Assembly of representatives of sovereign States by an unfriendly, hostile and vicious press and news media, whose only concern is to highlight the difficulties we encounter and hold us up,

as helpless hostages, to ridicule and contempt from a gullible and ill-informed public. No. Where there is no vision, the people perish.

149. But this valiant Organization survived a bazooka attack from across the East River about 10 years ago. It has survived attacks from all five permanent members of the Security Council, from time to time, either individually or acting in concert. It has survived the fatal immolation of men in its very precincts and environs, protesting against the war in Viet Nam. It has survived attacks on its Secretaries-General. It has survived attacks from various sections of the populations of nearly all of its Member States, including my own. It has survived all these and more. And, yet, I suspect that it will take all of these elements combined—and more—to extinguish this beacon of hope for the peoples around the world that the Organization has become. We have our weaknesses, but we have our strengths too. And, in any case, we will survive because only the strong survive.

150. Mr. President, your leadership in this very difficult and controversial session was a source of comfort and solace. It is good that we had you as President, because you were able to bring to the office of the presidency those rare gifts of conciliation and firmness which are indispensable to a successful Assembly. The group of Latin American States, which I have the honour to represent, bid me to salute you on their behalf and to say to you and the people of your great State, Luxembourg, that it was a distinct honour to have you as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

151. Permit me to conclude by seizing this opportunity to state publicly how very pleased I am personally with the very quiet but efficient manner with which Mr. Bradford Morse, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, has pursued his duties in this Assembly. We are sorry that he will soon be abandoning those responsibilities. But we console ourselves in the knowledge that the new responsibilities assigned to him which are so directly vital to the developing countries, will benefit, in equal measure, from his dedication to service and effective and wise leadership.

152. Mr. President, I conclude by extending to you and my colleagues the Christian message of peace and good fellowship at Christmas. And I cherish the hope that the yuletide season will provide that much desired respite from our arduous labours at the turbulent thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

153. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Austria, Mr. Jankowitsch, to speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

154. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, I have the honour and the great pleasure of thanking you very sincerely and very cordially for the impartiality, the skill and also let me say the flair with which you conducted the work of the Assembly. During the course of the three months of the thirtieth session, which is coming to an end, we have all had occasion to admire your talent and your devotion as the leader of this Assembly.

155. The manner in which you have performed this task, the spirit which you brought to bear in our work, did honour to the United Nations, to your country, Luxembourg, and to yourself.

156. Your election as President of this session of the Assembly was above all a tribute to a European statesman whose exceptional qualities have already won him a reputation beyond his country and indeed, beyond Europe. This reputation, which has been enhanced on many occasions during this period, thus confirms the favourable disposition which the Assembly had towards you.

157. The Assembly has for the first time had in you a President who was at the same time head of Government, a fact which we should particularly like to note.

158. By your presence, you have also confirmed the vocation of universality which has always been characteristic of your country and its great statesmen. I have in mind the important role which the House of Luxembourg has played for centuries in Central Europe.

159. The thirtieth session of the General Assembly, which is now coming to an end, is characterized above all by the fact that it enabled the Organization to draw up a balance-sheet for the first three decades of its existence. To be sure, those first three decades have not been synonymous with peace and we should stray far from the truth were we to call that period 30 years of peace. However, if during those turbulent decades there was an organization whose name was always associated with the quest for peace, it was certainly the United Nations.

160. This new awareness has certainly not diverted our attention from a programme of work that was heavier than ever. We have been able to complete the consideration of 126 agenda items and to hear during the general debate statements from 128 Member countries, the majority of which were represented by their Ministers for Foreign Affairs, and to be present at 15 statements delivered by heads of State or Government—among them the King of Norway and the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme, from our region. During the session which you presided, Sir, six new Members from three continents joined our Organization, thus contributing to bringing us closer to our objective of universality.

161. However, as in the past and perhaps even a little more so, the debates and decisions of this Assembly have produced a response in the outside world and in world public opinion which has often been quite impassioned. It is true that particularly during the past few weeks not everything that has been said about the United Nations has been in praise of it, but these reactions—very lively reactions and sometimes even unjust emotional reactions—certainly are evidence of the vital role, the central role indeed, which the Organization plays in international relations and in world politics, and it shows the extent to which our decisions and our debates are taken seriously in the world. The questions raised at this thirtieth session should certainly provide us with a great deal of food for thought—thought which will be devoted to the various contradictory phenomena which have been so characteristic of this session as well as of the seventh special

session. This has to do with the inability of the Assembly on a certain number of important points to bring together the Members of the Organization in the common quest for peaceful solutions. Our thinking on these matters should also lead to the quest for ways and means of bringing together those who have perhaps strayed too far apart from one another during these months. We could thereby lay the foundations of a new consensus among us. But this thinking should be based upon our firm conviction that there is no forum better qualified than that of the General Assembly to express the ideas of the various parts of the world and to maintain a constructive dialogue between all nations and on all questions. The role and the value of the Assembly will depend closely on its ability not merely to reach the goal of universality in numbers but also to protect the universality of the faith of all the peoples of the world in the value of the Assembly.

162. These brief words of gratitude would be incomplete if I failed to thank also the Secretary-General, the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly and the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and all his staff. Our efforts would certainly not have produced the same results had it not been for the precious assistance and experience of the Under-Secretary-General and the tireless work of the Secretariat. I should like to single out among the Secretariat staff our interpreters, who have done so much to help us understand one another, and the document personnel, who have provided us with all that we needed in the way of documentation. Since this is the last time the Assembly will have been able to benefit from the services of the highly talented and tirelessly dynamic Mr. Bradford Morse, who is now to take up even more important functions, I should like to pay him a tribute and express to him our best wishes for success in his new post.

163. On behalf of the group of Western European and other States, I wish to extend our best wishes for this festive season to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General, to the personnel of the United Nations and to the delegations of the other regional groups.

164. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Philippines, Mr. Reyes, wishes to speak on behalf of the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

165. Mr. REYES (Philippines): I have the honour to speak, very briefly, on this occasion on behalf of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], consisting of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines. In the name of ASEAN, I have much pleasure in extending to you, Mr. President, our sincere felicitations on your success in providing the leadership and guidance required to carry out the exceptionally difficult and demanding tasks of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly which we are concluding today.

166. This has indeed been a significant session in many ways. For instance, as the previous speaker has pointed out, it brought the United Nations a long step closer to the goal of universality with the admission of six new Members whose assumption of their rightful places in the community of sovereign nations gave fresh meaning and substance to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the fifteenth anniversary of which we have

been celebrating this year. This Assembly also lived up to expectations by making substantial contributions to the observance of International Women's Year.

167. On the whole, despite many a difficult moment, the thirtieth session of the General Assembly manifested a welcome trend towards accommodation, conciliation and co-operation, enabling the international community to make substantial progress towards the establishment of a new international economic order. There was an enhanced awareness during this session of the urgent need to make the United Nations system more effective and responsive in meeting the inescapable requirements of the growing economic, social and political interdependence of nations. Although there were no dramatic breakthroughs in the field of disarmament, the patient and persevering efforts of the United Nations to maintain the precarious peace in the most sensitive areas of conflict, such as Cyprus and the Middle East, were successful.

168. In any objective summing up of the work of the General Assembly, it can fairly be said that this has been a rewarding session whose accomplishments are the more noteworthy when considered in the context of a world caught in the throes of revolutionary change.

169. The success of this session is due in large measure to the quality of leadership which you have provided, Mr. President, with the able assistance of your colleagues on the General Committee, the Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the Assembly's main Committees, as well as to the admirable contribution made by our extremely able and dedicated Secretary-General and his hard-working associates in the Secretariat, particularly Mr. Bradford Morse, the energetic and exceptionally competent Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, who will soon take up the important and challenging post of Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme.

170. On behalf of ASEAN, I wish you a safe and pleasant journey from this capital of the world to your native Luxembourg, secure in the knowledge that you have done a notable job as President of the General Assembly at a crucial time in the history of the United Nations.

171. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on Mr. Moynihan, representative of the United States, who will address the General Assembly on behalf of the host country.

172. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): In this, the penultimate address of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, which it falls to the United States to give as host country, I should like to begin with words of gratitude. This gratitude is due first of all to President Thorn, who has presided over this Assembly with the extraordinary prudence and courage that were demanded of him, and to the Secretary-General, with the members of the Secretariat, has performed for us the prodigious and skilful labour that we have come to expect of him. I should like to offer special thanks to Mr. Bradford Morse, whose tenure as Under-Secretary-General has made his country proud of him and the world proud of him, and I am

sure that his successor, Mr. William Buffum, will do likewise.

173. No one will learn with surprise that for the United States, at very least, the thirtieth session of the General Assembly has been a profound, even an alarming disappointment. This splendid Hall has since the opening of the Assembly been repeatedly the scene of acts which we regard as abominations. We have not sought to conceal this view. Nor is it our view alone. Throughout the world individuals and Governments have observed this General Assembly with dismay.

174. Unquestionably, our distress was deepened by the contrast between this regular Assembly session and the special session which preceded it. In the recent history, perhaps in the whole history of the United Nations, there has not been a more striking, even exhilarating example of what the General Assembly can accomplish than the example of the seventh special session. In two weeks of intensive, determined and hard-headed negotiations, we worked out a set of principles and programmes for the economic advance of the poorer nations of the world that will take a decade for us to put into practice. The United States took a lead in this enterprise, from the opening statement of the Secretary of State to the concluding dense and detailed agreement, which incorporated no fewer than 28 of the proposals we had initially set forth.

175. In the general debate of the thirtieth session that followed, one speaker after another rose to extol the achievement of the special session. Praise was unanimous: from every bloc, from nations of every size and condition. The Assembly was honoured this year by the visit of King Olav of Norway, who appropriately made the last such general statement. He said:

“The successful conclusion of the seventh special session of the General Assembly has initiated a universal and co-operative process to effect changes in international economic relations which may have a far-reaching impact on the daily life of millions around our globe.” [2381st meeting, para. 15.]

I said that His Majesty made the last such statement, but in truth my brother and friend, the representative of Barbados, did so just a few minutes ago at this meeting.

176. Both sessions are now concluded and the time is at hand to ask whether anything can be learned from them. For we do not want them forgotten. To the contrary, there are events that occurred in the thirtieth session of the Assembly which the United States will never forget. Even so, we turn our attention just now to the question of whether it will be possible to avoid such events in the future. In that spirit—a spirit of reconciliation and inquiry—we offer two general comments. We offer them in a spirit of reconciliation and of shared concern. We are trying to learn, and we ask if others will not seek to learn with us.

177. The first lesson is the most important, and it is that the General Assembly has been trying to pretend that it is a parliament, which it is not. It is a conference made up of representatives sent by sovereign Governments which have agreed to listen to its recommendations—recommendations which are, however, in no way binding. It is usual to use the term “recom-

mentary” to describe the Assembly’s powers, but for present purposes it seems more useful simply to say that there has been an agreement to take into consideration, to listen to, such proposals as the Assembly may make. For this directs our attention to the reality that unless such recommendations have the effect of persuading, they have no effect at all. Resolutions that condemn, that accuse, that anathematize do not bring us any nearer to agreement. They have the opposite effect.

178. Hence the lesson of the seventh special session. What took place among us on that occasion was a negotiation. It was self-evident—money is said to clear the mind—that no party to the negotiation was going to pay the least subsequent attention to any proposal to which it had not agreed. On the other hand, the authority of the unanimous agreement reached at the end of the session was very considerable. The United Nations on that occasion had served as a setting for reaching consensus—a very different thing from recording division, which is what we so often do.

179. Why is this lesson not self-evident, as it clearly was to those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations? Here we come to the second of the general points the United States would wish to make in this closing statement. It is not an agreeable matter of which we now speak, nor yet one easily explained. Yet we must make the effort to state our views fully if we are to ask others to seek to understand them.

180. The crisis of the United Nations is not to be found in the views of the majority of its Members. Rather, it resides in the essential incompatibility of the system of government which the Charter assumes will rule the majority of its Members, and the system of government to which the majority in fact adheres.

181. The Charter assumes that most of the members of the General Assembly will be reasonably representative Governments, committed at home no less than abroad to the maintenance of representative institutions.

182. It may be asked, “How do we know?” The answer has no greater or lesser authority than that of history and experience. The Charter was conceived by an embattled American President and his British comrade-in-arms. American statesmen helped draft the Charter; American scholars may just possibly claim pre-eminence in their study and interpretation of the Charter. Certainly the bulk of such scholarship has been American. This is not perhaps surprising, for among the nations of the world we are the one most to be identified with constitutional government in the sense of a written charter setting forth the powers and duties of government, a charter that is repeatedly amended and continuously interpreted. We would like to think that our own long and really quite dedicated concern with constitutional representative government has given us at least some sense of these matters.

183. There are others in this chamber whose experience of representative government is just as long, or just as intense, and we feel that such nations may also be expected to speak with knowledge and insight. They have earned the right to do so.

184. Such nations, or, more accurately, the Governments of such nations, being of necessity sensitive to

the nature of their own national institutions, will be similarly sensitive to the claims made by larger, multi-national bodies. Observe, for example, the great care and lengthy debate which has attended the development of multinational bodies among the nations of Western Europe. Genuine power, true authority, has been transferred from national to international bodies, but only with great and deserved caution. The parliaments of European nations slowly satisfied themselves that political and social conditions in that region had indeed evolved to the point where individuals were prepared for certain purposes to submit to the authority of supranational bodies. But they came to this judgement slowly, and on the basis of fact.

185. Those who have submitted to this discipline—and obviously, on the level of individuals, this is not a variety of understanding confined to citizens of parliamentary States; any individual may understand it—will readily enough understand that the General Assembly of the United Nations has not attained to anything like the degree of acceptance and authority among its constituent members that warrants any transfer of genuine power of a parliamentary nature. Now, and for the foreseeable future, it can only be a recommendatory body, a conference which adopts positions to which Governments have agreed to listen.

186. There is a certain evolution in these matters, and clearly the General Assembly has made some tiny movement in a parliamentary direction. But to pretend we are further than we are will serve only to set back what progress has in truth been made.

187. This goes, you see, to the question of legitimacy. What powers does an assembly have? How have they been conferred? How is it periodically reconfirmed that the population—be it of individuals or governments—over which such powers are exercised does indeed consent to that exercise?

188. This process—of definition, of conferral, of confirmation—is the essence of representative institutions. Those who understand it will readily enough understand what can and cannot be accomplished through the instrumentality of the General Assembly.

189. And now to the heart of the matter. Many Governments—most Governments—now represented in the General Assembly seem disposed to use this body as if it had powers, which the General Assembly does not have, to enforce policies of a nature which the General Assembly ought not, at this stage, even to consider. It took our eighteenth-century Congress well into the nineteenth century before it felt that political society in America had advanced to the point where an income tax could be imposed, and even then the act was declared unconstitutional so that Congress was forced to await the twentieth century successfully to impose such a tax in peacetime. Now some see that as progress; others do not. But all will see the evolution of true consent is the first process of effective government. By contrast, before its third decade was out, the General Assembly was proclaiming a new international economic order.

190. There is a reason for this, of which we speak at the risk of offence, but having no desire to offend. The reason is that most of the Governments represented in the General Assembly do not themselves govern by consent. Assemblies for them, and for their

peoples, are places in which decrees are announced. Where it is felt that “majorities” are needed to attest to the decree, well, such majorities are readily enough summoned.

191. We put the simple test. In how many of the 144 Members of the United Nations is there a representative body which both has the power and periodically exercises the power of rejecting a decision of the Government? Only a handful. By one competent count, there are now 28, possibly 29—and one of them is not a Member of the United Nations. But such Governments will by instinct pay the greatest heed to winning consent, including winning consent in the General Assembly. Consent is the very essence of their being. Other Governments will not pay such heed. At home, they rule by decree, and it seems wholly natural to seek to emulate the same practice in the General Assembly.

192. We dare to believe that this reality is better known and understood in this Assembly than might at first appear. If only a handful of the nations represented here have representative Governments today, most of them—truly, most of them—have had such in the life of the United Nations. This is a mournful fact for those of us committed to democratic institutions. At their height, perhaps 15 years ago, there were two or three times as many democratic Governments in the world as there are today. But this very fact suggests that there are still memories in most of the nations of the world as to just what representative institutions were like, and that correspondingly there exists a much more widespread understanding of their nature than might in fact at first appear.

193. Let it be clear that the United States does not entertain any delusions about a grand revival of democracy. We do not expect to see a reversal of its decline in the near term. What we do hope to see, and hope to encourage, is more societies which will do something to protect some civil rights even if they deny most political rights. But we do think it is possible for there to be a greater understanding among Members at large of the nature of a representative institution and the corresponding limits of the General Assembly. We would seek this understanding not to restrict what the United Nations can accomplish but, rather, to accentuate the positive, to concentrate on real possibilities, rather than to squander the opportunity that does exist by the mindless pretence of legislative omnipotence.

194. It may be that this objective could be well served if a “parliamentary caucus” were established within the General Assembly. This would be a group of nations, constituted, let us say, along the lines of the membership criteria of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, which would attend not so much to policy issues as to institutional ones. Its concerns would be to seek to encourage those practices and approaches which enhance the effectiveness of the General Assembly and to discourage—both by example and by pronouncement—those which do not.

195. In conclusion, I would say that surely we might hope to do this in the area of human rights. Let us accept the fact that the ideal of liberal democracy has sustained huge losses in the last decade. It is not likely that more than a few nations which are not democracies today will become such in the course of the

next quarter-century, so that we must expect continued difficulties in the General Assembly of the sort I have described. Very well then: let us concentrate on things we can do. Of these, the most important is to establish some minimal international standards by which Governments treat their subjects.

196. Let us, for example, try to agree that Governments should not torture their subjects. Many do. Perhaps most do. And yet, as our wholly admirable and universally admired President said yesterday, we did make progress on human rights at this session of the Assembly. Specifically we adopted, unanimously, a resolution against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in relation to detention and imprisonment [*resolution 3453 (XXX)*]. Citizens throughout the world may in years to come point to their Governments' concurrence with that resolution as they demand rights or beg for mercy and humanity in their own societies.

197. The United States hoped for more progress than we actually made. This year, for example, we introduced a new practice with respect to the venerable issue of *apartheid*. It has seemed to us that the General Assembly's standard practice of mere denunciation has suffered from diminishing effectiveness. Instead, this year the United States brought into the General Assembly what was in effect a bill of particulars. With respect to violations of the standards of civil liberties which we would hope to see attained in South Africa—and throughout the world—we named prisoners, we specified dates, we cited statutes, we quoted judges, we described sentences, we identified goals. There are indeed political prisoners in South Africa. But we feel that they are no longer unknown political prisoners. We hope other nations may follow our precedent of lawyer-like, documented presentation of such issues.

198. For there are political prisoners all over the world. Here again, this year the United States took an unprecedented initiative in submitting a draft resolution calling for amnesty for all political prisoners. We were not successful. But we said we would be back next year, and we will be. We will be there, and we may be equally sure that the political prisoners will be there also. Confession is good for the soul, and we confess to not having handled this issue well enough. There are more Members in this Assembly that would support an amnesty proposal than the half-dozen that told us they would support ours. And if it should prove the case that it was American sponsorship that held off many, then clearly we will make no claims to sponsorship next time. But our determination in this matter is, if anything, strengthened by the feeling that we achieved so little this time. We are not perfect, and we make no pretence to perfection. What we hope for, what some of us pray for, is simply that we should be concerned and engaged. And on the issue of political prisoners we are just that. We are strengthened by the extraordinary statement of Andrei Sakharov, this year's winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and the recipient two years ago of the award of the International League for the Rights of Man. Speaking of his hope for the final victory of the principles of peace and human rights, he said just a few days ago:

“The best sign that such hopes can come true would be a general political amnesty in all the world,

liberation of all prisoners of conscience everywhere. The struggle for a general political amnesty is the struggle for the future of mankind”.

And so we will be back.

199. Farewell. We wish you peace in the New Year.

200. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I give the floor to Mr. Baroody.

201. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): This is the last draft resolution that will be submitted to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly:

“Whereas regular sessions of the General Assembly are held in the autumn of every year,

“Noting that the autumnal climate in New York City is characterized by both fair and turbulent weather, without due regard to the denizens of the metropolis and those who live in it,

“Taking into account that the working days of this session amounted to 90-odd and reflected multifarious views,

“Inasmuch as the Member States number 144, reflecting variegated national and regional policies,

“Notwithstanding the vehement debates that sometimes made some of the representatives resort to salacious remarks that departed from international decorum,

“Despite all that happened during the thirtieth session of the General Assembly,

“The General Assembly,

“Decides that the President of the thirtieth session merits our applause for having acted very well under the stress and strain created by one of the most tumultuous sessions witnessed throughout three decades and thereby wishes him good health and happiness in whatever he does in the future;

“Expresses its gratitude to the illustrious Secretary-General, a modern Marco Polo of the air, who, if need be, would fly to the moon if requested by future General Assemblies;

“Deeply regrets that the Under-Secretary-General, Bradford Morse, that tower of strength and bastion of the General Assembly, is leaving to assume other duties, and expresses its gratitude to him and to all the members of the Secretariat, without calling them by name or enumerating the departments or sections in which they have laboured;

“Forgives our colleague, the illustrious Professor Moynihan, for any misconceptions he may have formed about the United Nations during his short sojourn among us, and sincerely hopes that next year he will have a better understanding of our Organization, which, with all its defects, may yet save the peace of the world;

“Thanks the host country for having delegated Pearl Bailey, who brightened the General Assembly. She is an honour to her country and to humanity at large;

“Thanks all those who participated in this session, including myself;

“Looks with hope to the thirty-first session.”

202. I hope that this draft resolution will be adopted by consensus. If anyone objects, his vote may be duly recorded. Thank you again, Mr. President. Long live the United Nations, and a Happy New Year to you all.

203. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish first of all to thank the Chairmen of the regional groups for the kind words of praise which they have addressed to me.

204. At the closing of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly and of an eventful year which has severely tested us, I should like to follow tradition by drawing up a kind of balance-sheet or, rather, submitting for your consideration some conclusions which, over and beyond the ending of yet another session, are inspired in me by this brief time I have spent among you and with you.

205. Your sense of responsibility encourages me to speak frankly to you as a statesman who feels moved to give voice to the thoughts prompted in him by his conscience and his perception of his duty.

206. As representatives of our Governments, we all have an obligation to state clearly and without exaggeration what our view of the United Nations is and what directions it should take in order to serve the common interest.

207. We have once again adopted a great many resolutions dealing with the most varied subjects, some 175 of them if I am not mistaken.

208. Since the translation of those resolutions into reality is a slow and almost imperceptible process, it would be futile to attempt at this stage to measure the entire impact of our work on international peace and security, the development of friendly relations between nations and international co-operation, which are the objectives of the Charter. It would in any case be misleading to take a quantitative approach and simply count the number of items dealt with and total up the resolutions, the hours worked and the number of meetings. Impressive though they may be, statistics nevertheless conceal the essential realities, which are far more changeable and many-sided.

209. In the course of this session, everyone has noted with pleasure that the admission of six new Members has increased the universality of the United Nations. And yet a number of applicant countries which have all the attributes of sovereign States and have gained wide recognition on the international scene have been unable to win entry to the United Nations. This is a problem, therefore, that remains with us and deserves our reflection. At the same time, the non-participation in our work by one Member State has scarcely served to hasten a solution of problems which are still urgent and immediate in a forum where nations—all nations—should work harmoniously towards common goals.

210. In the field of human rights, our Assembly has unanimously adopted an important declaration on the protection of individuals against torture and the importance of women's role in society has received further recognition and emphasis. This Assembly has also shown extraordinary fervour in once again demanding respect for elementary rights in areas where they continue to be flouted in an incredibly cynical manner.

211. And yet, can we indeed say that these few decisions truly reflect the spirit and the scope of the Charter, which in its preamble solemnly proclaims the faith of peoples—of all peoples—“in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of man and women”?

212. At a time when too often and in too many places, the dignity of the human person is compromised, when too many people are deprived of freedom because of their political and religious convictions and undergo cruel tortures to which science and technology now coldly contribute, the real battle to promote human rights has just begun. All mankind expects to see this battle waged with even greater intensity. It is essential for the States Members of the Organization to enlist in the fight whole-heartedly and without delay.

213. The Assembly therefore can no longer be content with the ritualistic reaffirmation of principles which do not bring about, within a reasonable period of time and in accordance with a realistic programme of action, some tangible improvement in the condition of each citizen of each of our countries.

214. Despite a further series of interminable debates, the arms race will continue at a frantic pace; on Cyprus, negotiations are again getting under way with great difficulty, as the heart of the dispute remains, for the representatives of the two communities, the question of whether the latter should be divided. It is rather towards the Middle East, however, that my thoughts turn—towards that region which has been of such great concern to us this year. Our discussions on the subject have been among the most embittered we have ever had and have done most to affect the credibility of the Organization in the eyes of the public. And yet, if we disregard certain rhetorical excesses and the fact that new divisive factors have been introduced into this already quite sufficiently complex debate, we cannot fail to see that there has been movement both in the region concerned and in the people's minds.

215. The Sinai disengagement agreement is not peace in the Middle East, but it is a small step in the right direction. The renewal of the mandate of the United Nations force on the Golan Heights is an indication of willingness to give negotiation another chance. Such negotiation will be possible only with the participation of all the parties concerned and only if their legitimate interests are respected. The resolutions of the Security Council outline the framework for the negotiation, and the most recent resolution opens the way to a search for an over-all solution.

216. When so many speakers have emphasized from this rostrum that there can be no question of challenging the existence of any of the States of the region, when almost everyone has recognized the dimensions of the Palestinian phenomenon, in all its implications, would it be vain to cherish the hope that the coming debate may steer clear of the rocks of passion and hatred and turn towards reconciliation, coexistence and peace?

217. If there has been a lack of results in the past on this point, as on so many others, the reason must be sought in the lack of realism of some parties and the obstinacy of others.

218. In 1975, looking at this Organization called upon to unite the nations of the world, one may ask:

What has it become? What can it do? What does it want to do?

219. What has happened, 30 years after its conception, to the dream of the founders which called upon nations

“to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

“to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

“to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

“to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples”?

220. So many changes have taken place in the membership of the United Nations, in the nature and dimensions of the problems it faces, in the world in which it functions—ideological rivalries, decolonization, the development gap and so much more—that no one can doubt any longer the urgent need to reform and readapt our methods of work.

221. I realize that this is difficult to do while our debates are still in progress. We know all too well that behind every procedural point lurks a hidden political thought. But I suggest that between sessions of the General Assembly a group of experts should make a completely objective study of the way in which we organize our discussions, should draw conclusions from that study and should put those conclusions into practice. Is it not dismaying indeed to see that the Assembly, the only one of its kind, the greatest multilateral negotiation ever undertaken on a quasi-permanent basis, has no rules of procedure, or almost none, and has little or no respect for the rules it does have?

222. At the same time, the Assembly's agenda is becoming heavier from year to year, the number of resolutions voted on is increasing, the debates are growing longer. I shall not even mention the ever-multiplying points of order, procedural motions, explanations of vote, statements under the right of reply—which I myself am exercising at this moment.

223. The Assembly consists of representatives of Governments. They are sovereign and equal, and there can be no question of denying anyone the right to express his views. But even though I am a parliamentarian and I have been one for 18 years, I am horrified to see how badly and with what abandon we are falling into the excesses of Assembly situations in which rigid and preconceived positions confront each other, in which rhetoric and declamatory style so often prevail over argument, in which votes, finally, do nothing but establish more firmly the cleavage that existed before the voting and leave no room whatsoever even for an attempt at a positive solution.

224. Should we not, instead, assume that the points of disagreement are already known when we enter this Hall?

225. No one will come to the General Assembly to hear it confirmed, for example, that there is a problem relating to disarmament or to the two Koreas. We have known for much too long that a problem exists.

Should we not, instead, all ask ourselves why we come here—whether to exacerbate our differences by mutual and unqualified accusations which will be ratified by the majority of the moment, or to try to resolve our problems through negotiation, which implies respect for opposing points of view, mutual concessions, sensible balance and restraint in the terms of resolutions put to the vote.

226. Unless we unequivocally choose the second alternative, we shall have little reason to be surprised that so many countries are no longer careful about the extent of the commitments they subscribe to, nor the full scope of the demands they support—that resolutions, in many cases, remain dead letters and fade away, treated with indifference, or forgotten, not only by public opinion but by Governments themselves.

227. There is another development which seems very dangerous to me—and one of the previous speakers, the representative of Barbados, mentioned this—the adoption on the same topic of two resolutions which, while not completely contradictory, nevertheless represent the opposing viewpoints of the two parties concerned. I think that this result may be explained partially by the lack of any immediate interest by the majority and by the embarrassment of delegations at having to displease one or the other of the two protagonists with both of which they are friends. The fact remains that this practice places the Secretariat in a difficult position and may even paralyse its action. Above all, it damages the credibility of the United Nations, the only source of strength of an Organization which has no other than moral strength.

228. The proliferation of texts is for me a source of concern. I ask you: Should we not gain in credibility and hence in efficiency if we put forward our views with a maximum of force and conviction, a minimum of ideas, instead of flooding the world with a deluge of confused and often vain intentions?

229. Once and for all a strong breath of fresh air should be allowed to pass through our agenda so as to rid it of all the dead leaves it contains. As for the living flowers, often surrounded by thorns, which would remain, there are certainly within the Secretariat and within delegations people who, with competence and a little good sense, could make some bouquets of them, some joint designs which would strike the imagination of public opinion and perhaps also that of representatives, and which would express more clearly the why and wherefore of this Organization.

230. A similar operation is necessary regarding the resolutions, the results of our discussions. Why should there be nearly 20 resolutions on disarmament, some half a dozen at least on the question of the Middle East? What has happened to the global approach which alone does justice to the complexity of these problems, which alone will allow their various components to be distinguished? We are mistaken if we think that quantity means richness and seriousness in our work. On the contrary, we are losing the sense of urgency and the importance of priorities.

231. We need a little more discipline in the planning of our work, a little more discipline also in the development of our discussions. It is time for the Assembly to become aware of what it is, from whence it has come, of what it is called upon to become. Composed

of representatives of Governments, admittedly equal and sovereign, but responsible too, it is time for the Assembly to adopt, as a result of its changed composition, rules which reflect its new mission.

232. The Security Council reflects the relative strength of opinions and has a system of weighted voting.

233. In the Assembly, on the other hand, it is the rule of the majority which holds sway. I am not one of those who think that the United Nations has become useless, or indeed harmful, because the old majority has been replaced by a new one. That would be absurd. Both the new and the old majority will be judged exclusively on their performances in the accomplishment of the mission imposed on the General Assembly by the Charter of the United Nations. In this respect, sovereign equality is our highest trump card, irresponsibility the worst of dangers.

234. Our majority in the Assembly is that of the small and medium Powers since they are the most numerous. When shall we seize this wonderful and unique opportunity to make our voices heard? When shall we understand that certain people are itching to say: "After these sterile debates, this empty agitation, this fascination with easy slogans, we certainly cannot allow these small States to play a serious role in the maintenance of peace and security"? How many times have I heard this? I have sometimes been severe in my judgements, harsh even in my expressions. This is because, as a politician—and we are all politicians here—I feel so strongly the immensity of the task awaiting us, the impatient aspirations of those who have given us a mandate to govern them, that I cannot fail to feel a pang when this unique instrument that the United Nations could become is so badly played.

235. If we truly wish to become a centre for the promotion of awareness and, perhaps one day, for political decision-making, we must all exercise some degree of self-restraint in our individual conduct and agree on a rational method of work. We must avoid the repetition of widely known positions and that parallelism between monologues which contributes nothing to the solution of problems. We must avoid duplication between the work of the Committees and that of the plenary Assembly. What is the point of having the same people repeat the same arguments in two or three different bodies?

236. The policies laid down by the Organization should guide the actions of States in solving major problems, whether they involve liberation from the yoke of oppression, unanimous and universal recognition of the dignity of the human person and the free exercise of the fundamental rights of the individual and of peoples, the more equitable distribution of wealth, or the limitation of the frenzied arms race—to mention only a few.

237. If this overflow effect is to be achieved, if the United Nations is to have any real impact, we must all engage resolutely in a process of negotiation. It will undoubtedly be necessary to develop, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, new consultation procedures which are better designed to achieve the objective of our work; negotiating groups consisting of representatives of the different interests involved should be formed more frequently

in order to formulate, within a given period, proposals designed to reconcile the different positions, and in order to seek the basis for compromises which could then be submitted for general approval.

238. I believe that only a more systematic search for a genuine consensus of all interested parties can confer on our Organization that essential moral authority which lends its resolutions that mandatory force which they cannot have in law.

239. The seventh special session demonstrated to us that these are not empty words or illusions. As I had occasion to point out in my inaugural address, that session was a victory for the spirit of conciliation and co-operation.

240. The key to the effectiveness of the Organization and to the contribution which it can and must make to the well-being of mankind lies in the combination of a sound working method and a genuine political will.

241. Before leaving this rostrum which, over the past months, has become familiar and dear to me, I should like to express my sincere appreciation to those who have occupied it with me. I refer first of all to our Secretary-General, my friend Kurt Waldheim, who, as we have all seen once again only recently, continues to show exceptional courage and devotion to the cause of the United Nations. His unconditional support and his wise counsel have greatly facilitated my task.

242. The Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, is preparing to leave the Assembly which he has served so competently and ably for many years. He has led a cohesive and devoted team which deserves our unlimited admiration and deep appreciation. My best wishes go with him in his new mission. The vast experience gained from long, patient and—let us be candid—often difficult and thankless labour will still inspire him to work for the benefit of the United Nations.

243. Warm thanks are due also to all the Vice-Presidents who, at all times and more often than in the past, have made an essential contribution to this office, to the members of the General Committee, all of whom have provided me with excellent and competent co-operation throughout this session.

244. Finally, I should also like to thank all the Secretariat staff—officials, interpreters, translators, verbatim reporters, précis-writers, editors, document officers and countless others—who have, at all levels, through their daily efforts, ensured the smooth running of our work.

245. In leaving you, I should like you to feel that I was saying farewell to each one of you individually. It is a great honour for a politician to preside over the General Assembly. I have done the best I could, in a spirit of impartiality, and I have remained attached to my deepest convictions. I am leaving you with great regret at not having done more for the United Nations.

246. Please bear in mind that the world is expecting the maximum from each one of us, the maximum to bring our nations together and to form a true United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 2**Minute of silent prayer or meditation**

247. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

Closing of the session

248. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish every one of you a happy holiday and thank

you for your efforts. I declare closed the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

¹ The delegation of Nigeria subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

² The delegation of Nigeria subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the amendment.

³ The delegation of Nigeria subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution, as amended.

⁴ The delegation of Nigeria subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft decision.

⁵ The delegation of Costa Rica subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.