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**President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).**

AGENDA ITEM 94

**Financial emergency of the United Nations: report of the
Negotiating Committee on the Financial Emergency of
the United Nations**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/467)

AGENDA ITEM 95

**Review of the intergovernmental and expert machinery
dealing with the formulation, review and approval of
programmes and budgets**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/468)

AGENDA ITEM 97

Joint Inspection Unit:

- (a) Reports of the Joint Inspection Unit;
- (b) Question of the continuation of the Joint Inspection Unit

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/31/457 AND ADD.1)

AGENDA ITEM 99

United Nations accommodation:

- (a) Utilization of office accommodation in the United Nations system;
- (b) Utilization of office accommodation and conference facilities at the Donaupark Centre in Vienna: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/31/450 AND ADD.1 AND 2)

AGENDA ITEM 104

United Nations pension system: report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/455)

AGENDA ITEM 101

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

- (b) Committee on Contributions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/312)

- (d) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/314)

- (f) International Civil Service Commission

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/316)

- (g) United Nations Staff Pension Committee

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/317)

AGENDA ITEM 105

Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART III)
(A/31/278/ADD.2)

* Resumed from the 81st meeting.

** Resumed from the 84th meeting.

AGENDA ITEMS 92 AND 57

Programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977

United Nations Industrial Development Organization: report of the Industrial Development Board (*concluded*)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/469)

AGENDA ITEM 92

Programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/470)

AGENDA ITEM 12

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/466)

CHAPTERS CONSIDERED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO A MAIN COMMITTEE

1. Mr. NASON (Ireland), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I will introduce the 10 reports of the Fifth Committee in the order set out in today's *Journal of The United Nations*. I shall begin with agenda item 94. The report of the Fifth Committee on this item is to be found in document A/31/467, in paragraph 8 of which is set out the draft resolution recommended by the Committee. In paragraph 7 of the report, reference is made to the draft resolution put forward by the representative of Saudi Arabia in document A/C.5/31/L.4. That representative requested that this draft be referred to the Negotiating Committee when it continued its efforts with respect to the financial emergency.

2. I shall now turn to item 95. The report of the Fifth Committee, which recommends the postponement of this item to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, is to be found in document A/31/468.

3. The report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 97 is to be found in document A/31/457 and Add.1. The Committee makes two recommendations in respect of the Joint Inspection Unit: the first is the draft resolution to be found in paragraph 19 and the draft decision in paragraph 20 of document A/31/457 and the second consists of the two draft resolutions to be found in paragraph 24 of document A/31/457/Add.1.

4. I now turn to item 99, on which the Fifth Committee recommends one draft decision in paragraph 12 of document A/31/450; one draft resolution in paragraph 17 of document A/31/450/Add.1 and one draft resolution in paragraph 10 of document A/31/450/Add.2.

5. With respect to agenda item 101 (b), concerning the Committee on Contributions, the recommendations of the Fifth Committee are to be found in paragraph 11 of document A/31/312. With respect to item 101 (d), concerning the Investments Committee, the recommendation of the Fifth Committee is to be found in paragraph 3 of

document A/31/314. With respect to item 101 (f), concerning the International Civil Service Commission, the recommendation of the Fifth Committee is to be found in paragraph 4 of document A/31/316. With respect to item 101 (g), concerning the United Nations Staff Pension Committee, the recommendation of the Fifth Committee is to be found in paragraph 6 of document A/31/317.

6. I now turn to agenda item 104 on the United Nations Pension System. The recommendations of the Fifth Committee are to be found in paragraph 46 of document A/31/455.

7. I now turn to item 105, on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. Part III of the Fifth Committee's report on this item is to be found in document A/31/278/Add.2. In paragraph 16 of its report, the Fifth Committee recommends the adoption of draft resolutions A and B. In draft resolution B, relating to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, Roman numeral I should be deleted from its present position following the preamble and inserted after the sixth paragraph of the preamble. Roman numeral I would then appear before the preambular paragraph which begins with the words "*Recalling that, subsequent to the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force . . .*".

8. Under agenda items 92 and 57, the Assembly has before it the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/31/469 on the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. In paragraph 9 of that document the Committee recommends the adoption of two draft resolutions.

9. Under agenda item 92, the Assembly has before it the report of the Fifth Committee. The main body of this report, which deals with the programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977, may be found in document A/31/470.

10. Finally, the tenth report which I have the honour to present, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, today concerns the report of the Economic and Social Council under agenda item 12. The Fifth Committee's recommended draft decision is to be found in paragraph 3 of document A/31/466.

11. I hope all these reports will be found acceptable to the Assembly.

12. The PRESIDENT: The Rapporteur referred to a correction which strikes me as somewhat unusual, but there may be special reasons for it. Therefore, while we are dealing with the other items, perhaps he would consult the Chairman of the Fifth Committee and let me know whether he adheres to the changes suggested. I am referring to the correction he suggested in connexion with draft resolution B in document A/31/278/Add.2 with regard to the financing of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. He said that the Roman numeral I should be transferred from its present position and inserted after the sixth preambular paragraph. That means that the operative part of that draft resolution would read:

"Recalling that, subsequent to the extension of the mandate . . .

"Bearing in mind that the financial year of the United Nations . . ."

That phraseology is not proper for operative parts of resolutions.

13. If no other change is possible, at least we might change the verbs to the present indicative and say:

"Recalls that, subsequent to the extension of the mandate . . .

"Bears in mind that the financial year of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force concludes on 24 October".

14. I do not want this suggestion to provoke a debate on the substance. I suggest that the Rapporteur consult his Chairman and inform me by the time we reach that item.

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

15. The PRESIDENT: We shall first consider the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/31/467 on agenda item 94. The draft resolution entitled "Financial emergency of the United Nations" recommended by the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 8 of that report. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/191).

16. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee in documents A/31/468 on agenda item 95. The Fifth Committee's recommendation appears in paragraph 3 of the report. The Committee adopted that recommendation without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

It was so decided (decision 31/423).

17. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee in documents A/31/457 and Add.1 on agenda item 97. Delegations have already expressed their positions in the Fifth Committee in respect of those recommendations and those positions are reflected in the summary records of the relevant Fifth Committee meetings.

18. I now invite the Assembly's attention to part I of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/31/457]. The Fifth Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly the draft resolution in paragraph 19 of that report. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/192).

19. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the draft decision contained in paragraph 20 of the Fifth Committee's report [A/31/457]. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft decision without a vote. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same.

It was so decided (decision 31/424).

20. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to part II of the Fifth Committee's report, which is contained in document A/31/457/Add.1. The two draft resolutions entitled "Joint Inspection Unit" recommended by the Fifth Committee appear in paragraph 24 of that document.

21. We shall take a decision first on draft resolution A.

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 31/193 A).

22. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution B.

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 31/193 B).

23. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 99 [A/31/450 and Add.1 and 2.].

24. I invite the Assembly to turn its attention first to part I of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/31/450]. The Fifth Committee's recommendation appears in paragraph 12 of that document. The Fifth Committee adopted this recommendation without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

It was so decided (decision 31/425).

25. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to part II of the Fifth Committee's report [A/31/450/Add.1]. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee which is entitled "Utilization of office accommodation and conference facilities at the Donaupark Centre in Vienna" appears in paragraph 17 of that document. The Fifth Committee adopted this draft resolution by consensus. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/194).

26. The PRESIDENT: We come now to part III of the Fifth Committee's report. It is contained in document A/31/450/Add.2. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 10 of that document. I now put that draft resolution to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan,

Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

The draft resolution was adopted by 121 votes to 10 (resolution 31/195).

27. The PRESIDENT: Under operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly has decided

"... to defer action on any of the options outlined in paragraphs 3 to 5 of the report of the Secretary-General with respect to the seating arrangement to be used in the reconstruction of the General Assembly Hall,"

and requested

"... the President of the General Assembly, following consultations with Member States, to inform the Secretary-General, by 31 January 1977 at the latest, of the option most acceptable to Member States".

28. I shall hold the necessary consultations and inform the Secretary-General of the result of those consultations. I shall do my best to determine the option most acceptable to Member States.

29. We now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 104 on the United Nations pension system [A/31/455]. Amendments to draft resolution II recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 46 of its report have been submitted in document A/31/L.36.

30. I call on the representative of Nicaragua, who wishes to introduce those amendments.

31. Mr. ALVARADO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegations which have sponsored the amendments in document A/31/L.36 have very carefully considered draft resolution II in the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/31/455. We feel compelled, for ensuring sound financial procedures relating to the United Nations pension system to submit these amendments. The amendments which are now before all delegations and do not change the substance of the draft resolution, are to be found in document A/31/L.36.

The speaker then read the text of document A/31/L.36.¹

32. The technical reason for substituting the word "investments" for the word "financing" in the third paragraph of

¹ For the text, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 104.*

the preamble of draft resolution II is the very simple fact that the funds of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund are not being utilized, nor should they be utilized, for financing, since that is not the structural or practical purpose of the Fund. We have introduced the word "may" because after an objective analysis we find that the investments in transnational corporations do not always necessarily contradict the purposes and aims of the United Nations system.

33. The insertion in the last paragraph of the preamble of the words "while increasing" after "countries" is based on the report submitted by the United Nations Pension Committee, because while it is true that we recognize that there has been a slight increase in the amount of investments in developing countries, we believe it is still at an extremely low level.

34. With regard to the amendments to the operative paragraph¹, we believe it is prudent to say that the Secretary-General should consult with the Investments Committee, which is being enlarged at the current session, so that we may reflect with the greatest possible clarity the interests of all Members in more equitably pursuing our objectives.

35. So far as sound investments in developing countries are concerned, we take this position because we wish not only to guarantee the profitability of such investments and their security but also to ensure that developing countries will receive a sizable investment.

36. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution I entitled "Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board" recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 46 of its report [A/31/455]. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 31/196).

37. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution II, which deals with investments of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund. The Assembly has heard the representative of Nicaragua propose amendments to the draft resolution. Those amendments appear in document A/31/L.36.

38. It is my understanding that there is an agreement that all the amendments are acceptable. Does any member wish any of the amendments to be put to a vote? If not I shall take it that they are acceptable to the Assembly.

The amendments in document A/31/L.36 were adopted.

39. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution II, entitled "Investments of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund", as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian

Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Benin, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta.

Draft resolution II, as amended, was adopted by 106 votes to 1, with 24 abstentions (resolution 31/197).

40. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United States in explanation of his vote.

41. Mr. MYERSON (United States of America): The United States delegation has voted against the draft resolution dealing with investments by the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund in transnational corporations. We voted against it because we feel deeply that the General Assembly has requested actions that are against the best interests of the Pension Fund. In our statement in the Fifth Committee² we pointed out that the Pension Fund continues to increase its investments in developing countries. This increase has gone from \$10 million in June 1975 to \$89 million in June 1976.

42. We believe that the increase in the membership of the Investments Committee from six to nine will provide the Secretary-General with additional advice on investments in developing countries, advice that will help him to increase investments in developing countries and at the same time guarantee that they pass the test of safety and profitability requested by the General Assembly.

43. The basic reasons behind our negative vote are the following. First, we do not believe that investments by the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund in transnational corporations contradict in any way the purposes of the United Nations system. Secondly, we believe that the Secretary-General, under the regulations of the Joint Staff

² *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Fifth Committee, 54th meeting, paras. 19-24.

Pension Fund, has the exclusive decision-making power, in the light of the advice received from the Investments Committee and the Pension Board to decide on the investments of the Fund. It is our view that, although the General Assembly has the right to criticize the Secretary-General's decisions, it should not instruct him on how or where to invest pension funds. Lastly, the assets of the Pension Fund are the property of the Pension Fund and belong to the participants and beneficiaries of the Fund. We do not believe that any action should be taken by the General Assembly that might imperil those assets.

44. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will consider the reports of the Fifth Committee on subitems (b), (d), (f) and (g) of agenda item 101, entitled "Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly".

45. We turn first to the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/31/312, dealing with vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Contributions. We shall now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 11 of its report. We turn first to draft resolution A. The Fifth Committee adopted draft resolution A by acclamation. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 31/198 A).

46. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution B. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts this draft resolution? I call on the representative of the USSR in explanation of his vote.

47. Mr. GRODSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union would like to ask for a vote on draft resolution B.

48. The PRESIDENT: This is an unusual procedure, although any delegation has the right to ask for a vote on any recommendation submitted by a Main Committee. But I wish to point out that this is not an election and that therefore there is no question of a secret ballot. I do not know, therefore, what sort of procedure the representative of the Soviet Union wishes to have adopted. If we have a recorded vote and if the vote goes against the recommendation then none of the candidates will be appointed as recommended. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union for clarification since the situation is somewhat unusual.

49. Mr. GRODSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): As my delegation understands it, the Assembly must now take a decision on draft resolution B recommended by the Fifth Committee on the membership of the Committee on Contributions. We are requesting a vote on this draft. We do not insist on a secret ballot, but in order to confirm this recommendation of the Fifth Committee a decision by the General Assembly is necessary, and we are requesting a vote on that recommendation.

50. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will proceed to vote on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee, draft

resolution B, appearing in paragraph 11 of document A/31/312.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 119 votes to 12 (resolution 31/198 B).

51. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bulgaria, who wishes to explain his vote after the vote.

52. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, I personally agree with your interpretation that in this situation a procedural difficulty could have been created by the vote which has taken place. Nevertheless, this question is of such importance that it is worth while, in our view, having the stand of some countries placed on record, and I wish, on behalf of the group of Eastern European States—not in explanation of our vote but as a statement—to express our deep concern and dissatisfaction in connexion with some decisions on item 101(b) of the agenda concerning appointments to fill vacancies in the Committee on Contributions.

53. I should like to recall the background here because it is very pertinent to this case. As is well known, on the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany an amendment was submitted [A/C.5/31/L.29], according to which the membership of the Committee on Contributions was to be enlarged by five more members as of 1 January 1977. During the extensive consultations on this matter, it was generally agreed that that enlargement would be carried out on the basis of equitable geographic distribution. Specific statements were made, to the effect that the five additional seats were to be allocated to candidates from the five geographic regions, each of them thus receiving one additional seat.

54. The Eastern European group made its understanding on this point widely known, both formally and informally. On 15 December 1976 I had the honour, on behalf of the Eastern European group, as its Chairman for the month of December, to address a letter to you, Mr. President, making it explicitly known that the Eastern European group had presented two candidates—one of them to fill the seat which will be vacated by Hungary, and the other for the additional seat allocated in accordance with the draft resolution adopted by the Fifth Committee [A/C.5/31/L.7/Rev.2] as amended by document A/C.5/31/L.29, concerning the enlargement of the Committee on Contributions.

55. I am very grateful to you, Mr. President, that in your letter of 16 December 1976 you so promptly acknowledged receipt of the aforementioned letter.

56. Furthermore, a reminder, in writing, to the same effect was distributed in the Fifth Committee before the election took place. I should like to add that the understanding of the Eastern European group, as far as the legitimate right of the Eastern European group is concerned, was not challenged by any delegation, formally or informally, during the deliberations in the Fifth Committee.

57. However, the understanding was not observed, and the election results deprived the Eastern European group of one

legitimate seat in the Committee on Contributions. We understand that the procedure adopted was a secret ballot, but, over and above the secret ballot, I think there should be a fair understanding and faithful observance of this understanding.

58. This may create a very unfortunate precedent in the functioning of the United Nations bodies and may be detrimental to the spirit of accommodation, fair play, equity and mutual respect. Therefore, while placing on record our deep concern, we wish to reiterate that one of the additional seats in the Committee on Contributions should belong to the Eastern European group.

59. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee concerning the confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General to fill vacancies in the membership of the Investments Committee. The report is contained in document A/31/314. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 3 of its report. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/199).

60. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the report of the Fifth Committee relating to vacancies in the International Civil Service Commission. The report is contained in document A/31/316. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 4 of its report. The Fifth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/200).

61. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on appointments to fill vacancies in the United Nations Staff Pension Committee, contained in document A/31/317. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 6 of the report. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/201).

62. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to agenda item 105, concerning the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force [UNEF] and of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force [UNDOF]; Part III of the report of the Fifth Committee is contained in document A/31/278/Add.2. The Assembly will have noted the amendments to the report suggested by the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee when he presented the report [see above, para. 7]. The positions of delegations have already been expressed in the Fifth Committee in regard to the draft resolutions recommended by the Committee to the Assembly and those positions are reflected in the relevant summary records of the Fifth Committee.

63. I call on the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee to make any observations that he may wish with respect to the change in the position of Roman numeral I in draft resolution B, on UNDOF.

64. Mr. NASON (Ireland): The problem to which the President has referred is a technical one. However, I hope it can be easily resolved. The correction that I made in introducing the report was made at the request of the delegation of Argentina, which introduced the draft in the Fifth Committee, and also at the request of the substantive unit of the Secretariat. As adopted in the Committee, the draft had Roman numeral I placed before the third to last paragraph of the preamble, and that is the position in which I attempted to place it. The position of the numeral was altered by the documents editors in the reproducing process. Whereas this change was correct from the editorial point of view, it would cause certain technical difficulties with regard to the apportionment of the expenses of the Force. The following revision has been agreed to by the delegation of Argentina and also by the Secretariat; I hope it is acceptable to the other sponsors. It should resolve any editorial or technical contradiction.

65. I propose that Roman numeral I be inserted after the sixth paragraph of the preamble, that is, after the paragraph beginning with the words "Bearing in mind the special responsibilities . . .".

66. The following changes should be made to the last two paragraphs of the preamble and to the operative paragraph. In the seventh paragraph of the preamble, which begins with the words "Recalling that, subsequent to the extension of the mandate . . ." the wording should be changed to read: "Recalls that . . ." and the rest of the paragraph would continue unchanged, with the addition at the end of the words "and that". In the eighth paragraph of the preamble, the opening four words "Bearing in mind that" should be deleted. The seventh and eighth paragraphs would be combined into one operative paragraph which would read as follows, after Roman numeral I:

"1. *Recalls* that, subsequent to the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force beyond 31 May 1976, the amount of \$6,443,180 was apportioned as authorized under section III of General Assembly resolution 3374 C (XXX) for the operation of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for the period from 1 June to 31 October 1976 inclusive, and that the financial year of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force concludes on 24 October".

67. The operative paragraph would then become operative paragraph 2, and the language of that paragraph would be unchanged except for the addition of a few words at the end. After the phrase "from 1 June to 24 October 1976 inclusive", the colon should be deleted and the following words added: "with apportionment as authorized under section III of General Assembly resolution 3374 C (XXX)".

68. I hope that will be a solution to the difficulty to which the President has drawn our attention.

69. The PRESIDENT: With all respect to the Secretariat, I must say that it is no concern of theirs where we put our numerals. Our resolutions should read properly and we are grateful to the Secretariat for having pointed out the need for a change. I take it that, as the Rapporteur of the Fifth

Committee suggested, these changes will be accepted as purely technical changes and that the sponsors agree to them.

70. The positions of delegations have already been expressed in the Fifth Committee with regard to the draft resolutions recommended by the Committee to the Assembly and those positions are reflected in the relevant summary records of the Fifth Committee.

71. There are two draft resolutions: draft resolution A is entitled "United Nations Emergency Force" and draft resolution B is entitled "United Nations Disengagement Observer Force". I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

72. Mr. AL-ADOOFI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish briefly to explain why the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic will abstain in the vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 16 of its report in document A/31/278/Add.2 concerning the financing of UNEF and UNDOF. The Yemen Arab Republic believes that any commitment emerging from the presence of those forces is owing to an aggression launched against the sovereignty of independent States, as a result of which parts of their territories have been occupied, leading to the presence of those forces in the Egyptian Sinai peninsula and the Syrian Golan Heights which, since the year 1967, have been suffering under the yoke of Israeli occupation. Israel is therefore directly responsible for all the commitments in that connexion, not only because of its occupation of Arab territories, but also because of its continued disregard for United Nations resolutions relating to the problem of the Middle East and the question of Palestine. The delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic will abstain in the vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee on this matter.

73. Mr. HAMZAH (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation will vote against the draft resolutions contained in document A/31/278/Add.2 concerning the financing of UNEF and UNDOF. This should not be interpreted as being directed against the noble task performed by those forces in preserving peace and relieving tension in the area so as to create suitable conditions for ending the state of aggression and removing its consequences. It is also not aimed against the principle of financing *per se*, because we realize that is necessary to enable the Forces to continue to carry out their tasks. My delegation's objection is related to the implication of the draft resolutions as regards the injustice and illogical decision to make all members of the international family, including even those countries victims of the Zionist aggression, share the burden resulting from Israeli aggression. As we see it, the Israeli aggressor and the countries which have encouraged it to launch its aggression alone should bear all the responsibilities and the costs arising from their violation of the Charter and disrespect of the principles of international law and human rights—because, but for the aggression and the continued occupation, there would have been no justification for the presence of those forces in the area. My delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolutions.

74. Mr. LADOR (Israel): My delegation did not intend to speak at this late stage of the session, but we have had to listen again to a repetition of slander and accusations against my country in connexion with the proposed allocations for UNEF and UNDOF. This is part of the political warfare that is being carried on against my country in all the Committees of the General Assembly and practically on all items.

75. The PRESIDENT: May I request the representative of Israel, if he is exercising the right of reply, to defer the exercise of that right until the proper time. I should like him now to explain his vote. I must insist on the application of the rule; it does not apply to him only.

76. Mr. LADOR (Israel): May I add that it is not Israel which is at fault for the absence of peace in the Middle East and for the persistent hostility and warfare against us. It is not Israel which started the aggressive Yom Kippur war as a result of which UNEF and UNDOF were established. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolutions before us.

77. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 16 of its report in document A/31/278/Add.2.

78. Draft resolution A is entitled "United Nations Emergency Force". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: Albania, Syrian Arab Republic.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, Mongolia, Nigeria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 113 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions (resolution 31/5 C).

79. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution B entitled "United Nations Disengagement Observer Force" as orally revised by the Rapporteur [see above, paras. 65-67]. A recorded vote on that draft resolution has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: Albania, Syrian Arab Republic.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, Mongolia, Nigeria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen.

Draft resolution B, as orally revised, was adopted by 112 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions (resolution 31/5 D).

80. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda items 92 and 57. That report is contained in document A/31/469. The two draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee appear in paragraph 9 of its report.

81. Draft resolution I is entitled "Establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Fund". The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 31/202).

82. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "General procedures governing the operations of the United Nations Industrial Development Fund". The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection.

May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 31/203).

83. The PRESIDENT: I now draw the Assembly's attention to the recommendation contained in paragraph 10 of the Fifth Committee's report. The Fifth Committee adopted that recommendation without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

It was so decided (decision 31/426).

84. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 92, entitled "Programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977". The report is contained in document A/31/470.

85. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting on any or all of the five draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 107 of document A/31/470.

86. Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands): Once again I am speaking on behalf of the nine members of the European Communities.

87. The delegations of the nine countries of the European Communities wish to state that they are unhappy about the way decisions on administrative and budgetary questions have been taken this year. Because of the late arrival of documents and delays in the publication of the comments and recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the Assembly has had to take decisions hastily in the last few days of the session on major budgetary, administrative and personnel issues. Also, in the earlier part of the session the Fifth Committee spent a great deal of valuable time in lengthy debates on relatively minor items. While this state of affairs is not a new development, we believe that the legislative process in the administrative and budgetary field is now a greater cause for concern than ever before. A joint effort should be made to remedy this situation.

88. In other respects also our nine delegations see grounds for concern. The United Nations embarked a few years ago upon a system of biennial programme budgeting. This implies that the budget, once established, should, barring exceptional circumstances, remain unchanged for two years. It seems, however, that there is a growing practice on the part of both the Secretariat and Member States to disregard programme-budget practices and submit proposals leading to revised or supplementary estimates half way through the biennium. This does not, of course, promote the orderly functioning of our Organization. We hope that the principles of biennial programme budgeting will in the future be observed by all concerned.

89. The General Assembly is about to adopt the revised estimates for the biennium 1976-1977. I am pleased to state that the delegations of the nine States members of the Communities will vote in favour of the revised estimates in spite of the concerns I have just expressed. The positive votes of our nine delegations on the budget is a reflection of our support for the activities of the United Nations in

general. However, we note with concern that, although we are only at the mid-point, the revised programme budget constitutes an increase of approximately 28 per cent over the final budget appropriations for the financial period 1974-1975 adopted only a year ago and, if the practice of previous years is continued, we may next year be confronted with an even higher budget—this at a time when many national Governments are actively pursuing a policy of budgetary austerity through various measures, including limiting the salaries of civil servants, reducing expenditure and requiring the absorption or inflationary extra costs.

90. Our nine Governments therefore expect the Secretary-General wherever possible to absorb cost increases in the coming year. We also expect that in drawing up his next biennial programme budget the Secretary-General will keep his proposals within strict limits.

91. Mr. MYERSON (United States of America): My delegation very much regrets that it has been presented with revised budgetary estimates for the two-year period 1976-1977 which it cannot support. Several years ago this Organization adopted a programme-budget approach to financing expenditure for the activities which it carried out. Most importantly, that approach called for forward planning through the development of a medium-term plan, which in turn became the basis for formulating and implementing the biennial programme budgets, the second of which covers the years 1976-1977.

92. Last year, after a thorough review and extensive discussion, the General Assembly adopted a programme budget for the current biennium [*resolution 3531 (XXX)*] and appropriated \$745 million to finance it. Now, just one year later, and at the mid-point of the biennium we find ourselves faced with a decision on whether to support the appropriation by this Assembly of an additional \$38 million. Furthermore, we face the real prospect of the General Assembly's again being faced next year with revised estimates and with a request for a further supplemental appropriation for the same 1976-1977 biennium.

93. The situation in which we find ourselves is testing the limits of tolerance. A biennial budget quite clearly is to provide funds for a two-year period. When money is appropriated to run an organization for two years, that organization must operate during that period within the amount of money appropriated.

94. Now, we recognize that this is not a static world and that programmes will change. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that increased expenditure must be incurred. On the contrary, we believe that for each change within the biennium requiring increased expenditure there should be an off-setting reduction. Priorities must be established and adhered to; less pressing programmes must be reduced; obsolete and marginal programmes must be phased out. This Organization must not attempt to isolate itself from the economic realities, oftentimes harsh, which confront its Member States. Inflation, for example, erodes the budgets of individual countries, as it does that of the United Nations. The United Nations has a responsibility to the peoples of the world and to its Member States, which provide its resources, to make absolutely certain that optimum use is made of those resources. We can expect no less; we can accept no less.

95. My Government is directed by its people to act prudently, especially during these times of financial stringency. At this time it requires special sacrifices of its people. It is entitled to expect a similar prudence on the part of the United Nations.

96. In the face of these realities, my Government cannot quietly witness the proliferation of new and expanded programmes, no matter how desirable, without the reduction or elimination of others to compensate.

97. My delegation therefore regrets that for the reasons I have given it cannot support the revised budget estimates. We shall abstain in the vote.

98. Mr. GRODSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to explain its vote on draft resolution IV in paragraph 107 of document A/31/470, on the question of the revised budget appropriations for the biennium 1976-1977.

99. It is well known that the General Assembly some time ago adopted a decision to the effect that as a rule in the practice of the Organization there should be no additional estimates, but that the financing of inevitable increases which occur in the course of the budget period, should primarily be carried out through savings achieved by reappraising the priorities of programmes, redistributing resources within the budget and so on.

100. The Soviet delegation must note with regret that the Secretariat of the United Nations has in the course of this, the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, repeatedly failed to comply with that decision of the General Assembly and has continued unjustifiably to present additional requests for appropriations in the course of the budget period.

101. Thus, in the report on budget performance [*A/C.5/31/37*] alone, a request is made for additional appropriations amounting to approximately \$13 million. At this session of the Assembly alone the United Nations Secretariat has requested additional appropriations amounting *in toto* to \$48.6 million.

102. The delegation of the Soviet Union expected the leadership of the United Nations Secretariat to take decisive measures to cover additional expenditure through budgetary economies; to carry out its work and make proposals for the consideration of the General Assembly with a view to reviewing priorities in the implementation of programmes; and to prepare and present to us complete information with regard to resources released as a result of the conclusion or reduction of programmes.

103. As we know, the performance of that task was specially provided for by a decision of the General Assembly adopted at the last session.³ But to our great regret this did not occur, and the facts show that the necessary work was not done in the United Nations Secretariat to identify the released and potential resources existing within the Secretariat, nor was any work undertaken with a view to preparing recommendations to

³ *Ibid.*, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 34, pp. 142-146.

liquidate or to reduce outmoded and non-urgent programmes, eliminate duplication and enhance the efficiency of the work of the staff. Quite to the contrary. For the financing of practically all new activities, requests were made for additional appropriations and many new staff posts were unjustifiably established. In violation of the instructions of the General Assembly, proposals were made for a substantial increase in funds for the use of experts and consultants. Without any need, requests were made for additional appropriations to cover expenditures under the budget connected with the decline in value of the American dollar.

104. The Soviet delegation would also like to remind delegations that in connexion with the approval of the biennial programme budget at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly we categorically objected to the inclusion in the budget of illegal appropriations for the financing of such measures as the payment of interest on and the amortization of the United Nations bond issue to cover the expenses connected with the carrying out of illegal activities of the United Nations in violation of the Charter.

105. The Soviet Union, in accordance with the Charter, categorically opposed these measures; it does not and will not bear any responsibility for them and will not cover the expenses caused by them. Our delegation would like once again to confirm our position of principle with regard to ways of financing technical assistance. Under Article 17 of the Charter the regular budget covers administrative functions exclusively and is not designed to provide technical assistance, which should be financed on the basis of voluntary contributions. Therefore, the Soviet delegation believes that expenses for technical assistance should be excluded from the regular budget of the United Nations and combined with the United Nations Development Programme.

106. In light of the fact that in the revised budget estimates for the biennium 1976-1977 there is included, in violation of the instructions of the General Assembly, many unjustified and unnecessary expenditures; and also in view of the fact that the budget contains appropriations for financing expenses relating to illegal, anti-Charter measures, the delegation of the Soviet Union will vote against approval of the revised budget of the United Nations for the biennium in course.

107. At the same time the Soviet delegation would like to express its hope that the United Nations Secretariat, in preparing the budget estimates for the United Nations for the regular biennium 1978-1979, which will be considered at the next session of the General Assembly, will be more careful in taking into account the instructions of the General Assembly and also will take into account the extremely serious concern expressed by many delegations, including the delegation of the Soviet Union, with regard to the unjustifiably high rate of growth of the United Nations budget. We must finally really get down to the work in both intergovernmental organs and, in particular, the United Nations Secretariat in order to stabilize expenditures under the regular budget of the United Nations.

108. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the various draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth

Committee in paragraph 107 of its report in document A/31/470.

109. Draft resolution I is entitled "Emoluments of the members of the International Court of Justice". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

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

Abstaining: Cuba, Madagascar, New Zealand.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 114 votes to 11, with 3 abstentions (resolution 31/204).⁴

110. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Use of experts and consultants in the United Nations". The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 31/205).

111. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution III, entitled "Revised estimate concerning the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan,

⁴ The delegation of Bangladesh subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 114 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions (resolution 31/206).

112. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution IV, "Programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977" we shall first take a decision on draft resolution IV A, entitled "Revised budget appropriations for the biennium 1976-1977". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

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

Abstaining: United States of America.

Draft resolution IV A was adopted by 119 votes to 10, with 1 abstention (resolution 31/207 A).

113. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution IV B, entitled "Revised income estimates for the biennium 1976-1977". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Draft resolution IV B was adopted by 131 votes to none (resolution 31/207 B).

114. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution IV C, "Financing of the appropriations for the year 1977". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

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

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

Abstaining: Cuba.

Draft resolution IV C was adopted by 119 votes to 10, with 1 abstention (resolution 31/207 C).

115. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution V, entitled "Questions relating to the programme budget for the biennium 1976-1977". That draft resolution is in 11 sections and regroups, for the convenience of delegations, all the recommendations of the Fifth Committee on various questions under this item.

116. As the Fifth Committee took separate decisions on certain sections of draft resolution V, the General Assembly will proceed in the same manner. However, in order to save the time of the Assembly, I would suggest that whenever the Committee adopted a group of sections without objection, the General Assembly might adopt those sections by a single decision, instead of taking separate votes on each section.

It was so decided.

117. The PRESIDENT: We turn first to section I of draft resolution V. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nica-

ragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Belgium, China, France.

Section I of draft resolution V was adopted by 117 votes to 10, with 3 abstentions (resolution 31/208, sect. I).

118. The PRESIDENT: In the Fifth Committee, section II of draft resolution V was adopted without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that section without a vote?

Section II of draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 31/208, sect. II).

119. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to section III of draft resolution V. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

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

Abstaining: China.

Section III of draft resolution V was adopted by 119 votes to 10 with 1 abstention (resolution 31/208, sect. III).

120. The PRESIDENT: The Fifth Committee adopted sections IV to XI without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Sections IV to XI of draft resolution V were adopted (resolution 31/208, sects. IV to XI).

121. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the last item on our agenda for today, the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council". The report is contained in document A/31/466. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 3 of its report. The Fifth Committee adopted that recommendation without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to do the same?

It was so decided (decision 31/427).

122. The PRESIDENT: With the conclusion of our consideration of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 12, we have completed all the agenda items allocated to the Fifth Committee.

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

It was so decided (decision 31/428).

AGENDA ITEM 60

United Nations Environment Programme (concluded):*

(d) Election of the Executive Director

124. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to the note by the Secretary-General in document A/31/464, dealing with the election of the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.

125. In his note the Secretary-General informs the Assembly that he wishes to nominate Mr. Mostafa Kamal Tolba to be Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme for a term of four years beginning on 1 January 1977.

126. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to elect Mr. Tolba as Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme for a term of four years beginning 1 January 1977, as recommended by the Secretary-General?

It was so decided (decision 31/315).

127. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Tolba upon his election as

Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme and to wish him continued success in his important work.

AGENDA ITEM 85

Question of Namibia (concluded):*

(d) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

128. The PRESIDENT: I draw the attention of members to a note by the Secretary-General in document A/31/465. In that note the Secretary-General informs the General Assembly that he wishes to propose to the Assembly for its approval the appointment of Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, Ambassador of Finland to the United Republic of Tanzania, as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for a one-year term beginning on 1 January 1977. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to approve the appointment proposed by the Secretary-General?

It was so decided (decision 31/317).

129. The PRESIDENT: I should like to congratulate Mr. Ahtisaari on the confidence which the Assembly has shown in him and I wish him every success in his important work.

130. I should like to take this opportunity also to thank Mr. Sean MacBride, on behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf, for the able, skilful and dedicated manner in which he discharged his responsibilities as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. We extend to him our best wishes for the future.

AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of Palestine (concluded):**

(a) Report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People;
(b) Report of the Secretary-General

131. The PRESIDENT: It has been proposed that the following countries be added to the membership of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People: Guyana, Mali and Nigeria. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to the enlargement of the membership of that Committee by the addition of those three countries?

It was so decided (decision 31/318).

AGENDA ITEM 52

Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa (concluded):***

(a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid;
(b) Report of the Secretary-General

* Resumed from the 105th meeting.

** Resumed from the 78th meeting.

*** Resumed from the 59th meeting.

* Resumed from the 101st meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 123

Drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages (*concluded*)*

AGENDA ITEM 75

United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)**

AGENDA ITEM 49

General and complete disarmament (*concluded*):

- (a) Report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament;
- (b) Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency;
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General

132. The PRESIDENT: Appointments are pending concerning the following bodies established by the General Assembly during the current session: first, the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against *Apartheid* in Sports, established by resolution 31/6 F, adopted under agenda item 52; secondly, the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages, established by resolution 31/103, adopted under agenda item 123; thirdly, the Consultative Committee on the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women, established by resolution 31/133, under agenda item 75; and fourthly, the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, established by resolution 31/189 B, under agenda item 49.

133. I had hoped to be in a position to announce the composition of those Committees by today, but that has not been possible. I am therefore obliged to follow the precedent established at previous sessions and defer the announcement of the composition of those Committees. It is certainly my intention to announce the membership of those Committees as soon as possible.

134. I should now like to call the Assembly's attention to document A/31/471, containing a letter in which the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania informed me that his country wishes to be relieved of its membership of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country. I should like to inform the General Assembly that I have appointed Senegal to replace the United Republic of Tanzania as a member of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country. At the same time, I should like to thank the United Republic of Tanzania for having served on that Committee.

Senegal was appointed a member of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country (decision 31/319).

Suspension of the thirty-first session

135. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that in resolution 31/14 of 19 November 1976, the General Assembly

decided "to consider during its current session the results of the concluding Ministerial Meeting of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation . . .". That meeting was to have been held from 15 to 17 December 1976, but it has been postponed to the first part of next year. Consequently, a request has been made by the Group of 77 that the current session of the General Assembly should not be closed on the scheduled date but should be reconvened in a resumed session to discuss agenda item 66, entitled "Development and international economic co-operation: implementation of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its seventh special session". The letter received from the Chairman of the Group of 77, together with a communiqué issued by the Group, had been circulated as document A/31/462.

136. May I suggest that the General Assembly, in the circumstances, decide in accordance with the procedure adopted at previous sessions that the thirty-first session not be declared closed today, but be resumed at a time and for a duration which the President, after consultation with Member States and with the Secretary-General, believes would be most appropriate. It would be understood that the Assembly would reconvene solely and exclusively for the consideration of agenda item 66 and that that item, which is allocated to the Second Committee, would be considered by that Committee. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that this procedure meets with the General Assembly's approval.

It was so decided (decision 31/429 A).

137. The PRESIDENT: With regard to agenda item 66, I should like to draw the General Assembly's attention to resolution 31/177 of 21 December 1976 concerning the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries. Under paragraph 1 of article 4 of the statute of the Fund annexed to the resolution,

"The policies and procedures of the Fund shall be formulated by a Board of Governors, composed of representatives of thirty-six States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies or of the International Atomic Energy Agency, elected by the General Assembly keeping in view, *inter alia*, the need for balance among the representation of the beneficiary land-locked developing countries and their transit neighbours, on the one hand, and potential donor countries, both developed and developing, on the other."

138. I should like to propose that the matter of the election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries be taken up by the Assembly during its resumed session as part of its consideration of agenda item 66. However, I would suggest that, should the session not be resumed, the General Assembly authorize the Economic and Social Council to elect the members of the Board. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to those two proposals.

It was so decided (decision 31/429 B).

139. The PRESIDENT: Distinguished representatives, you have taken a decision to suspend the thirty-first session of

* Resumed from the 99th meeting.

** Resumed from the 102nd meeting.

the General Assembly instead of closing it as you would have done today in ordinary circumstances. This decision was influenced by the fact that the Assembly, in the opinion of those who took the initiative to ask for the suspension of the session, was not justified in closing the session until it had had the opportunity of giving further attention to agenda item 66, entitled "Development and international economic co-operation: implementation of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its seventh special session".

140. The vast majority of the members of this Assembly had hoped that the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation would arrive at certain conclusions that could be assessed in the course of this session. That hope was disappointed. As the final Ministerial Meeting of the Paris Conference has been postponed to the first part of 1977, instead of being held according to schedule from 15 to 17 December 1976, the thirty-first session of the General Assembly will have to be resumed at an appropriate time after that Ministerial Meeting to enable the Assembly to make a proper assessment of the international economic situation, which is rapidly worsening with consequences that could prove calamitous for many of the poorer countries.

141. This is a gloomy note to strike at the very commencement of my final statement, but it must be stressed, because the solution of political problems cannot, in my opinion, by itself bring peace and justice. Economic inequalities, injustices and disparities are no less a menace to world order than political conflicts.

142. Some of the observations that I shall make regarding this session may appear to have the mundane character of purely statistical evaluation; but although statistics are proverbially mendacious, great profit could be derived from the lessons they teach us.

143. This session of the General Assembly had 124 items on its agenda, two of which were included after the commencement of the session; of those two items, one relates to a practice that has grown in intensity in recent years and has been causing grave anxiety throughout the world; the other is fundamental to the purposes of this Organization. The former was item 123 entitled "Drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages", introduced on the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany; the other was item 124, entitled "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations", introduced by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

144. A special feature of this session was the fact that the plenary Assembly was in almost continuous session. This itself is the 107th plenary meeting. Never in its history has the General Assembly held so many plenary meetings. Never before have so many items been brought direct to the plenary Assembly without first being considered by one of the Main Committees. If this had had the effect of reducing the time spent in the seven Main Committees or of reducing the number of meetings or lessening the number of draft resolutions, the development might have had its compensation; but Parkinson's inexorable law prevailed and the Main Committees appear to have succeeded in filling all the time available to them.

145. There is, however, another aspect of this problem which calls for close and careful attention from the Assembly and that is the number of occasions on which the same issue has come before the General Assembly under different headings. The dismemberment of one single issue into several parts produces results which were certainly not intended by the parties primarily interested in raising those issues. There are different aspects of certain issues which have a distinctive character, but separating them from the main issue tends to lead to frequent repetition of statements and could have the unfortunate effect of diverting attention from the core of the problem and thereby impeding progress towards a total settlement.

146. It is completely irrelevant to speak of the time that is spent on any particular issue. The criticism has been heard more than once from certain quarters that the Assembly has devoted a disproportionate amount of its time to one or another item, although there are so many others which are of no less concern and importance. There are, however, certain issues which constitute an ever-present threat to international peace and security, and no single Member genuinely committed to working towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter should begrudge the time spent on the discussion of those issues. It is only the victim of injustice who feels it keenly enough to keep reverting to it on every possible occasion. And I sincerely hope that we shall never hear again, either from this chair as we heard on a previous occasion or from the floor of this House, any scornful references to the time spent on unremitting efforts to secure redress of what is felt to be calculated injustice, such as *apartheid*, or the pursuit of a settlement of the seemingly intractable problems involved in the Middle East situation. Even if the General Assembly devoted 90 per cent of its time to the settlement of those issues, it would prove to have been time well spent.

147. This brings me directly to those particular items -- namely, the question of Namibia, the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, the question of Southern Rhodesia, the question of Palestine, the situation in the Middle East, and the question of Cyprus. These are far and away the gravest problems that cry for a solution. Every year these problems are discussed at great length. Every year innumerable resolutions are adopted, with varying degrees of support in some cases, and an almost unchanging or unchangeable degree of opposition, as well as a fairly constant element of abstention. It would be an abuse of the office of President for me to suggest how any member should vote. I am constrained to observe, however, that no progress on any of these issues would be possible if nations only sought the slightest pretext to avoid progress towards a settlement or failed to assign responsibility for failure to make progress where that responsibility was clear.

148. This session has been described by many as a quiet and even a dull session. There is perhaps much more to that observation than would strike one at first. There is considerable force in that judgement, but if we were to examine it we would find that the real reason is not so much a decline in interest in the problems or a determination to leave those who are the victims in each case to their melancholy fate. The real explanation appears to be that the United Nations is today suffering from severe moral fatigue caused by continuing frustration and the failure of its Members to discharge their responsibilities.

149. If just solutions to the problems are not found, there can be only one consequence—and that is violence, which is the last refuge of the desperate, whose faith in those whom they trust has been shattered by dereliction of responsibility. Members of the United Nations must ask themselves whether in regard to these explosive issues they have exhausted the courses of action which the Charter provides. History may judge us, but we shall not be here when that judgement is delivered. Our conscience should provide the only verdict.

150. In the absence of the power to enforce its decisions—a power which a nation-State possesses—the United Nations may find itself drifting away from its ideals and allowing the provisions of the Charter to wither away through disuse. This could only result in a reversion to a situation once familiar: the resurrection of the anachronistic doctrine of the balance of power and the concept of “might is right”. The beneficiaries will be those nations which are militarily and economically strong. For the rest the choice would lie in resignation to injustice or acceptance of the patronage and protection of those who are in a position to provide it. Let us hope that we can still save the world from such a terrible fate.

151. In all these areas of conflict, negotiations are in progress or have been set in train. Unless all parties approach those negotiations in good faith and unless those who are strong enough to use their influence to secure a just solution assume the full responsibility with which their power invests them, there can be no escape from catastrophe.

152. During this session the General Assembly admitted three new States to membership—the Seychelles, Angola and Samoa—bringing its membership to 147. This progress towards the ideal of universality has, however, been most unfortunately marred by the exclusion of the Socialist Republic of Viet-Nam from admission to membership in the United Nations. This must raise grave doubts in the world community about the use of the veto in particular circumstances which are totally unrelated to the maintenance of international peace and security and the reconciliation of this right of veto with the democratic principle on which the Organization is supposed to be founded and which is regrettably ignored on occasion by its principal champions. The veto, which was meant to prevent the abuse of power, should not be used as a punitive weapon. This Organization cannot turn itself into a reformatory. I sincerely hope that before long the Socialist Republic of Viet-Nam will be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

153. The Assembly has continued to give close and careful attention to the question of human rights, but there is still a lamentable tendency on the part of certain Members to shrink from enforcing conventions in the sphere of human rights which have been adopted with due solemnity and have come into force but which the very parties to those conventions ignore on one pretext or another. Our approach to the problem must be that of trying to find a means of enforcing those conventions in a just manner and not of seeking excuses and irrelevant excuses at that for avoiding their enforcement. A case in point is that of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian

Persons in Time of War, the genesis of which is well known to everyone here. The situation in occupied territories is one that comes directly under the fourth Geneva Convention. That Convention has no bearing whatsoever on the treatment of minorities in different countries and its application cannot therefore be made conditional on the adoption of measures in regard to situations which fall outside the ambit of that Convention. The sooner the international community realizes this simple fact, the more likely we are to engender in the international community a proper respect for declarations and conventions relating to human rights, either those existing or those which are proposed.

154. I have referred to the reason why this session of the General Assembly was called upon to suspend rather than close—that is, the failure of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation to make sufficient progress to permit of the General Assembly’s making an assessment of its work and the effect of the work of that Conference on the world economic situation. It should be clear to everyone that the Paris Conference does not exist on a different planet and that its decisions must prove acceptable to the Assembly as a whole if progress is to be made towards the establishment of the new international economic order and the application of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States for the progressive alleviation of the problems of the poorer countries.

155. During this session the General Assembly elected 25 members to the International Law Commission. Before those elections were held, consultations took place between the President and certain regional groups which were seeking the adoption of special procedures to ensure adherence to the gentleman’s agreement regarding the distribution of seats in the Commission between the various regional groups. It was impossible, however, without violating the provisions of the statute of the International Law Commission, to adopt the suggestion that the elections should be held separately for each regional group, with the allocation of seats to that group as inferred from the gentleman’s agreement clearly specified, as it could not be reconciled with the provision of the statute of the Commission which requires that the 25 candidates that secure the largest number of seats shall be elected, provided the candidates have received the requisite majority. The relevant article article 9 of the statute of the International Law Commission, which contains this provision, does not make the elections conditional on realization of what is regarded as the agreed distribution. In the result, one group did not receive the quota of seats to which it was said to be entitled, and another group was saved from a similar fate by the honourable gesture of the representative of Panama, Ambassador Illueca. This is the second occasion in the past 10 years on which the same group has failed to secure its quota.

156. The problem of equitable geographical distribution has arisen in regard to many other bodies, and the time has come for a complete and thorough review of the question in regard to all bodies, taking into consideration the circumstances that exist today. It is completely anomalous, for example, that the Asians and Africans, who together have 85 members in an Assembly of 147—and I apologize for referring to the group to which I belong—should be lumped

together for the purpose of the distribution of the posts of Vice-Presidents and Chairmen of the Main Committees of the General Assembly. I have thought fit to refer to this here as, on the occasion of the elections to the International Law Commission, I stated I would take the matter up with the regional groups. I hope members will in their respective regional groups give due attention to this problem and that consultations will be initiated between them to arrive at a set of rules which will secure genuinely equitable distribution in the different bodies depending on their character and function.

157. I made reference earlier to the two additional items on the agenda of this session. One was the item entitled "Drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages". It is gratifying that the Sixth Committee was able to adopt a resolution on that item by consensus [*resolution 31/103*]. A consensus on that item was made possible by the spirit of compromise and mutual accommodation and understanding displayed by groups which held varying opinions on the subject. The consensus was the result of long and patient negotiations. The manner in which the item was handled reflects great credit on all those who participated in the consultations and serves as an object lesson in regard to the presentation of draft resolutions in their final form.

158. The other additional item, "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations", although not adopted by consensus, has its special importance. It may be said that the non-use of force is the foundation of the Charter and that we did not, therefore, need another international instrument to supplement the Charter, but, as we all know from experience in this Organization, the obvious can gain by repetition and elaboration. It is my hope that when this matter comes up at the next session we shall be able to have a treaty of substance and one that could make a real contribution to international relations.

159. The General Assembly also took an important decision in regard to the special session on disarmament [*resolution 31/189 B*]. The Assembly has realized that disarmament is too serious an issue to be left solely to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and that the involvement of the Assembly as a whole is essential if old habits and attitudes are to be changed and a new approach assumed in order to ensure progress towards general disarmament.

160. The Fifth Committee has devoted what would appear to be an inordinate amount of time to one single issue—the scale of assessments of the membership. The discussion in the Fifth Committee has disclosed the need for a review of the criteria adopted in assessing the contributions that Members should make towards the budget of the Organization. While population and national income are important criteria, the degree of importance to be attached to each of them must vary with the actual circumstances of the moment and cannot conform to an immutable pattern. The national income of a country may rise phenomenally over a short period of time, but that in itself cannot provide a sound reason for a proportionate increase in that country's assessment as compared with the assessments of other countries which over a very long period have enjoyed a

standard of affluence that was previously beyond the dreams of others. The capital assets of a country, including the quality and value of its infrastructure and of its industrial establishment and capacity are permanent and enduring, while affluence can well be ephemeral. The sharp disagreement that was revealed in the Fifth Committee was fortunately resolved, although after prolonged discussion. But this item and others brought into sharp focus the central role of the Fifth Committee in this Organization. The sound and orderly maintenance of the household is something that requires attention at a very high level in every delegation.

161. The question of the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system has not yet been decided. In this context, restructuring is not merely the creation of new posts or the re-allocation of functions. Proper restructuring requires a clear recognition of the most vital needs of the Organization's membership, a sound understanding of the problems which face it and the significance of the most important elements of the structure within which the economic and social sectors fall, and the elimination of all bureaucratic obstacles to the assumption and discharge by those bodies of their responsibilities. The Assembly must bear in mind that the need for restructuring arose out of the determination to establish a new international economic order and the will must, therefore, be found to provide the means that will ensure achievement of that end.

162. This year the Assembly has been called upon to examine the different aspects of the world social situation. Especially worthy of further and closer attention are the programmes involved in the United Nations Decade for Women and the 1980 Conference in Teheran, the position of youth and the International Year of the Child, which has been set as 1979. We have had special declarations and decades for human rights, for development and for women, but so far, while the United Nations Children's Fund has consistently rendered invaluable services in regard to children throughout the world, the Assembly has omitted to make a special declaration concerning children. That omission has now been repaired, and an essential step has been taken to maintain and enhance the value and usefulness of those to whom the future belongs and who constitute our most precious asset—the children of the world.

163. At this session the General Assembly took one very important decision—namely, the reappointment of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for a further period of five years commencing on 1 January 1977. I have already extended my congratulations to Mr. Waldheim, and I need not repeat them here. During the next five years, the United Nations will perhaps face its severest tests. Many problems have reached a dangerous stage, and all the skill that an individual can bring to the handling of those problems will be demanded of the Secretary-General. We hope that with the co-operation of Member States those problems can be settled without our being subjected to the ordeal of fire.

164. Distinguished representatives, on behalf of you all I should like to express sincere thanks to the Secretary-General and all members of the Secretariat, and in

particular those who have been most closely associated with us in our daily work. It would be invidious to single out any individual or any section because the combined effort of all members of all sections is indispensable to the smooth functioning of the Assembly. Remove or weaken one and the entire structure collapses. It is for this reason that, on your behalf and on my own behalf, I address them all in one single expression of our high appreciation of and warm thanks for their devoted services.

165. The presidency of the General Assembly is like a yoke and a garland. The yoke is the burden of responsibility; the garland is the ornament of office. It has been a pleasure for me to carry this yoke, and that pleasure is entirely due to the co-operation you have unfailingly extended to me. I must make special reference to the 12 Vice-Presidents—I omit the other five, not because I draw a distinction between them—for helping me by presiding over the plenary meetings of the General Assembly and so providing me with greatly needed relief. The Chairmen of the Main Committees have shared with me the onerous task of dealing with the items on our agenda and bringing the session to the point it has reached. The delay that has occurred has been unavoidable, and is one for which the Chairmen cannot be responsible. To the Vice-Presidents and to the Chairmen of the Main Committees and to the other officers of those Committees I extend my warmest thanks. In addition to them, there are those five other members who function as Vice-Presidents but who are barred by convention from relieving the President in the function of chairing plenary meetings, but who in their capacity constitute, along with the other Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the Main Committees, the General Committee, which is responsible for assisting the President in the organization of the work of the session. To the members of the General Committee as a whole I am deeply indebted for their assistance. It has been a privilege to have served you and I thank you very much.

166. Throughout this session I have had to hold consultations with the various regional groups through their respective chairmen. I have found that, whatever differences they may have had, they proved amenable to reason and yielded with grace to the art of gentle persuasion, which I have tried very hard to cultivate. My experience with the chairmen of the various regional groups has enriched me. I thank them very sincerely for that and for the guidance, assistance and co-operation which they have given me.

167. In conclusion, may I wish all those representatives who are returning to their homes a safe journey, and may I extend to you all and to the members of the Secretariat the season's greetings and my best wishes for a new year of happiness, good health and peace of mind.

168. I now call on the representative of Mauritius who will speak on behalf of the group of African States.

169. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, as the work of this session is coming to a close it is my honour and privilege, on behalf of the group of African States Members of the United Nations, to convey to you our sincere appreciation and gratitude for the very skilful, efficient and impartial way in which you have conducted

the proceedings of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. We had occasion to admire your talents and dedication when you presided over the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We are gratified that our deliberations here have also taken place under your able leadership and guidance.

170. In reiterating our warmest congratulations on his re-election, we should like to pay a tribute to our esteemed Secretary-General for his dedication to the high office in which he has served with great distinction for the last five years. We look forward to his skilful preventive diplomacy and his indispensable good offices, as we will no doubt soon face difficulties in implementing some of the resolutions which this Assembly has adopted. We particularly look forward to his continued role and contribution in promoting accelerated economic and social development and in eradicating colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. We wish Mr. Kurt Waldheim good health and very many happy returns in connexion with his birthday yesterday.

171. Our special thanks go also to our friend and very capable Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. William Buffum. We highly appreciate the very quiet and efficient manner in which he has helped us all during this session. We also thank his staff for their dedication and hard work.

172. Without trying to draw up a balance-sheet of this session, we venture to say that the thirty-first session will undoubtedly be singled out for the business-like and quiet way in which it conducted its work as well as for a number of positive achievements. Further discussions have taken place regarding the measures designed to establish a new international economic order. We should like to believe that our deliberations have pointed to and underscored the basic requirements for progress. While deploring the lack of response from some quarters, we feel that all concerned have acquired a greater awareness of their interdependence and the need to take decisive action. In our deliberations with regard to disarmament, we have stressed the leading role that our Organization should continue to play. It is encouraging that the Assembly has called for determined efforts to halt the nuclear arms race and reach agreement on the discontinuation of all nuclear weapons tests for all time and has asked the nuclear Powers not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against States not possessing those weapons and not yet parties to nuclear security arrangements. A particularly positive feature of this session's contribution to disarmament, as far as Africa is concerned, is the action taken on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. It was important for the African Member States that the Assembly should reaffirm its call to all States to consider and respect their continent as a nuclear-free zone and that, in addition, it should address itself to the question of South Africa's acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability.

173. Equally important and equally positive for Africa was the General Assembly's reaction to the problems of southern Africa. The discussions in plenary meetings on the question of the continuation of the policies of *apartheid* attest to the importance that the Assembly attached this year to the problem. By reacting swiftly to the so-called declaration of independence of the Transkei and rejecting

that declaration, the Assembly clearly expressed its opposition to one of the basic tenets of the doctrine of *apartheid*, namely, separate development of the so-called homelands and its support for Africa's view that the future of South Africa lies in a united and democratic Azania. The uprisings of the youth of Soweto and other townships and ghettos in South Africa and the massive repression that followed signalled that time was running out for a peaceful solution of the South African problem. The various other resolutions adopted on the question of *apartheid* reflect the existing urgency of resort to meaningful action. The Assembly has drawn up a clear blueprint for eliminating the evil of *apartheid*. Africa hopes that the international community will soon realize that time is indeed running out and that it will demonstrate its collective political will to tackle the problem of *apartheid* by accepting the course of action indicated by the Assembly.

174. In its resolutions on Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, the General Assembly has also proposed a plan of action to minimize the amount of violence before majority rule prevails in those two Territories. In both cases, the Assembly provided for the continuation of the armed struggle but, on the other hand, it advocated sanctions which, if applied, would contribute to limiting the amount of bloodshed and violence. Africa is not opposed to a negotiated settlement of the problems of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. But it believes that, should the efforts to bring about that settlement fail, the only courses of action that are left are those indicated by this Assembly in its clear-cut resolutions.

175. Speaking of resolutions, I believe it would be appropriate for me to quote here what the Secretary-General wrote in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, which was issued in August 1976:

“The Charter concept of world order is based on respect for the decisions of the principal organs of the United Nations and for international law, principles and procedures. If these are ignored, the system of the Charter for maintaining international peace and security, born of the agonies of the Second World War, will inevitably become a hollow shell which will have little utility when it is needed most—when world peace is seriously threatened. We have had many recent experiences of the wide discrepancy between the unanimity, or near unanimity, of decisions of the Security Council or the General Assembly and the practical effect which such decisions have on the issues to which they are addressed. This is a development which, if allowed to continue, will sooner or later once again put in jeopardy the security of the world community as a whole. It is therefore in the interests of all Governments, even at the cost of some short-term disadvantages, to support and respect the authority of the Security Council and to contribute to its central role in developing a system of world order. With all the limitations imposed by circumstances, the record of the Security Council in reaching decisions on difficult and vital questions is a constructive one. There exists, unfortunately, a strong contrast between that record and the record of implementation of the Council's decisions. The responsibilities of Governments do not cease when a resolution is adopted; indeed, resolutions usually require

determined action by Governments, in addition to the parties directly concerned, if they are to be translated into reality.” [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. IV.]

What is true of the Security Council is also, alas, true of the General Assembly.

176. We are aware that the resolutions of the General Assembly are only recommendatory. We are also aware that they reflect world opinion, which Governments cannot forever afford to ignore. Since there is no return to the dark ages of “might is right”, justice will not be defeated; truth alone will triumph.

177. Incidentally, this introduction to the report of the Secretary-General, which is so carefully written and submitted to us year after year, is an important United Nations document. It deserves careful reading and study. I do not believe that it should be only perfunctorily noted as a matter of routine. I hope that in the future such reports will be given due consideration by this Assembly.

178. This brief review of the achievements of the thirty-first session would not be complete without reference to the efforts that have been made in our search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We should congratulate ourselves for reaffirming that a just and lasting peace could not be achieved without Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories and attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights. Africa firmly believes that those are the basic prerequisites for enabling all countries and peoples in the Middle East to live in peace. We sincerely hope that progress will be made at the peace conference to be convened early next year.

179. In saluting the presence among us of the new Member States of the Seychelles, Angola and Samoa, we would like to express the hope that Viet Nam, too, will be able to join us in the near future.

180. In conclusion, Mr. President, permit me to extend to you, to the Secretary-General and all his associates, and to all delegations, our best wishes for peace and personal happiness for the coming year.

181. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Fiji, who will speak on behalf of the Asian States.

182. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): We have been so preoccupied and busy during the last three months that the end—or what should be the end—of this thirty-first session is almost on top of us before we realize it. We of the Asian region are particularly pleased to note a very special feature of this session, and that is the co-operative and peaceful atmosphere in which the Assembly has conducted its deliberations. However, we believe that there is no room for complacency, since serious problems which remain unresolved have to be faced and tackled with vigour and determination. While we are generally satisfied with the happy atmosphere existing at this session, it could well be the lull before the storm unless we face up to the difficult issues which divide the developed and developing worlds. Beginnings have been made and, though progress has been slow and disappointing, the Member States of the Asian region hope that the momentum of the dialogue between North and South will be maintained and accelerated.

183. We have witnessed the admission of three new Members to our Organization; for Asia and the Pacific, a new voice—Samoa—has been added to the 35 Member States of the region.

184. This is not the time or the place to review the varied achievements of our Organization during this session. Much has been done; much remains to be done. The agreement on an international convention against the taking of hostages is a singular and important achievement. It may not have encompassed all that needs to be done. What is important—and this we believe needs to be emphasized—is that this Organization, despite its detractors and critics, has the collective will to do things; and this has been amply proved by the support accorded to the resolution on that subject. We congratulate all those who worked so hard to permit that difficult proposal to come to fruition.

185. In examining this session, we see that one matter which appears to have received emphasis is the need for and importance of implementing Security Council decisions on matters of international security and peace. In addition to resolutions on specific issues, the General Assembly resolution regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security recommends to the Security Council the consideration of appropriate steps it could take in carrying out its decisions.

186. Moreover, the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report, has brought out in no ambiguous terms the urgent need for international legal order and security through the United Nations in the face of growing anarchy and insecurity throughout the world. Such legal order and security is provided for in the Charter by the implementation of Security Council decisions.

187. The Asian group expresses the hope that this session will mark a turning-point by being the session of the General Assembly which initiated action towards the effective implementation of United Nations resolutions.

188. Having made those introductory remarks, allow me to turn to a more rewarding part of my assignment.

189. As representative of the Asian group, my duty today is a pleasant one. Firstly, I should like to thank those whose duties have enabled us to conduct our meetings smoothly and efficiently. These are the many people who work under the direction of the Secretariat: the security officers, those who look after the cloak-rooms, the interpreters, secretaries, messengers and, of course, those who work behind the scenes, and the staff of the delegates' lounge and delegates' dining room. We would like to take this opportunity to express our very sincere appreciation for a job well done at all levels.

190. It is always invidious to name people on occasions such as this. However, we should be failing in good manners were we not to mention the contributions of Mr. William Buffum, Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs. We thank him and the staff under his immediate direction for the excellent and courteous service and assistance accorded to our delegations. We reiterate once again our congratulations to the Secretary-General,

Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on his re-election and assure him of our support and co-operation.

191. We thank the members of the various Bureaus, offices of the specialized agencies and others who have worked assiduously to enable the General Assembly to conduct its business smoothly. We thank them for their assistance, their co-operation and the lucid manner in which explanations and clarifications have been made to queries raised by representatives.

192. We should also like to thank our hosts the United States Government and the city of New York: the former, for the courtesies, care and solicitude extended to visiting Foreign Ministers, Heads of Governments and Heads of States who visit New York to participate in the general debates of the General Assembly; the city of New York for the unfailing care and attention paid to the many and varied needs of our delegations, large and small.

193. The end of this session is also a time of farewell. To say good-bye is at best a difficult and at times onerous task. On this occasion, it would be tinged with good wishes and appreciation. To the representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Yakov Malik, who has already left, the Asian group expresses its appreciation for his contributions and wishes him well in his new duties. To Ambassador Huang Hua, we take this opportunity of extending our warmest congratulations on his elevation to the high and responsible position of Foreign Minister of his great country. It augurs well for this body when representatives such as Mr. Huang Hua and Mr. de Guiringaud of France are called to serve as Foreign Ministers of their respective countries. To other Permanent Representatives who are completing their assignments to the United Nations, the Asian group takes this opportunity to express its thanks for their co-operation and its wishes for success in their new assignments.

194. Today also the Asian group wishes to bid farewell to Ambassador Scranton of the United States. It would be true to say that Ambassador Scranton has brought to his high office a wealth of experience and political acumen of the highest order, but, above all, a sensitivity and understanding which has provided a most welcome and invigorating change. We wish Ambassador Scranton well in his future endeavours and we thank him and Mrs. Scranton for their many courtesies to our missions and their hospitality.

195. Mr. President, I have left you last because, as an Ambassador from Asia, it would be bad form and indeed in poor taste were I to sing your praises from the beginning. Suffice to say that the Asian region has great pride and satisfaction in your election as President of this session and in the manner in which you have presided over our deliberations. We are proud to be associated with you in a presidency that has been marked by firmness, by impartiality and above all by a great sense of humour.

196. Mr. President, it is perhaps a measure of the breadth of the universality of your attitude and the international flavour of your task, that you have adopted with great distinction a habit which I might say sits well with you—the red rose has become a distinctive symbol of your presence.

197. Finally, on behalf of the Asian region, we should like to take this opportunity of thanking Member States of the other regions for their kindness, courtesies, hospitalities and consideration. While there have been difficulties, common sense and goodwill have eventually triumphed. For these, we of the Asian region, are grateful. We wish representatives, their delegations and their families, happiness and peace. To those travelling abroad to their homes, we wish them Godspeed.

198. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Bulgaria, who will speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

199. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, the delegations of the Eastern European States have entrusted me with the pleasant duty of extending to you our most sincere congratulations and gratitude for your exceptionally skilful and competent leadership of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. We all have had the opportunity to witness your well-known qualifications as an eminent diplomat. Your profound knowledge of the wide range of issues which are discussed in the United Nations and your dedication to the cause of the United Nations were highly instrumental in the successful work of this session.

200. The day on which a regular session of the General Assembly is being wound up is not necessarily the most appropriate time to make a comprehensive summing-up of the results achieved. As a matter of fact, this is not our task, since one can hardly make a detailed evaluation of a three-month-long intensive activity in a short statement. Yet, in our view, we have a good reason to say right away that the broad discussions and the decisions which were adopted show that the thirty-first session has been a fruitful one altogether. The General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions whose implementation will make a new substantial contribution by the United Nations in a number of fields, foremost among which are the safeguarding of world peace and the strengthening of international security, the ending of the arms race, the elimination of existing hot-beds of tension and conflicts, the establishment of a new economic order on the basis of equality and the securing of real economic independence of the developing countries, the elimination of all the vestiges of colonialism and racism, and the promotion of international co-operation in the social and humanitarian fields.

201. It has often been emphasized that the United Nations could not play a greater role and do more than what Member States are ready and willing to do. Furthermore, the contribution of each General Assembly session to the realization of the purposes of the United Nations depends directly on and truly reflects the picture of present-day international relations. Therefore it is quite logical and quite in order that the work and results of the current session should reflect the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of Member States to strengthen the positive tendencies which have emerged during the past few years in international life. I have in mind the determination to make new efforts so that the process of relaxation of tensions embraces all regions in the world, acquiring an irreversible character. The results of the thirty-first session are yet another confirmation of the fact that it was precisely in the conditions of reducing tensions that it became possible not

only to discuss, but in many cases to solve successfully, a number of urgent international problems in the political, economic, social and other spheres.

202. I submit that it will not be an overstatement to say that one of the most significant positive results of the current session has been the increased attention given to problems related to the necessity of halting the arms race and taking new effective measures in the field of disarmament. The delegations on whose behalf I have the honour to address this Assembly warmly welcome that fact. We consider that the interest in disarmament problems bears witness to the growing awareness of the need to foster the process of political détente, to strengthen collective security and to promote disarmament.

203. We are gratified to note that, among the resolutions adopted at this session, there are some of paramount importance, such as those relating to nuclear and conventional weapons, that on opening for signature the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, those on the world disarmament conference and for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. The special session and the World Disarmament Conference will represent a significant step forward in the field of disarmament. The adoption of the resolution on the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations could also be considered one of the positive achievements of this session.

204. I think that in this brief outline of some of the decisions of the session it is also worth singling out those that aim at helping to eliminate existing hot-beds of tension and potential conflicts, particularly pertaining to the Middle East, southern Africa and Cyprus. We are all deeply convinced that the implementation of those resolutions which reflect the views of the overwhelming majority of Member States is the shortest cut to a just and lasting settlement of those urgent international issues.

205. As for the Middle East, we are gratified that the General Assembly has called for the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference within the shortest possible time, with the equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

206. We can already make a positive assessment of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly as representing a significant step forward in the consideration of the acute problems facing southern Africa. Throughout the session, both during the general debate and in the discussions that followed, those problems have been in the forefront. That fact, among others, gives evidence of the concern and awareness of the international community at large about the increasing danger to peace and security in Africa, a danger caused by the policy of colonial oppression and racism practised by certain well-known forces which continue to challenge the international community and world public opinion. In this connexion, the resolutions on *apartheid*, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia adopted by the General Assembly undoubtedly constitute a meaningful contribution by the United Nations in the quest for a reasonable solution of crises and for the elimination of the

potential threat not only to stability in the African continent but to international peace and security as well. We are therefore of the opinion that the discussions on the situation in southern Africa have been, and rightly so, the focus of the main political issues considered by the Assembly at the thirty-first session and constitute one of its major political events.

207. It is to the credit of the General Assembly at its thirty-first session that it has made a further step towards universality of the United Nations by admitting three new Members. In voicing our enormous satisfaction at the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations, as well as that of Seychelles and Samoa, we would like to reaffirm our conviction that in no time at all the representatives of the valiant people of Viet Nam will be able to take their lawful seat in this Organization. The sooner the unfounded and artificial obstacles barring the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are removed, the better for the prestige of the United Nations and for the cause of peace and international co-operation.

208. The positive results achieved at this session notwithstanding, our Organization is in need of many more and concerted efforts to make its contribution to the building of a better world a more tangible one with every passing year. I would like to assure you, Mr. President and representatives of Member States, that the countries of Eastern Europe will spare no efforts, as they have spared none so far, to see the triumph of the purposes and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. A fundamental requirement for the pursuance of the noble mission of the United Nations is the implementation of the decisions of its organs.

209. Please allow me, Mr. President, to express once again our deep satisfaction at your energetic, firm and highly efficient guidance of the work of the thirty-first session. I should also like to express the gratitude of the delegations of Eastern European States to the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, the Chairmen and officers of the Main Committees, as well as to all the offices and members of the Secretariat, visible and invisible, including our tireless interpreters and translators, for devotion and competence in discharging their functions. We owe special thanks to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs.

210. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate once more the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on his re-election to this high office and to renew, on behalf of the delegations of the Eastern European States, our best wishes for great success in the fulfilment of his mandate. We believe that the coming five years will be marked by a greater furthering of the role of the United Nations in the pursuance of its objectives.

211. It is also our belief that today the maintenance of world peace, the strengthening of international security and the promotion of a viable and equitable international economic order are our common goals. The Governments and peoples of the Eastern European States will continue to do their utmost, as they have done in the past, to make the

United Nations a more effective instrument for the attainment of those noble objectives.

212. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guyana, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

213. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): At this rather late hour, as this phase of the thirty-first regular session of the General Assembly draws to a close, it is my honour and privilege to greet you, Mr. President, on behalf of the group of Latin American States. We wish to express to you our sincere thanks and gratitude for the able, effective and impartial manner in which you have superintended the business of this Assembly. In exercising your functions as President, you have confirmed our belief in the range of your diplomatic skills, reflected in the maturity which accompanies your experience. You have been firm, but tactful, in guiding the work of this Assembly.

214. When we began our deliberations on 21 September, it was with the expectation that this Assembly would have had before it for consideration a comprehensive and far-reaching set of proposals aimed at implementing the new international economic order. It was clearly the hope of many of us that this session would have marked a significant advance on the fundamental decisions taken during the sixth and seventh special sessions.

215. Some of us, however, were sanguine in the light of the limited progress made during the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The decision we took a moment ago not to close the session reflects the expectation of the Latin American States, among others, that meaningful progress will be made in the months ahead and that when we do resume, under your distinguished presidency, Sir, it will be to deliberate on concrete and serious proposals emanating from the Conference on International Economic Co-operation and elsewhere.

216. On 21 September as well, we met against a background of a strictly evolving situation favourable to the forces of national liberation. Colonialism was clearly on the retreat. Peoples' victories were being acclaimed in several parts of the world. Yet the colonialists and racists who rule in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa continue to defy the decisions of this Organization and to present the international community with a serious challenge.

217. During the period of this session of the Assembly, the actions of some Member States, particularly some in the Security Council, have blunted the edge of our response. But the overwhelming majority of the international community remains fully committed to work resolutely for the final and total liquidation of colonialism.

218. It may be that this session lacked the effervescence of its more immediate predecessors. Yet, in our view, over the past three months the General Assembly has made some solid, if not spectacular, contributions to the universal goals of mankind, goals which remain as a central motivation of our activities and which sustain our hopes for the future of this Organization. Many important decisions have been taken during this session of the Assembly. It is clearly

impossible to make an exhaustive catalogue, but we would mention some of the decisions.

219. We should applaud the steps taken by this Assembly which bring us closer to universality of membership through the admission of the Seychelles, the People's Republic of Angola and Samoa. The admission of those States has brought us closer to the goal of having this Organization representative of all the world's peoples.

220. In the field of disarmament we have taken the important decision to hold a special session, a session during which many of us hope that the solutions which have defied our previous efforts will be more vigorously pursued.

221. In regard to respect for the sovereignty of States, we have adopted a resolution on non-interference in the internal affairs of States. That resolution reaffirms fundamental principles, but it also reflects the concern of the international community for actions directed against the integrity of States—a phenomenon which today is described as "destabilization".

222. For Latin America, the tribute paid to one of its heroes, Simón Bolívar, in the commemorative meeting held on 17 December reminded us of the timelessness of his universalistic goals and of the supreme relevance of this Organization as an indispensable forum for the pursuit of those objectives.

223. During this session of the Assembly we have sought through our actions to advance the cause of international peace and security. In some areas of tension the climate for forward movement seems propitious. In respect of the Middle East situation and the Palestine question, there seems to be a feeling as widespread as it is optimistic that the conditions are congenial for the international community and the parties concerned to bend every effort to embrace that just and lasting peace which has for too long eluded us.

224. And in relation to Cyprus we have taken decisions which should induce the parties concerned to search more resolutely for a solution which will be as permanent as it is just.

225. Those are some of our thoughts on the achievements of this session of the General Assembly.

226. Let me once again, on behalf of the States of Latin America, congratulate you, Mr. President, on the poise, the equanimity and the impartiality with which you have discharged your duties and borne your responsibilities as President.

227. We should like to pay a tribute to the Vice-Presidents and to the Chairmen and other officers of the Main Committees, who have so ably supported you, Sir. Our thanks go out as well to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose selfless devotion to the cause of the United Nations is a matter of public record, to Mr. William Buffum, the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs, whose quiet but efficient approach has served to smooth the conduct of business during the session, and to

those countless and sometimes invisible officers of the Secretariat—stenographers, interpreters, conference officers and others—without whose constant devoted and efficient service our work would have suffered immeasurably.

228. Finally, on behalf of Latin America, let me wish all those who will be returning to their countries a safe and restful voyage home. To you, Mr. President, to all the representatives and the members of the Secretariat, we extend the season's greetings and best wishes for a happy and prosperous 1977.

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

230. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): On behalf of the group of Western European and other States, Mr. President, I have the honour and pleasure of thanking you most sincerely for the friendly, open and efficiently constructive way in which you have guided the work of the Assembly at this session.

231. As I said towards the beginning of our work, I know that you are against lengthy eulogies, and your good-humoured disciplinary approach is such that I would not wish to transgress your unspoken wishes. For that reason, and in order to avoid repeating what has been said so ably by preceding speakers, I shall be brief, secure in the knowledge that what your presidency has actually contributed is an accomplishment which requires no embellishment, one which will stand the critical test of historians and of analysts of the work of international organizations.

232. If you will permit me a lighter note, Sir, I am probably correct in observing that this is the first time, after 31 sessions, that a President has orchestrated the work of the Assembly with only one hand—his left hand at that—leaving his right hand in leisurely reserve. This has been unintentional testimony of the way in which your diplomatic qualities and expertise have rendered your performance of the onerous duty of President of the General Assembly so effortless and so masterful. I am almost certain that this temporary handicap also did not impede your "finessing" at your bridge circle.

233. Unobtrusively, but in my opinion very importantly, you have also demonstrated the virtues of cost-efficiency in the planning and execution of our work, as also the value of extensively sharing responsibilities between the various members of the Bureau. A third and highly significant contribution of yours, Mr. President, is that of containment of potential crises before they surfaced, and many have been the instances over the past three months of arduous work when serious obstacles have been avoided by your expert, unseen hand anticipating and solving problems in private consultations. That is not dullness: it is efficiency.

234. This was only to be expected from you, but we have greatly benefited from your pragmatic approach, which I hope will be further refined in future, as this is an area of conference procedure which will assume more importance and require deliberate attention in the years to come. A process of organized consultations, under dedicated guidance, is also an avenue which we might usefully explore in future as a means to achieve better qualitative output in our work.

235. Your presiding over this session of the Assembly also coincided with your country's chairmanship of the non-aligned movement. This is another significant element of your presidency, and I believe that this circumstance has enabled all delegations better to appreciate and understand the perspectives and preoccupations of the non-aligned movement.

236. This, too, is an event of far-reaching significance for the future, because it is through mutual understanding of different perspectives and a determination for rapprochement of opposite views that we can lay the foundations of progress. This after all, is the *raison d'être* of our Organization. It is an objective much sooner stated than achieved, but none the less worth every effort on our part, if only to keep constant the ray of progress slowly piercing the mists of the innumerable and cumulative problems that continually hover oppressively around us. In this search there can be no moral fatigue. Frustration can only make us redouble our efforts to explore new avenues for progress.

237. We can take some pride that we have not done badly at this session. There has been no major controversy beyond the honest differences of opinion which are a feature of the world we live in. The pastime of throwing brick-bats at the United Nations mercifully seems to be dwindling in popularity. If we make no sensational news it is not because the United Nations and its agencies are not continuing and in fact increasing their activities; it is simply that much of our work is unsung and unheralded, but none the less beneficial for that.

238. On the credit side, we know we can rely on the continuing dedicated service on behalf of the world community of our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, whose renewed mandate, unanimously approved, is an augury of unswerving commitment to duty and to the ideals of the Charter. And we have at this session moved further forward in our search for universality, although not as far as all Members perhaps would have wished.

239. To me it seems the work we have accomplished has been rewarding. I think we have closed ranks. I think we have moved significantly away from confrontation. I think our perception of problems that somehow eluded the required concentration in the past has improved. I think the press has given us a more restrained and fairer hearing than in the past. I think the general public may soon be better aware of some of our more intractable problems and will be in a better position to evaluate our progress, or lack of it, and to urge their own Governments on to further efforts in the elusive search for success. I believe, finally, that we are leaving this session with a feeling that movements for peaceful progress and for a better political climate may achieve some new momentum in the months between now and the next Assembly. We would have wished for more, but we do not wish to underestimate what has been achieved in the intangible criteria which are a constant feature of international conference diplomacy.

240. As your presidency over terrestrial problems approaches its nominal end, Sir, I have no doubt that, after a short and well-deserved break, you will very soon, in

Masefield's words, go "down to the seas again" and resume your work in preparation for your guiding role over the Conference on the Law of the Sea. It is fitting on this occasion for me to recall the early days when my delegation raised the question, to the surprise and even suspicion of some. Thanks to your sterling qualities and your energetic drive over the past eight long years, the law of the sea has moved forward from a new item entitled "Examination of the question" to the stage when success is within our grasp. We can now envisage finalizing our work in accordance with the novel concept of the common heritage of mankind. This would be a magnificent achievement with far-reaching and beneficial consequences; it constitutes probably the greatest attraction looming on the international horizon in the months ahead. It shows the potential of this Organization to bring about evolutionary progress. But we must not fail as we come to the final hurdle. Under your presidency we shall not fail.

241. But I believe it is your prerogative to overview the output of this session, and I would not presume to derogate from your privilege, Mr. President, which at least has the merit of giving you the last exercise of the right of reply. Your stirring evaluation will not lack serious study, for economic well-being, human rights and advances towards peace are our clear individual and collective responsibility.

242. May I now on behalf of the group of Western European and other States briefly join you, Mr. President, and previous speakers in thanking all those who have assisted us in our work. They are too numerous to mention by name—with the merited exception of Mr. Buffum—starting from the top right down to those who so unfailingly refill our waterjugs or clean up the floors and carpets.

243. We wish to thank the host country and the Hospitality Committee for United Nations Delegations for their constant unfailing courtesy and help, and we offer you, Mr. President, our colleagues on other missions, and the Secretary-General and his staff our best wishes for the forthcoming holiday season and the new year.

244. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Democratic Yemen, who will speak on behalf of the Arab States.

245. Mr. HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to express to you on behalf of the Arab group congratulations on your great success as President of this session. At this session the General Assembly has adopted resolutions of the greatest importance. The United Nations has reconfirmed its capacity and efficiency in dealing with several problems of interest to us all. We can also say that multilateral diplomacy, of which our Organization is the live and permanent theatre, is becoming ever more dominant in the international relations of the present day. This is proof that today's world is able to draw closer together and to take a common stand on problems in an atmosphere of democratic dialogue and amity in an attempt to achieve the aspirations of the people of the world for a better future. The many resolutions adopted at the thirty-first session embrace political, economic and cultural problems and other questions connected with security and pro-

cedures, including the problems we dealt with for the first time at this session. All these resolutions show that the international community has renewed its confidence in the growing role of the United Nations in international life. It is truly encouraging to realize that among the achievements of this session was the admission of new Members such as the People's Republic of Angola, Seychelles and Samoa, which have joined our Organization. This represents a step towards universality for our Organization. It also demonstrates that our Organization stands by movements and peoples fighting against occupation, racial discrimination, colonialism and *apartheid* in all its forms. We are convinced that in the future other States will be able to become Members of the United Nations, particularly the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which still remains outside the United Nations for unjustifiable reasons.

246. In indicating the success in all the activities of this session, we cannot fail to thank all those people whose devotion and efforts have enabled us to achieve that success. It is for me a signal honour to refer to you, Mr. President, as the most important person who has enabled us to achieve that success because, thanks to your wisdom and experience in United Nations matters as well as your diplomatic skill, we have attained our goal. The fact that you occupy the important post of President demonstrates that there is unanimous appreciation of the people of Sri Lanka, which most generously welcomed last August the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, a conference which had considerable success and some important results and proved that Sri Lanka is continuing to play an important role in establishing world peace and justice. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the role played by your country in the non-aligned movement, to which the Arab group is proud to belong. I should also like to thank the Vice-Presidents, who have devoted themselves to their tasks and responsibilities. I also take this opportunity to point out the great significance of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly re-electing Mr. Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General of the United Nations. His re-election demonstrates once again the wisdom, experience and competence of the Secretary-General and the great appreciation, deference and respect that he enjoys in this world because of his devotion to the service of the Organization.

247. In conclusion, I should like to extend my thanks to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and to all the staff of the Secretariat—the interpreters, security personnel and all those who helped us in our work. To you, Mr. President, and the group that worked under you I wish a Merry Christmas, a Happy New Year, and great success in your future endeavours.

248. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the host country.

249. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America): As the representative of the host country, it is my honour, at the conclusion of this session of the General Assembly, to offer a word of farewell. To you, Mr. President, I give thanks for the courtesy, fairness and extraordinary capability shown day after day by you in your high office. Your great abilities not only further distinguish a remarkable career but permit this session to adjourn at an earlier hour on an

earlier day than it would have done without your firm hand. I salute you, Sir.

250. To the members of the Secretariat, and especially to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Buffum, and you most of all, Mr. Secretary-General, I pay a tribute for your dedication, your conscientiousness and your efficiency. Fellow representatives, your calibre has made these months stimulating and personally rewarding. Both my country and I thank you.

251. I should like to draw the attention of delegations to where we were a year ago. One year ago the problems of disarmament, the Middle East and southern Africa were acute. Negotiations, however, were stagnant.

252. The deteriorating situation in Lebanon kept Arabs and Israelis from seeking ways to move towards solutions. As prospects for a peaceful solution in southern Africa dwindled, a downward spiral towards violence gained momentum. Super-Power commitment to strategic arms discussions and to disarmament talks in general was questionable at that time.

253. This world situation as I have just pictured it affected the United Nations. The lack of progress, or even of a prospect of progress, was aggravated by one of the sharpest and most dangerous confrontations in the history of the General Assembly: the dispute over the equation of Zionism with racism. Thus another divisive factor was added to an already intensely complex Middle East debate. This wounding rhetoric and other acts nearly as excessive embittered the attitude of many people towards the United Nations—certainly in the United States.

254. Today, on the other hand, hope exists for a settlement in the Middle East. This results partly—though only partly—from a winding-down of the tragic struggle in Lebanon. Equally important, the energies of all parties are today engaged productively in pursuing the search for ways for the parties to come together. For the first time, all sides have manifested a renewed determination to achieve peace. For the first time, all parties desire a negotiating process.

255. As for southern Africa, determination is strong to bring about majority rule for multiracial nations living in peace. Meaningful talks concerning Rhodesia are in process; talks on Namibia are within reach—talks allowing peaceful change, change by negotiation, which is the only course that will avoid the horror of mass violence.

256. This positive tone extends to the difficult issues of arms control and disarmament, including nuclear proliferation issues that will be with us after many others are solved. Today, none doubt the necessity of resolution or the need for the super-Powers to take the first steps.

257. These developments are no cause, in my judgement, for euphoria, but they do offer a basis for hope. In contrast with the previous session of the General Assembly, this session has seen a lessening of confrontation. Some significant changes in the world situation combined with a more mature tone here to alter the atmosphere for the better. A small but perceptible change of mood took place. The United Nations' cup, last year half empty, this year became half full.

258. I repeat: there is no reason for euphoria, but it just may be that we have turned a corner. It just may be that this new tone will permit us to do more together. Having approached the brink and drawn back, perhaps we will now turn to our common tasks with a resolve to make substantive progress rather than political points.

259. At the very least our growing recognition of the value of small steps taken together is, indeed, an accomplishment.

260. And now, Mr. President and fellow representatives, once again I ask your indulgence for some personal comments—a habit of mine to which you have become accustomed, but to which you will not be subjected much longer. Having been the American representative for nine months, I have become an instant expert on all aspects of the United Nations. More seriously, I am deeply indebted to each one of you and to many others for an educational process, and when I leave in another month it will at least be with more understanding of the United Nations than I had when I arrived.

261. Let me begin with a few basic thoughts. Although the United Nations has many purposes, three are most frequently and clearly enunciated in the Charter: maintaining international peace and security, assisting in economic development, and promoting human rights. As to the first, we are making progress. Let me cite but one example.

262. Eight years ago, on a trip to the Middle East, I was informed by the leaders of all six countries I visited that they believed there was no further role for the United Nations in the Middle East dispute. Today, none denies the essential role of the United Nations presence between Syria and Israel, and between Egypt and Israel. Through those temporary peace-keeping forces, the United Nations is giving the world time to find a way to bring peace in the Middle East. And there is virtually unanimous opinion that the route to peace definitely and prominently involves the United Nations.

263. In this geo-economic era, increasing interdependence and an acceleration of the desire of people everywhere for a better way of life bring economic problems and opportunities to the United Nations to a greater degree than ever before. The nations of the world now recognize that new mechanisms must be initiated and developed for world resources and world trade to meet the special needs of many, while benefiting us all.

264. In both these areas, then—peace-keeping and economic development—I am truly encouraged, as I think we all are, not only by the many demands on the United Nations, but by its response, even though the latter may be limited. Time will tell—and a short time at that—whether we shall take further opportunities in these matters that are now before us.

265. But, while much is encouraging with regard to two of the main purposes of the United Nations, little can be said about the third. With the exception of the successful action taken on the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany in regard to hostages, for which I congratulate the General Assembly—and especially after I read in this evening's newspaper the tragic fate of Mrs. Dora Bloch—despite this,

little has happened during this session to improve protection of human rights where human rights most need it. The strong and unswerving views of the United States Government on this subject were recently made very plain to the Third Committee.

266. And this brings me to the United States. Over and over again I am told here that the United States must lead, that it must lead with regard to a settlement in the Middle East, that it must lead with regard to majority rule in southern Africa, that with the Soviet Union it must lead in disarmament initiatives, that it must lead and be forthcoming in regard to interdependence in the economic field, that the United States must lead the West in the East-West dialogue, and that it must lead the North in the North-South dialogue.

267. I believe deeply and sincerely that working with many of your countries the United States has important roles to play in the effort to find "proximate solutions to the insoluble problems" of mankind. How will each of our nations meet this test? Will all of us measure up to our responsibilities that are now before us in greater number than ever before?

268. I can speak only as one American, but at this moment my feelings are clear and my hopes are high.

269. Like all nations, all Governments and all peoples, we have made mistakes. That came home dramatically to Americans in the last decade. We have been looking at ourselves—just as you have been looking at us—with confusion, with anger in some cases, and with some effort at dispassionate analysis.

270. Every one of you here sees the United States at first hand. You are here; you read about us in our newspapers every day; you hear about us on radio, and you see us on television. Our assets and our liabilities are wide open to every one of you.

271. When I look at the United States as our bicentennial year comes to a close, I have a simple emotion: I rejoice. I find an America which is quieter, calmer, more modest, I think, but sounder and more secure. Also we are becoming better listeners—and we have listened here. Though we no longer expect the rest of the world to copy our economic system, we believe that of all the economic systems in the world it is the most productive, the most creative and the most beneficial to people. We also know that we are joined irrevocably with the rest of the world, and that neither we nor anyone else can "go it alone".

272. But out of the 30 years of post-war turbulence has come a more important security to America than simply an economic one, and this bicentennial year epitomizes it: there is a deeper dedication to the basic precepts of this country as declared in the Bill of Rights of our Constitution. I believe the people of the United States are more firmly convinced today, after what they have experienced, than ever before in our history that our individual freedoms, our open society, are the most precious part of our lives. They are our inspiration, and they are also our only real security.

273. What does all this mean for the United Nations? I think it means that the United States will assume leadership. It means that we will try with our hearts and with our minds to work for a lasting peace in the Middle East, to bring majority rule to southern Africa, to build the mechanisms necessitated by economic interdependence, and to progress in arms control and disarmament.

274. It also means that you will hear a great deal from us about freedom and human rights—for we believe in them. We believe there is a natural desire in people everywhere to live not only in peace but also in freedom; that governments are installed foremost to secure these rights; and that no human being has peace or freedom where his or her human rights are denied.

275. I believe you will find us easier to live with and a better leader. I believe Americans respect you—every one of you—and you will have good reason to respect us.

276. One final thought. The United Nations is not a parliament. It cannot enforce its will by enacting laws; it cannot define reality or establish truth by majority vote. The United Nations is a gathering of sovereign States, born out of consensus and destined to survive only by consensus. Consensus, after all, comes down simply to this: commitment from each of us to strive for a safer and a better life for human beings everywhere, now and for generations to come.

277. Happy holidays to all of you.

278. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Jamil Baroody, the representative of Saudi Arabia.

279. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I am taking the liberty of submitting the last draft resolution of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. It reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting that the thirty-first session of the General Assembly has now been suspended,

"Considering that a brief appraisal of that session should be recorded for the benefit of future historians of the United Nations,

"Taking into account that, notwithstanding the fact that the third-world countries lag behind the developed countries in industry and technology, they can produce men of such high calibre as Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who presided with singular distinction over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly,

"Noting that the Security Council and the General Assembly were unanimous in the view that the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, had served the United Nations so well during the last five years that he should be elected to another term in that office,

"Further noting the dedication that members of the Secretariat of all ranks have manifested in discharging their duties during the thirty-first session,

"Mindful that the number of negative red voting lights has dwindled and that there have been more pale yellow abstentions, which it is hoped may become green pastures of unanimity on all major issues at future sessions of the General Assembly,

"Whereas the representatives to the thirty-first session, regardless of differences of culture, ideology and ethnic origin, on the whole behaved in an exemplary, calm and docile manner during the session,

"Decides to express its deep gratitude to the President of the General Assembly, who, like Neptune, exercised full command of the seas and oceans and serenely piloted the ship of the thirty-first session in still waters to its final destination;

"Congratulates itself on having elected Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the physically stalwart and diplomatically skilful modern Marco Polo, to another five-year term and, while it commiserates with him on the difficult task he will be called upon to perform, urges all leaders of States Members of the United Nations to observe more faithfully the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in formulating their respective policies so as to bring justice, peace and prosperity to all the peoples of the world;

"Appreciates the devotion and lauds the efficiency that all the staff of the Secretariat, regardless of rank, have manifested in discharging their duties, thereby making it possible for the diplomats to function satisfactorily during the thirty-first session;

"Pays a tribute to the host country for:

"(a) Having appointed a man of good origins, none other than Mr. William Scranton, former Governor of Pennsylvania, who by personal charm and innate tact spreads his suzerainty over the hearts of all his colleagues,

"(b) Having retained as a representative to the thirty-first session a Pearl not cultured by Mikimoto but cultured in the art of the theatre and in her genuine humanitarian attitude towards all those who know her,

"(c) Having on its delegation all the other United States representatives, who need not be named individually; they have all acted with courtesy towards their colleagues, irrespective of the divergent views their Government held on a number of issues on the agenda of the thirty-first session;

"Hopes that Baroody and a few other old-timers who remain active will participate in the deliberations of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly."

280. I trust that this draft resolution will be adopted by acclamation. A happy new year to all!

281. The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Baroody, the representative of Saudi Arabia, for the inimitable fashion in which he has moved the last draft resolution of this session.

282. I have been asked to inform the General Assembly that the Eastern European States had wished to make a

statement on item 66 when we were discussing the suspension of the thirty-first session. For technical reasons they were unable to do so at the time and have kindly refrained from asking to do so now. However, their position is to be set out in a document that they will circulate to members.⁵

283. Permit me now to say a reluctant farewell to Mr. Scranton, who will shortly relinquish his mission here. Governor Scranton has lived up to the reputation which preceded him of being a great gentleman. He has proved

himself an accomplished diplomat and statesman and has by his courtly manner and dignified bearing endeared himself to, and made a lasting impression on, all those who have come in contact with him in the short period he has spent with us. I wish him and Mrs. Scranton health and happiness in the future. It would be trite to wish him success; he is a living embodiment of it.

284. In accordance with the decision reached by the General Assembly at this meeting, I now declare suspended the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

⁵ Subsequently circulated as document A/31/472.

The meeting rose at 10.20 p.m.