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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

In the absence of the President, Mr. El-Farra (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 84

United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6993)

AGENDA ITEM 82

Personnel questions:

(a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General;

(b) Other personnel questions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7001)

AGENDA ITEM 80

Implementation of the recommendations made by the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies: reports of the Secretary-General (concluded)*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7015)

AGENDA ITEM 75

Pattern of conferences:

(a) Report of the Committee on Conferences;

(b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7020)

AGENDA ITEM 73

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1967

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7023)

AGENDA ITEM 74

Budget estimates for the financial year 1968

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7014)

Mr. Lynch (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. LYNCH (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: In its first report, on item 84, the Fifth Committee has recommended a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly [A/6993, para. 6], which would request the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices with a view to reaching a solution to the School's accommodation problems. The draft resolution also provides for a grant to the school by the United Nations for the amount of \$49,000, to meet the operating deficit foreseen for the current academic year.

*Resumed from the 1619th meeting.

2. The second report of the Fifth Committee is on agenda item 82. Two draft resolutions are recommended for adoption by the Assembly [A/7001, para. 46], concerning the composition of the Secretariat. I should also wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the request addressed to the Secretary-General in the Committee's report on this item [*ibid.*, para. 38], and to the recommendation of the Committee that the Assembly take note of the Secretary-General's note [A/6877] on sub-item (b) [*ibid.*, para. 45].

3. The third report of the Fifth Committee is on agenda item 80, under which the Committee has submitted two draft resolutions [A/7015, para. 16] which it recommends for adoption by the General Assembly. The first of these draft resolutions would take note of a report presented by the Secretary-General on progress made towards implementation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's recommendations and invite him to submit a further and fuller report on the subject not later than 30 April 1968. The second would have the Assembly take note of observations made by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions on reports submitted by the Secretary-General on the United Nations budget cycle and on the form of presentation of the Organization's budget.

4. In its fourth report, concerning item 75, the Fifth Committee has recommended [A/7020, para. 4] that the Assembly approve the draft resolution in section VI of the report of the Committee on Conferences [A/6991 and Corr.1]. That draft resolution would have the Assembly take note of the report of the Committee on Conferences and approve the Calendar of Conferences and Meetings of the United Nations for 1968 contained in annex II, parts I and II of that report.

5. The fifth report of the Committee deals with agenda item 73 and contains two draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the General Assembly [A/7023, para. 15]. Draft resolution A concerns revised budget appropriations for 1967, while draft resolution B concerns the revised income estimates for the current financial year.

6. Lastly, in its report under agenda item 74, the Fifth Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly a total of eight draft resolutions [A/7014, para. 122]. Draft resolution I concerns the budget for 1968 and consists of part A, budget appropriations for 1968; part B, income estimates for 1968; and part C, financing of appropriations for 1968. Draft resolution II relates to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for 1968. Draft resolution III concerns the Working Capital Fund for the same financial year. Draft resolution IV relates to the emoluments of the members of the International Court of Justice, and draft resolution V contains amendments to the Pension Scheme Regulations for members of the International Court. Draft resolution VI concerns payment of honoraria to members of the International Narcotics Control Board. Draft resolution VII relates to the Secretary-General's proposals for the reorganization of the top echelon of the Secretariat. Finally, draft resolution VIII concerns a subject which was of very great interest to the Fifth Committee and has emerged in its final form following extensive consultations. In this draft resolution the

Assembly would authorize the Secretary-General to incorporate into present programming and budgetary processes the concept of a "planning estimate" for the regular budget.

7. The Fifth Committee hopes that the General Assembly will give its approval to the draft resolutions and recommendations it has submitted on these six agenda items.

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

8. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Assembly to turn first to the recommendation contained in the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 84 [A/6993, para. 6].

9. Since the draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee, may I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2358 (XXII)].

10. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 84.

11. The Assembly will next take up the recommendations contained in the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 82 [A/7001, para. 46].

12. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

13. Mr. CHUN-MING CHANG (China) (translated from Chinese): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolutions A and B as contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7001, para. 46]. I should like to speak briefly with regard to the question of eliminating the distinction between the official and the working languages referred to in paragraph 43 of the report. During the discussion in the Fifth Committee on eliminating the distinction between the official and the working languages, my delegation stated [1211th meeting] that if the Committee should request the Secretary-General to make a study on the inclusion of Russian as a working language, a similar study should be made concerning the Chinese language. My delegation stated that it had no intention of imposing additional burdens on the organs of the United Nations, but we believed that a study of the question involving two languages would not cost more than a study involving one language. We strongly resented the use of distorted political arguments to place the Chinese and Russian languages on different footings. On 14 December, my delegation submitted an amendment [A/7001, para. 43] to the Soviet proposal [*ibid.*, para. 38], asking the Secretary-General to study the two languages together. Both the Soviet proposal and my delegation's amendment were discussed during the 1227th meeting of the Fifth Committee. That particular meeting was sparsely attended and the proposed text in the Soviet proposal was literally railroaded through after a substantive discussion on an important item concerning planning estimates of the United Nations, which preceded the language question, had suddenly been deferred.

14. The fact that nearly half the members of the Fifth Committee were absent at that meeting showed

that the decision referred to in the Soviet proposal was not an accurate reflection of the views of all the members of the Committee on that question. Under the circumstances that obtained at that meeting, my delegation was constrained to withdraw its amendment. We stated then and there that we reserved the right to raise the matter again in the General Assembly or with other organs of the United Nations on any appropriate occasion. My delegation would like to reiterate its position and have it placed on record.

15. Mr. MIDDELBURG (Netherlands) (translated from French): When the Fifth Committee voted on draft resolution B on the use of working languages [A/7001, para. 46], the delegation of the Netherlands voted against the draft resolution.

16. This negative attitude was not in any sense due to the fact that our delegation was opposed to the idea on which the draft resolution in question was based. It was not the principle of the more intensive use of two working languages which gave rise to doubts in the Netherlands delegation, but rather the manner in which the proposal was introduced. For this reason my delegation proposed in the Fifth Committee certain amendments [*ibid.*, para. 34], calling for further preparation by the Secretariat of a system to encourage a more balanced use of the working languages. This active participation in the discussions shows how interested we are in the subject.

17. However, the great majority of the members of the Committee were in favour of taking a decision immediately on the principle involved, instead of deferring a decision until later, as the Netherlands delegation would have wished.

18. This being so, my delegation—which has no doubt as to the need for improving the existing system—will vote for draft resolution B.

19. Mr. NSANZE (Burundi) (translated from French): I should like to explain briefly the principles governing the position which the delegation of Burundi is going to adopt. In particular, I should like to refer to item 82 on the General Assembly's agenda, which relates to the question of the languages and personnel of the United Nations.

20. In the context of an international organization such as the United Nations, my delegation is determined, in so far as it is able, to help to establish a balance in our Organization. My Government recognizes therefore that it must associate itself with the advocates of the parity principle, as the principle governing the use of the official working languages. This practice will facilitate the work of the French-speaking delegations, whose title and rights have in the past been eclipsed, so that the lion's share of the work has been conducted in English. We are not in any sense against the use of one language and for the use of another, but we are seeking rather to establish the legal and practical parity of the languages which I have just mentioned.

21. I would now like to turn to the question of personnel. In view of its importance, I should like briefly to explain the significance of this question and to indicate the considerations by which we shall be guided in determining our position.

22. The delegation of the Republic of Burundi has always attempted, in accordance with our Government's basic political option, to comply with its overriding wish that we should constitute a link—and never widen the gap—between ideological or political blocs.

23. Accordingly, our position on the subject—namely, personnel questions—is based on objectivity, impartiality and strict compliance with the principle of the legal equality of Members of the Organization.

24. The major problem of today, it has been said—particularly by countries of the Third World—is the problem of training and allocating scientists and technicians of all kinds, which is even more important than the problem of resources and territories. The leader of one under-developed country has quite rightly stated that: "The monopoly of scientific knowledge has become the modern form of imperialism". The only people who are really under-developed are those whose mental capacities have not yet been developed.

25. In view of the shortage of trained personnel in Africa, the professional limitations of nationals of African countries are understandable. One of the consequences of foreign domination is, without a shadow of doubt, the obvious legacy of a scarcity of human resources. This shortage of highly skilled personnel in many fields obliges us to resort habitually to the services of borrowed minds, and imported ideologies. This Assembly now understands why our Governments are opposed to the exodus of national brains to international organizations.

26. For the same reasons, States with limited resources are concerned mainly with placing the very best of their officials at the controls in the various fields of national life. As a result, though they do not underestimate the importance of international organizations, the personnel they make available for these organizations will not always be of the very highest standard.

27. In view of the urgent and imperative need for our young States to make good the qualitative and quantitative shortcomings which we have inherited from colonization, the African Governments have to refrain from sending their most brilliant minds abroad since, without them, they would run the risk of committing permanent suicide from the point of view of obtaining professional personnel.

28. These measures of national self-preservation must not be used to confirm, or even less to justify, the outrageous theory that Africans suffer from congenital ineptitude. However, in view of the inadequate number of Africans in the Secretariat, and their total absence from the decision-making posts, are we not justified in wondering whether the personnel recruitment services do not contain certain persons who support the theory that nationals of countries of the young continent suffer from an innate inability to discharge their professional tasks with the necessary skill and efficiency?

29. How otherwise are we to explain the undeniable policy practised in the Secretariat—perhaps without the Secretary-General's knowledge and independently

of him—whereby certain posts are for some strange reason reserved for certain regions and others are completely closed to candidates from other regions?

30. The increasingly important role of the young nations on the international stage calls for an antidote to the present structural imbalance in the United Nations Secretariat; and, for the same reasons that will determine our position when the matter is put to the vote, we must say that at the present stage in the history of mankind it is undeniable that the emergence of new States is one feature—or, I should say, one of the essential aspects—of the universalization of the diplomatic system and of this Organization's role therein.

31. The countries of the Third World have, in the world community, been obliged to endure inequalities of military and economic power; but their frustration is accentuated and aggravated when they are obliged to recognize, as an infeasible right, the preferential treatment accorded to a handful of States Members to the detriment of others.

32. We note with regret the shortcomings in the system of proportional representation, whereby Member States are entitled to a number of posts in the Secretariat in proportion to their contribution to the Organization's budget. The major shortcoming of this procedure is that it promotes the dictatorship of the brazen law under which power attracts power. In the absence of an ideal formula, whereby candidates would be recruited in the light of criteria based solely on their capabilities, moral integrity and professional skill—and on their compliance with the standards of non-political conduct demanded of international civil servants regardless of their countries of origin—my delegation feels obliged to call for legal equality, at the very least, in making appointments to the various posts in the Secretariat.

33. In conclusion, I would say that in our view the presence of newly created nations in the international political arena at the present time demonstrates conclusively that relations between States Members of the United Nations have now extended far beyond the original framework of the founder Members, and have acquired a truly universal character.

34. If the international Organization abandons all favouritism and prejudice, in whatever mantle they may be draped, it will be able to meet the pressing needs of the hour in the fields of technology, training and economic expansion.

35. The Government of Burundi takes the view that none of the United Nations plans at any level will achieve the desired results, unless their implementation is preceded by the necessary reform measures at all functional levels of the executive and administrative pyramid of the Secretariat.

36. Finally, we believe that the very diversity of the problems to be solved, which differ from region to region, call for the establishment of representative heterogeneity, both qualitative and quantitative, in order to put an end to the structural imbalance which at present acts as a powerful brake on revolution, a revolution which is absolutely essential in an Organization which is trying to become genuinely universal.

37. The young nations must be given the right to occupy an adequate number of posts in the various levels of the Secretariat which, as the master mind in the action to be taken and as the intelligentsia of the United Nations, suggests the policies to be followed—and which, as the instrument of the solutions adopted, leaves its imprint on the whole course of the Organization's work and is therefore the pole of the decisions taken by various organs of the world community.

38. These are the reasons—and we consider them important reasons—which will determine our position in regard to the attitude to be taken to draft resolution A [A/7001, para. 46].

39. I apologize for the length of my statement, which has been due to the great importance of the subject under discussion.

40. Mr. O'CONOR (United States of America): Draft resolution B [A/7001, para. 46] concerns a matter of substantial importance to the operation of the entire United Nations system. The United States supports the principle that the United Nations should take additional steps towards achieving greater capacity for communication in its official languages and has always agreed on the desirability of attaining a reasonable linguistic balance in the Secretariat.

41. We have expressed our approval of the Secretary-General's recommendation that the language instruction programme within the Secretariat be expanded [A/6860 and Corr.1 para. 69 (f)], and we have suggested that in making appointments to the staff every consideration be given to those qualified candidates who, although lacking complete fluency in a second working language, are prepared to acquire the necessary competence within a probationary period. To be practical, we must take note of the fact that United Nations staffing needs are now primarily for economists, engineers, and persons having advanced technical training in some specialized field. It is only realistic to recognize that knowledge of foreign languages in these professional groups around the world is bound to be more limited than among those whose preparation is primarily for diplomatic careers. We consider that a language-learning programme directly related to clearly demonstrated need is not only the most justifiable one for Secretariat staff members but also the one most likely to produce broader linguistic balance over the long run.

42. We are not opposed in principle to the idea of a language-learning incentive plan for staff in the professional category subject to geographic distribution. But we do think that all possible alternatives to achieve the goal in view should be thoroughly examined and that the Secretary-General should be given the opportunity to make a thorough investigation of this matter and report to us at our next session.

43. In summary, the United States does not oppose and has not opposed, measures to improve linguistic balance in the United Nations, nor have we opposed the acquisition of greater fluency in the French language by larger numbers of the Secretariat staff members; but the United States has opposed the hastily drawn and unevaluated scheme of language

bonuses presented to the General Assembly in draft resolution B.

44. The reasons the United States has for opposing the present draft resolution are of an administrative and management nature and are concerned with the means by which linguistic balance may be achieved rather than with whether it should be achieved. Our problems with draft resolution B are as follows.

45. First, no adequate study had been given to the proposal, which, as it stood, was opposed by United Nations officials. No consideration had been given to the impact which the institution of a bonus would have on the United Nations common system, and no consultation had been held with the United Nations specialized agencies, the 8,000 employees of which—in addition to the United Nations 2,000—would potentially be affected.

46. Second, the proposed bonus plan, if extended to the specialized agencies, might well total \$2 million to \$3 million a year in costs, and under the common system it is evident that such an innovation would have to be adopted by them as well.

47. Third, the bonus scheme would reward mainly those who already have competence in two working languages, rather than serve as an incentive to additional staff members to acquire fluency in a second language. In fact, for 1968 alone, nearly \$600,000 of the estimated \$900,000 cost for the United Nations Secretariat would have gone for this purpose; and the expenditures could be expected to continue and to increase in future years.

48. Fourth, in their haste to get some plan adopted concerning languages, the co-sponsors who guided the draft resolution in the Fifth Committee refused to consider alternative methods that might have achieved better results at a lower cost.

49. For these reasons alone, the United States was obliged to oppose a draft resolution which it considered to be financially and administratively unwise. Additionally, the United States does not accept the wording of operative paragraph 3 (a), the effect of which is to dictate to the Secretary-General how he shall staff the personnel-recruitment services of the United Nations. This infringes on the Secretary-General's prerogative under Article 97 of the Charter. Our vote, consequently, will be to abstain on the draft resolution as a whole; but, were operative paragraph 3 to be put to the vote separately, we should be compelled to vote no on that paragraph.

50. But there is still one hope. At the last minute of consideration of this draft resolution in the Fifth Committee, as a result of intensive activities by a number of delegations including that of Iran, a phrase was added to the operative paragraph which postponed putting the bonus system into effect until 1969. This will permit more time for study and for the Secretary-General to present ideas which will work at a cost bearable for both the United Nations and its families of agencies. It is important that this time be well utilized.

51. May I add that this change is what makes it possible for the United States to abstain on the draft resolution; otherwise we would have felt obliged to vote against it.

52. Mr. SANDOUNGOUT (Gabon) (translated from French): Since the vote in the Committee on draft resolution B [A/7001, para. 46] was taken on the day which my Government had designated as a day of national mourning for the late lamented President of our Republic, my delegation was unable to attend that meeting. Gabon's seat was consequently vacant.

53. My delegation is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on which the General Assembly will presently vote. We felt obliged to sponsor this draft more to defend the cause of logic than for any other reason.

54. Whatever may be said, and whatever arguments may be advanced, the fact remains that, linguistically speaking, there is a clear imbalance among the various languages used in our Organization, and particularly between French and English. There is not the slightest doubt—as everyone knows—that ever since the birth of the United Nations English has been, as it were, more "at home" in our institutions than French, and that despite the impressive number of French-speaking Members of the Organization, the French language does not enjoy in it the same standing as English.

55. This is an irrefutable fact which logic, if it could take human form, would not only straightforwardly acknowledge but would subject to scrutiny in order to find the desired equilibrium between the two linguistic communities concerned.

56. But it is not only on the level of theory or principle that we observe this linguistic imbalance, this imbalance in the relationship of forces, or the relative use, of these two languages. It is also in professional use, both in our Organization and in the specialized agencies, by people belonging to these two linguistic communities that we regretfully note the neglect of the French language of which the French-speaking countries so rightly complain.

57. The objection will no doubt be raised that this regrettable imbalance has existed since the founding of our Organization, and that French speakers have no cause to take offence at it.

58. To this we reply that, since this question of imbalance has been raised and brought to the attention of the General Assembly, it is now more necessary than ever so to arrange matters that the desired balance is established between the two languages concerned and, in consequence, between intellectuals of the countries in which they are spoken.

59. In my delegation's humble opinion, the balance demanded by the French-speaking group in this Organization is worth the effort. That is why my delegation, which is, of course, a sponsor of the draft resolution, supports it unreservedly and appeals to the other delegations to understand its purpose and see that it is adopted.

60. The PRESIDENT: Before putting to the vote draft resolutions A and B [A/7001, para. 46], I would ask representatives to turn their attention first to paragraph 38 of the report of the Fifth Committee, and then to paragraphs 44 and 45.

61. Paragraph 38 concerns the proposal that the Secretary-General should study the questions

connected with the inclusion of the Russian language among the working languages of the United Nations organs with the exception, at the present stage, of the Secretariat and the International Court of Justice, and should report to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session.

62. May I consider that the Assembly takes note of paragraph 38 of the report?

It was so decided.

63. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to paragraph 45, which concerns sub-item (b). The Fifth Committee recommends that the Assembly should take note of the Secretary-General's note [A/6877] on this sub-item.

64. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves this recommendation of the Fifth Committee.

It was so decided.

65. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 116 votes to none, with 1 abstention [resolution 2359 A (XXII)].

66. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Barbados, Botswana, Burma, Denmark, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Singapore, Sweden, Thailand, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 88 votes to none, with 30 abstentions [resolution 2359 B (XXII)].

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

68. Mr. FRANZI (Italy) (translated from French): The Italian delegation voted for draft resolutions A

and B, deeming it essential that the Secretary-General should intensify his efforts to achieve a better geographical distribution among Secretariat staff at all levels and a better linguistic balance within the Secretariat.

69. Although it has every confidence in the steps which the Secretary-General will take in this connexion, my delegation would like, while awaiting the results of his efforts and the measures he will propose to renew the reservations which it expressed in the Fifth Committee and which are clearly stated in the Committee's report and the summary records of its meetings.

70. With regard to a better geographical distribution of the Secretariat staff and a better linguistic balance within the Secretariat, my delegation feels that, in the light of the findings which emerged during the Fifth Committee's debate, the existing criteria in respect of staff recruitment must be improved.

71. While it subscribes to the considerations regarding linguistic imbalance set forth in resolution B, my delegation does not believe that a bonus system is the most effective way to encourage a better knowledge and a better use of all the working languages.

72. Mr. KELSO (Australia): The Australian delegation abstained from voting on draft resolution B which has just been adopted. This represents a change from our negative vote in the Committee. In arriving at this decision my delegation has taken full account of the improvement made to paragraph 3 (b). Notwithstanding this, however, we continue to have objections to paragraph 3, and if a separate vote had been taken on this paragraph we should have voted against it.

73. We feel that paragraph 3 (a), by inviting the Secretary-General to carry out a specific direction in the appointment of staff, departs significantly from the intention of Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter and interferes with his prerogatives in this field.

74. Paragraph 3 (b), although much improved from the draft originally introduced in the Committee, still calls for the early introduction of a language bonus system. Besides involving substantial expenditure, my delegation does not believe that the introduction of a language bonus system will serve the purpose for which it was intended, namely, to be an incentive for professional staff to improve their knowledge of one or another of the working languages.

75. In conclusion, I should like to make it clear that the Australian delegation is in full sympathy with the aims of any resolution which has as its objective the improvement of the use of the working languages within the Organization, because the whole of its work depends upon effective communication. We wish to stress that our objections to operative paragraph 3 are specific objections to specific points, and not to the principle of equality in the working languages.

76. Miss CILIA (Malta): My delegation abstained on draft resolution B because, as we have already stated in the Fifth Committee [1214th meeting], we are still not convinced that the introduction of a language bonus system is the best way to solve the problem of wider linguistic proficiency in the Secretariat. We are aware of the addition which was included at the end of

sub-paragraph (b) of operative paragraph 3, and we welcome that amendment. We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General on the practical measures and other incentives he considers feasible. Our position was clearly stated in the Fifth Committee, and we do not feel that it is necessary to spend more time on it here.

77. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 82.

78. The Assembly will consider next the recommendations contained in the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 80 [A/7015, para. 16].

79. Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously by the Fifth Committee. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously [resolution 2360 A (XXII)].

80. The PRESIDENT: If there is no objection, may I take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution B?

Draft resolution B was adopted without objection [resolution 2360 B (XXII)].

81. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 80.

Mr. Manescu (Romania) took the Chair.

82. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now examine the recommendations contained in the Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 75 [A/7020]. In paragraph 4 of that report, the Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution contained in part VI of the report of the Committee on Conferences [A/6991 and Corr.1].

83. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves the Fifth Committee's recommendation and adopts the draft resolution of the Committee on Conferences.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2361 (XXII)].

84. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have concluded consideration of agenda item 75.

85. I invite the Assembly to consider the recommendations contained in the Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 73 [A/7023, para. 15].

86. I now call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to explain his vote.

87. Mr KULEBIAKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): At the meetings of the Fifth Committee the Soviet delegation explained in detail the Soviet Union's position on the question of supplementary estimates for the financial year 1967. We should therefore now like to make a brief statement in explanation of our vote.

88. The Soviet delegation wishes to state that a number of expenditures were included unlawfully in the United Nations budget for 1967, in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Such expenditures were the appropriations for interest and amortization in respect of United Nations loans issued to cover United Nations operations in the Congo and

the appropriations for financing a number of United Nations special missions and field services established in violation of the Charter and not even warranted by practical necessity, including the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Commission for the so-called memorial cemetery in Korea and other such items.

89. The Soviet delegation considers that it is high time for us to revise and delete from the regular budget those items for expenditure on operations carried out in violation of the Charter or which are not necessary. The Soviet Union has not paid that part of the contributions used to cover expenditure under these heads in the 1967 budget and will not make contributions towards such expenditure in the future.

90. The Soviet delegation also finds it necessary to state that it does not agree with the inclusion in the United Nations regular budget of expenditure for financing technical assistance, since such a system of financing technical assistance leads to unnecessary dissipation of resources, duplication and excessive administrative expense. In order to ensure the correct use of specialists and resources coming from the socialist countries, the Soviet Union pays its contributions under sections 13, 14 and 15 of the United Nations budget in Soviet roubles through the Foreign Trade Bank of the USSR.

91. For these reasons the Soviet delegation opposes approval of sections 3, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 and cannot support the revised budget for 1967 as a whole. This is why we abstained in the vote on that matter.

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to vote on the two draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee [A/7023, para. 15].

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

Draft resolution A was adopted by 100 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions [resolution 2362 A (XXII)].

94. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In view of the fact that draft resolution B was adopted unanimously in the Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

Draft resolution B was adopted unanimously [resolution 2362 B (XXII)].

95. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has concluded its consideration of agenda item 73.

96. We shall now examine the recommendations contained in the Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 74 [A/7014, para. 122].

97. I shall first call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

98. Mr. ANWARZAI (Afghanistan): I should like to explain the vote of my delegation on draft resolution VIII [A/7014, para. 122].

99. That draft resolution was jointly submitted to the Fifth Committee for consideration by France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Its sponsorship has various aspects of significance which are known to all of us. I should like to point out only

one of them here, and that is our full awareness, on the one hand, of the contribution which the sponsors of the resolution make to the budget of the United Nations and, on the other hand, of the small contributions which countries like Afghanistan make. For that fact there are reasons which apply not only to my country but to all developing countries, which make up the majority of the membership of this Organization.

100. We were well aware of the financial situation of the United Nations and the justifiable concern of the Secretary-General in that respect, and we were eager to support any practical measures which would help the Secretary-General. Nevertheless we abstained on this draft resolution in the Fifth Committee, and my delegation must maintain the same position in this plenary meeting.

101. In order to explain that position, I should like to put on record the following points. The steady rise in the budget of the Organization is a matter of great concern to us as a developing country. This is a trend the future of which cannot be clearly foreseen, in the prevailing circumstances, therefore the principle of pre-commitment on behalf of a developing country is of special importance and consideration for us. The reports on this matter are not as comprehensive and detailed as they should have been to enable us to see clearly what the consequences of our pre-commitments would amount to. Moreover, financial pre-commitments should be studied and considered thoroughly by Governments to enable them to avoid contradicting their own financial systems. As a matter of fact, different procedures in different countries make it extremely difficult for many Governments to make such pre-commitments.

102. We did not vote against the draft resolution because, after careful study of the matter, we may be able to go along with its main ideas. We therefore thought it would be much better if Governments were given time to study the matter, to enable them to find out if there were possibilities which might allow them to make such pre-commitments.

103. We do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly with a detailed discussion but, obviously, the idea of provisional estimates was not acceptable to the sponsors, who would not withdraw their insistence that this estimate should be preliminary in order to enable the General Assembly to act thereon. That deprives countries like mine from expressing their views when the approximate estimates are introduced. Here also one can be technical and consider a General Assembly's taking action which would be binding on the succeeding General Assembly. We do not wish that point to be stressed at this stage.

104. However, even concerning the approval required by the General Assembly, the sponsors did not accept the idea of such approval being provisional. Whatever reason there may be in the minds of the original sponsors for not accepting a provisional approximate estimate, one thing is certain: our doubts that this matter is not in the interests of the developing countries have not been dispelled.

105. In spite of the assurances given by the co-sponsors, we are still unable to agree with the

provisions contained in the fifth paragraph of the preamble, and in particular with the phrase "and to the necessity of reconciling work programmes with resources".

106. On the basis of those considerations my delegation is compelled to abstain on this resolution.

107. Mr. KULEBIAKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation explained in detail its position on the United Nations budget estimates for 1968 during the general discussion [1563rd meeting] and during the discussion of individual items in the Fifth Committee. I shall therefore confine myself to a brief statement in explanation of our vote.

108. As at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet delegation is once again obliged to note with feelings of deep concern that the United Nations budget continues to grow just as rapidly as in past years. The total expenditure of more than \$140.4 million for the year 1968 is eloquent proof of this.

109. Such uncontrolled and not always justifiable growth in expenditure is obviously due to the lack of long-term planning of the United Nations budget on modern scientific principles.

110. It must be noted that, as in the past, a substantial part of this expenditure goes to the maintenance of the United Nations Secretariat, which in our view is excessively large.

111. Despite repeated appeals by the Soviet delegation and a number of other delegations for the necessary measures to simplify the cumbersome structure of the Secretariat, by eliminating superfluous and overlapping functions particularly in the Economic and Social departments, redistributing the staff rationally among the various departments and divisions, and thereby reducing expenditure on the Secretariat, very little has yet been done in this regard.

112. We should like to hope that the Committee of Experts set up by the Secretary-General to investigate, study and intelligently reorganize the United Nations Secretariat will succeed in its task and that its work will lead to the correction of a certain lopsidedness in the United Nations budget.

113. Since this, however, has not yet happened and since the appropriations under section 3 and a number of other sections are unjustifiably high, the Soviet delegation was compelled to vote against the approval of expenditures under section 3 and abstained in the voting on a number of other sections when this matter was discussed in the Fifth Committee.

114. Yesterday, as we know, the Fifth Committee adopted a resolution on the United Nations regular budget [A/7014, para. 122, draft resolution VIII]. The Soviet delegation would like to express the hope that this marks an important step, the beginning of fixed-term planning of the budgetary resources placed at the disposal of the United Nations Secretary-General and will ensure the most rational utilization of the existing resources throughout the United Nations system.

115. The Soviet delegation regrets to find that, despite categorical objections, the 1968 budget estimates have again included illegal appropriations for financing operations carried out in violation of the United Nations Charter or items which are unnecessary. Such items are the interest and amortization payments in respect of United Nations loans issued to cover the cost of United Nations operations in the Congo, expenditure connected with the financing of the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea and expenditure on the so-called memorial cemetery in Korea.

116. The Soviet delegation once again confirms the position of principle which the Soviet Union takes on this matter naturally calls for the deletion from the regular budget of the heading covering operations in violation of the United Nations Charter and has therefore been compelled to vote against the approval of expenditures under sections 12 and 16.

117. This means that in 1968 the Soviet Union will contribute to the cost of covering these items of expenditure, namely, expenses of the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the memorial cemetery in Korea and the interest and amortization payments in respect of United Nations loans.

118. The Soviet delegation continues to regard as incorrect the system whereby technical assistance is financed from the United Nations regular budget, which is by nature an administrative budget and was not intended to finance technical assistance. The Soviet Union is ready to go on providing technical assistance to the developing countries on the widest possible scale by sending Soviet experts to those countries, supplying materials and equipment to them and providing a specialist training in Soviet educational institutions.

119. In this connexion, our delegation once again confirms that the Soviet Union will pay its share of the contributions towards expenditure under sections 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the 1968 budget in Soviet roubles, as in the years 1963 to 1967. For these reasons the Soviet delegation opposes the approval of appropriations under sections 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the budget estimates.

120. We welcome the fact that the United Nations Secretariat has already shown understanding of our position and has started operating a series of technical assistance projects using the Soviet rouble contributions to finance them. We cannot avoid making a few comments on the draft resolutions contained in document A/7014, para. 122.

121. We shall vote against the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses of the Organization for 1968, enabling the United Nations Secretariat to spend up to \$10 million on international peace-keeping and security measures.

122. The Soviet delegation will abstain from voting on the draft resolution on keeping the Working Capital Fund for 1968 at the \$40 million level. We consider that the increase of working capital from \$25 million to \$40 million is unjustified and not dictated by genuine needs of the Organization.

123. In view of these considerations the Soviet delegation will abstain from voting on the draft resolution approving the United Nations budget for 1968 and the Working Capital Fund and will vote against the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses.

124. Mr. WALDRON-RAMSEY (United Republic of Tanzania): The delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania questions the basic motivation of France, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union with respect to draft resolution VIII [A/7014, para. 122], which comes to us from the Fifth Committee and which those Powers have co-sponsored.

125. Any attempt to place a limitation or ceiling or planning estimate upon the programmes of the organs of the United Nations must be regarded with some degree of suspicion. This suspicion tends to increase when the authors of such a concept are the great Powers acting in concert.

126. We find in the draft resolution that the great Powers are prepared to act in concert to frustrate the reasonable aspirations of the vast regions of the developing countries in their legitimate attempts to push back the frontiers of impoverishment and endemic underdevelopment by the utilization of the machinery of international collaboration. We must note that the great Powers are not in concert in trying to preserve international peace and security. The great Powers are not in concert in finding a just and fair solution to the vexed questions of Rhodesia, South West Africa, apartheid and Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The great Powers are not in concert in establishing the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development or the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the specialized agencies to assist the developing countries. The great Powers are not in concert in the creation of the Capital Development Fund. The great Powers are not in concert in implementing the recommendations of the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

127. In the Fifth Committee [1228th meeting] my delegation submitted a series of amendments, to the four-Power draft [A/C.5/L.940] which sought to safeguard the right of the programme formulating bodies to initiate economic, social and human rights activities as justifiable needs arose. In our view, there should be no disposition which would place any undue restrictions on the authority of the Secretary-General to meet unforeseen commitments in furtherance of the political responsibilities of the United Nations. Our amendments sought to place a primary importance upon the preoccupation that the organs of the United Nations must have an untrammelled freedom to propose such programmes for the advancement of the lesser developing countries as those organs consider appropriate. That is why we insisted that such a concept form the first operative paragraph of the draft resolution. It is our firm understanding that there is nothing contained within the four corners of the draft resolution that can be interpreted as taking away this power and competence from those bodies.

128. We were equally concerned to see that the Committee for Programming and Co-ordination of

the Economic and Social Council should play its proper role in the evaluation of the programmes once formulated, having regard to the budgetary dispositions necessary for their effective execution.

129. Lastly, we were equally concerned to see that any planning estimate could only be provisional by definition, that each Assembly was sovereign and master of its own affairs and that the Assembly should recognize that the nature of unforeseen and extraordinary expenses in contemporary international affairs was likely to be manifestly different from what it had been in earlier decades.

130. It is against this background, a background of the considerations and preoccupations which I have just recited, that my delegation will interpret the draft resolution now and whenever it is raised in the future for interpretation. If we vote for this draft resolution now, it is only because we feel that we have substantially succeeded in our contentions, and that any doubts that linger will be decided as they arise in the General Assembly or any of its subsidiary organs, or, for that matter, in the Economic and Social Council or any of its subsidiary organs.

131. That is how the developing countries of the world, the Group of Seventy-Seven, understand the intent and purpose of this draft resolution. The solidarity of the seventy-seven developing countries in this matter now and in the future emboldens my delegation to assert that we have nothing to fear from any hidden or overt intimidation by the great Powers acting in concert in this particular regard. Nor does anything in our previous experience in the creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development or the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, for instance, suffice to indicate that we should "fear to run where the brave dare not go".

132. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before putting the draft resolutions to the vote I would ask members to refer to paragraph 90 of the Fifth Committee's report [A/7014]. The Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly approve the suggestion of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions regarding the net base salary of the Secretary-General and the appropriate post adjustment.

133. May I take it that the General Assembly approves this recommendation?

It was so decided.

134. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee [*ibid.*, para. 122].

135. Draft resolution I consists of three parts: A, B and C. I shall put them to the vote in turn.

Part A was adopted by 102 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions.

Part B was adopted by 116 votes to none.

Part C was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 14 abstentions.

Draft resolution I, as a whole, was adopted by 103 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions [resolution 2363 (XXII)].

136. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 104 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions [resolution 2364 (XXII)].

137. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 14 abstentions [resolution 2365 (XXII)].

138. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put to the vote draft resolution IV.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 114 votes to none [resolution 2366 (XXII)].

139. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put to the vote draft resolution V.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 115 votes to none [resolution 2367 (XXII)].

140. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution VI.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 114 votes to none [resolution 2368 (XXII)].

141. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution VII.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 117 votes to none [resolution 2369 (XXII)].

142. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution VIII.

Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 114 votes to none, with 1 abstention [resolution 2370 (XXII)].

143. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has now concluded its consideration of agenda item 74.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

144. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before we pass on to the next agenda item for this meeting, I should like to make a statement concerning agenda item 23.

145. I have been informed by the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that Uruguay has decided to withdraw from the Special Committee.

146. In view of this decision of Uruguay, I have decided to appoint Honduras in its place. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides to appoint Honduras as a member of the Special Committee.

It was so decided.

147. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): I am sure that at this time, when the representatives

are tired, it is not appropriate to make long speeches, and I will do my best to be very brief.

148. As Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-Four, I cannot allow this occasion to pass without saying a few words of appreciation to the Ambassador of Uruguay for his country's participation in the work of the Special Committee. Uruguay has been a member of the Special Committee since its inception, and all this time the position and the participation of Uruguay has been very effective. It must, however, be noted that while the stand of Uruguay has been steadfast, the high degree of its presentation definitely depended on its representative. It is at this juncture that I should like to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Berro of Uruguay.

149. Last year, although Uruguay was a member of the Security Council, Ambassador Berro still found time to attend to the work of the Committee and to participate effectively in its work. Ambassador Berro's analyses of the colonial problems were both scholarly and effective. Even those who sometimes may not have agreed with him nevertheless had a great admiration for his extensive and sincere analyses of colonial problems.

150. I am sure I will be speaking on behalf of all the members of the Special Committee when I express our deep appreciation for the participation of Uruguay in the work of the Committee. May I personally say how much I enjoyed working with Ambassador Berro in the Special Committee.

151. May I also take this opportunity to welcome the appointment of Honduras to the Special Committee. I have no doubt whatsoever that Honduras will also reflect in the Special Committee the strong anti-colonial spirit which is characteristic of Latin America. We look forward to fruitful co-operation with the delegation of Honduras.

152. Mr. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): It may seem a merely routine procedure for one country to retire from a United Nations body and another to take its place. However, as Chairman of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, Ambassador Malecela, has just pointed out, that is not so on this occasion.

153. The effective and consistent contribution made by the delegation of Uruguay, and in particular by Ambassador Pedro Pablo Berro, is inscribed not only in the records of the Special Committee but also in our minds. That contribution has been based on the humanist culture and the humanitarian and highly principled approach which are characteristic of Mr. Berro and consonant with the position which his country has always taken both in and outside the United Nations.

154. On this occasion I should like to pay tribute to him on behalf of my own delegation and that of Chile, and I feel sure that to do so is to interpret—as Ambassador Malecela has just said—the feelings of all the members of the Special Committee.

155. I also wish to join Ambassador Malecela, on this occasion, in expressing our confidence that the delegation of Honduras will take part with determination and zeal in the work which still remains to

be done by the Special Committee in the decolonization of many other Non-Self-Governing Territories.

156. Mr. BERRO (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): The General Assembly has reached agreement on the question of the peaceful uses of outer space. In a reference to astronauts, Ambassador Goldberg said today that they might be regarded as envoys of mankind, not merely as representatives of particular countries. Unfortunately these envoys extraordinary of mankind cannot yet deliver, on behalf of Earth, a message of optimism and hope saying that all the problems on our planet have been solved and that everyone there lives in peace, governed by legal principles which make for political independence, economic security and social justice. We are still far from such a happy state of affairs.

157. This is the reason why the United Nations must maintain, among other bodies, a Committee on Decolonization, as a subsidiary organ of this Assembly, to deal with those problems which still exist and affect the people who inhabit this earth.

158. Uruguay has participated closely in this noble and exceedingly important task. Ever since the Special Committee was established, Uruguay has been a member and has taken an ever-growing share of responsibility for work in this most important field of international activity; we felt it only fair that another Latin-American country should be allowed to take our place. For many years now we have worked in a field which was extremely difficult, complex, thankless and often misunderstood, a tangle of interests the lawful and unlawful, ambitions, vanities and the whole gamut of goodwill and ill-will which characterize mankind. We have endeavoured at all times to raise our conduct above this intricate web created by the struggle between the moribund system of colonialism and the irrepressible freedom movement which has sprung up in so many parts of the world.

159. We make no claim to have been infallible in our acts; to do so would be vain and foolish. What we do feel is that we have acted loyally and objectively, observing principles, yielding nothing to special interests, coercion or expediency. Uruguay's conduct throughout has been based on legal principles and humanitarian ideals.

160. We believe that decolonization is the most important manifestation of this century. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) has laid down criteria of the greatest wisdom for dealing with the various cases for decolonization which still exist. Every Territory which throws off the colonial yoke symbolizes a victory for freedom and law, the only conquest justified by the international law of today.

161. I wish every success to my illustrious Latin-American colleague the representative of Honduras, who has been appointed to the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.

162. Speaking with all sincerity, I am profoundly grateful to the Chairman of our Committee, Ambassador Malecela, for his extremely kind words to me, for which I am at a loss to express adequate thanks. I am also unable to find words to say how deeply touched I am by the remarks of my Latin-American

colleague Ambassador Pérez Guerrero, whose words of praise are more than I deserve.

163. Mrs. BROMLEY (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): In the absence of our Ambassador, who was unable to be present this evening, I should like on behalf of my delegation to thank the Chairman and members of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four for the honour which has been bestowed on my country by its appointment to membership of this Committee. I also wish to express our thanks to the delegations which have offered us their congratulations; and it only remains for me to assure the Assembly that the Committee will receive our most enthusiastic co-operation.

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has thus concluded its examination of agenda item 23.

AGENDA ITEM 10

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization

165. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to consider agenda item 10.

166. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I take the floor in order to say a few words about the report of the Secretary-General [A/6701 and Corr.1] in what may be considered as a departure from the routine procedure, which has always been simply to note the report of the Secretary-General without any observations. We believe that the report this year is particularly worthy of notice, especially at the end of the session, in relating the world situation to the progress that has been achieved by the General Assembly.

167. The report of the Secretary-General this year is of unusual significance. In unmistakable terms it sounds the bell of alarm—alarm for the rapid deterioration of situations in various parts of the world and the evident regression to the concept of force. I consider it appropriate to quote some pertinent observations in the introduction to the Secretary-General's report which have not appeared—and this is the significant part—in any of his previous reports:

"When unbridled use of force is accepted [and I emphasize "accepted"] and intimidation and threats go unchallenged, the hopes of a world order such as the one outlined in the Charter become dim and hollow.... When violence is highlighted and even glamourized by mass media, thus instilling in society, and particularly in the young, an appetite for solving problems by force, the turbulences of today are dangerously fanned and the seeds of larger and deeper troubles at national and international levels are sown for the future." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 151.]

168. The Secretary-General continues:

"Violence erodes the spirit of law, order and international morality. Violence and the spirit of violence, if unchecked, will soon wither the tender growth of world order which has been fostered since the Second World War. In that event, the world would inevitably return to the sort of international chaos

which produced two world wars within thirty years." (*Ibid.*, para. 152.)

And this, in our time, in this nuclear age, is, as the Secretary-General said, relevant to nothing less than the question of human survival.

169. In this situation it is necessary to see what should be done and how we should react, because what the Secretary-General emphasizes here is not the evidence of the use of force, but its acceptance by the international community as a natural thing and the absence of healthy reaction, which are an ominous portent for the future of humanity. If the necessary reaction to the evidence of force existed, that would be no grave indication, but we believe that we must emphasize the importance of turning to the legal aspect of problems. It must be made clear—and this is mentioned in the report—that the International Court of Justice should be strengthened.

170. The International Court of Justice, it is true—as the report mentions—has caused disappointment in the outcome of the question of South West Africa, and the disappointment was justified. Nevertheless, this difficulty must be resolved and the International Court of Justice must be utilized as the indispensable legal arm of the United Nations because it can facilitate the pacific settlement of disputes involving legal matters.

171. In this sense I wish to relate this to the present session and to point out that in the legal field three important achievements have been made. First, the Law of Treaties was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly [resolution 2287 (XXII)]. Second, the interrupted threads of a definition of aggression have been taken up [resolution 2330 (XXII)], and this is another important aspect in the development of international law. Third, we have reached a decision that by next year there must be completion of the work on the codification of the principles of the Charter [resolution 2285 (XXII)] and the development of contemporary international law. These are some of the hopeful signs that the present session has provided, and they are closely related to the report of the Secretary-General.

172. Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his dedicated work in the cause of peace and for his imaginative leadership of the United Nations.

173. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): If there is no objection, I suggest that the General Assembly take note of the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/6701 and Corr.1 and Add.1].

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 94

The situation in the Middle East

174. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As you know, the last item on our agenda, item 94, has not been discussed at this session of the General Assembly.

175. Since the Assembly has not examined this item, it will remain on the agenda.

176. We have now completed the agenda for this meeting. I shall now call on those representatives who have expressed the wish to make a statement.

Adjournment of the twenty-second session of
the General Assembly

177. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): I do not know whether the head of a delegation may be so bold as to congratulate the President of the Assembly on the way in which he has discharged his duties, but he may certainly offer his thanks, and that is what I intend to do in a few words, on behalf of my delegation and my Government.

178. This twenty-second session of the General Assembly faced a number of difficulties. It followed a special session which, we must admit, ended in apathy and disillusionment. We were all concerned with serious contemporary problems, especially the Middle East question and the continuation of the cruel war in Viet-Nam. Wisely, you made no attempt to have them discussed by the General Assembly, believing that they should be dealt with elsewhere; but your active co-operation with the Presidents of the Security Council and the judicious advice which you gave to my colleagues on the Council and myself contributed greatly to the unanimous adoption of the resolution of 22 November [242 (1967)] which, we hope, will be a milestone on the road towards the restoration of peace and a lasting settlement in the Middle East.

179. As our Secretary-General so rightly said, you have so skilfully conducted our deliberations, that you succeeded in preventing any procedural questions from arising in the Assembly.

180. You have directed our work with authority, determination and breadth of vision. Aside from a handful of questions which are still pending, you have brought our work to its conclusion on the date scheduled. For this we are grateful to you.

181. It is always pleasant for a Frenchman to hear his own language spoken from the Chair of the President of the Assembly. We have also admired, however, your exceptional intellectual qualities, your experience and your kindness, and for all these we thank you most sincerely.

182. To us, these remarkable qualities are by no means surprising in a national—and still more, in one of the most prominent figures—of Romania. France has the most friendly political and cultural relations with your country, conscious as we are of the richness of your past and of the role which Romania plays today and will certainly play in the future.

183. As Minister for Foreign Affairs of a socialist country, you have certainly made an effective contribution to an international détente, a cause to which we too are dedicated, and consequently to peace and co-operation among peoples—the objectives of our Organization and the hope of all mankind.

184. Mr FARAH (Somalia): It is my pleasure and privilege, as Chairman of the African group, to convey to you, Mr. President, our sincere appreciation for the able and efficient manner in which you have conducted the affairs of the twenty-second session of

the General Assembly. In the difficult task of guiding us all through the business of a weighty agenda, you have shown those qualities of wisdom, patience and partiality which are the prerequisites of the holder of the office of President of this Assembly. The African group is grateful—as indeed I am sure all the other groups are grateful—for the co-operation and understanding we have received from you at all times. This certainly facilitated our work in presenting various issues and in allowing the maximum exchange of views and ideas. In securing you as President, we gained the leadership of one whose statesmanship has been applied with distinction to the affairs of his country and to those of Europe. It has been our good fortune to have those same qualities of statesmanship applied to the affairs of the international community.

185. I take this opportunity, on behalf of the African group, to thank the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to carry out the wishes of the General Assembly. I also wish to thank his able assistants, the Under-Secretaries, the staff of Conference Services and, lastly, but by no means least, those dedicated workers behind the scenes whose gracious assistance contributed to the achievements of the session.

186. The session which is now ending has been attended not by dramatic crises, as had sometimes been the case, but by a steady progress towards many of the goals of the United Nations. While it is true that the war in Viet-Nam and the unsatisfactory situation in the Middle East have cast their shadows over our deliberations and it has not unfortunately been within our power to work towards the solution of those problems, it must still be recorded that this session, under your wise direction, Sir, has made many important contributions to the welfare of humanity. The situation in southern Africa was of particular concern to the African group, and it has afforded us much satisfaction to see a positive step made towards the implementation of last year's resolutions [2145 (XXI) and 2146 (XXI)] in which the United Nations assumed responsibility for the Territory of South West Africa. In asking the Security Council to take effective steps to establish control over the Territory [resolution 2325 (XXII)], the United Nations has shown its willingness not only to shoulder but to discharge that responsibility.

187. In our preoccupation with what seems to be the more immediate and pressing dangers to international peace, we must never underestimate the importance of our efforts to bring justice and freedom from a most soul-destroying form of oppression to the millions who suffer from apartheid; nor must we forget that, as guardians of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights, we have a grave moral obligation in this matter. We would have welcomed more positive progress towards the general questions of the elimination of the policy of apartheid, but at least this Assembly has reaffirmed its condemnation of that evil and dangerous system.

188. The accession of a new State to membership in the United Nations is particularly welcomed when it signifies the liberation of a people from colonial rule. We were happy to welcome at this session the

new State of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. As my delegation pointed out in an earlier statement before this Assembly [1630th meeting], the evolution of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen should be an occasion for all those Member States which are still putting obstacles in the path of the freedom of colonial peoples to reflect and to realize that the principles of the United Nations Charter and the actions based on them are still the best and the only rules for a better and more harmonious world.

189. We are glad to note that the United Nations has adopted a number of important resolutions on the question of colonialism. We trust that they will result in the acceleration of independence for colonial territories, in an atmosphere of peace, harmony and tranquillity.

190. This session has seen two momentous accomplishments in the creation of a peaceful framework for man's activity in space and under the seas. I refer to the approval by the General Assembly of the space Agreement on the rescue and return of astronauts [resolution 2345 (XXII)] and the resolution [2340 (XXII)] on the reservation of the sea-bed and ocean floor for peaceful purposes. These achievements hold out the promise that the great Powers which have signified their willingness to co-operate closely for the purpose of minimizing the causes of friction arising from space and oceanic exploration will find it increasingly possible to co-operate in the solution of the even more pressing problems of terra firma.

191. At the beginning of this session of the General Assembly, my delegation reaffirmed the faith of the people of Somalia in the United Nations Organization; and this faith is shared by all African people who are represented in this Assembly. Under your wise guidance, the twenty-second session of the United Nations has added its contribution to that steady process of the application of the principles of the Charter to international affairs, which, it is our hope, will ensure the preservation of our civilization.

192. Twenty-two years ago, just a few months before the signing of our historic Charter, that great statesman and leading architect of our Organization, the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, wrote the following words with which I shall conclude my address: "We are faced with the pre-eminent fact that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world at peace."

193. The African group sincerely hopes that the new year will see some real signs of peace, more co-operation, and more understanding in the present troubled world. To you, Mr. President, and to all Members of the General Assembly and of the Secretariat, we the African group extend our best wishes for your personal happiness and well-being.

194. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): It is a pleasure and an honour for me, Mr. President, to have the privilege of addressing you at the closing meeting of the first part of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. May I, on behalf of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak

Socialist Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as on behalf of my own country, extend to you warm and sincere comradely felicitations on the able and efficient manner in which you have guided the complex affairs of this session.

195. After three months of tense discussions, on a heavy agenda, we are going to take a little rest and we hope to accomplish the unfinished business when we return by adopting a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, thus making another significant and effective step towards disarmament.

196. The year 1967 has been an extremely difficult time in international relations, loaded with tensions. The fact that the General Assembly has been meeting for the third time within a year merely demonstrates that this world Organization does not fail to respond to the dangers facing mankind.

197. The entire horizon of international politics is overshadowed by the bloody conflict in South East Asia, as a result of an ambitious plan of the United States to extend its power over all continents. In the Middle East the aggression committed by Israel has stirred up the already existing internal contradictions, harbouring the danger of a new and more devastating explosion. In Africa the energetic forces of the newly independent nations are facing the stubborn opposition of the Portuguese colonialists and the South African and Southern Rhodesian racist fanatics.

198. The task of our Organization to solve the contradictions and to lead the community of nations on the road of progress is arduous indeed. You, Mr. President, have led us forward amidst the perils of our age, facilitating rapprochement between the different parties, Members of our Organization. We are proud that, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, that responsibility has been entrusted to a diplomat from a socialist country, the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, that is a tribute expressed by Members of the United Nations to the historic achievements and successes of the great Soviet people, the Soviet Government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal peoples who are building socialism. The strength and prestige of the socialist countries have contributed to the solution of many problems: to the progress achieved up to now in the field of disarmament, to the elimination of the colonial system and to the establishment of constructive co-operation among the nations of the world.

199. Our Assembly, confronted with crucial issues of peace and progress on the one hand and war and the prospect of a nuclear holocaust on the other, has been looking, in the search for new avenues and solutions, to the distant realm of outer space, and has reached agreement on the rescue of astronauts and considered the potentialities hidden in the deep seas, in a quest for new knowledge, prosperity and security. In our immediate environment on earth, however, the debates seemed to be more complicated and the solutions further away.

200. We should make more strenuous efforts still to reach an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and thereby reduce the dangers of a world conflagration. An important decision has been made by the Assembly in that direction by adopting a resolution on the preparation of a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons. We hope that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament will take up all those problems and concentrate on the immediate limitation and banning of weapons of mass destruction.

201. A clear definition of aggression also would promote the implementation of the main provision of the Charter—that is, the exclusion of war from the means of settling international disputes.

202. The Assembly has made great efforts to accommodate the needs of the developing nations with the means at the disposal of the United Nations and its agencies. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that for every thousand dollars spent on armaments in the world today only one dollar is spent for economic and social development through this world Organization. Nevertheless the limited programmes undertaken are encouraging and are contributing to the progress of international co-operation.

203. The General Assembly has proclaimed the rights of women and has declared 1968 the International Year for Human Rights. We are witnessing now the final decline of the colonial system. Only a few days ago [1630th meeting], we welcomed the one hundred and twenty-third Member to our Organization, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, which will most certainly play an important role in our midst.

204. We shall not relent in our efforts to have all nations duly represented in our Organization, by achieving the independence of territories still under colonial domination, such as Mozambique, Angola and others, by recognizing the rights of the People's Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations, and by admitting to membership the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, and other States. Through common efforts in our struggle for a better future we can find common interests on which international co-operation should be based. Our confidence lies in the vitality of this Organization and thus in the peaceful future of mankind.

205. Our conviction is strengthened, Mr. President, by your exemplary devotion to the cause of the United Nations and to the cause of peace and international understanding. You have filled this high office with dignity, seriousness, perspicacity and the utmost patience even in the most onerous, sometimes physically exhausting, moments. We sincerely hope that you will continue to strive to seek and explore all avenues of rapprochement during the second part of the Assembly's session, and beyond it.

206. With your kind permission, Mr. President, on behalf of the fellow socialist delegations, I wish to express our appreciation to our highly esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, for his candour and the firmness of his devotion, perseverance and dedication to the cause of peace, international understanding and co-operation.

207. We are equally grateful to the Under-Secretaries and all visible and invisible members of the Secretariat who have helped us in our every-day work.

208. In conclusion, I wish to express, on behalf of the socialist delegations, our best wishes for a peaceful and happy New Year to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General and to the whole staff of the Secretariat.

209. Mr. KJARTANSSON (Iceland): Speaking on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, I have the honour and the pleasure to thank you, Mr. President, for the impartial, courteous and friendly manner in which you have presided over and guided our deliberations during this twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

210. At the outset of our deliberations, many delegations hailed your election to the Presidency as a promising sign of a positive trend in today's international situation, namely, the relaxation of tension between East and West. My delegation and, I am certain, those others in whose name I speak, feel indeed that your Presidency has been a positive factor in this promising trend. You come from a nation that through a long history and through its geographical position has received cultural impulses from East and West. It has drawn on the traditions of Mediterranean and Western cultures as well as on those of Eastern Europe. A nation thus situated learns to set a high value on peace and on co-operation. This special position of your country and your people, Mr. President, has found expression in the mild-mannered and courteous way in which you have guided our work. Your relentless and patient efforts to solve differences and to arrive at compromises acceptable to all have proven you to be a man of peace and of co-operation—two ideals for which this Organization stands. We have come to respect and admire your calm courage and diplomatic intuition in making decisions regarding the proper timing for taking important questions on the Assembly's agenda for discussion.

211. The accomplishments of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly may, to some, seem modest. But the pace of progress is slow and measured. And over the work of this General Assembly has hung the shadow of serious conflicts and tensions, some of which the United Nations has helped to check and reduce.

212. In the field of disarmament, the Assembly has made important decisions through the adoption of a series of resolutions. The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee has been requested to resume at its earliest possible date consideration of the question of general and complete disarmament. A decision has been made to publicize widely the Secretary-General's important report on the effect of the possible use of nuclear weapons. A resolution has been adopted, urging States which possess nuclear weapons to suspend all tests with nuclear arms. Finally, the necessary preparations have been made in anticipation of the completion by the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee of its work on a draft treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

213. Important progress has been made in the field of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, through the elaboration of a draft agreement on the rescue and return of astronauts.

214. Furthermore, the General Assembly has during this session initiated work in a very important and entirely new field of human endeavour: the peaceful exploitation of the resources of the ocean bed.

215. At the same time, I think you will agree with me, Mr. President, that while grappling with the grave problems of keeping and safeguarding peace and continuing its sustained efforts towards disarmament, the General Assembly has made encouraging steps forward in promoting economic and social progress. The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the preparations for the International Year of Human Rights, as well as for the next Development Decade, starting with an International Year of Education, are but a few concrete examples of our measured pace forward, through common effort and determination.

216. Another positive aspect of the work of this Assembly under your Presidency, Sir, has been the almost total absence of procedural debates or wrangles, which on other occasions has caused unnecessary delay in the work of our Organization. This is in no small measure thanks to the Presidency. The calm and patient manner in which you have discharged your duties, Mr. President, reflect an inner serenity, optimism and faith in our Organization which must inspire us all in our work.

217. We wish to use this opportunity to extend also the warmest thanks and appreciation to our Secretary-General, U Thant, whose dedication and deep concern for peace is a sustaining force for all those who work for this Organization and have faith in its ultimate success.

218. Our special thanks go also to Under-Secretary Narasimhan for his indispensable services to the General Assembly, and likewise to the entire staff of the Secretariat for their dedication, energy and excellent support.

219. A new year is approaching, a year which all mankind has been asked to make a year of peace. Our work in this Organization is dedicated to peace. Let us redouble our efforts in the coming year in the field of peace-keeping and in the work of peace-building.

220. In closing, Mr. President, we extend our sincere wishes to you and your family, and to the people of your country, for the coming holidays, for a happy New Year and a prosperous future.

221. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): Now that we have, with one or two exceptions, completed the tasks of the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly, it is a great pleasure and privilege for me to express to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations of Pakistan and Turkey as well as of Iran, our respect and admiration.

222. As President, you have deserved the highest praise. You have demonstrated exceptional gifts. Your equanimity, which marks you as belonging to a highly civilized people, the inheritors of an old tradition in

which the cultures of the East and the West were fused, makes us see you as a philosopher shaped as much by the ancient Greek and Roman schools as by the school of Omar Khayyam. Your impartiality, your ability to control your personal feelings and your tact in saying the right word at the right time, as well as, of course, your well-known personal charm, have all served to earn you the respect and confidence of the Members of this Assembly. Those who, like myself, are privileged to count themselves among your friends also add affection to their respect.

223. You have taken great pains in organizing and conducting our work. It is thanks to you that during this session which, although apparently peaceful, has in fact been a difficult one, a number of decisions have been taken which are of major importance, although they may not appear so at first sight. We salute you as one who holds one of the highest offices in the international community, as a shrewd and astute diplomat, but also, as far as I personally am concerned, as the representative of a country which has close ties of friendship and economic co-operation with my own.

224. In conclusion, I should also like to express, on behalf of the three delegations, our gratitude to the Secretary-General and to all the members of his staff who have assisted us with such zeal and untiring devotion in the accomplishment of our task.

225. Mr. CHAMMAS (Lebanon): Mr. President, as Chairman of the Asian group of countries, it is a distinct privilege and a great honour for me to be the one to extend to you, on its behalf, our congratulations and to express to you our deep appreciation for the exemplary way in which you have performed your functions and discharged your duties.

226. You, Sir, are the first President to have been elected to this high office from the group of Socialist countries. You established during your tenure such high standards that we hope future Presidents will emulate them. Your election was a landmark in effective and positive international co-operation. Your performance and restraint, and the compassion, the understanding and the integrity which you have demonstrated in the exercise of your authority, confirm our belief that your election to the Presidency was a healthy and a happy development in the history of this Assembly. You are a credit to your group and to your own country.

227. The great heritage of your great people could have found no better envoy to echo and reflect in these hallowed halls its high hopes, its accomplishments and its splendour; its belief in the worth and dignity of the human person and international co-operation among nations and world peace based on justice.

228. To you, Mr. President, we renew our confidence. We pay a tribute to your leadership which was most needed at this time of crisis and peril. The achievements of the twenty-second session were made possible because of your qualities of leadership. To that leadership we shall look in the future when we hope we shall treat the pending business on our agenda, if the need arises.

229. With respect to our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, we Asians take pride that he comes from our great continent. I cannot find proper words to express to him our gratitude. We assure him of our continued support and undivided trust in the great tasks that lie ahead for him and the challenges that he has to meet, and has been meeting, day in and day out.

230. Our special thanks go to the distinguished Under-Secretary, Mr. Narasimhan. To the staff of the Secretariat, to those whom we see and those whom we do not see, we express our thanks for their co-operation and for work well done.

231. May I conclude, Mr. President, by wishing you and your family continued happiness and success in all your endeavours.

232. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I had the privilege and the honour to be the first to wish you success at the beginning of the current session. I mentioned on that occasion, as one reason for our fellow-feeling, our common bond which stems from the inexhaustible source of Latin culture.

233. Speaking today on behalf of the Latin-American group, I wish to reaffirm that this cultural bond gives us cause for the greatest satisfaction. I may say—with a certain family pride, as it were—that we regard your triumphs as ours also. We have not forgotten that Dacia was of old brought within the ambit of Latin culture through the efforts of a great Spaniard, the Emperor Trajan. As a result, we have been able on many occasions to exchange ideas and views in our own Romance tongue without the need of interpreters. In speaking of your triumphs as a matter of family pride for Latin Americans, I would say that we feel this pride because of the great and noble qualities which we see in you. Among these we would mention your warm and deep personality, composed of kindness, equanimity and understanding.

234. It is this quality of human warmth, allied to your clarity of judgement and unswerving rectitude, which has enabled you to guide our work with exceptional mastery and firm belief in the destiny of the United Nations. Even the over-critical and ill-disposed would be unable to find any trace of partiality or unfairness in your conduct of this Assembly.

235. You have succeeded in demonstrating the possibility not only of mere coexistence, which is static, but also of peaceful co-operation as the basis of that universality which expresses the dynamic aspect of our Organization. Your calmness, kindness, warmth, keen intelligence and deep understanding have banished fear and dispelled prejudice; it is symbolic that the work in this first stage has concluded with an important affirmation of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, and in the exploration and peaceful use of the ocean floor.

236. We do not think that this is a suitable time to sum up our work. That has been skilfully done already by those who have spoken before me. Besides, we have not reached the end of the road, but only a stopping-place. We are saying not farewell, but simply au revoir. May our next meeting be held in the same atmosphere of co-operation and goodwill

which you have brought to our work here! I ask you to accept the thanks and good wishes of your loyal Latin-American friends, who wish you and your country good fortune and prosperity.

237. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): It is my good fortune to have been asked by the delegations of fourteen Arab countries to speak on their behalf. I come here to pay tribute to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Southern Yemen, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen and my own delegation, the delegation of Sudan. I come here to express the deep appreciation which we have felt for the way you have conducted the deliberations of this twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

238. Since the day of your unanimous election to the Presidency, we have been witnessing the triumph of a principle, a very important principle for the United Nations; namely, that the Presidency of the General Assembly should not be restricted in any way and that the Presidency, in its universality, should symbolize the universality of the United Nations. Mr. President, you were chosen by the socialist countries as their representative and by this Assembly as their first socialist President. You have been, if I may say so, worthy of this trust. You have been worthy in every way.

239. Now, on this last day, at the close of our work, when many of us are looking forward to uniting with families and friends all over the world, now that many of us are or will soon be planning our future work, we should not fail to pay tribute to you, Mr. President. During the three months of this session, your quiet statesmanship and wisdom have not failed us. The spirit of good will and accommodation which has distinguished this session has been part of your spirit of goodwill. It has been noticed before that this session has been particularly free of procedural wrangles. It has devoted its labours to the cause of peace.

240. The achievements of this session, ranging all the way from outer space to the ocean floor, have also been mentioned, and I shall not recount them. We all know that it has not been smooth sailing all along. But it was comforting, in the stormy seas we have traversed, to have known always that it was your sure hand at the helm. And by your side, we have known, there has been our Secretary-General, U Thant, to whom we pay our sincere tribute. He has been there to show the way, to point out the hidden dangers, and often to charter the course. We are grateful to him and to the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Narasimhan. We are grateful to all the Under-Secretaries and to all of those members of the Secretariat who have contributed to the success of our endeavour.

241. We are now at the harbour, for a while at least, for this is not yet our journey's end. We owe you a great debt of gratitude, Mr. President, and yet we hope you will soon be with us again. And until we meet again, may we wish you and all our colleagues a happy New Year. And to those of us who will soon be celebrating the Bayram at the end of Ramadan: "Eid Mubarak".

242. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): Events are too close upon us for it to be appropriate for me, at this hour, to attempt any thorough assessment of the achievements of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. If this session has been a laborious one, it can be truly said that our burden was very much lightened by the Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, whom we elected three months ago to serve as President of this session of the General Assembly.

243. Mr. President, I wish to associate the delegation of Israel with all the tributes and signs of respect which have been paid to your person and your country this evening. In the course of this long and difficult session, over which you have presided with such grace and good humour, wisdom and firmness, dynamism and tact, we have learned to appreciate the distinguished qualities which you have brought to bear in the discharge of your high office.

244. It is many years since one of your compatriots served as President of the Assembly of the universal international organization of his epoch. I think I would not be misinterpreted if I were to say that the traditions of Romania, situated as it is between some of the major forces which have shaped the modern world, and itself heir to one of the great civilizations of the ancient world, have again been given their full and independent expression in the leadership you have displayed in this session of the General Assembly.

245. It is a source of gratification to the delegation of Israel that the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania has made your valuable services available in the cause of international understanding, détente, co-operation and peace to foster, with sincerity and vigour, the aims proclaimed in the Charter of our Organization.

246. I should also like to take this opportunity to add my delegation's voice to those who have expressed sentiments of appreciation to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and to the members of the Secretariat for their work on behalf of our Organization.

247. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): It is my honour to speak as the representative of the host country to the United Nations. The United States regards it as a privilege to have been the host to so many distinguished representatives in the General Assembly from all parts of the world. We wish all our fellow representatives from abroad a safe journey home.

248. Mr. President, in your address [1560th meeting] on assuming the office of President last September, you remarked on the great diversity of historical development and, as you put it, the "physiognomy and personality" among the nations of the world which are represented in this unique Assembly. You then observed that "far from being a source of tension and strife among States, that diversity represents, in the light of the aims and methods of the Charter, a valid point of departure for their reconciliation" [*ibid.*, para. 60].

249. My country agrees with that view; the spirit of the United Nations is indeed one which accepts and

respects diversity among nations and holds that that diversity should present no obstacle to peaceful reconciliation.

250. It is this very diversity in political theory, in culture, in language and in custom which makes the United Nations a necessity, as well as a challenge. It is this diversity which makes our tasks here absorbing and our agreements exciting accomplishments. Some of these agreements we have achieved at this session. Our disagreements are self-evident and stand as stark reminders of the distance we still must go to make a reality of the lofty ideals of the Charter.

251. Mr. President, I wish to thank you, as all other speakers have done, for your impartial, courteous, able and fair administration of your high office. You have made an indispensable contribution to our work together and have added lustre to your distinguished name and that of your country.

252. I wish also to express our warm appreciation to the Secretary-General for his wise counsel and unfailing support throughout this session, to his able lieutenant, Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, and through him, to all the members of the Secretariat whose faithful performance of duty is so essential to our work and which contributed so much to our comfort during these last months.

253. To you Mr. President, to Madame Manescu, and to your charming daughter who accompanied you here, to your fellow officers and the able officers of the several Committees, and to all our fellow representatives and to the entire Secretariat, let me bring on behalf of the people of the United States our cordial good wishes for the year to come.

254. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Now that we have reached the end of three months' work, I feel it is my duty to give the General Assembly an account of the results achieved during the twenty-second session.

255. As we all know, our agenda contained a number of complex questions concerning world peace and security and the economic and social progress of mankind. By dint of a sustained effort, the Assembly was able to consider the various items on its agenda and in some cases to find solutions which go to the root of the trouble.

256. I myself feel that one of the main factors which enabled us to achieve these results was the atmosphere of hard work and co-operation which prevailed at this session. Meeting in groups, both formal and informal, delegation endeavoured to work out the most appropriate solutions, thereby enabling the General Assembly to devote itself to the substance of problems and to reach many decisions by consensus. The large number of resolutions adopted in this way shows how necessary it is for States to combine their efforts in order to promote their joint interests. It also attests to the soundness of the method of seeking solutions through consultation, the value of which has been particularly apparent during the present session.

257. The way in which our work proceeded showed once again that discussions which are conducted with patience and perseverance in a constructive and

*Provisional English version taken from interpretation.

responsible manner are the best way of dealing with the problems of world peace and security and encouraging the establishment of friendly relations and understanding among States.

258. The use of methods approved by the Charter was graphically illustrated during this session by the Security Council's unanimous adoption of the resolution on the Middle East situation. This is a decision which should help us to break the deadlock on one of the major issues of international life.

259. The General Assembly devoted to the problems of disarmament the attention we expect of it, because the need to intensify our efforts to dispel the spectre of the nuclear threat is always in our thoughts. In that spirit, the Assembly decided to continue its consideration of the question of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and of the adoption of an appropriate international convention, and it welcomed with satisfaction the conclusion of the Treaty making Latin America a denuclearized zone. The resolution on the continuation of negotiations on general disarmament, as also the resolutions concerning the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests, the dismantling of foreign military bases in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the convening of the Conference of Non-Nuclear States, are all, in our view, expressions of the General Assembly's desire to help to find solutions which will meet the interests of all States and strengthen world peace and security.

260. Reflecting the concern of the international community regarding the prevention and repression of breaches of the peace, the Assembly stressed the need to accelerate the drafting of a definition of aggression.

261. During this session we also adopted a number of important resolutions designed to encourage industrial, technical and scientific co-operation among States, the launching of the World Food Programme, the preparation of an International Education Year during the coming United Nations Development Decade, and other resolutions whose practical implementation will require close and constantly growing correlation of national efforts and of economic co-operation on the world scale.

262. The General Assembly has given careful consideration to the problems relating to international trade and the proposals contained in the Algiers Charter. The debates which took place on this subject brought out the need to place economic relations between States on an equitable basis, making them profitable to all concerned, and particularly to the developing countries, and also the need to establish suitable conditions so that the negotiations which will take place at the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held in New Delhi may be crowned with success.

263. In the course of this session a number of important decisions were taken on extending the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to several areas of peaceful international co-operation, such as outer space and nuclear energy. New fields of activity were opened up, such as, for example, reserving the sea-bed and the ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes.

264. The adoption of measures aimed at eliminating the last vestiges of the colonial system and ensuring the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has also been in the forefront of the General Assembly's attention.

265. A new State—the Peoples' Republic of Southern Yemen—which has recently acceded to independence and sovereignty, became a Member of the United Nations. In an effort to further the trends of the contemporary world, the Assembly reaffirmed its support for the long struggle being waged by the oppressed peoples of South West Africa, Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese administration and all other colonial Territories to free themselves from foreign domination and to put an end to the policy of apartheid and other practices of racial discrimination.

266. The Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, a veritable charter of women's rights, which represents a step towards the establishment of complete equality for all human beings.

267. Work continued on the progressive codification of international law and of the principles of law on which friendly relations among States should be based.

268. Many international meetings are scheduled for next year which the General Assembly has decided to convene or made preparations for during the present session. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will begin in New Delhi on 1 February 1968; a conference on the law of treaties will take place at Vienna in March 1968; the first world conference on questions relating to outer space will be held, also at Vienna, in August 1968; while the conference of non-nuclear-weapon States will take place at Geneva at about the same time. The year 1968, which marks the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has been proclaimed the International Year for Human Rights. The many activities commemorating that event will culminate in the convening of the International Conference on Human Rights at Teheran in the spring.

269. The twenty-second session of the General Assembly took place at a time when the international situation was scarcely favourable to its work.

270. The greatest danger to peace at the present time is the continuation of the war in Viet-Nam and the intensification of the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; this is the chief obstacle to improving the international climate and bringing relations among States back to normal.

271. In the interests of world peace, this war must be brought to an end and the inalienable right of the Viet-Nameese people to decide their own fate must be respected.

272. The situation in the Middle East has also contributed towards the present tension in international relations. In order to remedy the situation, all countries, and particularly the countries directly concerned, must make a concerted effort to enable a solution to be found through negotiation which will

help to lay the foundations of a lasting peace in the Middle East and safeguard the legitimate rights of all the peoples of that region, all claims to territorial annexation as a result of military operations being renounced. The United Nations Charter provides Member States with adequate means for the peaceful settlement of disputes, means which, if consistently applied, lead to positive results.

273. The Organization is called upon to help to establish a climate in which the rules of international law shall reign supreme and law shall prevail over force.

274. If the United Nations is to fulfil its appointed role in bringing about a relaxation of international tensions, the settlement of controversial issues and the development of co-operation among States, it must faithfully reflect the realities of the modern world and, above all, it must become a universal organization.

275. It is for the United Nations to create a background against which each Member State can freely develop its identity, and to provide all States, large and small, with broad opportunities to make their mark and take the initiative. Nowadays, the solving of international disputes depends on the active co-operation of the whole international community. Small and medium-sized countries can play an important part in world political life and exert an appreciable influence on the course of events, thus helping to safeguard peace and security on this planet.

276. Of the ninety-nine items on our agenda for this session, three will continue to claim our attention; namely, item 28 (Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament), item 64 (Question of South West Africa) and item 94 (The situation in the Middle East). Negotiations on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons are taking place at Geneva in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which, as it states in its interim report of 7 December 1967 [A/6951], is not able at this juncture to submit a final report on the matter to the General Assembly or the Disarmament Commission. The Committee intends to submit a full report, including all relevant documents, as soon as possible.^{1/}

277. In this connexion, the Assembly today adopted resolution 2346 A (XXII), in which it calls upon the Eighteen-Nation Committee urgently to continue its work, giving all due consideration to all proposals submitted to the Committee and to the views expressed by Member States during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, and to submit a full report on or before 15 March 1968.

278. As an expression of its continuing concern over the situation in South West Africa, the General Assembly decided to retain item 64 (Question of South West Africa) on its agenda.

^{1/} The report was subsequently issued as document A/7072 and Add.1.

279. As I have just said, item 94 (The situation in the Middle East), to which the Assembly had given priority, was not discussed at the present session. The question therefore remains on the Assembly's agenda.

280. We have thus concluded our consideration of all but three of the items on the agenda for the twenty-second regular session.

281. The General Assembly is now called upon to take a decision with regard to this session.

282. From the procedural point of view, the session cannot be declared closed since, as I have just explained, there are several items remaining on our agenda.

283. As a result of an extensive exchange of views, I have reached the conclusion that there is a general feeling that the session could be resumed when the President, after consultation with Member States and with the Secretary-General, believes that conditions would be favourable for the consideration of any of the items I have mentioned.

284. The same procedure would be used in setting the date for the resumption of the session. If the session is convened to discuss a particular item, the Assembly may at the same time take up the other two items.

285. If there is no objection, may I take it that this procedure meets with the Assembly's approval?

It was so decided.

286. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): May I in conclusion express my sincere thanks for the spirit of co-operation and understanding which you have all shown during these months of joint activity, and for the support and trust you have given me throughout.

287. I should like at the same time to express my profound gratitude for the great honour bestowed on my country, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the recognition of its consistent policy of peace and co-operation with all countries, and also for the kind words you have been good enough to address to me.

288. I should also like to thank the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, the Chairmen of the Committees, Secretary-General U Thant, Mr. Narasimhan, the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs, and all those who have helped me to discharge my duties.

289. I take this opportunity to wish a good and happy New Year to all of you and to your families. May your peoples enjoy peace and prosperity, and may you win further successes in serving the noble cause of understanding among nations.

The meeting rose on Wednesday, 20 December 1967 at 12.30 a.m.