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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 75:</i>	
<i>Pattern of conferences: report of the Secretary-General</i>	
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee</i>	
<i>Agenda item 77:</i>	
<i>Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions</i>	
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee</i>	
<i>Agenda item 81:</i>	
<i>Personnel questions:</i>	
<i>(a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General;</i>	
<i>(b) Other personnel questions</i>	
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee</i>	1
<i>Agenda item 74:</i>	
<i>Budget estimates for the financial year 1967</i>	
<i>Report of the Fifth Committee</i>	
<i>Agenda item 80:</i>	
<i>Report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (concluded) . .</i>	7
<i>Agenda item 10:</i>	
<i>Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization</i>	7
<i>Completion of the work of the twenty-first session</i>	7
<i>Agenda item 2:</i>	
<i>Minute of silent prayer or meditation</i>	16
<i>Closing of the session</i>	16

AGENDA ITEM 81

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6605 AND CORR.1)

AGENDA ITEM 74

Budget estimates for the financial year 1967

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6631)

Mr. Silveira da Mota (Brazil), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. SILVEIRA DA MOTA (Brazil), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: In the report on the pattern of conferences the Fifth Committee recommends [A/6629, para. 11] that the General Assembly take note with approval of the programme of conferences as set forth in the report of the Secretary-General [A/6437 and Corr.1 and 2], as well as the observations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions contained in its twenty-seventh report to the General Assembly [A/6575].
2. The Fifth Committee also recommends for adoption by the General Assembly a draft resolution [A/6629, para. 12] which would establish a committee on conferences, consisting of fifteen Member States to be designated by the President of the Assembly on the basis of broad, equitable geographical distribution.
3. In the report on the scale of assessments, the Fifth Committee approved [A/6630, para. 9] the contributions proposed for Indonesia for the years 1965 and 1966, and recommends a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly [*ibid.*, para. 11] concerning the rates of assessment, in 1966 and 1967, for new States Members admitted to membership of the Organization during 1966, as well as the rate of assessment for Indonesia for 1966-1967.
4. In its report on personnel questions the Fifth Committee has recommended for adoption by the General Assembly [A/6605 and Corr.1, para. 36] two draft resolutions concerning the question of the composition of the Secretariat. The report, moreover [*ibid.*, para. 35], recommends certain actions by the General Assembly relating to, first, reimbursement to United Nations staff members of United States nationality of the difference between the amount of the social security tax each such staff member is required to pay as a United Nations employee, and the amount he would have paid as an employee of a taxable

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
 (Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 75

Pattern of conferences: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6629)

AGENDA ITEM 77

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6630)

employer; second, extension of health insurance coverage for retiring or disabled staff members and dependents; and third, amendments made to the Staff Rules during the period 1 September 1965 to 31 August 1966.

5. Finally, in its report on budget estimates for the financial year 1967, the Fifth Committee recommends [A/6631, para. 94] for adoption by the General Assembly six draft resolutions in relation to this question.

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

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

7. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision just taken, interventions on the reports of the Fifth Committee will be limited to explanations of vote.

8. The General Assembly will first consider the report of the Fifth Committee concerning agenda item 75. The Fifth Committee recommends the adoption of a draft resolution [A/6629, para. 12]. In the absence of a request for a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly adopts it without any objection?

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

9. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Members of the Assembly to take note of the decision of the Fifth Committee contained in paragraph 11 of document A/6629. If there is no objection I shall take it that the Assembly takes note of that paragraph.

The General Assembly took note of the decision of the Fifth Committee.

10. The PRESIDENT: In operative paragraph 3 of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly requests the President of the Assembly to designate, on the basis of broad equitable geographical distribution, the fifteen Member States to serve on the Committee on Conferences for three years. I shall designate the Member States to serve on the Committee on Conferences as soon as possible and request the Secretary-General to inform the Members accordingly.

We turn now to the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee on agenda item 77 [A/6630, para. 11].

11. Since the Fifth Committee adopted the draft resolution unanimously, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

12. The PRESIDENT: The next item before the Assembly is agenda item 81, concerning personnel questions.

13. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (translated from French): I have asked to speak in order to give a brief explanation regarding draft resolution A [A/6605 and Corr.1, para. 36]. When this draft resolution came before the Fifth Committee, the sponsors were the delegations of Afghanistan, Cameroon and Hungary and my own delegation. Since it was adopted by the Fifth Committee, there have been talks between the

sponsors and various groups. Some delegations have suggested a slight change in the seventh preambular paragraph. The sponsors have agreed to this amendment, and I should like to read it out to you first in English, since that was the language of the original draft, and then in French in a translation which is my own suggestion. In the English text, the words "semi-permanent contracts" would be taken out and replaced by the words "fixed-term contracts of longer duration". The beginning of the seventh preambular paragraph would therefore read as follows:

"Recognizing the need for a large proportion of permanent and fixed-term contracts of longer duration..."

In French, the paragraph would read:

"Reconnaissant qu'une proportion importante de contrats permanents ou de contrats non permanents d'une durée plus longue est nécessaire..."

14. In proposing this slight change in the text of draft resolution A, I may say, on behalf of the delegations I mentioned at the beginning of my statement, that we hope the General Assembly will adopt the text unanimously.

15. Mr. KILLION (United States of America): The intent of the United Nations Charter as expressed in Chapter XV is clearly to confer upon the Secretary-General as chief executive officer the duty of constituting an international Secretariat adequate for executing the Organization's work. Accordingly there is conferred upon him as well the right, within certain general guide-lines, to select the staff he needs on whatever basis he sees fit.

16. The development of a working organization staffed by persons drawn from more than a hundred countries—having at the same time due regard to considerations of geographical distribution—imposes on the Secretary-General a recruitment task incomparable in complexity to that of any other organization in the world, governmental or private.

17. The fundamental policy of my Government in considering questions related to Secretariat staffing has always been and continues to be: (1) to affirm the Secretary-General's independent prerogative in regard to the recruitment of his staff and (2) to refrain from complicating his task by seeking to introduce restrictions on his right to secure the services of competent, efficient personnel of the highest integrity wherever and on whatever terms he sees fit.

18. It is obvious that the work of the United Nations must be carried forward from year to year by an experienced, dedicated body of men and women, if continuity and efficiency are to be achieved. If the Secretary-General is to attract officers of the calibre demanded by the task, it is indispensable that he be enabled to offer individuals he recruits the prospect of a career with the security and the benefits such a commitment entails. In today's market for professional personnel, we must be realistic. It is manifestly necessary, of course, that a certain, but much smaller, proportion of the staff will always have to be engaged on a fixed-term-contract basis because of the limited and finite nature of the tasks they are to perform. Then again, some of the developing coun-

tries cannot make their officials' services available to the United Nations for more than a few years at a time.

19. The need for flexibility in that regard is obvious, as the lengthy debates in which the Fifth Committee has engaged over the years have so eloquently pointed out. However, if we concede that, at any given time, about a quarter of the professional staff can be expected to be retained on fixed-term contracts, we have certainly made reasonable allowance for the legitimate considerations involved.

20. The delegation of the United States, along with representatives of many other countries, worked for a number of days in the Fifth Committee to assist the delegations of Iran, Afghanistan and Cameroon in developing a constructive draft resolution that would meet the legitimate problems and objectives of those countries which cannot spare their personnel to the United Nations on a more permanent basis but which nevertheless have a right to expect fair representation on the Secretariat staff. While we have some reservations about the actual need for such a draft resolution, we were nevertheless prepared to vote in favour of the text as it was presented in printed form to the Fifth Committee prior to the oral amendment which added the phrase "and semi-permanent" in the preambular portion. My delegation felt that the members of the Fifth Committee had not been given adequate time to study the proposed amendment or to consult the Secretary-General's representative and that the proper procedure would have been for the motion to be printed and circulated to the members of the Committee.

21. There was no clear definition of the term "semi-permanent contract" at the time the Committee was asked to approve that wording, and the term remains confusing and undefined to this day. The introduction of an ambiguous element into the language of a resolution which is intended to serve as a directive to the Secretary-General on a matter of prime administrative importance does not, in our view, serve a constructive purpose. It was for these reasons that my delegation found it necessary to vote against the amendment when it was voted on in the Fifth Committee.

22. However, now that the representative of Iran has proposed the deletion of the phrase "semi-permanent contracts" and the substitution of the phrase "fixed-term contracts of longer duration", my delegation will now be able to vote for the amendment and for the draft resolution as a whole. We commend the co-sponsors most heartily for proposing this eminently sensible and realistic change, which is consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

23. Mr. KULEBIAKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation would like to explain briefly its attitude towards the draft resolution on personnel questions [A/6605 and Corr.1, paras. 20-25, 36] adopted by the Fifth Committee, and the amendment presented today by one of the sponsors of that draft resolution, the distinguished representative of Iran, Mr. Hoveyda.

24. It will be recalled that the delegation of the Soviet Union in the Fifth Committee supported this four-Power draft resolution from the very beginning

not only because the draft resolution calls for the full and speedy implementation of the principle of equitable geographical distribution of posts in the United Nations Secretariat, as set forth in the Charter, but also because it indicates the specific way in which that aim can be achieved, namely, by increasing the number of fixed-term contracts and, consequently, reducing the number of permanent, or life-time, contracts, and by giving preference in recruitment to the United Nations Secretariat to candidates from inadequately represented countries.

25. Let us turn to the United Nations Charter. Article 101, paragraph 3, states:

"The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible."

26. Those are the two principles contained in Article 101, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter. Either we drafted the Charter to be implemented, or we drafted it to be violated. To place these principles in opposition to each other leads to a violation of the Charter, for both principles make up a single inseparable whole—namely, Article 101, paragraph 3—and only thus can they serve the purposes for which Article 101, paragraph 3, was included in the Charter.

27. In the Fifth Committee, a considerable effort was made by delegations to create for the Secretary-General of the United Nations the best possible conditions for implementing this paragraph of Article 101 of the United Nations Charter because for many years the second part of this paragraph of Article 101 of the Charter has not been implemented, and to this day there are areas of the world which are inadequately represented in the United Nations Secretariat. The statements of many delegations, including those of representatives of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, stressed the need to solve this problem.

28. Apparently, however, this, the only possible interpretation of Article 101, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter does not suit everyone. I was surprised recently to read in one of the Sunday supplements of The New York Times an article by Mr. Plimpton, a well-known United States diplomat who recently retired from active service and a distinguished gentleman, in which he tried to oppose these two principles. Any such attempt to oppose the two principles is wrong, and this erroneous opposition between them has been condemned by the vote in the Fifth Committee and in the resolution which is proposed today in the report of the Fifth Committee.

29. In the course of the debate in the Fifth Committee many delegations convincingly showed that the task of ensuring the efficiency and competence of the United Nations staff does not in any way conflict with the task of recruiting the staff according to the principle of the equitable geographical distribution of posts. Both tasks can be successfully carried out at the same time, as indeed the Charter of the United Nations provides.

30. It was also shown in the debate that to ensure the efficient operation and stability of the United Nations Secretariat there is no need to rely primarily on a system of permanent,—i.e., essentially life-long—contracts. The stability and efficient operation of the United Nations can be assured just as well, if not better, through contracts of an average duration of five to ten years, especially in view of the fact that the highest posts in the United Nations are, as a rule, filled by persons of forty-five to fifty years of age.

31. The idea of including contracts of this type in a general scheme of staff recruitment for the United Nations Secretariat was put forward by many different delegations. Some delegations referred to them as "semi-permanent" contracts, and others as "medium-term contracts". Speaking of the relative merits of the three types of contracts, the distinguished Director of the Office of Personnel, Sir Alexander MacFarquhar, used both terms—semi-permanent contract and medium-term contract.

32. On the basis of the opinion expressed in the Committee in favour of recognizing the importance of this type of contract in the United Nations system of staff recruitment so as to lighten the burdens of the Secretary-General in this matter, many delegations came out in favour of including this concept in the draft resolution that was being considered by the Committee.

33. The distinguished representative of Bulgaria and Vice-Chairman of the Fifth Committee, Mr. Todorov, suggested an appropriate modification of this draft resolution. The delegations which supported his suggestion did so in the belief that it would help to eliminate certain contradictions in the four-Power draft resolution the operative part of which called for an increase in the number of fixed-term contracts whereas the preamble actually recommended the retention of a considerable number of permanent contracts.

34. As we know, the vast majority of Committee members—eighty-four delegations—supported the draft resolution in its final form in the Fifth Committee. After the adoption of the draft resolution, the view was expressed by senior officials of the United Nations Secretariat that the use of the term "semi-permanent contracts" was not very felicitous in the light of the existing administrative rules and regulations. I personally believe that this question is more one of semantics than of administrative rules or regulations.

35. Many delegations, however, favoured the use of another term in this paragraph of the resolution, and the distinguished representative of Iran today proposed replacing the words "semi-permanent contracts" with words which, in translation from the French original of the resolution, seem to be "fixed-term contracts of longer duration".

36. The delegation of the Soviet Union, continuing its tradition in the Fifth Committee of endeavouring to create a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation and of working together in order to facilitate the task of the Secretary-General, is prepared to take these considerations into account on the basis of our compromise position. It will be recalled that the Soviet delegation in the Fifth Committee agreed to the wording of the final preambular paragraph, with

the Bulgarian delegation's addition, as a compromise version. We are prepared to go somewhat further in order that the administrative difficulties which, we are told, arise in connexion with the wording adopted by the Fifth Committee might be overcome.

37. The Soviet delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole with the amendment proposed by the esteemed representative of Iran.

38. The Soviet delegation's stand in this matter is that the draft resolution represents a significant step forward in recognizing that the stability and efficiency of the United Nations can be assured not only by permanent contracts but also by contracts of an average duration of five or ten years which in many respects are the most useful type of contract from the point of view of the interests of our Organization. Indeed, we cannot in Secretariat recruitment give a monopoly to only one country, to the citizens of the United States of America, who permanently reside in the United States and who, in the final analysis, do not care where they work—in the United Nations or in Union Carbide. They live in the country anyway; they do not have to leave their homeland and go to another country in order to work in the United Nations. Citizens of other countries do not enjoy such advantages.

39. As far as competence is concerned, we can state, as we have already said to our United States colleagues, that time keeps moving on. In many countries, including the countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and the developing countries, a new generation has come of age from which first-rate staff can be recruited for service in the United Nations Secretariat.

40. In the Soviet Union we have had paradoxical cases where representatives of the Secretary-General coming to the Soviet Union to recruit Staff for employment in the United Nations Secretariat, have found people who were so highly qualified that, in their own words, it would be a pity to take them away from their work in the Soviet Union in order to employ them in the United Nations Secretariat.

41. We hope that the draft resolution under consideration will greatly assist the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his assessment of the situation in regard to the length of contracts for staff in the United Nations Secretariat, and will enable him to overcome the bias, which until recently existed, against any contracts that were not permanent, or life-time, contracts. We hope that this bias has been laid to rest and that the requirement of the Charter concerning the recruitment of staff on the basis of equitable geographical distribution will be implemented in the shortest possible time.

42. The PRESIDENT: The representatives who had asked to make statements on this item have now spoken. I shall therefore now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote.

43. Mr. DEVENDRA (Nepal): Regarding the composition of the Secretariat, it has been a general complaint that, in the recruiting from the under-represented developing countries, full consideration has not been given to determining the desirable ranges of posts for individual countries and inadequate consideration has

been given to the level of appointment as compared with the number of posts.

44. The delegation of Nepal is satisfied to note that the Fifth Committee has taken a special interest in this matter during the debate this year and has decided to request the Secretary-General to study this question, and it is the hope of my delegation that the report of the study by the Secretary-General on this question will prove useful and set a definite guideline in future recruitment from the under-represented developing countries, especially in senior posts.

45. As my delegation considers that the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee on the composition of the Secretariat will, if adopted, be a step in the right direction, my delegation will be happy to vote for it.

46. Mr. SOLTYSIAK (Poland): From the beginning of the existence of the United Nations, and more particularly for the last ten or twelve years, since permanent contracts have begun to prevail in the Secretariat, the Polish delegation among others, has opposed the tendency to transform the Secretariat into what can be termed an "establishment". The Secretariat has to be a living organism, truly international in character, as dynamic as our entire Organization.

47. To this end, the Secretariat has to let in fresh ideas. This can be ensured only by the influx of new staff members from all corners of the world, the influx of new staff members having miscellaneous historical and cultural backgrounds, various kinds of experience and knowledge, and representing all social systems. The maintenance of too large a proportion of permanent contracts renders the accomplishment of this task almost impossible. It is the considered view of the Polish delegation that all these conditions can be met by a Secretariat consisting of staff members having fixed term contracts of various durations.

48. Permanent contracts can be maintained with respect to staff members in professional categories, occupying posts requiring special qualifications, such as précis writers, interpreters, specialists, and so on. As has been stressed by my delegation on many previous occasions in the Fifth Committee, the inflow of staff members from newly developed as well as under-represented countries has been mainly rendered possible in the last five years for two reasons: first, because of the insistence of many Member States on limiting the number of permanent contracts in favour of fixed term contracts; and secondly because of the co-operation and efforts of the Secretary-General and the Bureau of Personnel to correct the then existing situation in the composition of the Secretariat.

49. Thanks to those factors, a substantial improvement has been achieved, but a lot more remains to be done. That is why my delegation has decided to vote in favour of the draft resolution embodied in the report [A/6605 and Corr.1, para. 36], as amended by the representative of Iran on behalf of the original co-sponsors of the draft resolution, although we are not fully satisfied with the provisions of operative paragraph 1, which states that an increased recruitment on the basis of fixed-term contracts might help to achieve a balanced geographical distribution only

as a temporary measure and under the existing conditions.

50. It is the considered view of the Polish delegation that the balanced geographical distribution of posts in the Secretariat will be attained, and the task entrusted to the Secretariat will be adequately achieved, by a Secretariat composed mainly of staff members with contracts of a defined duration.

51. The PRESIDENT: The Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions [A/6605 and Corr.1, para. 36]. We shall take a decision first on draft resolution A. An amendment has been suggested by the representative of Iran. I shall ask the Under-Secretary to read this amendment to avoid any confusion before we proceed to a vote.

52. Mr. NARASIMHAN (Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs): As I understand it, the proposal of Iran is that the seventh preambular paragraph in draft resolution A should be amended as follows: leave out the words "and semi-permanent contracts" and replace them by the words "contracts and fixed-term contracts of longer duration". The entire seventh preambular paragraph would read as follows in English:

"Recognizing the need for a large proportion of permanent contracts and fixed-term contracts of longer duration to ensure the stability and efficient operation of the Secretariat and noting the statement of the Secretary-General in paragraph 14 of his report."

53. The PRESIDENT: We shall first take a decision on the amendment.

The amendment was adopted by 110 votes to none.

54. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution A, as amended.

Draft resolution A, as amended, was adopted by 110 votes to none.

55. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Australia, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Thailand, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.^{1/}

56. The PRESIDENT: I invite members of the Assembly to take note of the decision of the Fifth Committee [A/6605 and Corr.1, para. 35]. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides to take note of this paragraph.

The General Assembly took note of the decision of the Fifth Committee.

57. The PRESIDENT: We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda item 81. We shall now turn to agenda item 74.

58. Mr. KULEBIAKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): As the Soviet delegation's position on the budget estimates of the United Nations for the year 1967 has been set forth in detail in the Fifth Committee, we should like merely to make a brief statement explaining our vote.

59. The delegation of the Soviet Union notes with deep concern the continuing rapid growth of the United Nations budget. This is eloquently attested to by the amount of expenditure for 1967, which is in excess of \$130 million [A/6631, para. 94, draft resolution I.].

60. We are convinced that the budget estimates as a whole could be substantially reduced if a policy of strict economy in the use of United Nations resources was consistently applied, as was discussed by many delegations in the Fifth Committee.

61. It is to be noted that, as in the previous years, the Secretariat of the United Nations accounts for an important part of the expenditure. We believe that the Secretariat is excessively large and that, with better organization of the Secretariat, a simplification of its cumbersome structure and the elimination of unnecessary duplication, a considerable reduction in expenditure could be achieved without detriment to the normal functioning of the United Nations. This is the direction in which the greatest efforts to reduce expenditure should be made, but this has not been done.

62. Since the appropriations under section 3 and many other sections continue to be unjustifiably high, the Soviet delegation was compelled to vote against approving the expenditure in section 3, and it abstained from voting on a number of other sections when they were considered in the Fifth Committee.

63. The Soviet delegation notes with regret that the budget for 1967 again includes illegal appropriations for the financing of measures undertaken in violation of the United Nations Charter or measures which are entirely unnecessary. The expenditure in question includes the appropriations for the payment of interest charges and instalments of principal due on

the United Nations bonds which were issued to cover the cost of the United Nations operations in the Middle East and the Congo, and the appropriations for special missions, the United Nations Field Service, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Memorial Cemetery in Korea and others.

64. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed that all these items should be removed from the budget of the United Nations, but as yet this has not been done. The practice of year after year including them in the regular budget of the United Nations is something with which the Soviet Union can certainly not agree.

65. The Soviet delegation is compelled for these reasons to vote against the expenditure provided for in sections 12, 16 and 17, and in 1967, as in previous years, the Soviet Union will make no contributions to cover these expenditure items, namely, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Memorial Cemetery in Korea, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, the United Nations Field Service, and the payment of interest and principal on the United Nations bond issue.

66. The Soviet delegation also feels compelled to say that it is opposed to the inclusion of technical assistance financing in the regular budget of the United Nations, since this method of financing technical assistance leads to an unnecessary dissipation of resources, to overlapping and to excessive administrative costs.

67. In order to ensure proper use of the specialists and resources of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union will pay, in Soviet currency, its share of the contribution corresponding to expenditure under sections 13, 14 and 15 of the budget to the account of the United Nations in the Foreign Trade Bank of the Soviet Union.

68. In the light of these considerations, the Soviet delegation objects to the approval of the appropriations in sections 13, 14 and 15 of the budget estimates.

69. I should now like to make a few remarks on the draft resolutions in document A/6631. We shall vote against the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1967 [A/6631, para. 94, draft resolution II], according to which the United Nations Secretariat is entitled to expend up to \$10 million for measures to maintain international peace and security.

70. The Soviet delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution under which the Working Capital Fund is to be established for the year ending 31 December 1967 in the amount of \$40 million [A/6631, para. 94, draft resolution III]. We consider that the increase in the Working Capital Fund from \$25 million to \$40 million is unwarranted and is not justified by any genuine needs in the United Nations.

71. In view of all that has just been said, the Soviet delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution to approve the budget of the United Nations for the financial year 1967 and on the draft resolution concerning the Working Capital Fund. It will vote against

^{1/} Owing to a mechanical failure, the affirmative vote of the United Arab Republic was not recorded.

the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses.

72. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee [A/6631, para. 94]. Draft resolution I consists of three sections: section A concerns the budget appropriations for the financial year 1967; section B concerns income estimates for the financial year 1967; and section C concerns the financing of appropriations for the financial year 1967.

Section A of draft resolution I was adopted by 95 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions.

Section B of draft resolution I was adopted by 109 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Section C of draft resolution I was adopted by 96 votes to none, with 14 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 96 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 97 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 95 votes to none, with 14 abstentions.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 109 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

73. The PRESIDENT: Paragraph 76 of document A/6631 contains a decision of the Fifth Committee concerning the United Nations bond issue. May I consider that the General Assembly decides to take note of that paragraph?

The General Assembly took note of the decision of the Fifth Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 80

Report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (concluded)*

74. The PRESIDENT: There is another matter concerning the Fifth Committee on which I should like to give Members of the Assembly some information. Under agenda item 80, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2150 (XXI), approving the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and the recommendations contained therein.

75. Paragraph 67 of that report [A/6343] contains recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts concerning, inter alia, the establishment of an inspection unit. Part B, sub-paragraph (b), of that paragraph, refers to the Unit's composition and appointment in the following terms:

"The inspection unit should consist of a very limited number (not exceeding eight) of inspectors chosen from among members of national supervision or inspection bodies, or from among persons of similar competence, on the basis of their special

experience in national or international administrative and financial matters. The President of the General Assembly should draw up, with due regard to equitable geographical distribution, a corresponding list of countries, each of which should be requested to nominate a candidate or preferably a panel of candidates. The inspectors should be appointed initially for a period of four years by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, after consultation with the other members of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination. The inspectors should not be appointed to any post in the secretariats of the organizations of the United Nations family until the expiry of at least three years after termination of their functions."

76. In pursuance of these recommendations, I have drawn up a list of the countries to constitute the membership of the Inspection Unit and have presented that list to the Secretary-General with the request that the Members of the United Nations be informed at the appropriate time.

77. I have thus carried out the task entrusted to me by the decision of the General Assembly.

78. With that announcement, all items relating to the Fifth Committee have now been completed.

AGENDA ITEM 10

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

79. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly still has pending one item which does not call for any specific action by the General Assembly. I refer to item 10. If there is no objection, I propose that the General Assembly take note of the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.

The General Assembly took note of the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.

Completion of the work of the twenty-first session

80. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has completed consideration of all the items on the agenda of the twenty-first session, except for the two final items

81. I shall now call on representatives who have expressed a wish to address the Assembly at this stage.

82. Mr. MOHALE (Lesotho): Mr. President, it is my great pleasure as Chairman of the African Group to extend to you our sincere thanks and gratitude for the services you have given to this Organization and indeed to the world by your unfailing devotion to humanity during your term as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. The work you have done during your term of office will long be remembered with heartfelt gratitude by the nations of the world, and, although this high office carries with it responsibilities which are onerous and at times physically exhausting, you have undertaken each and every task with fortitude, perspicacity and the utmost of patience.

83. For some of us, this will be a particularly memorable session. My own delegation along with

*Resumed from the 1458th meeting.

that of Botswana and Barbados had the good fortune to be admitted to this Assembly during your Presidency. The independence of our countries cannot be ascribed solely to our own efforts but also to the support and inspiration of this Organization.

84. My fellow representatives and I, on behalf of the countries we represent, have taken note of the seriousness with which, under your wise guidance, this Assembly addressed itself to those situations where full realization has not yet been given to the fundamental human rights of the majority of the peoples. We hope, Sir, that the words that have been spoken in this chamber will not be in vain, and that the resolutions passed will not end up in cold storage.

85. In the short time available to me, it is not possible to cover the entire range of the important matters that have been considered at this session. We all know where we have succeeded. We are also aware of the issues where we have thus far failed to reach any solutions. But even where we have failed, at least we have tried; and this has been the great thing about this session, that we made bold attempts to face the problems confronting us even if our points of view have sometimes been so varied that we have not been able to reach a consensus.

86. Your tenure of office in the Chair has in a sense been a reaffirmation of faith and hope in the future of this Organization. We are grateful to you personally that this is so.

87. We sincerely hope that you will continue to strive for reconciliation and that you will explore every avenue of approach, travel any distance and speak with any man to further the peace that we all desire.

88. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General, the Vice-Presidents, the Chairmen of the different Committees and members of the Secretariat staff who made the work of this session a success.

89. U SOE TIN (Burma): Mr. President, it is a pleasure and an honour for me to have this privilege as the Chairman of the group of Asian States represented in this Assembly to address you, an Asian compatriot, at the closing stage of this session. May I, on behalf of the Asian delegations and also on behalf of the delegation of Yugoslavia, which has made a special request to associate itself with us, extend to you our warm and sincere felicitations for the able and efficient manner in which you have guided the affairs of this session to a successful conclusion.

90. At this closing stage of the session I wish to recall, Mr. President, your opening address to us here, expressing the hope that this session would accept and follow the legacy of reason so that by the end of its deliberations it might be known as the Assembly of Reason.

91. Despite the prevailing international situation with its concomitant currents and undercurrents, this session has been able to weather high winds and heavy seas, taking in its stride many a meaningful step towards progress, not only in the economic, social and humanitarian fields, but also on matters of disarmament including non-proliferation of atomic weapons and outer space, affecting the whole future of man-

kind. This, in no small measure, Mr. President, is due to your positive spirit of international understanding, moderation and conciliation and your wise and enlightened guidance with which you have enabled us to hold ourselves above those currents that tend to divide us from one another. For this we, the delegations of the Asian States and Yugoslavia, would like to express our deep appreciation and extend to you our most sincere and warm congratulations.

92. On behalf of the Asian States and Yugoslavia, I also wish to place on record our deep sense of gratitude to our respected Secretary-General, U Thant, for his positive response to the overwhelming weight of opinion both within and outside the United Nations in consenting to continue his devotion, perseverance and dedication to the cause of peace, international understanding and co-operation in his present capacity as the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

93. I should also like to take this occasion to offer the sincere gratitude of the Asian delegations and of Yugoslavia to the Under-Secretary and to all the members of the Secretariat without whose devotion to duty and sense of dedication we would not have been able to fulfil our tasks.

94. Finally, may I, on behalf of the Asian delegations and Yugoslavia, extend to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General, to the Under-Secretaries and to all members of the Secretariat our best wishes for their happiness and success in the future.

95. Mr. ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): At the close of the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, it is my pleasant duty to express to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Republics of Latin America—which have given me the honour of speaking for them—the gratitude and esteem we all feel for you as we conclude our work.

96. We had, of course, entertained these feelings for a very long time before, through the many years when we observed the inspired and selfless manner in which you always worked to achieve the purposes of the United Nations; yet it must be said that, in presiding with such authority, impartiality and skill over the debates which are now concluding, you have earned for Afghanistan and for yourself credentials of distinguished service which deserve special gratitude.

97. Next, I must mention that Latin America regards as a highlight of this session, the re-election of U Thant to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations for a second term. At this crucial time in history, when for complex reasons the trend of events in international affairs is both towards hopes of peace and progress and towards the horror of atomic catastrophe, the distinguished Secretary-General has given clear and constant evidence of the moral rectitude and the virtues of impartiality, hard work, profound knowledge of our problems and personal charm that make him indispensable to the achievement of the high purposes of international life in accordance with the Charter.

98. His unanimous re-election was an expression of the unqualified support which all the peoples of the world tender to him, and now it is logical to expect

that the Governments of the great Powers, which took such pains to induce him to accept re-election, will prove the honesty of their intentions by lending their effective support, thus helping him in the performance of his high office.

99. The work of the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly can be regarded as noteworthy. The Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights, the draft convention on the law of treaties, the instrument relating to the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, the resolution on non-intervention, the resolutions which refer to permanent sovereignty over natural resources, to the campaign against illiteracy and to the situation in South West Africa, and many others, are evidence, Mr. President, of the productive work accomplished under your distinguished leadership.

100. Despite some distressing armed conflicts, despite cold-war tensions, despite the economic and social problems that are daily becoming more acute because of the population explosion and despite the growing disproportion between the financial resources of the industrialized Powers and those of the developing countries, there has been neither discouragement nor disarray, and this General Assembly has demonstrated to all nations that we are all committed to the noble purpose of peace and justice, over and above the inevitable political differences.

101. Latin America is proud of having done its share in all this. We participated fully and temperately in the discussion and drafting of those resolutions. Keeping in check the emotions that might have sprung from the problems and frustrations of our peoples, we tried to speak with a calmness befitting our tradition of law; we tried always to give more than we asked, leaving certain local aspirations to be satisfied later, in the belief that in the rigorous causality of history only a respected and efficient world body will be able to lay a logical foundation on which to build universal prosperity.

102. I wish, before concluding, to voice a hope that seems of vital importance. The Governments of the great Powers must not allow their own greatness to keep them from complying with the international instruments we have adopted, from the San Francisco Charter up to the present day.

103. If the national political sovereignty of those great Powers places national considerations before the international purpose expressed in the Charter and in the activities of the United Nations, it will be very difficult to transform our theoretical documents into practical instruments of harmony and peace for the peoples of the world. The great nations have each created wealth and prosperity for themselves, but they have not yet succeeded in establishing in their relations a legal order that eliminates war and injustice.

104. A countryman of mine, a Bolivian thinker, said: "One cannot be powerful with impunity". The greater a nation's prosperity and power, the greater are its international responsibilities. The ivory tower of isolated nationalities has been replaced by this edifice of ours, this United Nations born of a moral judgement that enjoins those who have everything to co-operate

in the development of those who still lack bread and schools and hospitals; that commands those who have powerful, destructive weapons not to use them against defenceless peoples; that requires those who resort to ideological penetration in order to subdue developing peoples not to interfere with such peoples' freedom of decision regarding their own destinies. If these things come to pass, succeeding generations may say of us that we were architects of peace and justice. The great Powers are especially answerable to history, for they will be required to account for the use of their power, and in this matter the peoples are implacable.

105. On behalf of the representatives of Latin America, Mr. President, I wish good fortune to you personally and peace and prosperity to the people of Afghanistan.

106. Mr. AL-RASHID (Kuwait): Mr. President, on behalf of the Arab Group, my delegation would like to express to you our most sincere thanks and appreciation for your accomplishment in guiding the work of this General Assembly and bringing it to a successful conclusion. This Assembly, under your very able leadership, has achieved several very constructive and positive advances in the field of international co-operation. First, there has been the growing-up into final form of the International Covenants on Human Rights, to which you, Mr. President, personally devoted so many years of great effort, and which you defended with faith and dedication. Secondly, there has been the resolution on outer space, an agreement which is considered to be a milestone in international co-operation and the beginning of a new era of greater vision and of hope for a more promising future. And finally, there has been the establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, which sets up the machinery for world-wide co-ordination of industrial activities, an organization from which most of the countries of the world are going to reap great benefits, in particular the developing countries.

107. The conduct of the work of the Assembly is not an easy task, especially when differences of opinion and approach continue to exist among countries and groups of countries. But due to your patience and wisdom, Mr. President, and thanks to your congenial personality and your readiness to surmount difficulties through co-operation, the General Assembly has concluded its work successfully and within the scheduled time.

108. We should like you to know, Mr. President, how much your personal contributions and efforts have been appreciated.

109. At the same time, may I take this opportunity to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General, to the Vice-Presidents, and to the Chairmen of the main Committees, to your Office and to all the members of the Secretariat, whose work has been of immeasurable value.

110. May I wish you, Mr. President, a very happy and prosperous New York, and may God bless you.

111. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): Mr. President, I see that you look tired. And no wonder, for you have

presided over a session which, in the view of many, was not an easy one, not only because of an agenda filled to the brim with a good number of difficult problems, but also—and I would say mainly—because of events taking place outside this hall. For the United Nations does not operate in a vacuum. Indeed, the war in Viet-Nam cast a heavy shadow over our proceedings, all the more so in that, throughout these last three months, we have witnessed a further intensification of military operations from both the air and sea in that unfortunate area. It has become clearer than ever that professions of peace carry little weight if they are not followed by deeds. There has been an overwhelming feeling of apprehension in this Assembly that the war in Indo-China is fraught with far-reaching consequences on a global scale and that it might render impossible the solution of many important political, economic and social problems, urgent as they are. It is therefore noteworthy that considerable effort has been exerted here, under your Presidency, to remove or at least to smooth out differences on some issues and achieve positive results wherever possible.

112. The striving to slow down, if not to arrest, the frightening arms race has been reflected in our decisions to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and, instead, to proliferate knowledge about the disastrous effects of such weapons; to keep outer space free of weapons of mass destruction and to ban the use of those weapons, including chemical and bacteriological weapons, here on earth.

113. The striving to establish peaceful relations among States has found its expression in our decisions on non-intervention and on the non-use of force.

114. The striving for freedom and equality of peoples constitutes the keynote of our decisions to eradicate the remnants of colonialism, in particular its most brutal form, in South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique; to condemn racial discrimination in any form, to prohibit the setting-up of military bases in dependent territories; to confirm the sovereign rights of nations over their natural resources.

115. The striving to ensure full respect for man has materialized in the Covenants on Human Rights.

116. These achievements inspire optimism in us, and they should not be underestimated, for, in the final analysis, the true strivings of people are bound to impress themselves upon all those who refuse to abandon the policy of proceeding from positions of strength, who ignore the realities of our world by preventing the Chinese People's Republic from occupying its seat in the United Nations, and who obstruct the unification of divided Korea.

117. Mr. President, during your tenure we elected U Thant Secretary-General for a new term of duty. The re-election of a man in whom we place trust and confidence will no doubt contribute to the strengthening of our Organization. His dedication to peace will help the United Nations in pursuing the lofty aims of the Charter.

118. In your opening statement, Mr. President, you expressed the wish that the twenty-first Assembly should go down in history as an Assembly of reason. Although one might argue whether reason always pre-

vailed in our deliberations, one thing is certain: we were guided by reason in electing you as our President, for we needed an exceptionally good man for this session and, may I be permitted to say, you lived up to our expectations. You conducted your work with admirable skill; you showed true impartiality; you did not spare your wise advice whenever it was needed by any one of us.

119. I should like, on behalf of the socialist group of countries, on behalf of the Polish delegation and of myself, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the successful conclusion of this session and to thank you for your selfless service. I avail myself of this opportunity to express the gratitude to the Under-Secretary, Mr. Narasimhan, to the other Under-Secretaries, and to the staff of the Secretariat who assisted us in our work.

120. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I have the honour to speak to you, Sir, and to all those who have worked with you through the past months, on behalf of the Western European and other groups.

121. Everyone admires, but few envy, the President of the Assembly. It was Macaulay who said that "Ministerial office is a laborious, invidious, closely watched slavery which is mocked with the name of power". So it is with the President of the General Assembly. His is the most exalted position in the world of international affairs. He is the embodiment of the new motive: he is the embodiment of the new conception of international authority. But he is also the servant of us all.

122. I have often said, when speaking of the office of Secretary-General, that no man in the world carries greater responsibility with less power. That is also true of the President of the General Assembly. But though the President must act with due humility and a sense of service and a disinterested devotion to our Organization, his discretion is wider, his judgment is often decisive, and his leadership is always invaluable. He must have outstanding gifts. They are too many to enumerate, but amongst his qualities must be the impartiality of a judge, the patience of a saint, and the constitution—if I may respectfully say so—of an elephant. But of all the qualities of an ideal President perhaps the most important, may I suggest, is a sense of timing based on a sympathetic understanding of the wishes of the general membership.

123. We all remember the famous passage from chapter 3 of the Book of Ecclesiastes:

"To every thing there is a season, and time to every purpose under the heaven:

"... a time to break down, and a time to build up;

"A time to weep and a time to laugh; a time to mourn and a time to dance;

"... a time to keep silence and a time to speak;

"... a time of war and a time of peace."

124. It is your sense of timing, Mr. President, based on your close and sensitive interpretation of the general wishes of us all, that has enabled you to judge so well the time to keep silence and the time to speak,

the time to be indulgent to us and the time to be firm, the time to initiate and the time to leave the initiation to others, the time to keep us late and the time to let us go home to bed.

125. Mr. President, I said that no one envies you. It is true that no one could envy the long-drawn-out strain of your exacting office. But we all envy the reputation you have built up—a reputation for confidence, a reputation for strength, and a reputation for dedication to the best traditions of the United Nations.

126. We, your unruly subjects, seldom agree on anything, and, as you know only too well, we especially delight to dispute on procedure. Consequently, the highest praise I can respectfully offer you, Sir, is to say, with most sincere respect and gratitude, that you have dealt fairly with us all. And to you, Sir, and to the Secretary-General and to Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, and to all the staff that have worked so diligently with us, I express on behalf of the Western European and other groups our sincere and lasting gratitude.

127. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I am speaking on behalf of the Chairmen of the Main Committees. I realize that this is a very difficult thing to do, after listening to eloquent words, noble thoughts and agreeable sentiments expressed here, and particularly after hearing the last speaker, who it falls to my lot to follow and whose words reminded me of the most moving and finest examples of English eloquence. Nevertheless, I shall try to express not only the sentiments of the Chairmen of the Committees, but also—and man is the measure of all things—my own sentiments.

128. I had the privilege of making your acquaintance, Mr. President, many years ago. Since then we have had many pleasant discussions, sometimes about the arduous problems of the United Nations, and sometimes more tranquil discussions in which we explored the world of the ancient cultures of Asia. I clearly remember saying to you one day that those cultures were so human that even the gods have human characteristics, as in the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. The Epic begins with the words: "He was two thirds a god and one third man". This sense of deep humanity is invariably reflected in your conduct. I have always admired your calm intelligence, your exemplary fair-mindedness, your very human understanding for the ideas of others and your firmness in upholding your own ideas.

129. When it was made known that you were a candidate, I had not the slightest doubt that your election would be a stroke of good fortune. Events have justified our faith in you and the hopes we placed in you. Your term of office as President has been an episode that will leave its mark on the history of the United Nations because of the great importance of the decisions taken under your able guidance.

130. What is more, for those of us who have presided over the Main Committees it has been a pleasure to co-operate with you. On behalf of all the Chairmen, I would ask you to accept our friendly and congenial thanks. Your courtesy, your kindness, your amiable

encouragement and your wise counsel have been the mainstay of our work.

131. One of the happiest events of this Assembly which is now drawing to a close under your guidance was, of course, the confirmation of a further term of office for the Secretary-General, U Thant.

132. I had the privilege of representing my country in the Security Council when he was first elected. I had seen him since 1960 serving as Permanent Representative of Burma in the General Assembly, with his characteristic combination of kindness and energy, calmness and resolution, dignity and flexibility. I felt at that time that it would prove to have been an excellent move to elect a man in whom were combined the best of western culture and the moral depth of those that follow the Middle Way of Siddhartha Guatama, the Buddha, who taught man to overcome the passions within him and thus to attain the highest serenity. U Thant derives the gentle energy, the active discreetness, the benevolent resolve which have made him the most universal man of our time from this harmony that I mentioned, and they make him the indispensable helmsman to guide us through the tempests of our day to the haven of peace we yearn for.

133. My colleagues, the Chairmen of the Main Committees, have asked me to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General also, and I deem it an honour to do so.

134. I must also express the thanks of the Chairmen of the Committees to all the Secretariat, from the Under-Secretaries to the humblest staff members—patient interpreters, diligent translators, swift verbatim reporters, official records staff, workers we never see and those we have had the pleasure of seeing every day; to all of them, thanks.

135. In conclusion, I should like to state that the work accomplished under the wise leadership of President Pazhwak and with the co-operation of the Secretary-General, U Thant, will be of lasting importance. The Treaty on the peaceful use of outer space, the Covenants on human rights and economic rights, the draft codification relating to the law of treaties, the confirmation of the principle of non-intervention, the progress made in decolonization and the struggle against opprobrious racist régimes will be associated with this session of the Assembly which you, Mr. President, have directed with distinction and dignity. It is on this that your greatness rests.

136. Mr. President, we shall all remember you by the words which Napoleon uttered when he met Goethe and which represent the great aspiration of any human being who seeks self-fulfilment: "Here is a man".

137. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I am speaking as the representative of the host country to the United Nations.

138. As the General Assembly brings to an end its twenty-first regular session, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, our deep appreciation to all who have laboured to make this session a historic success.

139. First and foremost we express to you, Mr. President, our sincere thanks for the admirable

leadership and guidance which you have given to the General Assembly. The courtesy, wisdom, fairness, patience, energy and dispatch with which you have conducted our important proceedings during these three months fully justify the confidence which all Members reposed in you.

140. They reflect great credit and honour both on you and on your great country, from which you have drawn these excellent qualities. Mr. President, you have rightly taken your place in the great company of outstanding Presidents of the General Assembly.

141. Next, let me express a special and heartfelt word of appreciation to U Thant.

142. Mr. Secretary-General, when we reappointed you unanimously to a second five-year term of office, we took a step which will stand first on the list of the leading achievements of this important session. By your decision to serve again in this, the most difficult office in the world, you demonstrated once more that your deep concern for peace overrides all personal considerations. Once again I pledge to you the full support of the United States for all that you undertake in this great cause.

143. Our warmest thanks go also to our dear friend, Under-Secretary C. V. Narasimhan, for all his indispensable services to the General Assembly and to the delegations throughout this session, and likewise to the entire staff of the Secretariat for their excellent support, which is so traditional that we almost take it for granted. We express to each and every one of them, seen and unseen, grateful appreciation.

144. Let me add, as representative of the host country, that we of the United States feel honoured by the presence among us of distinguished representatives from so many nations and for the opportunities that their stay here has given us to benefit from their wisdom and their friendship. We wish all of our visitors a safe journey home.

145. The Secretary-General, in accepting reappointment for a new term, said in his statement to the General Assembly:

"... all my faith and all my efforts are unhesitatingly pledged to maintaining and developing this Organization as an indispensable centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of our common ends and as an increasingly effective instrument for peace and development." [1483rd meeting, para. 30.]

That eloquent pledge was the high point of this twenty-first session of the General Assembly. I could express no more fervent personal wish than that all of us and our Governments join whole-heartedly in the same pledge, and act on that pledge.

146. To you, Mr. President, to your fellow officers, to the entire Secretariat, and to all my fellow representatives, let me express, on behalf of the people of the United States, our warmest wish for a happy and peaceful year.

147. The PRESIDENT: Distinguished members of the General Assembly: I have been listening to the most generous words and the good wishes addressed to the Chair. I think that it is not proper to make an im-

proper effort; otherwise I would have made an effort to find words to thank the Chairmen of the various groups, the Chairman of the First Committee, who spoke on behalf of the Chairmen of the other Committees, and the representative of the United States. I shall only say that, most sincerely and from the bottom of my heart, I had felt before I heard these words a great gratitude, and now that is combined with a very deep sense of appreciation of your generosity towards me.

148. Despite the scope and complexity of our agenda, we have concluded our work well within the time limit set for us; but more important, we have laboured together in an atmosphere of co-operation which has yielded some significant and, I think, realistic decisions. Thus we have come to the end of another chapter in the affairs of this institution of which all of us are a part.

149. We have all been deeply involved for the past three months in the tasks set before us. It is, therefore, difficult and perhaps impossible for us here objectively to assess the full worth and effectiveness of the decisions reached. Nevertheless, I feel that it is true to say that these decisions will have a constructive bearing on the future direction and strength of our Organization.

150. I believe all of us will recognize that this Assembly concludes in a very different atmosphere from that prevailing before the session began. Although it is true that the world climate may not have changed very much in these thirteen weeks, there are hopeful signs of rather promising approaches to the principle of co-existence even in regions of the world where the complexities of such a policy are very considerable. It may be said that, despite unsatisfactory aspects in the world situation, the mood of the Assembly during this session has been more positive than at any previous session. This is particularly evident in the much happier state of the United Nations and the fact that the prevailing tensions and divisions have affected this session's work to a far lesser degree than could have been anticipated.

151. It is of course also true that the achievements of the General Assembly cannot be assessed solely on the basis of the items which appear on the agenda, for our Assembly sessions provide opportunities not otherwise available for responsible representatives of Governments to meet in direct and informal discussion on issues of common concern.

152. I think that we are all more conscious than before of the fact that the main function of the United Nations is to extract unity out of division. I ventured to suggest at the beginning of this session that current tensions no longer stem from differences over the basic principles established by the Organization, but from reaction to these principles and to their implementation. In the course of this session useful efforts have been made to seek out common standards and principles and to discover fresh approaches based on human reason and a spirit of harmony and understanding. Therefore, we should not for one moment feel disappointment that the Assembly has not succeeded in reaching final solutions to certain problems, or

that issues of world-wide concern still remain unresolved.

153. If we accept that it is progress and not perfection which must be the yard-stick of our assessment, then all we ought to ask of our Organization is that it should, with its universal approach, continue to meet these intractable problems squarely and courageously.

154. I am sure that all of us will agree that a most happy and significant fulfilment of our hope that reason would prevail at this Assembly—and this has already been emphasized—has been the recognition by Secretary-General U Thant of the validity of the reason advanced for his continuance as Secretary-General and his consequent decision to remain in office. Indeed, his decision will "...best serve the higher interests of the Organization and thus represent a positive factor in the current international situation". [1483rd meeting, para. 24.]

155. We are heartened both by the recognition which the membership has shown for his effective role in the interest of peace and by his expression of confidence that there is a sincere desire to reach an agreement on a mutually acceptable basis in regard to the main principles of peace-keeping operations and that he has also been encouraged to believe that, in the near future, the financial situation of the Organization will be greatly alleviated by actions under consideration by some Member States.

156. Another important evidence of the vitality of the United Nations and of its progress toward universality has been the resumption by Indonesia of its relations with this Organization and the admission to membership of four newly independent States: Barbados, Botswana, Guyana and Lesotho. It is a great satisfaction to all of us that, during this short span, approximately 107 million persons have been added to the peoples of the United Nations who have pledged themselves to the Charter.

157. How shall we assess the response of this Assembly to the great imperatives confronting our Organization as it enters the third decade of its existence? I believe that despite the limitations imposed upon us by world conditions prevailing at this moment and by our relatively slender resources, for these thirteen weeks of work we have to show many solid achievements on which the United Nations can build.

158. Perhaps we may conceive of the work of this session in terms of the construction of a United Nations building: broad foundations have been laid which, while undramatic in themselves, are ample enough to permit us already to visualize the finished structure which will arise in the years to come.

159. In referring to the achievements of these weeks of work, it is both my pleasure and my duty to highlight the contribution of the Chairmen of the main Committees who have borne such great burdens and possibilities during this session. To Mr. Benites of the First Committee, Mr. Jakobson of the Special Political Committee, Mr. Tell of the Second Committee, Mrs. Embarek Warzazi of the Third Committee, Mr. Fakhreddine of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Aşıroğlu of the Fifth Committee and Mr. Pěchota of the Sixth Committee, all Members of this Assembly,

and I personally owe a profound debt of gratitude for their untiring, skilful and productive leadership. I have requested the Chairmen to provide detailed statements on the work of their respective Committees. If they do so, these statements will be circulated as official documents in order to make available a more elaborate assessment of the work of the Assembly at this session. Therefore, I will limit myself to some general observations.

160. In drawing up a balance sheet of the matters considered at this session, a major place must be accorded to the Treaty on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space about which I expressed hope at the beginning of the session. I wish to associate myself with the statement which the Secretary-General has made with regard to this Treaty which marks a milestone in man's newest venture. For the first time since the space age began a binding law for outer space has been enacted. The Treaty must be considered a major step towards peace and, hopefully, to an end to the period of cold war, for it comes at a time when the United States of America and the Soviet Union are making great strides in sending manned space vehicles to the moon. Thus the Treaty is not only a demonstration of willingness to reduce tension but an augury of things to come, whose importance for mankind we cannot yet perceive. Permit me to say that in seeking to create in outer space a vast realm of peace for the benefit of all mankind we should not forget, if I may repeat myself, that what is good for the moon is surely good for our own planet.

161. In concrete terms, what we would all wish to see is that this Treaty on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space will lead to an agreement to suspend nuclear weapon tests in all environments and to the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are now witnessing for the first time the question of a nuclear treaty being considered as a matter of United Nations concern and not only as a subject for bilateral agreements between States. The very wide measure of support given in the General Assembly to these proposals indicates the grave and continuing concern regarding the nuclear crisis which is felt throughout this world body. We shall, therefore, watch with apprehension, as well as hope, the continuing efforts being made by the United Nations bodies in the field of disarmament.

162. We have reason also to be encouraged by the steps taken in the course of this session to implement the rights and principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to give them legal force and effect.

163. This Assembly has taken a new step in the direction of implementing the rights and freedoms contained in the Universal Declaration by adopting the International Covenants on Human Rights which, when ratified, will legally require the States concerned to implement almost all the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration and, moreover, the right of all peoples and all nations to self-determination. As imperfect or limited as these Covenants may still be at present, yet they are achievements with a potential for improvement. Above all, they provide the means for implementing the principles, and it is this task which is now so immediate and so vital.

164. The Universal Declaration has already proved its worth as a dynamic and transforming influence in our society; however, only by incorporating the rights and principles it proclaims into international agreements which impose firm legal obligations on the States concerned, can the Universal Declaration be rendered truly effective. Indeed, and I have stated this before, we should look to a future where participation in such agreements will be universal and without reservation, and where adherence to these agreements ultimately will be a precondition for membership in all international organizations.

165. Our work at this session also has been marked by a real measure of progress in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The decisions and the resolutions concerning colonial problems adopted here are couched in terms which clearly foresee the approach of the final stages of the colonial era. In thus giving expression to the judgement and conclusions of the vast majority of the membership, these Assembly decisions have crystalized and redefined existing confrontations. It is my conviction that those most dangerous and potentially tragic confrontations which are based on questions of race need not develop to critical proportions if the covenants and principles agreed upon and declared here become the firm guidelines for the conduct of Governments.

166. I am convinced that time will show that the Assembly, in principle, has taken a very important and historic step with respect to South West Africa.

167. All of us are conscious of the time and attention which this body devoted to exploring the situation and the action which should be taken regarding this territory. Indeed it might be worth recalling these debates as an indication of the seriousness with which the Assembly approached this issue.

168. The Ad Hoc Committee now established and the special session of the Assembly which is to convene early next year are clear indications of this body's determination to do its part in shaping the future of the territory of South West Africa and its peoples. The Assembly's historic decision has not only reaffirmed the authority and continuity of the international community's responsibility, but has also resolved the crucial issue which had arisen between this world body and the International Court of Justice.

169. This Assembly has devoted much time and careful consideration to a variety of economic issues involving the complicated problems of adjusting and developing the world economy to achieve an integrated system of trade which can operate to the mutual benefit of both the emerging and the highly industrialized nations.

170. At this session we have seen the wide measure of agreement among our membership that a means of coexistence must be found for the two stages of economic development which now prevail: the industrialized economy and the subsistence economy; the rich nation and the poor nation. I feel this session has pointed to the ways in which a partnership between the two stages can build a new economic and social order which will ensure that the acute economic problems of our time shall not become great political

issues and new sources of war. There is a growing realization that if such conflicts are allowed to arise from the imperfections of the present world economic system, they will be of our own making and are therefore within our power to prevent.

171. Certainly one of the most significant single steps taken at this session has been the adoption of the resolution on the flow of external resources to developing countries, which sets forth the principles and responsibilities of economic development in developing countries and closely relates them to problems of international financing. In a parallel action the continuing role of the United Nations in the industrialization sector of economic development also has been given clear definition at this session with the establishment, as an autonomous organization and organ of the General Assembly, of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

172. Thus, as a result of the work recently accomplished here in the field of economic development, we may expect our Organization to play an increasingly significant and effective part in the crucial task of remedying the world's economic imbalance.

173. With the conclusion of this, the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly, it might well be said that the period of uncertainty for our Organization has come to an end. After serious crises, the United Nations is here to stay—a permanent feature of Man's turbulent and challenging career on this planet. The Organization's task must be to build our sphere into that round and global unity which nature itself has given it, and which surely implies and requires of Man a similar unity through co-operation and coexistence in all the spiritual and material walks of life.

174. In the course of our work we have also had the satisfaction of seeing the constructive spirit demonstrated on the question of the strict observance of the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, and of the right of peoples to self-determination.

175. As a result of the sustained efforts of all concerned, it was possible for a resolution to emerge which clearly reaffirmed the conviction of Members of the United Nations that the growing tendency to intervention was a danger to mankind. Thus I feel that new significance has been given at this session to the principle of non-intervention and the prohibition of the threat or use of force. It must be our hope that the true spirit of all these endeavours will be understood by every State, large or small, in a position to implement the principles for the peaceful settlement of all disputes, thereby abolishing bloodshed and war.

176. We all recognize, however, that the war situation which continues to exist is still a cause of great anxiety and concern—concern for the human tragedy and bloodshed which is taking place, and concern lest a war which rages in one area may spread and devour our entire planet.

177. It is obvious that the United Nations cannot intervene in any way in the war in Viet-Nam. But it is equally clear, as has been demonstrated in the general debate and throughout the diplomatic contacts made

possible by this Assembly, that a majority of nations in their capacity as members of the human family cannot remain aloof when questions of war and peace are at stake. For when the representatives assemble here they represent not only Member States of the United Nations but a very large majority of the Governments and peoples of the world. Therefore they must have not only an interest but also a considerable responsibility in matters affecting world peace.

178. As regards the war in Viet-Nam, if I may express some personal views, we recognize that the mere token of goodwill expressed in the form of a temporary cease-fire, although welcome, cannot be considered satisfactory. We must hope that the spirit which motivates such a cease-fire agreement can be maintained and extended.

179. As we conclude our deliberations tonight we can do no more than view the cease-fire agreement in Viet-Nam as another sign of hope that a solution may be found along the lines described by the Secretary-General when he asked:

"Is it too much to hope that what is made possible for just a couple of days by the occurrence of common holidays may soon prove feasible for a longer period by the new commitments that peace requires, so that an atmosphere may be created which is necessary for meaningful talks to be held in the quest for a peaceful solution?" [1483rd meeting, para 27.]

180. All of us are aware that great efforts have been made and continue to be made to find a beginning to talks about negotiations on the situation in Viet-Nam. The personal role played by U Thant, among other world leaders, is greatly appreciated. It is good that all this is being done through quiet diplomacy, directed by the rules of wisdom and patience.

181. There is a universal desire for peace in Viet-Nam. There is also a realization of the clear fact that to seek a military solution is to no one's advantage and is definitely against the interest of the Viet-Namese people, whose interest should be put before anything else.

182. Furthermore, there is universal agreement that a peaceful solution is the only desirable solution. This evidently means a solution only through negotiation. Unfortunately, however, the establishment between all the parties concerned of more effective contact in order to fulfil this purpose has yet to be achieved.

183. One can only appeal to all the parties directly involved to declare, during the period of truce, not only as a statement of their positions with reservations but as a commitment to all the nations of the world and to humanity as a whole, their unconditional willingness to seek only a peaceful solution and their readiness to establish appropriate contacts for discussions about the terms of negotiations. This personal appeal is put forward without prejudice to any proposals and suggestions which have been made hitherto or will be made in the future, and without prejudice to the positions hitherto taken by the parties concerned. Such action may help to eliminate certain elements of distrust, which will also diminish the anxieties of the world's peoples and enable them to

hope for an honourable understanding that will put an end to the conflict.

184. The initiation of such a declaration by any of the parties during the period of the truce will in no way prejudice any of the positions on any side. For all those who honour peace this, therefore, could be the beginning of a beginning for an honourable understanding.

185. This appeal should not in any way be considered in connexion with or in the light of any of the proposals related to the situation in Viet-Nam. It should precede all other steps except the truce which has been agreed upon.

186. If it is intended that peace replace the continuation of a tragic, destructive, pointless and dangerous war, one may well expect that this appeal should be responded to by all sincere and responsible minds. It is only after the parties directly concerned have created the required conditions that they can expect others to help them and the cause of peace.

187. In outlining the achievements we have to show for this thirteen-week period, I recognize the profound gratitude which is owed to all the Chairmen and other officers of the main Committees, to the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, who have, I believe, helped the Chair more than any previous team of Vice-Presidents, to the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs, Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, the other Under-Secretaries whose work contributed so much to the smooth functioning of the Assembly, and to the invisible but tireless interpreters and all the other Secretariat staff assigned to the Assembly, who have by their co-operation and self-sacrificing efforts made these results possible. For my own part, my sincere hope is only that I have been able, to some degree, to justify the confidence this Assembly reposed in me when this session began. To whatever extent I may have succeeded in my endeavours, I am well aware of how great a debt of gratitude I owe the membership for their concern for the progress and good order of this Assembly.

188. Perhaps I should note here that in all my contacts with Members in furtherance of our work there has not been a single instance where a request of theirs or of mine has had to be refused, nor has there been insistence on any point if that point could not be accommodated with the Members' wishes.

189. Now that the time has come for the Members of this Assembly to go their separate ways and to return to their happy and comfortable homes I hope that no one will take it amiss if, in wishing you the season's greetings and all success and prosperity in the months ahead, I stress a solemn thought.

190. I am sure it is appropriate for all of us to remember those of our fellow human beings who are deprived of peace and who find themselves at war; those who know no comfort and who live without sustenance; those who are deprived of their human rights and those who must live as refugees; those who live under oppression and tyranny; those who cannot enjoy the dignity and worth bestowed on all human beings, and those who are not free men in their own lands.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

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

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

Closing of the session

192. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.