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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 76

Budget estimates for the financial year 1972 (concluded)*

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PARTS II
AND III (A/8531/ADD.1 AND 2))

1. Mr. RAMBISSEON (Trinidad and Tobago), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: The debate of the Fifth Committee on the budget estimates for the fiscal year 1972 took place in an atmosphere of serious concern over the urgent financial difficulties of the Organization. This was reflected in the preoccupation of some delegations with the necessity for adopting austerity measures and in the concern of others with ensuring the ability of the Organization to respond to the needs of the developing countries in the spirit in which the Second United Nations Development Decade had been proclaimed.

* Resumed from the 1997th meeting.

2. As is stated in the report:

"...despite various possibilities which had been brought to the attention of the Member States, there had regrettably been no appreciable progress towards arriving at an early solution of the twin problems of accumulative deficit and the steadily deteriorating cash position".
[A/8531/Add.2, para. 16.]

3. The Committee did, however, approve a total budget for the fiscal year 1972 in the sum of \$214,374,410, and an estimated income of \$35,921,650 for the same year, although the Organization has set itself a target for a global reduction by some \$1,250,000 in the cost of documentation which, if achieved exactly, would bring the estimated budget to \$213,124,410.

4. To give legislative effect to its decisions, the Fifth Committee has recommended some 14 draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly. Before addressing myself to these I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to a number of decisions taken by the Committee which are recorded in paragraphs 23, 50, 88, 149 and 150 of the report contained in document A/8531/Add.1 and in paragraph 12 of document A/8531/Add.2.

5. The 14 draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the General Assembly range over all the activities of the Organization—some 23 sections—and the appropriate draft resolutions to give effect to the decisions of the Assembly at the budgetary level are contained in the two documents before us covering parts II and III of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 76. The first 10 draft resolutions are contained in paragraph 151 of document A/8531/Add.1, and the remaining 4 draft resolutions are found in paragraph 28 of document A/8531/Add.2.

6. Since many of these draft resolutions are likely to be put to the vote separately, I shall not delay the proceedings by repeating the title of each of the subjects involved.

7. I have the honour, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, to present this final, but central, item for the decision of the Assembly.

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 shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting on all the draft resolutions contained in part II and part III of the Fifth Committee's report. After all the votes have been taken, representatives wishing to explain their votes at that stage will have an opportunity to do so.

9. Mr. DERWINSKI (United States of America): I wish to explain the vote which the United States delegation will cast on the United Nations budget estimates for 1972.

10. First, I wish to comment on a matter related to the budget about which many representatives have addressed questions to the United States delegation. This is the announced intention of the United States to seek a reduction at the earliest possible opportunity of its assessed contribution percentage from its present level to 25 per cent.

11. A Presidential Commission headed by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge reported last April that, as new Member States are admitted to the United Nations, their assessed contributions to the regular budget would call for a redistribution of the financial burdens reflected in the scale of assessments. It recommended that the United States, while maintaining its over-all commitment of resources to the United Nations system, should seek over a period of years to reduce its current assessment percentage so that eventually its share would not exceed 25 per cent. We have decided that the recommendation of the Lodge Commission is an appropriate goal for the United States to pursue as rapidly as possible, and hopefully in connexion with the admission of new Members.

12. We believe that a reduction of the United States assessment percentage to 25 per cent would be beneficial to the United Nations because the Organization ought not to be overly dependent on the contribution of a single Member. We do not believe it is politically advisable for an organization of sovereign and juridically equal States, which is approaching universality of membership, to perpetuate the existing extreme disparity between voting power on the one hand and financial contributions on the other.

13. Let me turn now to the budget estimates. The proposed expenditure level for 1972 of about \$213.1 million represents an increase of about \$21 million over the original appropriation level for 1971. We note, however, that the magnitude of the increase—about 11 per cent—is not as great as it was last year—about 14.3 per cent. We believe that this cutback in the rate of increase reflects an effort by the Secretary-General and especially by the Controller and his staff, to limit budgetary requests for 1972 to what they consider essential for high-priority activities. Our delegation cannot say that we are satisfied with the success of the effort made, but it was a move in the right direction.

14. We feel that, in voting on United Nations budgets, Governments tend to give too much weight to the dollar level of these budgets and to ignore other important aspects of the problem. The budget level is less important than what the budget discloses about the manner in which this Organization is administered and managed.

15. For example, section 3 of the budget, which deals with salaries and wages, discloses several important facts. First of all, it provides not only for a sizable increase in established posts, but also for very significant increases in the use of temporary assistance, consultants and experts. It may well be that the Organization should have greater recourse today than in the past to temporary assistance,

consultants and experts than to established posts. However, we cannot accept such a substantial increase in all of these elements at the same time, particularly when the United Nations is experiencing a financial crisis. In the Fifth Committee the United States delegation proposed a substantial decrease of about \$900,000 in funds provided for temporary assistance, consultants and experts. We regret that this was not accepted by the Committee.

16. Section 3, with its provisions for increased manpower for the Secretariat in 1972, also focuses attention on several other points. There is the question of whether all of the many programmes initiated by the United Nations years ago are today of sufficient importance to warrant the continued utilization of the Organization's resources. We believe the Secretary-General should review each and every on-going programme and, where appropriate, suggest to Governments which activities no longer retain high-priority status in relation to new and more important ones.

17. There is also the question of the productivity and effectiveness of the present staff. We all know that a substantial portion of the United Nations staff members are highly qualified. However, it is unfortunately true that a number of individuals employed by the United Nations do not have the requisite ability or training to perform at a very high level, and this leads to the recruitment of extra staff to get the job done. A number of Governments which have been critical of the size of the Secretariat would perform a greater service if they made certain that the candidates they proposed for Secretariat service were fully qualified. It is of critical importance that the United Nations obtain from all Member States the services of only highly competent individuals who serve the interests of the United Nations and are not improperly influenced by their own or other Governments.

18. Section 7 of the budget represents an area in which there is room for improvement. At the present time the United Nations is engaged or about to be engaged in the construction of new buildings in Geneva, Santiago, Addis Ababa and Bangkok. As a result of building simultaneously in a number of locations, there has been a substantial increase in section 7, which has had an abnormal impact on the budget. We find it particularly difficult to accept a building programme of this magnitude when the Organization is virtually bankrupt.

19. Part VI of the budget is a cause of serious concern, and here the responsibility must fall squarely upon Governments. This year an amount of \$1.8 million was added arbitrarily to part VI. We continue to oppose such increases strongly in part VI, particularly because of the difficulties which have arisen in connexion with the financing of that part and the need to avoid such difficulties if further erosion of the Organization's financial stability is to be avoided. We believe a solution might be to remove part VI from the budget and redistribute its components elsewhere, both within and outside the budget.

20. We hope that other delegations realize how seriously we view the increase in part VI of the budget for 1972. As we have stated for many years, we believe that the United Nations Technical Assistance Programmes should be financed by voluntary contributions. I am sure the General

Assembly will realize that the United States cannot accept indefinitely a situation in which it pays increased dollar contributions while the Soviet Union and a few other States continue to derive a one-sided advantage by offering payments in non-convertible currencies.

21. My final comments concerning the budget itself relate to the substantial provisions contained therein for meetings and documentation. We believe that too many meetings are scheduled at times of the year when the meeting programme is already overloaded rather than in the slack periods. The attempt appears to be to ensure the convenience of representatives rather than economy. We also find that a number of Committees are wandering about the world holding meetings here and there and spending substantial sums of money with very little to show for their efforts. Discipline must be developed in this regard.

22. For many years Governments have wept bitterly about the unmanageable amount of documentation which is produced each year, but they have done almost nothing to limit or control it. Last year the United States delegation proposed an over-all budgetary decrease of \$1 million in documentation in an attempt to force some reduction in volume, but that proposal was rejected. We are pleased that this year the Fifth Committee decided to make a general reduction in the budget of \$1.25 million to reflect a reduction which it called for in the volume of documentation.

23. My remarks demonstrate why we have serious reservations about both the level and the content of the 1972 budget estimates. We are very concerned about the budget because of its relationship to the financial deficit facing the Organization and the attitude which it reflects with respect to that deficit.

24. A review of the United Nations balance-sheet reveals that at the end of last month assessed contributions outstanding amounted to about \$220 million. For the regular budget alone, unpaid assessments were in excess of \$87 million. The Controller has informed the Fifth Committee that by the end of this year about \$65.2 million in unpaid budget assessments will remain on the books with no assurance that more than \$13.4 million will eventually be paid and that it is estimated that by 31 December 1972 arrears will have reached about \$70 million with no more than \$14 million likely to be collected. The magnitude of these amounts should dispel any lingering thoughts about the seriousness of the United Nations financial plight.

25. What are the causes of this untenable situation? One of the contributing causes is the failure of many Governments to pay their annual assessments in the year in which they fall due. In my opinion, this cause should not be too difficult to remove, and all Governments should make a serious effort to pay their contributions as early as possible.

26. The primary cause of the critical financial situation is the refusal of some Governments to pay certain assessments which have been levied on them by the General Assembly. Several countries, principally members of the Soviet bloc and France, have refused to pay assessments relating to peace-keeping operations levied against them for the Congo and the United Nations Emergency Force operations. They

have also refused to pay their share of certain other items included annually in the regular budget, such as the amortization of United Nations bonds. These long-standing non-payments amount to more than \$140 million, or about two thirds of the total of unpaid assessments.

27. Obviously, if all of the sums owed were paid the liquidity of the United Nations would be stabilized and the mounting deficit problem would be eliminated. The heart of the deficit problem, past and future, lies in its causes. My delegation believes that ways must be found to deal effectively with these root causes.

28. Some Member States have already made sizable voluntary contributions in an effort to maintain the solvency of the Organization. However, it has long been clear that if we are to be successful in keeping the United Nations from bankruptcy, other Member States must pitch in and help. A particularly heavy responsibility falls upon those who have caused the deficit problem to arise.

29. I turn now to the relationship of the deficit to the 1972 budget level. It is, of course, true that a reduction in the budget level will not directly solve the deficit problem. However, we fail to understand how—when the Organization is faced with a situation in which it forecasts the impossibility of meeting its payroll next year—Governments can take a business-as-usual attitude with respect to the 1972 budget estimates just as if no financial problem existed. We have found it frustrating to sit through this year's session of the Fifth Committee and listen to long debates on matters such as proposed budgetary increases for public information activities when absolutely nothing was being done to provide the Organization with the necessary cash to carry on its activities next year. It is true that Mr. Hambro made a gallant effort to enlist the support of all Member States in an endeavour to find a complete solution to the deficit problem. However, although there were some meetings of the major contributors in an attempt to find a formula for solution, there was no indication until the last week or so on the part of most Member States that they intended to come to grips with the problem.

30. On 17 December 1971 the Controller came before the Fifth Committee and spelled out once more the desperate nature of the financial situation.¹ He proposed that, in an attempt to meet in 1972 the shortfall of \$3.9 million expected to result from the withholding of contributions by certain Governments, (a) the Assembly should decide to credit to the Working Capital Fund the amount of \$1.8 million available in surplus account for the financial year 1970, and (b) the Secretary-General should make savings of \$2.1 million in administering the appropriation for 1972. We considered this to be a first step by the Secretary-General in dealing with the matter but in all honesty we viewed it as merely a gesture which could not possibly achieve its objective. Further, the proposal for the use of the 1970 surplus meant transferring to all Member States the burden resulting from the failure of a few Governments to pay what they owe, and we were not surprised that it

¹ This statement was made at the 1487th meeting of the Fifth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

received no support in the Fifth Committee. In our view, unless and until this deficit problem is solved with the necessary co-operation by States which have not paid their assessments, the only proper method of dealing with the matter is to limit expenditures by the Organization to the level of contributions actually received.

31. Mr. President, we support your proposal based on the suggestion of Mr. Hambro to establish a working group to meet during the coming year in an effort to find the solution to this problem. We will, of course, participate and co-operate fully in that effort.

32. For the foregoing reasons the United States delegation cannot support the expenditure budget proposed for 1972 and will abstain in the vote on parts A and C of draft resolution XI dealing with the appropriation for 1972 and its financing.

33. May I add that on a day when we will see a new Secretary-General elected to take over the responsibilities of serving this Organization, we feel that the commitment of all Member States to a progressive and effective United Nations should be emphasized. The United States Government and above all the people of the United States want a strong, viable and effective United Nations. We recognize that the United Nations cannot be strong, effective and viable if it is bankrupt. At the risk of pounding this issue to death, we suggest that if the Member States which pay so much lip service to their support of the United Nations and its Charter would match it with financial support equal to their responsibilities, a solution to these problems eventually would be found.

34. Mr. NAUDY (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation would like to explain its position regarding the vote on the budget estimates of the Organization for 1972. The French delegation today confirms the reservations which it expressed previously in the Fifth Committee with regard to certain budget appropriations approved by it. The French delegation is concerned by the continuous increase in staff costs and in certain administrative expenses. We are convinced that the management of the Organization can be carried out in a more economic way; specifically we cannot concede the inclusion in the regular budget of expenses which have no binding character whatsoever and which were moreover incurred in violation of the provisions of the Charter, such as those now appearing in article III of new section 20 of the budget.

35. Furthermore, the excessive increase of expenditure in the new sections XII and XIII strengthens our already strong reservations about financing technical assistance programmes through the regular budget. Finally, it is our general feeling that the rate of growth of the Organization's budget is such that it would be risky to keep it at the same level in years to come.

36. However, the French delegation is not unaware of the financial difficulties facing the Organization. We also appreciate certain efforts made by the Secretariat, particularly by the Controller's office and the budgeting service in order to reduce estimated expenditure as far as possible or to estimate the totals of given appropriations in a more rigorous fashion than in the past.

37. In order to take account of these various factors, some negative and others positive, the French delegation will abstain in the vote on the budget as a whole.

38. Mr. TARASOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): In connexion with the forthcoming vote on the budget estimates of the United Nations for 1972, the Soviet delegation feels that it must state its profound dissatisfaction with the financial operations of the United Nations. This dissatisfaction was also expressed in the Fifth Committee by many other delegations. For several years now the United Nations budget has been rising incessantly. Expenditure to maintain the bureaucratic apparatus is growing continuously. The streamlining of administrative and budgetary activities is proceeding at an intolerably slow pace. For the first time in the history of the United Nations the budget has exceeded \$200 million and has already reached \$213 million, which puts an additional financial burden on every State.

39. The Soviet delegation is profoundly convinced that such a sharp rise in the budget is not the result of any necessity, particularly since the increased appropriations are not used to carry out useful measures or for activities to maintain international peace and security, which is the principal purpose of the United Nations and would be in keeping with the interests of all peoples. Instead, they are used to maintain an inflated United Nations Secretariat, to create within it new and superfluous units which duplicate each other's work, and to finance various kinds of programmes that have nothing to do with the regular budget.

40. As in previous years, it is proposed that the greater part of the additional funds should be used for a further expansion of the Secretariat staff. Instead of simplifying its present cumbersome structure and redistributing in a rational manner staff whose functions have become redundant, instead of taking concrete measures to increase productivity and efficiency, it is once again proposed that we should significantly increase the permanent and temporary staff, raise the level of posts and, at the same time, recruit more highly paid consultants than before.

41. Some people try to blame the Secretary-General for all this. However, everyone is aware, all administrative and financial matters of the United Nations Secretariat are in the hands of the leading Anglo-American civil servants or of persons close to them. It is they, therefore, who are mainly responsible for the abnormal situation in the Organization's administrative and financial activities. Two years ago an Administrative Management Service was set up in the United Nations Secretariat, headed by a United States national, Mr. Ryan. The principal task of that Service was, as is well known, to determine the facts relating to the insufficient workload in some units of the apparatus and the duplication of work, and on that basis to make recommendations as to how existing personnel could be used more efficiently. However, the Administrative Management Service failed to live up to the hopes placed in it and did not fulfil its task of streamlining the existing apparatus and increasing its productivity, which logically should have resulted in a reduction of staff costs. Quite the contrary, this Service contributed towards a further inflation of the Secretariat staff. The over-all cost of maintaining the

Administrative Management Service itself, and the financial implications of its recommendations for an increase in the staff, in the budget for 1972, have already cost Member States of the United Nations more than \$5 million.

42. In speaking of the budget appropriations for staff costs, it must be noted that, despite the fact that the General Assembly has repeatedly pointed out the need to achieve an equitable geographical distribution of staff in the United Nations Secretariat as rapidly as possible, the situation in that area is still unsatisfactory. In effect, a number of under-represented countries, including the Soviet Union, have to bear considerable additional and disproportionate costs under the budget for staff members from a number of over-represented Western countries, while even the lower, minimal quota of the Soviet Union still remains unfilled.

43. The Soviet delegation notes with regret that despite the categorical objections raised in the Fifth Committee by many delegations, the budget estimates for 1972 once again include appropriations for the financing of measures which are illegal and contrary to the Charter, as, for example, the payment of interest on and the amortization of the United Nations bond issue, the activities of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and the upkeep of the Memorial Cemetery in Korea. The Soviet delegation states once again that it strongly objects to the inclusion in the budget of the costs of those illegal measures and considers that they should be excluded once and for all from the regular budget of the Organization.

44. We also consider that the financing of technical assistance measures under the regular budget of the United Nations is illegal. It is common knowledge that, under existing treaties and agreements, the Soviet Union provides economic and technological development assistance to more than 40 developing countries, and also voluntarily contributes considerable sums for the implementation of United Nations technical assistance programmes. Our objections and our vote against sections 13 and 14 of the budget estimates are due, therefore, not to a denial of the significance of technical assistance, but to our position of principle with regard to compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, in accordance with the spirit of which the regular budget of the Organization is a budget to cover administrative expenses. We consider that technical assistance should be financed exclusively on a voluntary basis. As in the past, the Soviet Union will make its contribution to the expenditure envisaged in part VI of the budget estimates in its national currency.

45. Furthermore, substantial sums have been set aside in the budget for 1972 to cover additional expenses connected with inflation and the revaluation of the currencies of Western States. It is absolutely clear that the crisis in the monetary system of the capitalist world is having an acute adverse effect on the United Nations budget and is causing considerable additional expense. But why, it must be asked, must all those States Members which have played no part whatsoever in creating that crisis finance those expenses out of their national resources? In our opinion, the question of how to protect the budget of the United Nations from the adverse effects of that continuing crisis must be carefully studied.

46. Bearing in mind that the 1972 budget appropriations include many unjustified and non-essential expenses, to which the Soviet delegation has objected, and also taking into account the fact that appropriations have been retained in the budget for the aforementioned measures which are illegal and contrary to the Charter, the Soviet delegation will vote against the approval of the budget estimate for 1972 as a whole.

47. We are strongly opposed to the provision of the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for 1972 which gives the Secretary-General the right to decide personally certain questions relating to the financing of United Nations measures for the maintenance of international peace and security. As is well known, under the United Nations Charter the right to decide on questions relating to the financing of United Nations measures for the maintenance of peace is vested exclusively in the Security Council. For the reasons indicated and for reasons of principle, the Soviet delegation will vote against that draft resolution.

48. Mr. President, in connexion with your note, contained in document A/8635, on the establishment of a working group or special committee to consider the financial situation of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation feels it necessary to make the following observations.

49. As is well known, the President of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, Mr. Hambro, took a positive initiative in this matter. Unfortunately, however, the initial flare of enthusiasm has since gradually declined. The Soviet Mission repeatedly approached Mr. Hambro, insisting that he should convene another meeting of the major contributors to the United Nations budget in which all five permanent members of the Security Council would naturally have taken part. However, for some reason or other that meeting was never convened. It would have been possible at such a meeting to try once more to take positive steps to settle the financial position of the United Nations.

50. As far back as the nineteenth session, in 1965, the General Assembly, after carefully considering the question of the Organization's financial position, reached general agreement on ways and means of overcoming the financial difficulties. At the time it was decided that the financial deficit established by the Committee of Fourteen should be covered by voluntary contributions from all States. The Soviet Union felt and still feels that the general agreement reached at the nineteenth session is the best way of resolving the question of the Organization's financial difficulties and should have been implemented. Moreover, as is well known, the Soviet Union repeatedly stated its readiness to pay its part of the voluntary contribution to cover the deficit, established by the decisions of the Committee of Fourteen at \$31.9 million, provided, of course, that all the other countries, including the United States of America, would do the same. However, the United States of America stubbornly refused to fulfil its obligations arising from the consensus in the General Assembly and pay its voluntary contribution.

51. It seems to us that the general agreement of 1965 and the conclusions of the Committee of Fourteen are still valid today. At the same time, the Soviet delegation will not

oppose your proposal, Mr. President, to set up a working group or special committee consisting of 15 members to "study all the facts as well as existing and new suggestions for a solution and consider the possible working out of concrete proposals for the next session of the Assembly", that is, to carry out the functions laid down in paragraph 2 of document A/8635.

52. In so doing, we naturally assume that such a group or committee would not take decisions and would concentrate its efforts on working out generally acceptable recommendations, and would also organize its work on the basis of a consensus. On that understanding, the Soviet Union will be prepared to become a member of that group or committee and co-operate productively within it in the search for a possible solution to the problem.

53. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I should like to explain my delegation's vote on the budget estimates for 1972.

54. We recognize that the total figure of just over \$213 million represents an increase of the order of 10.5 per cent over the initial 1971 appropriations, and if the supplementaries which have been approved for the current year are taken into account the percentage increase proposed for 1972 is below 10 per cent. We also recognize that there are items in the 1972 estimates, such as additional language requirements and costs relating to the revaluation of currencies, which involve inescapable increases. Nevertheless, in the view of my delegation, the total now proposed masks a number of disturbing features.

55. It has been possible to keep the figure at a level of just over \$213 million only by taking into account a sum of \$3 million for Headquarters construction in New York, since work on this project has not proceeded in the current year and will not proceed in 1972. This does not represent a real saving. It is merely shelving the difficult problem of financing the additional accommodation which it is generally accepted is required by the Organization.

56. Moreover, the 1972 budget estimates include \$1.8 million for regional advisory services. While my delegation is prepared to accept that some limited provision should be retained in the regular budget for next year for technical assistance, we consider that this should be used for experimental pilot projects. When technical assistance schemes reach the scale now envisaged, we hold the view that they should be financed by voluntary contributions through the United Nations Development Programme, and our substantial voluntary contributions to that programme have reflected this approach. We are opposed to the creation of a new part of the budget providing for substantially increased expenditure for regional advisory services. The inclusion of provision for technical assistance services on this scale in the regular budget may affect our future attitude to voluntary contributions to the United Nations Development Programme.

57. Above all, my delegation is concerned that the Assembly has failed to come to grips with the financial problems of the Organization. There is the major issue of the outstanding deficit. There is an acute and worsening liquidity problem. The direct link between these two

problems cannot be ignored, if the United Nations is to survive as an effective Organization. Nevertheless it is proposed to embark on a programme for 1972 estimated to cost just over \$213 million when we know that contributions of that amount will not be forthcoming. My delegation does not believe that this is a responsible course of action and therefore we have not been able to support it.

58. For those reasons my delegation will abstain on the total budget estimates.

59. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to take decisions on the Fifth Committee's recommendations in part II of its report [A/8531/Add.1].

60. I invite members to turn their attention to the recommendation which appears in paragraph 23 of that report. May I consider that the Assembly takes note of that recommendation.

It was so decided.

61. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the Fifth Committee's recommendation in paragraph 50 of its report. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly takes note of that recommendation.

It was so decided.

62. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to paragraph 88 of the Fifth Committee's report. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the Fifth Committee's recommendation recorded therein?

It was so decided.

63. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the recommendations contained in paragraphs 149 and 150 of the Fifth Committee's report. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of those recommendations?

It was so decided.

64. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 151 of its report; I put to the vote draft resolution I.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Sierra Leone,

Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Gabon.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 107 votes to 11, with 2 abstentions (resolution 2889 (XXVI)).

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

A recorded vote was taken.

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

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

Abstaining: Mali.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 107 votes to 9, with 1 abstention (resolution 2890 (XXVI)).

66. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution III.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican

Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

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

Draft resolution III was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2891 (XXVI)).

67. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution IV.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 112 votes to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 2892 (XXVI)).

68. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution V.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Malawi, United States of America.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 120 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 2893 (XXVI)).

69. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution VI.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Sudan,² Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 112 votes to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 2894 (XXVI)).

70. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution VII.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Equatorial Guinea, Hungary, Kuwait, Mongolia, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Upper Volta, Yemen.

Abstaining: Algeria, Burma, France, Guinea, Libyan Arab Republic, Qatar, Romania, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 93 votes to 16, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2895 (XXVI)).

71. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution VIII.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria,

² The delegation of Sudan subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Ghana, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta.

Abstaining: Australia, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Japan, Kenya, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mongolia, New Zealand, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Poland, Somalia, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Zaire.

Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 75 votes to 17, with 26 abstentions (resolution 2896 (XXVI)).

72. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution IX.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Qatar, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Guinea, Hungary, India, Luxembourg, Mali, Mongolia, Netherlands, Philippines, Poland, Romania, South Africa, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution IX was adopted by 96 votes to 1, with 23 abstentions (resolution 2897 (XXVI)).

73. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution X. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution X?

Draft resolution X was adopted (resolution 2898 (XXVI)).

74. The PRESIDENT: May I now invite Members to turn to part III of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/8531/Add.2], paragraph 12 which contains a recommendation by the Fifth Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of that recommendation?

It was so decided.

75. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 29 of the report. We shall vote first on draft resolution XI A.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Cuba, France, Portugal, Romania, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution XI A was adopted by 106 votes to 9, with 7 abstentions (resolution 2899 A (XXVI)).

76. The PRESIDENT: I shall not put to the vote draft resolution XI B.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic,

Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Draft resolution XI B was adopted by 122 votes to none (resolution 2899 B (XXVI)).

77. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution XI C.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Draft resolution XI C was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 2899 C (XXVI)).

78. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution XII.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi,

Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Portugal, Romania.

Draft resolution XII was adopted by 112 votes to 10, with 2 abstentions (resolution 2900 (XXVI)).

79. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution XIII.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia,

Poland, Portugal, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution XIII was adopted by 111 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (resolution 2901 (XXVI)).

80. The PRESIDENT: Lastly, we turn to draft resolution XIV. Since the Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution unanimously, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution XIV was adopted (resolution 2902 (XXVI)).

81. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

82. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): I rise to make a brief statement concerning the remarks made a short time ago by the representative of the Soviet Union with respect to some of the budgetary matters we have been considering.

83. Specifically, the representative of the Soviet Union accused the United States of failing to carry out obligations flowing from the so-called consensus of 1965. I categorically reject that accusation.

84. The United States has indicated to the Soviet representative over and over again, and in very recent days, its willingness to co-operate in any realistic effort to solve the entire financial crisis which confronts the Organization today. The Soviet representative's reference to a deficit figure of some \$32 million is completely unrealistic and totally fails to reflect the serious facts of the crisis which does confront the United Nations today. Anybody who has been following this problem in detail knows that the figure to which he referred was a low estimate, given at the time of the so-called 1965 consensus. To attack this problem on the assumption that this is all there is to it is not only unrealistic but is deceiving and misleading.

85. Moreover, the representative of the Soviet Union took it upon himself to single out by name a member of the Secretariat—in this instance, a distinguished American—who has worked under great pressure, brilliantly, to bring before the Secretary-General the scope and nature of problems confronting this Organization. For his efforts he was attacked on this floor by the representative of a Government; he was attacked in the full knowledge, of course, that he was unable to stand here and defend himself. We consider that uncalled for conduct by a representative of a Government against an individual member of the Secretariat.

86. Finally, let me just say this: let those who are responsible for the financial crisis confronting this Organization assume the full burden of their responsibility for the financial crisis which they have brought on the Organization and let them not try to hide behind false facts and unrealistic estimates.

87. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

88. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I should like to give some information in connexion with the statement we have just heard.

89. The Soviet Union stated officially that it was prepared to participate in resolving the financial crisis or the financial difficulties of the United Nations. Consultations took place between four permanent members of the Security Council at that time. The Soviet representative made certain constructive proposals on ways to resolve the situation. Unfortunately, the other representatives did not support those proposals. The Soviet representative wrote a letter to our distinguished colleague, the former President of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, requesting him once more to convene a consultative meeting of the five permanent members of the Security Council in order to try to find a solution to that problem. Unfortunately, that meeting was not convened. Those are the facts of the matter. So the reproaches that the United States representative was trying to level at the Soviet Union are totally unfounded.

90. The PRESIDENT: I should like to invite the attention of members of the General Assembly to document A/8635. That document contains a note which I have submitted on the financial situation of the Organization. It refers to the efforts made since the last session, at the request of the Secretary-General, by Mr. Hambro to seek a solution to the serious financial situation of the United Nations. We are all most grateful to him for his tireless endeavours.

91. In my note I indicated that the Secretary-General and I fully supported the proposal by Mr. Hambro that a committee be established to meet between the present session and the next to study all the facts, as well as existing and new suggestions for a solution, and to consider the possible working out of concrete proposals for the twenty-seventh session of the Assembly. My consultations with regional groups have led me to believe that there is wide support for the establishment of the committee in question.

92. In my note I proposed that the distribution of seats on the committee should follow that of the Security Council. In addition to the permanent members of the Security Council, the committee will thus consist of three African States, two Asian States, one Eastern European State, two Latin American States and two Western European and other States.

93. After consultations with all the regional groups, and having in mind the distribution just mentioned, I wish to propose that the Special Committee on the Financial Situation of the United Nations should be composed as follows: Brazil, Canada, China, France, Ghana, India, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

94. If there is no objection it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 35

Reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction and use of their resources in the interests of mankind, and convening of a conference on the law of the sea: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (*concluded*)*

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/8623)

95. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with resolution 2881 (XXVI) adopted yesterday, I call on the Chairman of the First Committee, Mr. Tarabanov.

96 Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): Under the provisions of operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2881 (XXVI) of 21 December 1971, the General Assembly decided to add China and other Members appointed by the Chairman of the First Committee in consultation with the regional groups, taking particular account of the interests of the under-represented groups, to the membership of the Committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed.

97. I have the honour to report to the General Assembly that in pursuance of the mandate entrusted to me as Chairman of the First Committee, and after the necessary consultations, I have appointed the following additional Members to that Committee: Fiji, Finland, Nicaragua and Zambia.

98. Therefore, the five new members of the Committee are as follows: China, Fiji, Finland, Nicaragua and Zambia.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Namibia (*concluded*):

(d) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

99. The PRESIDENT: As I stated yesterday, the Secretary-General has announced in document A/8638/Add.1 that he has withdrawn the nomination of Lord Caradon as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. The Secretary-General has made no further communication on this matter.

AGENDA ITEM 102

Question considered by the Security Council at its 1606th, 1607th and 1608th meetings, on 4, 5 and 6 December 1971 (*concluded*)*

100. The PRESIDENT: As Members are aware, the matter has been under consideration by another organ of the United Nations, which last night adopted a resolution on the question. Therefore, I shall proceed on the assumption that the General Assembly has concluded its consideration of the item.

AGENDA ITEM 18

Appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations

101. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it a letter dated 21 December 1971 from the President of the Security Council to the President of the General Assembly [A/8496]. It reads as follows:

"I have the honour to inform you that the Security Council at its 1620th meeting, held in private on 21 December 1971, adopted resolution 306 (1971) concerning the appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The resolution reads as follows:

"*The Security Council,*

"*Having considered* the question of the recommendation for the appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations,

"*Recommends* to the General Assembly that Mr. Kurt Waldheim be appointed Secretary-General of the United Nations'".

The letter is signed by Mr. Ismael Byne Taylor-Kamara, President of the Security Council.

102. In connexion with this recommendation of the Security Council, the General Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by 15 Member States in document A/L.671/Rev.1. That is the only document before the Assembly on which action is required.

103. I now call on the representative of Argentina.

104. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Yesterday the Security Council adopted a resolution, of the utmost important and significance for the future of our Organization, which recommends to the General Assembly the appointment of Mr. Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

105. The decision of the Council, taken after intensive consultations and deliberations, has demonstrated its maturity and sense of justice in recognizing in Mr. Waldheim the qualities, background and merits which are required to discharge the functions of the highest international post. Merely mentioning his name in this hall makes it unnecessary to offer an introduction or to make any reference to his *curriculum vitae*. In a distinguished career which has seen him fulfil duties at the highest level, he has displayed exceptional competence, reliability, devotion and a sense of responsibility, which have earned great prestige for him personally and also for the great country he represents.

106. In addition to his personal qualities, Mr. Waldheim has the essential characteristics and merits of one of the oldest civilizations and cultures in Europe. Austria, his home country, is today a factor for unity and understanding between the East and the West. It is neutral politically and constitutionally, and this nation today is offering us one of its outstanding sons to carry out the difficult tasks

* Resumed from the 2029th meeting.

* Resumed from the 2003rd meeting.

of the Secretary-General which, by their very nature, require an independence of judgement, impartiality of spirit and procedural objectivity, if the interests that inevitably will try to influence him are to be resisted.

107. For many of the countries represented here, and in particular for the developing countries, the office of Secretary-General is and should be a guarantee of neutrality. We believe that neither his vast authority nor his prestige should be affected by power politics. We consider that to this end Mr. Waldheim should align himself with his distinguished predecessors, and that a categorical statement of the firmest and broadest possible support for him should be forthcoming from the General Assembly.

108. With this aim in mind, I call upon my friends and colleagues from all the regional groups to adopt by acclamation draft resolution A/L.671/Rev.1, which I have the privilege and, of course, the great honour of presenting to this distinguished Assembly.

109. I am absolutely convinced that I am reflecting the feeling of all the countries represented here when I convey to Mr. Kurt Waldheim our congratulations in advance and our fervent wishes that success may ever be his in the difficult tasks that he is about to undertake. His success will be the success of the United Nations and of all of us. It will be the triumph of the cause of peace and justice throughout the world.

110. I cannot conclude this presentation without devoting my final words to the man who for 10 years has guided the destinies of our Organization, leaving on it the inimitable mark of his dignity, confidence in harmonious co-existence among nations and respect for human values. For many years he will be identified as the living symbol of the United Nations, and we wish most gratefully to pay heartfelt tribute to U Thant.

111. The PRESIDENT: Members have heard the request by the representative of Argentina.

112. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt draft resolution A/L.671/Rev.1 by acclamation?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation (resolution 2903 (XXVI)).

113. The PRESIDENT: I have the honour to announce that His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim has been appointed by acclamation Secretary-General of the United Nations for a term of office beginning 1 January 1972 and ending on 31 December 1976.

The President of the Security Council, the President of the Economic and Social Council, the President of the Trusteeship Council, the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and the Chairmen of the Main Committees took places on the platform.

Mr. Sinan Korlé, Chief of Protocol, conducted Mr. Waldheim to the platform.

114. The PRESIDENT: Your Excellency, I have the honour to inform you officially that the General Assembly

has appointed you Secretary-General of the United Nations for a term of office beginning 1 January 1972 and ending on 31 December 1976.

115. I ask Mr. Waldheim to repeat after me the oath of office.

116. Mr. WALDHEIM: I, Kurt Waldheim, solemnly swear to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience the functions entrusted to me as Secretary-General of the United Nations, to discharge these functions and regulate my conduct with the interests of the United Nations only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any government or other authority external to the Organization.

117. The PRESIDENT: I feel sure that on this occasion I speak for every member of the General Assembly in extending our congratulations to the Secretary-General-elect. We welcome him most warmly, and we pledge him our full co-operation and support. We wish him a very fruitful term of office and extend all our best wishes to him in his future endeavours in the interests of the international community. May the United Nations, under his dynamic and imaginative leadership, move further forward in becoming the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, as foreseen in the Charter.

118. I now invite His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim to make a statement.

119. Mr. WALDHEIM: I have listened with deep emotion to the words of welcome which the President has just addressed to me. They reflect the confidence and the trust my colleagues in this hall have placed in me and the honour they have done to my country in appointing me to this high office. I should like to thank them most warmly for their support and also to express my gratitude to the President and the members of the Security Council for unanimously recommending my name to the General Assembly.

120. I am profoundly aware that the important tasks defined by the Charter which have been entrusted to me entail heavy responsibilities. It is my solemn pledge that I will try to fulfil them to the best of my abilities with impartiality and a deep sense of personal commitment.

121. Almost all of my colleagues present here know me personally, and many of them have worked with me for many years. They might remember me as Permanent Observer of Austria to the United Nations as long ago as 1955 or from my more recent tours of duty at the United Nations. They know that I come from a permanently neutral country, a country which does not rely on military alliances and which has a vital interest in the promotion and implementation of the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter.

122. In my new role as Secretary-General of the United Nations, I shall continue to pursue those objectives and contribute actively to a strengthening of the Organization in order that the United Nations may develop into an effective instrument for the performance of all the functions envisaged in the Charter.

123. The United Nations has arrived at an important cross-roads. The participation of the People's Republic of China is a major step on the road towards universality which will no doubt increase the United Nations capability of working for the objectives of the Charter. A further step in this direction would be the admission of the divided countries, which I hope will be brought about in the not too distant future.

124. A brief look at the membership table of this Organization makes us realize that more than two thirds of the Member nations belong to the developing countries. They represent the vast majority of mankind and their problems deserve our closest attention in the carrying out of our tasks. It has been said before that development is the key to peace. Accordingly, in carrying out the primary objective of the Charter, which is the maintenance of international peace and security, we have to see to it that the basic elements upon which peace and prosperous evolution are built are recognized and made available for our common good.

125. Mutual confidence and trust in the procedures of peaceful settlement of disputes as well as in the peace-making and peace-keeping functions of the United Nations, together with harmonious economic and social development, are the essential aspects of this problem.

126. The United Nations should be a centre for political and economic development alike, where due regard is also given to the furtherance of unanimously accepted rules of conduct between nations.

127. In order to ensure the successful functioning of the United Nations, the financial solvency of the Organization is a basic prerequisite without which resolutions and decisions remain mere declarations of intent. Indeed, in this field, as well as in the political and economic field, the credibility of our Organization is directly linked with the problem of implementing decisions once taken.

[The speaker continued in French.]

128. In order to be able to discharge the heavy responsibilities entrusted to me and to overcome the difficulties which the Organization will have to cope with, I shall need the full support and co-operation of all Member States, and I shall have to rely on the understanding and friendship of my colleagues. I myself will endeavour to co-operate and communicate with them very closely in every possible way.

129. I shall also need the loyal collaboration of all the members of the Secretariat. I myself have practical experience of the variety of problems with which an administration of such dimensions is confronted. This experience will help me to give the necessary consideration to matters related to the effective functioning of the United Nations administrative machinery.

[The speaker resumed in English.]

130. In the fulfilment of my mandate I shall continue in the direction indicated by my distinguished predecessor, Secretary-General U Thant. In trying to come nearer to the goal set out by the Charter, I hope I shall make as much

headway as he did and I will endeavour to be imaginative and realistic as he was in devising new approaches to the common objectives which unite us in this Organization.

131. I should like to conclude with a deep-felt tribute to Secretary-General U Thant, to whom I pay homage for the outstanding example and high standards he has set both in the conduct of this Organization and as a colleague and friend.

132. The PRESIDENT: I thank His Excellency, Mr. Waldheim, for his statement.

133. Before calling on the delegations that wish to pay tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, I wish myself, as President of the General Assembly, to extend to him on behalf of each and every one of us our heartfelt thanks for his selfless devotion to the United Nations. He has been an inspiration to all of us. He has also won the universal affection of all delegations. We wish him a happy and fruitful retirement. We cannot thank him enough for all that he has done for us, but I am sure that he will understand the depth of our debt to him.

134. Several delegations wish to pay tribute to Secretary-General U Thant and I call upon them to do so now.

135. Mr. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone): My delegation was among those members of the Security Council which yesterday voted in favour of recommending to the General Assembly the appointment of Mr. Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General of the United Nations. We voted in favour of Mr. Waldheim's nomination because we believe that, having worked his way through his country's diplomatic service and having served as Foreign Minister and in other capacities, he has acquired considerable experience in both national and international affairs and has distinguished himself.

136. My delegation has no doubt that Mr. Waldheim—the product of a land whose foreign policy is characterized by clear neutrality—will serve in his new office without partisan leanings and in the true United Nations spirit.

137. Those who have been privileged to work with Mr. Waldheim know of his capacity for hard work and his punctilious attention to protocol and detail. He will long be remembered for his ability to resolve conflicting issues as Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and for his encouragement of that Committee to forge ahead and reach fruitful conclusions of the tasks that confronted it.

138. There comes a time in the life of an institution when farewells must be said and when, with heavy hearts, leave must be taken of one person or another.

139. Today the Assembly is convened to say goodbye to this illustrious helmsman and Secretary-General, U Thant, after the longest service ever given by any Secretary-General to this Organization. He was appointed unanimously by the General Assembly on 3 November 1961 to fill the unexpired term of the late Dag Hammarskjöld, and today the name U Thant has for many become a household word. More familiar than the names of kings and presidents, the

name U Thant rings loud and clear throughout the universe. His clear insight into world affairs, his sagacity, his sincerity and his devotion to the task of making the Organization work will long be remembered and referred to in this building after he has left the 38th floor.

140. Due recognition has been given him by the international community for his concern for humanity. Universities and other institutions of higher learning the world over have recognized his talents and abilities, as is evidenced by the scores of degrees which have been conferred upon him during his tenure of office.

141. We are indeed sorry to see him go, but we know that his indomitable spirit would chafe under the yoke of an easy life. In the years ahead of him we are confident that memoirs of his outstanding toil in the international Organization will issue from his pen.

142. Sir, on behalf of my President and my Government, and of my delegation, I thank you most sincerely for the good work you have done, and wish you many years of happiness inside or outside this world Organization.

143. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): At this solemn hour when our esteemed Secretary-General U Thant is preparing to relinquish the exalted duties which the international community has entrusted to him for 10 years and which he has discharged with skill and devotion, at this solemn hour when, in addressing the Secretary-General, we think of the man rather than the office, in this hour of reflection on the irreversible passage of time and the complexity of human nature, I take particular pleasure in expressing to U Thant, now that he is going to enjoy his freedom again, our thanks for his indefatigable work for peace and co-operation among men.

144. Faithful to the principles of the Charter and the spirit of universality which it teaches us, U Thant leaves us as Secretary-General, and finds us again in a spirit of brotherhood, friendship and respect for his wisdom and for what he has accomplished.

145. On behalf of my delegation, my Government and President Bourguiba, and on behalf of the Economic and Social Council, which I had the honour of presiding over last year, I pay tribute to the man—U Thant. May he enjoy long life and excellent health, may he continue to give us the benefit of his experience. The United Nations will always need the fruits of his meditation and the illumination shed by his free and universal spirit.

146. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): As host country representative, let me add just a few brief remarks.

147. First, we pay tribute, we pay our deepest respect to you, Mr. Secretary-General. We salute U Thant as a man of peace; we salute him as a world leader; we salute him, as each of us has come to know him, as a great individual. Sometimes we might have disagreed with a decision; much more often we have been in total agreement. But never, never did we have cause to question his motive, to question his character, to question his fundamental dedication, his total commitment to a world at peace.

148. U Thant, your Excellency, we salute you. You have taught us all—all 132 of us—and you have taught us well. We know that you will never stop in your efforts to make this a better world, but as you leave this office you leave us all a legacy of challenge and honour.

149. And now, with regard to our Secretary-General-elect, Mr. Waldheim, some say that even though it is Christmas time we should be offering him condolences rather than congratulations. True, the job is awesome in its magnitude. It is hard to quantify its difficulty. Its frustrations are unimaginable. But somehow, in spite of the magnitude of his undertaking, there is in this hall, Sir, an unmistakable air of optimism, and clearly it stems from our common, certain knowledge of the fact that we have elected a man of great experience—great diplomatic experience leavened with enough political experience to guarantee a deep concern for people, for all the people of this world.

150. We wish you Godspeed, Secretary-General-elect Waldheim. We pledge to you our support. To you as a friend and as an ex-colleague, and to your wonderful family, our warmest congratulations, and to you as Secretary-General our prayers will be with you. We have abiding confidence that you will do the job well.

151. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): On behalf of the delegations of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, which constitute the Association of the South-East Asian Nations, I have pleasure in extending most sincere congratulations to His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Permanent Representative of Austria, on his appointment by the General Assembly as the new Secretary-General of the United Nations.

152. In electing Ambassador Waldheim to the high office of the world Organization, Member delegations, particularly those of the permanent members of the Security Council, have demonstrated their political sagacity and sufficient flexibility which will only redound to the credit of the Organization. Ambassador Waldheim needs no introduction to United Nations circles. His long diplomatic career in the service of his Government and his 16-year association with the work of our Organization are on the record. During his tenure in the United Nations his inspiring and energetic leadership as Chairman of the outer space Committee has brought about fruitful and concrete results.

153. We are convinced that the leadership qualities, objectivity and organizational ability that he has shown in the performance of his duties played an important part in his being recommended by the Security Council for the highest post in the United Nations. The honour that the General Assembly is conferring upon him today is also a reflection of the esteem and admiration that Member Governments hold for his country, Austria, whose active participation in international affairs and positive interpretation of its policy of neutrality have contributed to the progress towards full realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. So, to Ambassador Waldheim and to Austria, the country that he has represented so well in the past, we, the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, wish to pay tribute and we wish him all success in his future responsi-

bilities. We also pledge to him our unremitting support and co-operation.

154. In welcoming our new Secretary-General, the five delegations of the Association of South-East Asian Nations are fully conscious of the impending departure of the present Secretary-General. We should like to convey our heartfelt appreciation to His Excellency U Thant, a most distinguished son of Burma, whose ties of friendship are cherished by all South-East Asian countries.

155. Over the past 10 years U Thant has served the Organization with great distinction. It is no secret to anyone that had U Thant given some slight indication of his availability, he would ungrudgingly have been requested to continue his dedicated service to the international community. Now that his personal wishes have been respected, Member Governments also ungrudgingly give our distinguished Secretary-General an opportunity to retire, not into oblivion, but to continue in his personal and private capacity to serve in the cause of international peace, understanding and co-operation. We wish U Thant all the best for a well-deserved period of rest and recreation after a momentous decade of continuous effort in the discharge of his high responsibilities. His quiet diplomacy, impartiality and general concern for humanity as a whole will long be remembered in the annals of the United Nations. His personal imprint on the work of the Organization will be a testimony to his illustrious career as an international civil servant.

156. So to His Excellency Kurt Waldheim, even if it is a day late, we say "Many happy returns of the day" and all good wishes for his new challenge and opportunity. To His Excellency U Thant, we bid a fond farewell and wish him a long and happy retirement.

157. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen): It is a great honour for me to pay tribute to U Thant on behalf of the Arab Group. During the past decade U Thant has given the best of his life and of himself to this world Organization and to international peace and justice. His has always been a mighty voice speaking the conscience of the world whenever the conscience of the world was stirred by events in the past eventful decade.

158. Beyond the demand of office which is tremendous, beyond the call of duty which is almost superhuman, U Thant sacrificed himself to the point of martyrdom. U Thant's calm wisdom, his exemplary dedication, his unshakable optimism and faith in human goodness, his humility with which he has stamped the high office for the past 10 years and his friendliness will continue to be remembered long after he leaves the office of Secretary-General.

159. No word or amount of words could do this great man justice or express our gratitude and feeling towards him as we bid him good-bye. This Organization and the world at large owe U Thant a great deal.

160. It is also a great pleasure and with a sense of satisfaction that, also on behalf of the Arab Group, my delegation extends its heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Kurt Waldheim on his brilliant election to the post of Secretary-

General of the United Nations. My delegation is convinced that Mr. Waldheim will be an asset to the United Nations; he is well known to us all as a dynamic and brilliant diplomat who has been in the Foreign Service since 1942, and who has always been characterized by devotion and objectivity.

161. My delegation would like to assure our new Secretary-General of our full support and co-operation whenever and wherever it is needed, in order to fulfil his mandate as laid down by the Charter. We are sure that His Excellency Mr. Waldheim, who comes from a politically and constitutionally neutral country, will discharge his duties with complete neutrality, objectivity and dedication to the principles of the United Nations Charter. We warmly welcome Mr. Waldheim as Secretary-General and wish him success in his new post.

162. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): As representative of a country which is a permanent member of the Security Council, I should like to join those who have already spoken before me in welcoming our new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. My delegation has every confidence that his proven wisdom, judgement and dedication, applied to the service of the United Nations, will impart both strength and stimulus to our Organization in grappling with the ever more complex challenges that face it in the years ahead. My delegation looks forward to working closely with him and we offer him our congratulations and our complete co-operation.

163. It is a sad task to pay tribute to our retiring Secretary-General U Thant. There is so much that could be said about him, volumes could be written and indeed I have no doubt will be written about him, but at this time I will be brief.

164. U Thant assumed office at a time of tragedy and crisis, and he has served our Organization with selfless devotion for 10 years. Many tributes have been paid to him over these last weeks and it is difficult to add to them. His devotion to duty, his devotion to the United Nations and to the cause of world peace and the way in which he has destroyed his own health for all of us have been beyond all praise. We are immeasurably in his debt, a debt that we can never repay. When in years to come we think of the special gifts of U Thant I think we shall remember him above all as a peace-maker who helped to bridge the political divisions in our Organization. We shall also remember his quality of serenity, a serenity which never seems to desert him, even in moments of extreme tension when he is being pressed and buffeted on all sides.

165. On behalf of my Government and my delegation, as well as on my own behalf, I offer him our gratitude, our good wishes, and our hope that he will soon be fully restored to health and able to enjoy some well-deserved leisure before he returns to fresh fields of endeavour.

166. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): We are coming to the close of a momentous session of the General Assembly. During the session many important things have happened. Mr. President, as you rightly foresaw at the beginning of the session, the universality of this Organization has been further strengthened; not only has China taken its rightful place, but there has also been an addition of new Members.

One of them is a close neighbour of ours and the other four are all Asian countries. We hope that in the not too distant future our Organization will become a truly universal Organization in which all sovereign independent nations will be represented, including the divided countries.

167. We are deeply indebted to you, Mr. President, for the above manner in which you have cheerfully and smilingly helped us to cross over many difficult hurdles. Your example has been an inspiration to all of us. We are particularly proud of the fact that you are an Asian and represent a great friendly neighbour of ours.

168. In the turmoil and turbulence of the debates one does not realize sometimes the great labours put in by the Secretariat to help make the proceedings smooth and orderly. May I take this opportunity of conveying our sincere thanks through you, Mr. President, to the devoted band of workers in the United Nations Secretariat.

169. We shall miss a great Secretary-General who is leaving us soon. His sincerity, his devotion to the cause of peace, his dedication to the principles of the Charter, his noble and inspiring example which helped to create confidence in the impartiality of the United Nations Secretariat are all rare qualities which are necessary for any incumbent of this high office. My country recognized his great contribution to world peace by conferring on him the First Jawaharlal Nehru Award for international understanding in 1967. We wish him a well-earned rest but we hope his advice will still be available to all of us in the years to come.

170. We are happy that another sincere believer in peace who hails from a country that has always stood for the enduring and abiding values of life has been elected to succeed U Thant. We welcome Ambassador Waldheim as the new Secretary-General and wish him every success in the difficult task and the great and onerous responsibilities that he will have to shoulder in this high office.

171. The world is entering a new era full of challenges and opportunities. We hope that the United Nations will not only reflect these new trends but also be successful in meeting the challenges and utilizing the opportunities that the new trends offer. There will of course be many difficulties in our path but we earnestly believe that, with all its limitations and imperfections, the United Nations is the only world Organization which can inspire confidence among all countries and peoples of the world. It should therefore be our task to strengthen this Organization in a manner that reflects both the realities of the world we live in and the ideals we strive for. The Secretary-General will have to play an important role and he can depend on the full co-operation of the Indian delegation in the discharge of his high and noble tasks. Once again, in taking leave of U Thant now, we shall continue to recall in the future the great contribution he has made toward peace, justice and progress.

172. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Distinguished Secretary-General U Thant, on 31 December your term of office in the highly responsible post of Secretary-General of the United Nations, which you have occupied for more than 10 years, comes to an end. During that time the United Nations has

travelled a complicated and difficult road and important decisions have been taken which have marked a turning point in international relations from the tensions that were typical during the cold war period to a policy of constructive co-operation based on the principles of peaceful co-existence.

173. One matter of paramount significance was the implementation in the 1960s of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], adopted in 1960 on the initiative of the Soviet Union. A reduction of international tension was assisted by important decisions taken by the United Nations on disarmament, in particular the Moscow test ban Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests,³ the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction, approved at the current session [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*]. A special place in the history of the United Nations will be held by the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted in 1970 at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*], as well as many other important documents.

174. During your term of office, a term of active and tireless work as Secretary-General, the Organization has expanded, with the addition of almost 40 new Members. That is a reflection of the immense historical changes which have been taking place in the world since the 1960s. It is common knowledge that, through the fault of the forces of imperialism, dangerous centres of new military conflicts flared up in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and in certain other parts of the globe in the 1960s, despite the efforts of the peace-loving countries. The United Nations was actively involved in the consideration of many of these conflicts and, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, it strove to find ways to bring about a peaceful settlement. Of particular significance were the Organization's decisions regarding a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East, and in particular, Security Council resolution 242 (1967), in accordance with which the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Jarring, worked and is still working to bring about a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East. At the current session Mr. Jarring's role and mission were confirmed.

175. Mr. Secretary-General, the tempestuous course of international life in the 1960s demanded intense effort and exceptional activity on your part. Your devotion to the ideals, principles and purposes of the United Nations is well known throughout United Nations circles. All Members of the United Nations are aware of your tireless efforts to translate those lofty ideals and principles into reality.

176. You, Sir, have enjoyed great and well-deserved respect and authority among a very great number of

³ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964.

Governments of States and Missions to the United Nations. It is quite natural therefore, that many of us deeply regret your retirement and would have liked to see you remain in the post of Secretary-General for many years to come.

177. Bearing in mind your personal wishes, the Organization took all this into account and did, as they say, what had to be done.

178. In the Soviet Union your positive contribution to the strengthening of the authority of the United Nations as an important instrument for preserving and strengthening international peace and security is valued greatly.

179. You have visited the Soviet Union on several occasions and have met the Soviet leaders. Those meetings, which contributed to mutual understanding, the development and strengthening of the United Nations and a broadening of international co-operation among all States, are remembered with great warmth in the Soviet Union.

180. Allow me, in conclusion, to wish you good health, a long life and the preservation of long and constant contacts with the United Nations.

181. I should also like to welcome the new Secretary-General whom we have elected today and who will take up his duties in that responsible post, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. The Soviet delegation congratulates him on this important appointment by the General Assembly, made on the recommendation of the Security Council. Mr. Waldheim's great diplomatic capabilities, his tact, personal charm and skill, the experience he has acquired during the long period he has been with the United Nations and his outstanding experience both as a politician and a statesman are well known. Mr. Waldheim, as has already been noted, was Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country. He is also a familiar figure in the United Nations, where for many years he represented his country. It is a matter of particular satisfaction to us, the Soviet representatives, that for many years he represented Austria in the United Nations since Austria is a country with which we are linked by friendly relations and a country whose permanent neutrality as an influential European State the Soviet Union played an important role in its time in confirming. Mr. Waldheim combines not only the qualities of a man who is very familiar with the vast terrestrial international problems that are discussed in the United Nations but also of a man who for many years presided over the United Nations Committee on Outer Space. It was during that period that the United Nations was able to prepare such important documents as the Treaty on outer space, the Agreement on the rescue of astronauts [*resolution 2345 (XXII), annex*], and the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects [*resolution 2777 (XXVI), annex*].

182. We believe, therefore, that the combination of his knowledge of outer space matters and his superb experience in political and ideological activity on earth will be useful to the United Nations in the future.

183. The new Secretary-General may be assured that the Soviet delegation and the Soviet Union will give him every understanding and will co-operate with him in every way. The Soviet Union is guided in all its activities in the United

Nations by the programme of peace and co-operation among States proclaimed by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. One of the important points of that programme is the full use of the potential of the United Nations to maintain and strengthen international peace. That, of course, is the main purpose for which this Organization was created and exists. We should like, therefore, to see the United Nations more effective in the coming years in fulfilling its main task, which from the very beginning constituted the primary responsibility of the Organization—it is a most eminent, honourable and historic task—to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. We note with satisfaction in this respect the words spoken by Mr. Waldheim at a press conference yesterday, to the effect that the United Nations must be used as an instrument of peace.

184. As the 26 years of the existence of the United Nations have shown, that is just what the overwhelming majority of its Member States and of the peoples of the whole world want the United Nations to be.

185. It goes without saying that the solution of this vital task would be a contribution of inestimable value to the solution of all the other important questions facing the United Nations and mankind.

186. In welcoming Mr. Waldheim to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation wishes to express its conviction that his work in that responsible post will contribute to the strengthening of the Organization as an important centre of international co-operation among States, and the enhancement of its effectiveness as an instrument of peace. I sincerely wish him great and fruitful success in his responsible post, and in his new career.

187. Mr. FACK (Netherlands): On behalf of the delegations of the three Benelux countries, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, I wish to associate myself with previous speakers who have paid tribute to our Secretary-General, and if I may depart from our normal parliamentary procedure in these exceptional circumstances, Mr. President, I should like, with your permission, to address my remarks to U Thant directly.

188. Mr. Secretary-General, during this session of the General Assembly many words of praise, of admiration and of profound respect have been addressed to you on a variety of occasions. Quite often these laudatory words have been accompanied by appeals to stay on for another term, or at least for some time. Such appeals were in essence a tribute to your sense of duty, your awareness of responsibility and your proverbial patience. On the other hand, one sometimes wondered whether those who addressed such appeals to you realized how heavy must have been the burden you have carried these last 10 years and how great the personal sacrifice involved. It is one thing for the world to attach to you such labels as "World Citizen No. 1" or "Mr. United Nations"; it has been quite another thing for you, Mr. Secretary-General, to move from world problem to crisis, from crisis to conflict and vice versa without a let-up for 10 full years on end—always studying all aspects of every problem, always weighing the chances of mediation or assistance, always considering the possi-

bility of United Nations action and never losing sight of the limitations imposed by the provisions of the Charter.

189. The exigencies of the high office you have held with signal distinction for a decade are such that only a person of the greatest diplomatic skill and the highest form of moral fibre can view them without flinching. Your innate modesty, as proverbial as your patience, abhors long eulogies. I shall therefore limit myself to the observation that the world and this Organization owe you a debt of gratitude for your unceasing and tireless efforts undertaken in the interests of world peace, prosperity and justice.

190. When you leave these halls, a few days from now, for the last time in your present capacity, may the Almighty grant you health, happiness and success in any future activities you may wish to undertake.

191. I should be remiss if I did not at this time address a few words to U Thant's successor, appointed by the General Assembly a few minutes ago. Again I speak on behalf of the delegations of the three Benelux countries when I offer Ambassador Kurt Waldheim our warmest congratulations upon his appointment to the position of Secretary-General. Our very best wishes accompany him on the arduous path before him from 1 January next year.

192. Our new Secretary-General comes to his new task well equipped, having in recent years been entrusted in his own country with the highest office diplomacy has to offer. I wish to assure the new Secretary-General that he may at all times, like his predecessors, count on all the support—political, humanitarian and otherwise—the three Benelux countries find it within their capacity to provide to him and to the Organization.

193. Mr. President, as the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly is drawing to a close, I should, in conclusion, like to pay tribute to you, Sir, for the cheerful, tactful and patient manner in which you have presided over our deliberations. The very fact that the session closes today with most agenda items dealt with, including some that did not appear on the agenda at the beginning of the session, illustrates the value of a judicious mixture of tact and patience, flavoured with firm handling when needed. I should also like to include in our tribute the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Stavropoulos, who has been the faithful and reliable assistant of a number of Presidents of the Assembly.

194. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): My delegation joins with the previous speakers in extending heartfelt congratulations to and in welcoming Mr. Kurt Waldheim as the new Secretary-General. His great ability and wide experience are well known, and my delegation is confident that the works of the United Nations will similarly progress under his able leadership. My delegation is ready to co-operate with the new Secretary-General in every way in the discharge of his important duties.

195. It is with the greatest of regret that the Government and the people of Japan see U Thant leave as the Secretary-General of the United Nations, after 10 years in this high and very responsible office. During this period the United Nations achieved a number of successes to which

the quiet, courageous and inspired leadership of U Thant contributed to a very great degree. U Thant introduced a new feeling into the activities of the United Nations, quiet and serene dynamism based on the philosophy of Buddhism. The spirit of Asia which denies the use of force but aspires to the harmonious peace of mind is probably what the world of today and tomorrow needs most. Asia is proud to have produced a leader of the stature of U Thant. He leaves us when we need him most. May he enjoy many happy and blissful years.

196. Mr. NYIRENDA (Zambia): I have come to the rostrum in order that my delegation, in its capacity as Chairman of the African group for this month, may, on behalf of the African delegations, perform a very important dual function. First, on a very sombre note, we would like at the conclusion of the current session—the session which now, most regrettably, happens to be the last one for our very distinguished and devoted Secretary-General, U Thant—to express independent Africa's deepest sadness. Quite frankly, there are no words that can sufficiently describe and convey that profound sadness at Secretary-General U Thant's departure.

197. For the past 10 years the United Nations has understandably been identified with that great Burmese, U Thant. Whenever one has talked about or thought of the United Nations, the first thing that has come to mind is the ringing and revealing name of U Thant. That this is so is evidently common knowledge. Secretary-General U Thant has been fittingly identified with the United Nations not only because of his position as Secretary-General but also, and even more importantly, because he has been an infinitely faithful apostle and interpreter of the aims and principles of the Charter of the world Organization. Towards this end, he has during his term of office persistently, devotedly, and with unusual vision, wisdom and magnanimity, advocated the necessity for the world body to assert itself and enhance its role in the world. Disappointingly, we regret most profoundly to note that his grand call to any immediate and practical action by the Organization has many times not been heeded; and the serious consequences as a result are and should be well known to the representatives in this august Assembly. I would like to state here and now that independent Africa and the African peoples still languishing under colonial and *apartheid* yoke will see Secretary-General U Thant's impending departure as not only regrettable but also as a profoundly sad event. They are convinced that they are about to lose a friend and an indefatigable champion of the urgent cause of the oppressed and of peace and security in this troubled world. In a nutshell, the Organization is losing a most seriously committed and faithful international servant and friend, a great man of peace and a world statesman of distinction. His unequalled contribution and distinguished service will remain glowingly in the annals of the United Nations and continue to inspire the world body. In paying Secretary-General U Thant fitting tribute, as well as conveying to him sincere congratulations and gratitude for a difficult job so magnificently done, the delegations of independent Africa also wish him well.

198. This brings me to the most pleasant aspect of my delegation's task today—a task which significantly entails independent Africa's expression of sincere welcome and

congratulations to Ambassador Kurt Waldheim upon his well-deserved election to the vital post of Secretary-General of this Organization in succession to Secretary-General U Thant. That Ambassador Waldheim was the logical choice for the post is axiomatic. His unequalled wealth of experience, ability and wisdom are very well known in this Organization, and indeed his own great country. His striking biography speaks for itself, whilst the record of the country that he represents and still will represent until the end of this year is eloquent testimony to what the Organization could and should expect from that illustrious son of Austria, a country which enjoys the most cordial relations with my own country, Zambia. We therefore heartily welcome him and indeed warmly congratulate him. Ambassador Waldheim can count on the unwavering co-operation and support of the African delegations in the discharge of his duties.

199. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): It is with pleasure, but also with a tinge of sadness, that I associate my delegation with the words addressed to U Thant by previous speakers from this rostrum: sadness because a good friend and a great Secretary-General is leaving us, but pleasure because we cannot but endorse all the tributes paid to him.

200. We have all witnessed the spirit of justice and self-denial with which U Thant has untiringly dedicated himself to the many and difficult tasks that confronted the Organization. He has been able calmly and resolutely to overcome a succession of crises which have shaken the world and this Organization, which is a reflection of the world. But the way in which U Thant discharged his duties deserves so much praise that it would be impossible to summarize it all here. Therefore I shall refrain from attempting the impossible and rest content with saying that the reasons why we should be grateful to our Secretary-General are so familiar to all of us and to the public at large that they need not be repeated here.

201. At this time when, by his own decision, he is leaving us, I wish on behalf of my Government to salute this great son of Asia, this citizen of the world, this man of goodwill, this champion of human rights and this pilgrim of peace. We hope that he will preserve his ties with our Organization and will continue to give us the benefit of his advice.

202. Rest assured, Mr. Secretary-General, that we will never forget all that you have done for the Organization and for the international community. I can assure you that we shall continue to reflect on what you have taught us.

203. I cannot leave this rostrum without adding that although we are sad to see U Thant leave us, we are at least glad to see that his successor also possesses in the highest degree all those qualities necessary to discharge the important task entrusted to him. We are sure that he will make a great Secretary-General. He has been long acquainted with the workings of our Organization and over the years we have all been able to gauge his qualities as a negotiator, a diplomat and an organizer. I should like to assure him here of my delegation's full co-operation and wish him the greatest success in his new office.

204. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ten years ago I had the honour of representing

my Government in the Security Council at the time of the departure and untimely death of a high and distinguished member of the international community, Dag Hammarskjöld. I believe, together with Mr. Barnes of Liberia, on whose behalf I am also speaking, that we are the only permanent representatives here today who cast a vote for and offered words of welcome to U Thant in the Security Council in 1961. The man whom we elected 10 years ago has shown a sense of balance and a deep inner peace, which comes from his Buddhist outlook on life, a clear understanding of issues, exemplary dignity, and a strong determination to serve the international community. Our confidence in him 10 years ago, which later was renewed, has been justified by events. His firm, serene and noble manner has enabled him to overcome the difficulties confronting a world in which the interests of imperialism, of whatever stripe, have visited torments upon a world which believed in the United Nations as the last source of hope.

205. In bidding farewell to U Thant it is a privilege for me to say that he has carried out his high tasks with honour, and I wish him happiness in the future. But I am sure that his happiness will depend on the firmness with which we here in the United Nations defend the ideals for which he fought, and his ideas will always be a constant source of guidance.

206. May I also be allowed, on behalf of my Government, to congratulate Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has just been appointed Secretary-General. It is an honour for me to say that during the 11 years in which I have exercised the functions of Permanent Representative of Ecuador, I have much admired his high diplomatic and personal qualities. During that time he served as Permanent Representative of Austria and as chairman of various important committees, such as the outer space Committee. I have appreciated his friendliness, courtesy, experience and capabilities, which give us reason to anticipate every success for him at this crucial moment for mankind and the United Nations.

207. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): In U Thant France salutes a great servant of the international community, a great citizen of humanity. With an acute sense of realism, he has for 10 years now been able to rescue the United Nations from those formidable crises that have shaken the Organization to its very foundations. As a man of conscience, faith and compassion, he has for 10 years worked to the utmost limits of his strength in favour of peace and a better life for all nations. We who have known him for 15 years, and who have always benefited from his advice and his trust, can bear witness that he has felt all the blows struck against peace, all acts of violence and all violations of human rights not only as an attack on the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but as a wound suffered in his own person.

208. Dear U Thant, you are leaving, but you remain with us. We still need you, your experience and your friendship. We are sure that your wisdom will inspire our new Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, for whom we have the very highest esteem and who is a friend of long standing. He will need the co-operation of us all in discharging his onerous duties.

209. Despite so many tragic events, it is with a feeling of comfort that we approach the close of this session of the Assembly. After U Thant, with Kurt Waldheim the United Nations will go on. Thank you, U Thant.

210. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Greek delegation, I associate myself with the tributes paid to U Thant. He has served the United Nations with complete devotion, dauntless moral courage and the highest sense of responsibility.

211. His constant attachment to the principles of the Charter has guided all his undertakings and all his actions. For 10 years he has stinted neither moral energy nor physical strength in the service of peace and prosperity for mankind. He deserves his rest.

212. We are deeply saddened by his departure, but he may rest assured that the recollection of his inestimable services in the cause of peace will be a source of inspiration to us all, and particularly for the younger generation, which has always had a place in the noble heart and mind of U Thant.

213. Mr. BEAULNE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegation of Canada and the delegations of Australia and New Zealand, for which I am acting as spokesman, I should like to congratulate His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim upon his election to the important office of Secretary-General. He has personal and official ties with my country. He has a large number of friends there who know his qualities of the heart and mind and take pleasure, as do we all, in the honour done him today.

214. The delegations of Canada, Australia and New Zealand wish, through me, to pay a tribute to U Thant. This exemplary man, exemplary through the simplicity, dignity, prudence and probity which he has displayed in the execution of his high office, has won a permanent right to the gratitude of our contemporaries. We would like to express our heartfelt best wishes to him and his family on the eve of Christmas, we would like to salute in him an apostle who for a whole decade has bent his every effort to hasten the realization of the age-old aspiration of mankind, which is summed up in this wish: "Peace on earth, good will toward men".

215. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): U Thant's dedication to the cause of the United Nations was exemplary. He was apparently unperturbable when this Organization was confronted with many a political crisis. But he must have suffered stoically whenever peace was threatened. U Thant's benign face became a symbol of unwavering assurance in the midst of international uncertainty. His sense of justice was invariably tempered with tolerance, which humanized his approach to vexing problems. No one who knew him well could detect even a vestige of vindictiveness in his behaviour.

216. In the face of adversity, U Thant was firm but flexible, in that he serenely upheld the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. But he also made allowances for the frailties and foibles of most world leaders, who after all could hardly claim to be infallible in conducting the affairs of their own people and at the same

time harmonizing national interests with the common weal of the world community.

217. All this was U Thant—and something more. This something more cannot be easily described, except perhaps by saying that U Thant was a man who left an indelible mark on the cause of world peace. But, above all, we find that he has dwelt in the hearts of men. U Thant, my good friend and brother in humanity, may you in your private life, for many years to come, nurture the hope of mankind and continue to point the way to a better world.

218. I shall not wax long in congratulating Kurt Waldheim, our new Secretary-General, for indeed I have always regarded him as a personal friend and it would be embarrassing to engage in praising someone who has been known for singular ability, coupled with genuine modesty and a high sense of dignity. By his deeds we shall know him. I feel confident that Kurt Waldheim will acquit himself admirably in the difficult task ahead to which he has been appointed.

219. We should not only wish him well, but, more importantly, we should selflessly assist him to achieve the goals of the United Nations.

220. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): It is my privilege today to speak on behalf of the delegations of the five Nordic States, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland, and in their name to pay a tribute to U Thant, our Secretary-General for the past 10 years. He assumed his office at a time of severe crisis for the United Nations, a crisis endangering the very foundations of the Organization. It was in large measure because of his moderating influence that the danger was overcome. Today, he is a symbol of co-operation and solidarity in a world torn by conflict and dissension. For millions of people everywhere, the name of U Thant stands for the fundamental unity of mankind and for the vision of a world at peace, a world in which all peoples have learned to live in peace with one another as good neighbours.

221. It is a unique achievement that U Thant, after 10 years in office, retains not only the full confidence and respect of every Member nation, but also the warm affection of all who have worked with him. His selfless devotion to the United Nations and to the cause of peace has earned him the undivided gratitude and respect of all nations, and I am sure that he is well aware of the very special affection which the peoples of the Nordic countries have for him. On their behalf, I extend to him and his family our very best wishes for health and happiness and success in all his future endeavours.

222. And, now, let me salute U Thant's successor, Ambassador Kurt Waldheim. The process by which our Organization chose its new Secretary-General was somewhat different from what we have witnessed before. His name did not emerge suddenly from private consultations. He was chosen from a number of candidates, most of whom had presented themselves to Member States some time ago. This, I believe, is in accord with the spirit now prevailing in the United Nations. The appointment of the Secretary-General is of great interest to every Member State. It is right, therefore, that candidates are known to all and can be examined and weighed by the membership as a whole.

223. I am convinced that it has also been right and wise to choose a man who has a thorough knowledge of the United Nations and its problems and how it functions. All of us who have worked with Kurt Waldheim here in the United Nations—and I think I can say that he has been especially close to the delegations of the Nordic countries—know him as a man who has a thorough knowledge and experience of international affairs; a man who has served his Government with great distinction, as Foreign Minister as well as in several important diplomatic posts; a man who has all the qualifications necessary for the holder of the exacting office of Secretary-General.

224. He also represents a country which has pledged itself to perpetual neutrality, and he thus embodies, as it were, the principle of impartiality and objectivity which is essential for the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

225. I am sure that Kurt Waldheim knows he can always count on the full support and co-operation of the five Nordic delegations in all his efforts to make the United Nations an effective instrument for peace and co-operation between nations.

226. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I am indeed glad to have this occasion to express, on behalf of my President, Archbishop Makarios, my Government and myself personally, our feelings of gratification that the helm of the United Nations at this time in world developments will be in the steady hands of Kurt Waldheim, an experienced, tried and trusted diplomat, widely recognized and respected in the United Nations and in the world community for his intellectual integrity, his objectivity and independence of mind and, most of all, for his dedication to the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

227. He comes from a country which has through the centuries excelled in civilization and culture. In the past and in a different age it was powerful enough to be prominent among the great Powers of the day; and now, in the United Nations age, it is small enough to be relieved of the burden of armaments and of military alliances of the past and is able to devote all its energies and constructive endeavours towards international understanding, peace and progress in the world. Ambassador Kurt Waldheim has eminently contributed as statesman and excelled as diplomat in giving positive expression to this policy of his noble country.

228. Our esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, speaking of the qualities of a United Nations Secretary-General, stressed that he must be an idealist as well as a realist. In our interpretation, this means a man endowed with vision, looking to the future and capable of imaginative action towards the attainment of the principles and purposes of the United Nations. But, at the same time, he must be governed by a sense of realism as to the possibilities and means of attaining the goal of his dedicated efforts, through a tactful harmonizing of the actions of nations. And, indeed, the word "realism" has different meanings at different times. In our rapidly developing world of today realism is that which looks ahead enough to see what is coming, in time for action to be taken in accordance with the developments of the world and not to lag behind.

229. It is difficult to imagine a more perfect epitome of those qualities than is contained in the record of U Thant's actions and his wise leadership of the United Nations during the 10 years of his tenure of office, more particularly during times of grave and imminent danger—such as the Cuban crisis in 1962 and the crises threatening the United Nations itself in 1961 and 1964.

230. In the Cuban crisis, when nuclear confrontation was imminent and the Security Council was unable to act, it was Secretary-General U Thant who, by his timely and effective intervention, through a balanced appeal to the heads of the two super-Powers, contributed importantly not only to saving the world from the threatened disaster of a confrontation but also to laying the foundations for a satisfactory settlement of the dangerous situation and the opening up of the way to a *détente*—and more agreements, as we know, followed in other fields.

231. In the crises of 1961 and 1964 threatening the Organization itself, U Thant's political wisdom and statesmanlike action ensured the return of normality to the United Nations.

232. In our own case of Cyprus and its problem, his unswerving upholding of the principles of the Charter and his constructive and untiring efforts towards the solution of the problem on the basis of those principles were decisive in averting great dangers to international peace and security and putting the problem of Cyprus on the way to solution.

233. His departure from the United Nations will be deeply felt by all of us, and the memory of his illumined passage through the Organization will live for ever in the minds of present and future generations of mankind. It will live as a beacon, guiding us in the search for peace and towards survival in the turbulent years that lie ahead of us.

234. On behalf of my President, Archbishop Makarios, and of the Government and the people of Cyprus, it is my privilege to express our profound appreciation and gratitude and to pay homage to a man who more than anyone else has incarnated the soul of the United Nations and the spirit of peace, justice and freedom in the world.

235. We hope and believe that in his retirement from the United Nations U Thant will continue with the same dedication towards the attainment of the high objectives which guided his actions as Secretary-General of the United Nations. We wish him all success in his future career, which we hope will be long and productive.

236. At the present juncture in the history of the United Nations and in the present circumstances, I cannot think of a more fitting successor to U Thant than Kurt Waldheim, our new Secretary-General. From my long association with him I know that he possesses both idealism and realism and that he is eminently endowed with the tact for harmonizing the actions of nations. Indeed, it was owing to his spirit of harmony, understanding and accommodation, to which there was also a response from the other side, that the problem of South Tyrol was settled in a just manner within the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions on the subject, and to the satisfaction of both sides, so that now there is a full development of peace

and harmony in that area. That is one instance showing the ability of Kurt Waldheim to act dynamically and imaginatively in the interests of all concerned.

237. We feel confident that he will lead the United Nations with profound dedication towards the development of a world legal order in justice and peace under the Charter, as he expressed it in his statement in the Assembly today.

238. My delegation pledges full co-operation and support to our new Secretary-General, and we wish him success in the challenging times ahead in this great post.

239. Mr. SZARKA (Hungary): I wish to convey, on behalf of the Eastern European group of States and Mongolia, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, the warmest expression of our gratitude, esteem and admiration. U Thant's name has for a decade been inseparably linked to the United Nations. When he assumed his high office 10 years ago, he had already been known to representatives here as the Permanent Representative of Burma. He has been known and appreciated as a skilful and experienced diplomat and as a man of great charm, perception and understanding.

240. Upon assuming the high office of Secretary-General, U Thant had to face a difficult situation in many respects. He has not only done that, but has, if possible, even grown in stature. He has become a strong factor in the search for a better world, a constant champion of international peace and security. He has untiringly striven to help peoples achieve self-determination, and thus to lend the power and influence of the United Nations towards eliminating the colonial system in the world.

241. U Thant has taken a strong stand against violations of the principles of the United Nations Charter. He has done his utmost to contribute to the universality of our Organization. His unselfish and untiring work this year has been an important contribution to the activities of the General Assembly, and we have all been able to realize this despite his temporary absence owing to ill-health. Circumstances have developed in such a regrettable way that now U Thant is leaving. We must thank him for his 10 years of devoted service as Secretary-General, years which he dedicated to the peace and security of the world and to a happier future for mankind. His outstanding personality has become inseparable from the history of the United Nations, and we are profoundly and sincerely convinced that even after his retirement he will be the object of the continued high respect and esteem all over the world.

242. I should like to wish U Thant good health and a happy and prosperous life in the years to come. The countries on whose behalf I am speaking will always remember him as a sincere friend of our peoples as well as a reliable friend in the struggle for peace and security.

243. Speaking as the representative of Hungary, I should like to add that we shall never forget him. We are awaiting his visit in whatever capacity he chooses to come to us.

244. Electing a Secretary-General of this Organization has always been an event of exceptional importance. The post

of Secretary-General, as we know, is a most important and responsible one. The Charter confers upon the Secretary-General powers that are precisely defined and are of great significance from the point of view of the cardinal aim of the Organization: the maintenance of peace and security all over the world. This task requires great skill and devotion from the person who has been selected to perform the functions of Secretary-General. He should be a diplomat, and a very experienced one at that, and he is expected to have a comprehensive view of international problems so as to be able to guide the Secretariat in tackling them.

245. Mr. Kurt Waldheim is assuredly such a man. He is well known to representatives of the Member States on whose behalf I have the honour to speak. We have known him as Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations and as Foreign Minister of his country. Our countries have known and come to appreciate the constructive foreign policy of Austria. That policy, which set out to serve international co-operation and a stable peace, has contributed greatly to the search for a better world, of which Europe is an important region. Austria has for years been one of the countries that have made great efforts to lay the groundwork for the all-European conference on security and co-operation which the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, along with others, so devotedly seek.

246. In this active search for a stable and peaceful Europe, the Austria of Mr. Kurt Waldheim has been a worthy partner. It was in recognition of the role played by Austria and by Mr. Kurt Waldheim personally that the Member States of the United Nations decided to elect him to be the next Secretary-General.

247. While congratulating him most sincerely and warmly, the countries on behalf of which I speak pledge to him their full co-operation in the discharge of his most important and responsible tasks. We wish to assure him that he will always be able to count on us in the realization of the noble goals of our Charter.

248. We wish him good health in his worthy undertaking and hope that he will exercise his high office in a way that will benefit his country. We are certain that he will emulate the high standard and devotion of his admirable predecessor.

249. I should now like to say a few words in my capacity as representative of Hungary. Austria and Hungary are neighbours, but much more than that: our two countries enjoy excellent relations and are constantly strengthening their many-sided contacts. Although our two countries have chosen to follow different paths and different institutions to build our national lives, we can safely say that our two peoples are friendly peoples and our two Governments are friendly Governments. I am glad to state also that our Secretary-General-elect played an important role in that, in his capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country. For that reason it is a source of special satisfaction and pleasure for us that we can welcome in his person the son of our friendly neighbour Austria. Permit me to offer him the felicitations and best wishes of the Hungarian Government and people on his election to this post. We express our readiness to maintain with him the best of relations in the discharge of his noble mission.

250. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): Some of my colleagues from Asia have already spoken, but I wish, in my capacity as Chairman of the Asian group for this month, to pay special tribute on behalf of the Group to a great son of Asia, U Thant.

251. Our beloved and esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, will soon relinquish the reins of his lofty office. He will be sorely missed. No man has won equally the love, esteem and respect of all as he has. It is indeed impossible to encompass the achievements of the United Nations during his 10 years of office, for they were many, varied and fruitful. Were one to do so one would be writing the history of the United Nations during 10 difficult years. Suffice it to say that U Thant has won world acclaim as a symbol of peace; in a way, U Thant and peace have become Siamese twins. Suffice it to say also that the United Nations under his leadership has experienced a surge such as it never had before. He has given a strong impetus to many developments and permeated the actions of the United Nations with his humanist spirit.

252. U Thant has received and will receive many rewards and awards. But the greatest and the rarest that he has achieved is the general and renewed confidence in him on the part of the Members of the United Nations. He was requested to remain at the helm and could have remained the skipper of our ship had he wished. Unique indeed are those holders of public office who, at the end of even shorter careers, can still command such trust. Even more unique are the men whose vision is not blurred by the lustre of power.

253. U Thant's service as Secretary-General will soon come to an end within these halls, but his service to the United Nations, to his ideals and principles, to the cause of peace, justice and progress, will go on. The wide world is his. There, he will offer the rich treasures of facts, knowledge and experience accumulated during his career. A Buddhist precept says: "Holding fast to the ultimate truth, do not refuse hard work in any form."

254. We shall follow U Thant's work in other fields with keen interest, for we want to continue to enrich ourselves with the treasures of his experience and wisdom.

255. Our esteemed U Thant, we wish you mainly good health, happiness to your family and long years in which you will carry the torch of peace to even greater heights.

256. I wish to take this opportunity to express our congratulations to our distinguished friend and colleague, Mr. Kurt Waldheim of Austria, who has been elected unanimously to the important office of Secretary-General. He is eminently qualified to assume that office. His brilliant career as a diplomat and as Foreign Minister of his country has equipped him to shoulder the responsibilities that will become his on 1 January 1972. We are confident that in the performance of his duties he will apply the qualities which characterize him, his country and his people: impartiality, fairness, friendliness and a spirit of justice. I wish to assure him that he can always rely on the co-operation and support of the Asian delegations and my own in the discharge of his important duties. We extend to him a sincere welcome and heartiest congratulations and best

wishes in his service of mankind through the United Nations.

257. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly closes today, the Latin American group would like to pay a sincere tribute of gratitude to Secretary-General U Thant for his achievements in carrying out his duties.

258. For 10 years he has devoted his best efforts to a continuing and tiring task, namely, that of bringing about understanding among nations and the practice of tolerance among men. He has collaborated decisively in the struggle against colonialism, in providing aid for the developing countries and in promoting respect for the dignity of the human being.

259. We believe that it is quite fair to call him the apostle of peace and tolerance and that his unshakable determination to act in strict accord with these two great ideals, in defence of which he has even disregarded his health, will mean that his actions will be remembered throughout the world, as the years pass, by all men of goodwill.

260. Within a few days U Thant will complete his functions in our Organization and we are sure—to use the words of a great writer of our continent—that in laying down his weary head he will experience that special pride that a man feels when he has ploughed his furrow.

261. Mr. Secretary-General, in paying tribute to you today and conveying our thanks for the great work you have done, I wish to tell you that we shall always have you in our hearts and minds.

262. On behalf of the Latin American group I should like to congratulate Mr. Kurt Waldheim on his appointment to the post of Secretary-General. The choice made by the Security Council and fully supported by the General Assembly was a wise one. We wish him the greatest success in his difficult task, for there are many great and serious problems confronting the world today with which this Organization and its highest official, the Secretary-General, will have to deal.

263. Our primary purpose, the establishment of a lasting and durable peace, as the long-standing dream of men who believe in justice, is still remote. The new Secretary-General is beginning his work after the Organization has been in existence more than 25 years and, despite the efforts of many, great problems in establishing peace still remain.

264. We should all realize that we must move gradually towards general and complete disarmament. When the funds, efforts and lives that today are wasted dismayingly in wars and devastation are applied to economic development and the social and spiritual advancement of mankind, we will have achieved our goal of making a reality of the principles that we have undertaken to carry out, namely, to promote social progress and better standards of living in larger freedom, to practise tolerance and live together in peace as good neighbours, to unite our efforts to maintain international peace and security, to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that

armed force shall not be used save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

265. These objectives are in sum the goal of the Latin American countries, and thus, in reaffirming our faith in their attainment, we assure the Secretary-General who has been elected today of our support in the defence and application of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

266. Mr. VINCI (Italy): On this solemn day I wish to pay tribute, on behalf of the Italian Government, my delegation as well as myself, to the departing Secretary-General U Thant. The impeccable moral standards he has set, his very high principles, his intellectual integrity, his untiring activity and his total dedication to the office he has held with great dignity for a whole decade have made of him an example for each of us, an example which everyone in the United Nations family has looked upon with admiration and as a source of inspiration since he reflected the conscience of mankind and the aspirations of all peoples to peace and justice.

267. The Italian Government has never failed to support all of U Thant's initiatives tending to reaffirm the purposes and principles of the Charter. This is perhaps the praise which the outgoing Secretary-General can rightly be most proud of: his staunch defence of the Charter and his loyalty and faithfulness in carrying out the tasks entrusted to him by the high organs of the United Nations.

268. In paying my respectful homage to Secretary-General U Thant, I wish him, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, as well as personally, the most heartfelt good wishes for his prosperity and health, trusting that his advice will be available to the United Nations for many years to come.

269. I should like to offer my most sincere and warm congratulations, also on behalf of my Government and my delegation to the new Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim. May I add to this welcome my heartfelt wishes for the success of the high mission he has been called upon to fulfil, a mission which has nothing comparable in international life—it is the highest and most difficult.

270. The Italian Government draws deep satisfaction from the appointment of Secretary-General Waldheim: we have favoured his nomination from the beginning and we are glad to support his appointment. Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in fact, has been for a long time a well-known and highly respected figure in my country which has with Austria, a neighbouring country, traditional bonds of mutual knowledge, esteem and friendship that find their roots back in the most ancient times. In this connexion I should like to recall the period when Mr. Waldheim, serving his country as Foreign Minister, gave the best demonstration that disputes between two neighbouring countries can be settled by peaceful means as called for by the United Nations Charter.

271. The first address of the Secretary-General-elect was fully in accordance with his achievements as Foreign Minister of Austria. His inspiring address was especially in the spirit and tradition of that school of thinking which had

its birthplace in Austria with Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, a man who contributed perhaps more than anybody else to promoting the ideas which brought to life the League of Nations and later the United Nations. Kurt Waldheim is a faithful heir of that school.

272. I should like to end my words on a personal note by saying to Secretary-General-elect Waldheim, in renewing my congratulations, how glad I was to be among those who last night supported the draft resolution which the General Assembly ratified this morning by acclamation.

273. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): Ten years ago it was Ceylon's privilege to propose the appointment of U Thant as Secretary-General of the United Nations. Today I thought it fit, although I represent no one but my own country and my own delegation and for that reason seek the indulgence of this Assembly, to bid farewell to this determined crusader for peace who has guided the Organization over the past decade and given a shining example of unfailing devotion and matchless integrity. The past decade may rightly be described in the annals of the United Nations as the decade of U Thant.

274. The vocabulary of homage, appreciation and gratitude is rich but not inexhaustible, and the grand tributes that have already been paid to him leave me with hardly anything new to add. U Thant has shown himself to be a man of sublime compassion, profound understanding and great nobility of spirit. In this cathedral of peace he had been revered as a High Priest. We honoured him with our trust. He repaid us in incalculable measure and honoured us with his service.

275. On behalf of the Government and the delegation of Ceylon, I extend to him and his wife our sincerest wishes for health and happiness in the years to come. As one Buddhist to another, I should like to say, "May the blessings of the Triple Gem be on him and his wife always." We are certain that he will continue to place his experience and wisdom at the disposal of the international community in the cause of peace and goodwill among all peoples.

276. It gives me infinite pleasure to extend a cordial welcome to the Secretary-General-elect, Mr. Kurt Waldheim of Austria. Apart from his great personal qualities, he has the distinct advantage of having before him the inspiring example of an illustrious predecessor. On behalf of my Government and my delegation I offer him our warmest congratulations and best wishes and assure him of our unfaltering co-operation.

277. Mr. President, may I express our thanks to you for the manner in which you have presided over the work of an Assembly which has by its achievements and by the completion of its agenda in time confounded many but impressed all.

278. Finally, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to wish all delegations and the members of the Secretariat a very Happy New Year.

279. Mr. TRUONG CANG (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to be allowed to associate myself with the other distinguished representatives who

have spoken before me in paying very humble tribute, on behalf of the people and Government of the Khmer Republic and of my delegation, to His Excellency U Thant, and to convey to him our gratitude for his spirit of objectivity and impartiality and for the immense contribution that he has made to the cause of peace, justice and progress in the course of 10 years in the service of mankind.

280. We are heartbroken to see him leave us. We extend to him our heartfelt wishes for happiness, prosperity and long life.

281. I should also like, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, to address our warm and sincere congratulations to His Excellency Kurt Waldheim on his well-deserved election to this distinguished post in our Organization. We are happy that the choice has fallen on this noble son of a neutral country which has known a glorious past as well as the vicissitudes of war. We are all the happier that our new Secretary-General was one of our eminent colleagues who has already given evidence of his great competence during his long career in the service of this world Organization. From the bottom of our hearts we wish him every success in his lofty and noble mission and in the accomplishment of a task which has been called impossible, but which is indeed a noble one which now faces him at a time when force tends to override law.

282. I hasten to assure him of our humble and complete co-operation.

283. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Hungary has already spoken on behalf of the delegations of the countries of Eastern Europe. However, I come to this rostrum to express—on behalf of the Bulgarian Government, the Bulgarian delegation and on my own behalf, as a neighbour in the different committees of the United Nations, who has been a friend of U Thant ever since the beginning of our work together in this Organization; U Thant who later became Secretary-General of the United Nations—to express to him, I say, our feelings of gratitude for the services he has rendered to the United Nations for more than 10 years. We are also very grateful to him for having given the best years of his life to this work and for thus having contributed to world progress.

284. We should, of course, have liked to see U Thant continue in office as Secretary-General. Unfortunately even the best things cannot last for ever.

285. We congratulate his successor, Kurt Waldheim, on his election and we wish him every success in the accomplishment of his difficult task, a task which is so beneficial for the development of relations in this Organization and throughout the world. We are sure that in taking over the difficult but fruitful work begun by his predecessor he will contribute effectively, as U Thant has done, to the application of the principles of the Charter, to peace and international security in this world, where it is needed more than ever.

286. Mr. GARCÍA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to extend the congratulations of the Mexican delegation and my own to Mr. Kurt

Waldheim upon his well-deserved election, which the General Assembly has unanimously confirmed, to occupy the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1 January 1972.

287. I have had occasion personally to admire his distinguished record in our Organization which, as he reminded us himself a short while ago, goes back to 1955. I am convinced that we all take pleasure in the fact that the Security Council and the General Assembly have agreed on the choice of a man whose capacity, outstanding qualities and experience are a solid guarantee that he will carry out his important functions with the greatest possible distinction and efficiency.

288. With regard to the man who at present occupies this high post, for my country and my delegation the name of U Thant will remain indissolubly linked with a Latin American undertaking about which Mexico has from the very beginning been consistently enthusiastic, that is, the banning of nuclear weapons in Latin America, to which the Secretary-General has unceasingly made an important contribution. This is just one of U Thant's many contributions to peace, to disarmament, to the self-determination of peoples and to the promotion of economic development in social justice to which the President of Mexico, Luis Echeverría Álvarez, paid public tribute from this very rostrum on his recent visit to the United Nations [*1952nd meeting*].

289. Today I have ventured to pay an unreserved tribute of admiration and to extend my sincere gratitude as one who has had the privilege of following closely the exemplary career of U Thant and of benefiting from his advice, which has always been wise and invariably impartial. The decade of his life which he has totally devoted to our Organization has earned him the gratitude of mankind, and when he leaves his high post on 31 December he will unquestionably take with him the sincere best wishes for his future of all the peoples of the world, including, I can assure him, the people of Mexico, whose feelings are well known to U Thant.

290. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): The Irish delegation wishes to be associated with the many tributes paid to U Thant as he is about to leave the office of Secretary-General.

291. He is, of course, aware of the very close friendship which marked relations between the delegations of Burma and Ireland in the years he served as Permanent Representative of his country, of the warmth with which my Government greeted his nomination as Secretary-General in 1961, and finally of the satisfaction felt by my Government at the way in which he discharged the onerous functions of the office in a period marked by turbulence and dissension, in which he was confronted with many serious and delicate problems.

292. U Thant brought to the office of Secretary-General a sense of high integrity and a selfless dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter. In the words used by the Foreign Minister of Ireland when speaking here on 7 October last, "... his courage, his words, the attitudes he has taught us and his tolerance, will remain to guide and inspire us." [*1956th meeting, para. 120.*]

293. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that he will enjoy very many years of peaceful and happy retirement—in which, however, we are sure, he will not fail to make available to the international community the benefits of his unmatched experience in promoting harmony and co-operation among nations.

294. My delegation wishes at the same time to extend heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Kurt Waldheim on his appointment as Secretary-General. Those of us who have had the privilege of working with him for several years within these precincts have become familiar with his deep knowledge of international affairs and those qualities of courtesy, perception and tact which called him to the highest post in the foreign service of his country in January 1968. It is a measure of his attachment to the Organization that when he left the post of Foreign Minister of Austria last year he chose to return as Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

295. He comes, of course, from a State in which the traditions of diplomacy are among the oldest in Europe and a country with which Ireland has had many links over a very long time, beginning with the arrival in Bregenz of Columbanus and of Virgil in Salzburg more than a thousand years ago.

296. The Irish delegation has no doubt that Mr. Waldheim will add lustre to the office of Secretary-General of the United Nations and wishes him all success in his new duties.

297. Mr. EREN (Turkey): Everything that can be said about U Thant has already been said. The annals of the United Nations, and indeed the annals of history, contain no similar record of such universal tribute and, I should say, of such universal gratitude to one man. I want only to repeat what Macaulay once said about man's contribution to history: "Some men leave on history the imprint of their sad acts, but lucky are the few that bequeath the imprint of their hearts."

298. Even as we feel nostalgia, we feel reassured by the election of Kurt Waldheim. The history of modern diplomacy is already enriched by his country's great contributions. In Kurt Waldheim we salute the second great contribution of Austria to international relations. Metternich's country has given us a man of extraordinary experience and skill, a man of infinite patience and wisdom.

299. In congratulating Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we are congratulating ourselves.

300. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): There is little I can add to the tributes which representatives of Member States have paid to the Secretary-General, U Thant. None the less my delegation deems it necessary to say a few brief words in tribute to him, recalling the early days of his term of office following his assumption of great responsibility as United Nations Secretary-General. It was a time when he was confronted with difficult and complex problems, and his actions affected my country very closely.

301. Soon after being elected to office, he was called upon to participate in a grave international crisis which directly

affected my country. On that occasion U Thant demonstrated his profound respect for the sovereign rights of nations, his firm adherence to the principles of the Charter, his loyalty to the cause of peace and justice. Ever since then he has enjoyed the gratitude and sincere appreciation of my people. Today, when we are bidding farewell to him as Secretary-General, I should like to assure him that these feelings are still as alive as they were nine years ago.

302. Over these years we have in addition witnessed U Thant's total dedication to the difficult responsibilities incumbent on him as Secretary-General. For him, there has never been a day or an hour of rest. He has always been available to discharge his duties in the same spirit and with the same devotion to the noble ideals of the Charter as 10 years ago when those qualities won him his appointment as Secretary-General. For that reason, and because of his consistent conduct over a decade, my delegation could not fail to participate in this very sincere tribute to his person and to his work.

303. We should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer very sincere congratulations to Mr. Kurt Waldheim on his well-deserved election as Secretary-General of the United Nations with effect from 1 January 1972. My country has the most cordial and friendly relations with his country, Austria, and we are sure that because of his experience and ability and the work he has accomplished in his career Mr. Kurt Waldheim will as Secretary-General have the respect and gratitude of the entire international community, and to the same degree as the man to whom we are saying goodbye today. We congratulate him most sincerely on behalf of our Government and people.

304. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Secretary-General, U Thant.

305. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I am most grateful to you all for your very kind words and cordial sentiments on this occasion when I take leave of the Member States represented in the General Assembly.

306. Mr. President, it has been both a pleasure and a privilege for me to work with you closely during this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I am sure I reflect the views of the entire membership when I say that you have discharged your heavy responsibilities and difficult tasks with exemplary ability and decisiveness.

307. I must also say that I am deeply touched by the very gracious tributes paid to me by many member Governments in this august Assembly. My emotions on this occasion are deep and, understandably, mixed. On the one hand it is sad for me to take leave of so many friends, many of whom I might still continue to meet but with whom I do not expect to have that close and friendly association which has brightened by 3,702 days as Secretary-General. On the other hand, I would be less than candid if I did not tell you that I feel a sense of great relief bordering on liberation upon my impending retirement and on laying down the burdens of this office.

308. During recent months I have reiterated my gratitude to all my many friends and colleagues who have expressed the wish that I should reconsider my decision to step down.

I am sure they will agree with me, on further reflection, that I was right to insist that I should leave my office at this time. In doing so I am greatly heartened and encouraged by the thought that I shall be leaving this office in such capable hands.

309. I have known Ambassador Waldheim ever since he first came to New York as Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations in 1964. Subsequently he has been Foreign Minister of his own country, and I was personally very pleased when he was reappointed as Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations last year. I know that he is held in very high esteem by all of those who have come to know him during his many years in New York. Apart from his well-known diplomatic ability, he has also shown a special talent for conciliation in his work as Chairman of the outer space Committee and in other United Nations bodies. I wish him every success in his new and high responsibilities.

310. I leave at a time when the Organization has many unresolved problems—as many delegations have stressed—and much unfinished business on its hands. First, there is the long-standing problem of the Middle East. In this case I feel it is imperative that resolution 242 (1967), which was unanimously adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967, should be fully implemented. More recently, and especially during the current month, all of us have been preoccupied with the situation in South Asia. Let us hope that a fair and just settlement may be negotiated among the parties principally involved and that a new era of peace and stability may lie ahead for that vast subcontinent. In this connexion it is heartening that the Security Council only last night adopted a very useful and constructive resolution [307 (1971)].

311. I must also express my sense of personal disappointment that more progress has not been made by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which has been doing its best to formulate some guidelines over the last six years and more. As I have observed recently, this is a vital issue and it is important that a firm agreement be reached on this question before long.

312. The Organization continues to face a serious financial situation despite my best attempts over many years to resolve this problem, and more recently the dedicated efforts of Mr. Hambro, President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I hope that the financial difficulties may be resolved, at least in part, under my successor because I feel it will not be possible for anyone to preside with any sense of satisfaction over the activities of a bankrupt Organization.

313. In my statement of 3 November 1961, when I first assumed office as Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, and in my statement of 2 December 1966, when I accepted a fresh five-year mandate, I paid tribute to the Secretariat, of which I have been the head for the last 10 years and more. I have also recently had the opportunity of taking leave of the staff and I have been able to express my profound gratitude to all the members of the staff, both in New York and in the far-distant corners of the world, for their dedication and devotion. They represent a priceless asset which I am sure my successor can count upon.

314. During all these years I have pursued a policy of consulting with my colleagues, the Under-Secretaries-General and Assistant Secretaries-General, individually, in groups, or at meetings as appropriate to the occasion. They have shared their thoughts and problems with me as freely as I have, for my part, shared my difficulties and problems with them. I feel that in this way we have had an understanding of each other's position, and I think I can also say that during all these years the decisions I have taken were based on careful consideration and prior consultation, and my colleagues have found them generally acceptable.

315. There is, however, one aspect of my work as chief administrative officer of this Organization on which I would like to make a very brief observation. I feel that, before laying down my office as Secretary-General of the United Nations, I should in all candour inform the Member States that it is a very unsatisfactory position for the Secretary-General not to have a deputy who can act on his behalf with full authority and full responsibility during his absence, whether for a rest or for a holiday, or on official travel. I say this although I have been well served by all my senior colleagues who have co-operated with me in every possible way whenever it has been necessary for me to absent myself on official travel. However, I have no doubt in my own mind that the absence of a deputy has been one of the main reasons why I myself felt inhibited from taking an occasional holiday and Members are aware of the resultant consequences to my own health.

316. I understand that in every major specialized agency there is at least one deputy who is able to relieve the executive head of some bureaucratic responsibilities on a day-to-day basis, and who is also authorized and fully able to act for him during his absence. With the phenomenal growth in the Secretariat during recent years, and the expected growth of activity in such fields as environment, the sea-bed, and outer space in the future, I feel it is even more important that in the next 10 years the Secretary-General should be able to rely upon the services of one deputy.

317. While the Preparatory Commission in 1945 realized the necessity for a deputy, as most representatives are aware, the actual recommendation which involved a kind of rotation of acting responsibilities of the Secretary-General would be impractical under present circumstances. The relationship between the Secretary-General and his deputy has to be one of complete confidence, and it follows that the deputy should be one individual appointed by and responsible to the Secretary-General. At the same time, in view of the fact that a variety of responsibilities might devolve upon the Secretary-General and his deputy in the absence of the Secretary-General, I believe he should be acceptable to the Security Council—that is important—and also, of course, to the membership in general.

318. I do not feel that the Deputy Secretary-General need be paid a higher salary than an Under-Secretary-General, since I regard his function basically as a clearly recognized *primus inter pares* position. However, in order to take care of his additional representational responsibilities, I would suggest that he be paid a higher representation allowance than the other Under-Secretaries-General.

319. This is, of course, not a formal proposal. I want to make it very clear that I am not making an official proposal. But I feel that in the interests of good management and his own health, the next Secretary-General might be well advised to consider such a proposal and, of course, it should receive the closest attention of the membership in general and particularly the members of the Security Council. This would not require an amendment of the Charter, in my view, and the financial implications would be minimal.

320. I wish to conclude by saying *au revoir* rather than farewell to my friends and colleagues assembled here. I hope to be around for some time, and I also intend to use my leisure for the active propagation and advancement of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to which I have such a deep sense of personal commitment.

321. I wish you all a very happy holiday season and all the best.

Completion of the work of the twenty-sixth session

322. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the Chairmen of regional groups who wish to speak at the closure of the session, beginning with the representative of Zambia, on behalf of the African States.

323. Mr. NYIRENDA (Zambia): I have asked for the floor again in order that my delegation may, on behalf of the African delegations, pay you personally, Mr. President, a well-deserved tribute. At the conclusion of the current session of the Assembly under your very able and wise leadership as President, we in independent Africa feel in duty bound to extend to you sincere congratulations and the expression of our appreciation for the manner in which you have successfully guided the Assembly in its deliberations throughout this session. Undoubtedly it has been not only an eventful session but also a historic one, with the long overdue restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Yet you have guided the Assembly on its sometimes very difficult course with unique patience, flexibility and firmness and indeed with the dignity and wisdom characteristic of the Indonesians, who in 1955 not only hosted the historic Bandung Conference but also guided it in a similar fashion. Independent Africa still cherishes the memory of the spirit and commitment of Bandung. It will, for instance, be recalled that it was at Bandung that representatives of the third world, meeting for the first time at such an august gathering, committed their respective countries to, among other urgent goals, the total elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign domination and *apartheid* in all their forms and manifestations. Therefore, we were delighted and inspired to see a distinguished son of Indonesia such as you, Mr. President, preside over this Assembly during this crucial and historic session. Again please accept our sincere congratulations and expressions of gratitude. We wish you well and a good New Year.

324. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Lebanon to speak on behalf of the Asian States.

325. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): Mr. President, it is also my privilege and honour to take the floor again to pay special

tribute to you as President of the General Assembly, on behalf of the Asian Group as well as on behalf of the Lebanese delegation.

326. Mr. President, allow me to reiterate in this forum what I have expressed on previous occasions, that Asia is proud of the fact that you were elected President of the General Assembly and of the achievements of the Assembly under your wise, energetic and skilful leadership. You have indeed won the respect and admiration of all delegations for the efficient way in which you have conducted our meetings. The trust that was placed in you at the beginning of the session has been richly justified, and to the laurels of your services to your country, Indonesia, to Asia, to the world and to the cause of peace and amity among nations you have added new ones. Indonesia has known you as a skilful, unassuming diplomat dedicated to the solution of difficult problems by peaceful means. Your singular contribution to the solution of the problem of West Irian stands as a shining example of masterly diplomatic achievement. Your efforts to promote *entente* and closer friendly relations among the Asian States are constantly yielding positive results.

327. Mr. President, your humane qualities, spirit of friendliness and easy accessibility have endeared you to all of us. The way you have upheld the dignity and authority of your high office has won you the esteem and recognition of all. That is why you have deserved our gratitude. We, the Asian delegations, have special reason to rejoice that during your presidency the People's Republic of China, the greatest Asian nation and one of the world's leading Powers, has taken its rightful place in the United Nations and that five Asian countries, four of which are Arab States, have also widened and strengthened their ranks, making the United Nations more representative and thus enhancing its role in the service of the high ideals of the Charter and mainly in the service of world peace.

328. In conclusion, allow me to express our great gratitude and appreciation to our friend Mr. Stavropoulos, the able and efficient Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs, to the members of his staff, to the interpreters, to all the seen and unseen, the heard and unheard members of the Secretariat, who have laboured tirelessly and diligently to help us in our work. A word of praise and appreciation goes to the Vice-President, to the Chairmen, to the Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the Committees, who performed their duties remarkably well under unusually difficult circumstances this year.

329. To you, Mr. President, and to all of my fellow representatives, I extend on behalf of the Asian group our spirit of goodwill during the coming holiday season, wishing you all happiness and progress in the new year.

330. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Hungary to speak on behalf of the Eastern European group of States.

331. Mr. SZARKA (Hungary): Mr. President, may I express to you, on behalf of the group of Socialist countries of Europe, and on behalf of the Mongolian People's Republic, our appreciation for the hard and exhausting work you have performed as President of the twenty-sixth

session of the General Assembly. Holding that office is a noble and dignifying task which, at the same time, calls for great devotion, tireless efforts, impartiality and flexibility. Your qualities made it possible for the session that comes to an end today to have been able to work under a statesman President who has met all those requirements.

332. Availing myself of this opportunity, I should like to express our thanks to Under-Secretary-General Stavropoulos, his staff, the interpreters and translators—to all the personnel of the Secretariat, whose work has been an indispensable contribution to the accomplishments of the General Assembly, both in its plenary meetings and in the Committees.

333. The duty of evaluating the work and results of the now ending twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly will fall to the coming days, weeks and months. Yet, if we look back upon the work done in the past three months, we may state that this session has been one of real significance. The General Assembly took up a number of questions of great interest and adopted important resolutions—in particular, those on the appointment of our new Secretary-General, on the strengthening of international security, on a world disarmament conference, on the prohibition and destruction of biological weapons in the form of a draft convention, on the situation in the Middle East, and on other questions.

334. On the opposite side of the balance sheet, however, there are still those problems with regard to which the General Assembly has been able to produce only little or no progress at all. The results attained are proof that the United Nations can play an important and useful part in the life of the international community in the realization of the purposes and principles laid down in the Charter. The shortcomings of this year's session, however, remind us that much still remains to be done to enhance the effectiveness of the work of the Organization.

335. As a result of more than two decades of efforts and struggle on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, including my own and other progressive countries, the United Nations at this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly has taken a considerable stride ahead towards universality. In analysing and assessing this fact, however, no one must forget that still further decisive steps are needed in order to achieve the complete universality of the Organization. The discriminatory decision taken in respect of the participants in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in 1972 is especially indicative of how much is yet to be done in this field and of the great responsibility which rests with those who still continue to oppose the realities of international life. We are confident that complete universality will become a fact before long and that the United Nations will soon be the kind of Organization of States that its founders intended it to be and that is required by the realities.

336. In conclusion, I should like to wish you, Mr. President, Secretary-General U Thant, Secretary-General-designate Mr. Waldheim, all my fellow representatives and the whole staff of the Secretariat a very happy, peaceful and most successful new year.

337. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Costa Rica to speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

338. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, as we conclude the work of this General Assembly session, I should like to thank you, on behalf of the Latin American group, for the balanced and mature guidance that you have exercised over our debates. In every parliament there are always moments of heated and emotional debate, but it is only fair to recognize that your calm helped channel the discussions towards agreement, which enabled us to make progress towards the attainment of the goals we had set for ourselves.

339. Much still remains to be done to attain true peace, but in the steps that have been taken by this Assembly towards that goal it is necessary to acknowledge the influence of your calm guidance.

340. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Portugal to speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

341. Mr. PATRÍCIO (Portugal): On behalf of the group of Western European and other States I have the honour and the pleasure to express to you our thanks for the efficient and able way you presided over the work of the General Assembly. Indeed, difficult and thorny problems arose during the twenty-sixth session of the Assembly; but you dealt with them, Mr. President, with ability and tact, assuming the responsibilities conferred upon your assignment. Furthermore, we are in debt to you for conducting our business in such a manner that we could finish our scheduled work today.

342. The cause of peace among nations is the fundamental and primary aim of the United Nations. It is the paramount principle of the Charter of this Organization. But the need for peace lives at the same time inside each individual of our planet and constitutes an irresistible feeling and trend of mankind. Your efforts and initiatives as President of the General Assembly and prominent leader of your great country have revealed your dedication to the pursuance of peace and security and the development of all nations. Our efforts should also be aimed at the same objective.

343. I should like to pay tribute and express gratitude to Under-Secretary-General Stavropoulos and to all members of the Secretariat for their remarkable efforts which helped us complete our work.

344. I feel I should be failing in my duty if I did not join my voice to those of so many other representatives who have come to this rostrum in order to pay tribute to our retiring Secretary-General.

345. U Thant gave himself completely to his arduous and difficult job and therefore he is entitled, I am sure, to the thanks of all of us. We wish him all the best at this particular moment when he leaves an Organization in which he played such a prominent role for a long time, and with which, I am sure, he will continue to be associated.

346. Now, Mr. President, permit me to discharge a very pleasant duty by welcoming our new Secretary-General Am-

bassador Kurt Waldheim of Austria, whose brilliant and well-merited election to the highest executive position in the United Nations is a fitting culmination to a long diplomatic career in the service of his own country, punctuated by many achievements on behalf of peace and advancement at home and friendship abroad. Austria is a country whose very name conjures up at once visions of past pre-eminence, both in the splendour of its culture and in the annals of world diplomacy, filled with great accomplishments in negotiation, conciliation and harmony among the nations of Europe across the centuries.

347. In offering our congratulations to Ambassador Waldheim, I would express the fervent hope that the traditional spirit of Vienna, scene of so many brilliant achievements of international diplomacy and conciliation, may come to attend upon the activities of the United Nations in the years to come.

348. We sincerely wish for Ambassador Waldheim a long, active and successful tenure of office, in peace and prosperity.

349. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Yemen, who wishes to speak on behalf of the Arab States.

350. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen): Mr. President, in asking to speak once again, I have counted on your indulgence and forbearance.

351. It is an honour for the delegation of Yemen to express, on behalf of the Arab Group, our deep gratitude and appreciation to you, Mr. President, for the wisdom, courage, far-sightedness, tactfulness and forbearance with which you have guided the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly.

352. This session has witnessed with admiration your tireless and unfailing endeavours to bring reason and harmony at times when rising emotions, conflicts and conflicting opinions threatened to blind men's vision. We are deeply indebted to you, Mr. President, and the success of this session of the General Assembly is a testimony of our indebtedness, as well as a tribute to your great qualities. It is a tribute to you also, Mr. President—a great son of Asia and a citizen of a great country, whose very strong and brotherly ties with my own have very deep roots in history—that the historic decision taken at this session to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was taken under your presidency and your guidance.

353. Our gratitude and thanks also go to the Chairmen of the Committees and to the esteemed Vice-Presidents for their brilliant performance. We also express our sincere appreciation to the staff of the Secretariat that has worked tirelessly through these past three months.

354. Mr. President, we congratulate you, thank you and salute you.

355. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia.

356. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): A turbulent session of the General Assembly is over. It might have got out of

hand had it not been, Mr. President, for your disarming smile. When the sea was rough, you poured a special brand of Indonesian oil on the troubled waters. When nerves were frayed, your singular composure in the presidential chair controlled aroused tempers.

357. Under your presidency, this Organization became more universal, not only by the admission of several new States into our Organization, but also by the involvement in its work of literally about 800 million Asians when the People's Republic of China resumed its seat amongst us. Even, Sir, when you used the gavel, it could not hurt anyone, for it was done gently and almost inaudibly. And still you exercised authority—not with the classical style of traditional Presidents, but by your genial spirit that struck resonant chords deeply in our hearts. No wonder you were liked and cherished by all of us. For, indeed, the Arabic proverb applies to you, Sir: "The leader of a people is their servant." As such, you were a leader both in your own country and in the international community.

358. I would be remiss were I to forget the dedicated gentleman on your left, Mr. President, none other than my good friend Mr. Stavropoulos, the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs, who has dedicated himself for over a quarter of a century to this Organization. He and I have seen a lot; no wonder our nerves sometimes get frayed. I hope that as long as I am here he will continue to play this commendable role in the United Nations.

359. Last but not least, I should like to thank all the members of the Secretariat, without a single exception, and my gratitude also goes to all my colleagues who have been patient with me and with one another during this session.

360. I cannot end without wishing a happy holiday season to all, including our beloved President—and of course myself.

361. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Philippines to speak on behalf of five Asian countries.

362. Mr. REYES (Philippines): Mr. President, I have the honour of paying tribute to you on behalf of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines, the five countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, whose combined populations of more than 200 million people are quietly engaged in an undertaking to create and preserve an area of peace, stability and progress in their part of the world.

363. The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly has been an historic one, and we of the Association of South-East Asian Nations are proud of the distinguished manner in which you have discharged your important mandate.

364. We began with the historic debate on the membership of China, which was successfully resolved by the overwhelming welcome into the United Nations accorded to the People's Republic of China. A great step was thereby taken towards the United Nations goal of universality.

365. We have concluded our agenda with the appointment of a distinguished new Secretary-General, His Excellency

Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who succeeds His Excellency U Thant in the extremely demanding task which he discharged with great distinction during his unprecedented term of more than a decade of further enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations Secretariat in helping to make the United Nations Charter a living reality.

366. In between, this session has dealt with, among other things, the international monetary and trade crisis, the maintenance of a precarious truce in the Middle East and the prevention of a new war in the subcontinent of Asia from becoming longer and larger than it has been.

367. Through it all, Mr. President, you have been serene, calm, unflappable, presiding in the best tradition of *Mushawarat*—the democratic Malay practice of consensus through frank consultation and fraternal dialogue. And your invincible equanimity has overcome all impediments, such as procedural difficulties, stormy debates and the dead weight of intractable problems. Your presidency has been a vindication of your outstanding personal qualities as a statesman and a champion of freedom and justice, qualities displayed in the key roles which you have played in the peaceful settlement of the West Irian dispute, in the democratic reconstruction of Indonesia and in the initiative which you took in establishing the regional association of the South-East Asian Nations, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak on this occasion.

368. You have also rendered signal service to the United Nations outside the framework of General Assembly meetings. Twice during this session you undertook journeys for the cause of peace and justice. Last October you honoured with your presence the Lima Ministerial Meeting of the "Group of 77", thereby highlighting the inseparable connexion between international security and universal economic well-being—which is another way of saying that there can be no real and abiding peace without economic and social justice to the third world. Thus, the integral link between the Second Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade—the two most important undertakings of the United Nations in the 1970s—has been further emphasized during this session. In Kuala Lumpur last month you participated in drafting the Association's Declaration of South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, a courageous and hopeful initiative aimed at enlarging the area of peace in a vital part of the world which is now faced with the prospect of new great-Power rivalries.

369. The negative aspects of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly have often dominated the headlines in the world press, obscuring the profound significance and the far-reaching implications of its constructive side. For instance, it is not generally appreciated that under your dedicated leadership the General Assembly this year made important decisions towards more effective and meaningful implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

370. In any objective assessment of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly over which you have presided, it will be recognized that a significant impetus has been given to the realization of the goals of the Second United Nations Development Decade, the ultimate effects of which would, in our view, outweigh the negative

elements which have been given undue prominence in the day-to-day reporting of the various aspects of this historic session.

371. On balance, therefore, we feel that the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly has produced more than its fair share of constructive contributions to the long-term objective of a new world order based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

372. Mr. President, yours has been an extremely difficult task. You have performed it in a manner which does credit to your own country, Indonesia, to the Association of South-East Asian Nations, to Asia and indeed to the entire community of States comprising the United Nations.

373. At the conclusion of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly we salute you, Sir, for a job well done.

374. The PRESIDENT: In keeping with tradition, allow me to address you once more before bringing this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly to a close.

375. Let me first of all thank those who have just conveyed such kind sentiments to me, on behalf of the various Committees and regional groups, as well as their respective delegations. In return, I should like to express my feelings of gratitude and satisfaction at the work we have been able to accomplish together over the past three months. This could only have been achieved through the goodwill, hard work and dedication of all representatives of the 132 Member States and all the members of the Secretariat.

376. Separate mention should also be made of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and the Chairmen and officers of the Main Committees, who have shared with me the responsibility of steering this Assembly. I am greatly indebted to them for their unfailing support and generous co-operation.

377. To my friend and constant counsel, Constantin Stavropoulos, I should like to extend my special thanks. The expert assistance which he and his excellent staff have given me throughout this session has not only facilitated our work, but has also been a memorable experience for me personally, for which I am extremely grateful.

378. The same sentiments are addressed to all the members of the Secretariat—those who have been with us in the Committee meetings and the plenary meetings, as well as those silent workers who laboured day and night to make it possible for us to conclude this session in reasonable time.

379. I should also like to take a few minutes to pay tribute to our retiring Secretary-General, and to welcome his successor. In the past 10 years in which U Thant has placed himself at the service of the United Nations, all of us have had occasion to experience those qualities for which he has become so well known: quiet dignity and firm leadership, great wisdom and the courage of his convictions. His unfailing devotion to the aims of the United Nations has been one of the mainstays which have enabled our Organization to endure, and to mature, in the face of the

great challenges of our time. His part in making the United Nations what it is today will long be remembered, and will stand as an inspiration to others in the years to come.

380. We all regret seeing him leave, but we respect his decision. To U Thant, and to his family, may I, on behalf of the General Assembly, extend our very best wishes, adding the hope that, whatever U Thant may choose to do, the United Nations may continue to benefit from his wise counsel and experience.

381. To succeed U Thant is not an easy task but I am confident that Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our new Secretary-General, will do so with credit and honour for himself, his country and for the entire United Nations system. I should like to reaffirm the pledges of confidence and support made earlier in the session by the various Member States, and to assure him that we shall do our utmost to lighten his burden and to work closely with him in serving the higher interests of our world Organization.

382. We all know that only posterity will be able to judge impartially the real achievements of the twenty-sixth session which we are about to conclude. It is difficult for us to speak of success within these walls when the threat and use of force continue to exist in the world community, and our sorrow at the untold sufferings they bring is matched only by frustration at our inability to put a final stop to them.

383. Still, I think we can point to some notable progress accomplished in other directions during the course of this session. Many of you will agree with me when I say that we are concluding one of the most important chapters in the history of the United Nations, and certainly the most eventful in many years, attracting wide public attention. It may also prove to have been a session which laid the groundwork for a reinvigorated and re-dedicated United Nations, better equipped to meet the grave and pressing problems before us.

384. Among the important questions resolved at this session, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations no doubt stands out as an event of far-reaching significance. After having been confronted by this problem for over two decades, the Assembly this year conclusively affirmed the rightful participation of the People's Republic of China in the councils of our Organization. We all share the ardent hope that the Organization will thereby be strengthened in its capacity to fulfil its basic aim of becoming a universal and effective forum for harmonizing the actions of all nations, in pursuance of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

385. The Assembly this year took another long step towards our cherished goal of true universality of membership. By the entry of five new Member States, all of them Asian—Bahrain, Bhutan, Oman, Qatar and United Arab Emirates—United Nations membership is now brought to 132 States, many of which attained their statehood as a result of decolonization. Thus, as United Nations membership continues to widen, eventually, I hope, taking in the divided countries as well, the voice of the Organization when it speaks on behalf of all peoples of the world will be strengthened accordingly.

386. However, in spite of the gains we made during the session, there were also areas in which we failed to make any progress. Our inability to prevent the outbreak of war between India and Pakistan, and even more seriously, to put a stop to it once it had broken out, causing death and suffering to millions, stands as a grave setback to our Organization. We may feel relieved that the guns have been silenced, but we must not close our eyes to the human suffering that resulted from the conflict. We have seen the tragic results of uncontrolled conflict in South Asia, and it should stand as a warning to us to prevent a recurrence in the Middle East through positive action on the resolution the Assembly has adopted during this session.

387. From the point of view of the very survival of the United Nations, I am sure you will agree that the financial situation is our most pressing problem. Yet, again, we have come to the regrettable conclusion that it has not improved. My predecessor, Edvard Hambro, very graciously acceded to the Secretary-General's request to make efforts to find ways and means to solve our financial difficulties. I am sure I speak on behalf of all the members of the General Assembly when I extend to Mr. Hambro our sincere thanks for the time and labour he has devoted to this task. However, he has had to report that, despite nearly a year's work, no way out of the crisis has been found.

388. There is still hope for a solution in the fact that negotiations among the major Powers have not been broken off, although no agreement has yet been reached. Further, substantial voluntary contributions have been pledged, and here I should like to note that contributions made by the developing countries, while very small in comparison with the whole, represent a very definite commitment on their part, considering the great difficulties they are facing in financing even their own development programmes.

389. Before adjourning the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly I believe it is not only my privilege, but also my duty as President, to voice some thoughts on the present situation of our Organization and the options that the future seems to offer for it as it moves towards the second quarter century of its existence.

390. We cannot escape the fact that the United Nations is now undergoing a most dangerous crisis. At this very moment, our Organization is struggling for survival on many fronts: financially, operationally and politically.

391. Now more than ever, it is not words but actions that are needed to make our Organization become what it was intended to be: an instrument, a tool forged by our membership to overcome the problems of mankind, to create a world of the true universal fraternity of all men and all nations. The United Nations is the only concrete promise we have for a better world of tomorrow, a world of peace, justice and progress. The only alternative is a world of death and destruction.

392. Never before have the options been so clear and imperative. Let us be aware that here in the United Nations we do have the means to make the correct choice, and the machinery to carry it through. But we must admit that all too often we have failed to utilize this machinery to achieve the purposes and objectives for which it was fashioned.

Instead of competing in hostile rhetoric, let us join hands in cultivating generosity and tolerance.

393. Time and again we have witnessed our Organization's ineffectiveness and inability to prevent war, to eradicate poverty and prejudice. In my opinion, such paralysis is due in great measure to old habits of thought inherited from centuries of conflict and distrust. All too frequently we have witnessed actions contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, as if war were still a lesser price to pay than negotiation and compromise. In forgetting the lessons of war we have neglected the promises of peace.

394. But we must realize that the value of peace lies not merely in the absence of war or organized violence, but more in the fact that through friendship, understanding and co-operation we can achieve our common goals and aspirations to which we all pledged adherence on joining the United Nations. Our problems are common not only because of moral reasons and concern for our fellow human beings, but also because in this modern world no nation can isolate itself. The advances of science and technology have made us all interconnected and interdependent. Starvation in a remote area of the globe, for instance, may evolve into a threat to the survival of the strongest and the mightiest. The pollution of the environment by the chemicals of the rich may desolate the fields of the poorest. The affront of the rights of man anywhere is a wound to the dignity of all mankind.

395. But interdependence does not only mean the sharing of problems. It gives us the unprecedented opportunity to act in concert, and indeed makes it imperative for us to do so. We have adequate machinery available in the United Nations within the framework of the Charter. If in some cases we have failed, that failure cannot, in my opinion, be attributed to any inherent flaws in the Charter.

396. The flaw lies in ourselves, in our continued reliance on concepts of absolute State sovereignty. In the interdependent world of the present, if real progress is to be

made by the international society we shall have to learn to bend to the collective will and not to interpose the wall of sovereignty. Coming from a developing country as I do, I cannot but express the hope that the coming third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development may signal the beginning of this collective will for concerted action that will lead to a better tomorrow for all of us.

397. Let us conclude this session of the General Assembly with a call to fraternity and co-operation. Let us rededicate ourselves to our common ideals and aspirations. Let us work for peace with actions for peace. Let us ensure that the twenty-seventh session of the Assembly will find the United Nations strong and viable, out of insolvency and able to act as it should. We must rise above distrust and suspicion if we are to meet our duties and obligations.

398. It is on the basis of my cautious optimism that we can accomplish this goal and that this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly represents a small step towards this objective that I extend to you, my friends and colleagues, my best wishes for the coming holiday season and for the New Year.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

399. The PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

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

Closing of the session

400. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 3.55 p.m.

