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(Closing meeting)

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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have just been advised that Apollo 17 has returned safely to earth. I should like to express on this occasion the satisfaction and admiration which is shared, I am sure, by all of us present in this Assembly, and to convey through the United States delegation our warmest congratulations to Astronauts Cernan, Schmitt and Evans, to the scientists and technicians and all those whose efforts contributed so much to the success of this exhilarating venture.

AGENDA ITEM 83

United Nations salary system: report of the Special Committee for the Review of the United Nations Salary System

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/8979)

AGENDA ITEM 73

Budget estimates for the financial year 1973

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/8985 and ADD.1)**

2. Mr. PASHKEVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee (*translation from Russian*): I have the honour to introduce in the General Assembly the reports of the Fifth Committee on agenda items 83 and 73.

3. The report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 83 is contained in document A/8979. In paragraph 40 of the report, the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should approve the draft resolution on the item, which was adopted in the Committee by 64 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

4. The last report of the Fifth Committee—in order of presentation and not of importance, of course—which I have the honour to introduce concerns agenda item 73. This report is contained in documents A/8985 and Add.1.

5. In the relevant paragraphs of this rather bulky document, the Fifth Committee submits a number of draft resolutions and decisions for approval by the General Assembly. In order to save the valuable time of the General Assembly, I shall not enumerate all the rather numerous resolutions and decisions. I rely entirely, Mr. President, on your customary precision in submitting these recommendations, at the right time and in the appropriate order, for approval by the General Assembly.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall take up first the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 83 [A/8979].

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 83.

7. The PRESIDENT (*intepretation from French*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 40 of document A/8979.

The draft resolution was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 3042 (XXVII)).

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): May I invite Members to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 73 [A/8985 and Add.1]. In this connexion, an amendment has been submitted in document A/L.697 and Add.1. I now call on the representative of Australia, who wishes to introduce the amendment.

9. Mr. BUTLER (Australia): The Fifth Committee had before it during the current session a very detailed agenda. We were aided throughout our work by the provision by the Secretariat of very thorough documentation. The report of the Secretary-General and the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [ACABQ] with respect to the question of Headquarters accommodation were examples of just such thorough documentation. They focused our attention on the very extreme pressure that exists today on accom-

modation for the Secretariat in New York. We all know this ourselves through personal contact with the Secretariat. Further, the Secretariat is today dispersed over five sites in New York, in addition, of course, to the Headquarters building itself. This means that some 1,300 members of the staff are at work outside the Headquarters building. Within the Headquarters building itself some 300 members of the staff work in conditions of considerable overcrowding. There can be no doubt that such conditions are not conducive to the highest standards of working efficiency.

10. At the end of our debate on item 73, the Committee decided to include a paragraph in its report. That paragraph, paragraph 33 of document A/8985/Add.1 now before us, takes the form of the recommendation of a decision on the question of Headquarters accommodation. The paragraph has two main elements. The first of these seeks to defer a decision on the Secretary-General's recommendation, even though the ACABQ had recommended that we should accept it. In that context the ACABQ said:

“... the Secretary-General might be authorized to negotiate a rental agreement with the [United Nations Development] Corporation, without commitment to acquisition, and to report to the Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on the possibility of securing eventual ownership by an option to buy or other means.”
[A/8708/Add.17, para. 23.]

The second element relates to a request to the Secretary-General to conduct a study of the accommodations situation. The main outcome of this study would be a report on the possible future location of offices of the Secretariat in developing Member States. It is to the former part of the paragraph that the amendment submitted in document A/L.697 and Add.1 is addressed.

11. The Australian delegation has the honour to introduce this amendment on behalf of the delegations of Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden. In addition, I have been asked to say that the delegations of Finland, Iceland and Ireland have joined the sponsors of the amendment.

12. We should like there to be no doubt that our amendment does not seek to alter the request to the Secretary-General to conduct a study of the possibility of locating portions of the Secretariat in developing Member States. We have no doubt that this is an important concern and we look forward with considerable interest to the Secretary-General's report, which will be presented to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The purpose of our amendment is to seek to provide the Secretary-General with the approval of the General Assembly for his proposed arrangements with the United Nations Development Corporation with respect to accommodation in New York. That proposal of the Secretary-General has been given the endorsement of ACABQ.

13. The proposal is a simple one. It involves no expansion. Its essential purpose is to consolidate the existing Secretariat units in New York in office accommodation that will be conducive to full working efficiency. The proposal with respect to the United Nations Development Corporation

has four main characteristics. In the view of the sponsors, these four characteristics taken together constitute compelling reasons for supporting the Secretary-General's proposal. I shall speak of these briefly.

14. The first of them is the cost of the accommodation or in other words, the rent. The rent which the Secretariat of the United Nations would have to pay to the United Nations Development Corporation would in fact be lower than the average rental at present being paid. More important than that, the rent will not change. The arrangement which has been set forth in the report presented to us by the Secretary-General [A/C.5/1458 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1] makes it clear that the rental arrangement with the United Nations Development Corporation will be constant over the period, whatever it might be, for which an agreement is reached.

15. Secondly, there is the question of the requirements for space for the United Nations. The United Nations has quite particular requirements—I am thinking particularly in terms of conference and meeting-room facilities. In addition, considerable document storage space is necessary. And of course there is the normal day-to-day office structure which is required. These special—or perhaps one could even say peculiar—requirements could be passed on by the United Nations to the United Nations Development Corporation in advance, as a result of which the Corporation could create for the United Nations structures and accommodations which would be suitable to our purposes and would constitute an improvement over the working conditions at present in effect at Headquarters.

16. Thirdly, there are the economies which flow from consolidation and from proximity of offices. The Secretary-General has reported to us that savings in the order of \$125,000 to \$150,000 per annum could be made if units of the Secretariat were located in the building proposed to be erected by the United Nations Development Corporation on First Avenue. In addition to the cash gain I have spoken of, I think we are all aware that ease of communication in the work of the United Nations, made up as it is of Secretariat officials from all our Member States, is a matter of very great importance. The ability of officials to meet easily with each other and to cross the road from office to office, and the reduction in telephone calls would, in the view of the sponsors of the amendment, contribute to the working efficiency of our Organization.

17. Finally, there is the question of future options. In many ways the proposal made to us by the United Nations Development Corporation is unique. The United Nations would be free to enter into a lease arrangement for a minimum of five years but for whatever period it wanted. In other words, our freedom of action, our flexibility to move towards whatever other future decisions we wish to take, would not be impeded. Secondly, it is open to us to enter into a subsequent arrangement for purchase should we so desire, and if we did that, account would be taken in reaching a purchase agreement of the rental that we had already paid to the United Nations Development Corporation.

18. Those are the four reasons for which the sponsors believe paragraph 33 should be amended in the manner we

have suggested in our amendment. We believe the Secretary-General should be given the freedom to pursue further his consultations with the United Nations Development Corporation and we think that the four reasons I have mentioned taken together, as I have said, constitute a compelling reason for providing the Secretary-General with that power.

19. In the discussion of this proposal it has been suggested from time to time that perhaps we do not have to act now. I would suggest, with all respect, that that is not true. The United Nations Development Corporation must commence making its financial arrangements within the next few months. We cannot expect the Corporation to proceed in any other way, because it has its construction tasks to get on with. As a result, if we are to feed into the Corporation our own space requirements, if we are to take advantage of the most favourable offer that this represents to us to consolidate our existing staff in New York, we must take a decision now to enable the Secretary-General to conduct those negotiations with the United Nations Development Corporation.

20. In the view of the sponsors this amendment in no way prejudices the second part of paragraph 33 in the report of our Committee. This is the part that relates to the request to the Secretary-General to study possible future locations, with particular reference to developing Member States, and, in the view of the sponsors, this part of the paragraph should and must remain intact. There is no precise connexion between the United Nations Development Corporation proposal and the latter part of the paragraph.

21. The sponsors hope that the amendment we have proposed can be seen in this light. They believe that it should not necessarily cause particular debate or discussion. It is straightforward and it is in accordance with the recommendation of ACABQ, and we believe that positive action on it would enable the United Nations to consolidate its existing Secretariat offices in New York and by that means contribute markedly to the working efficiency of our Organization.

22. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning, on reading the *Journal of the United Nations*, we found that reference was made to an amendment proposed by a group of delegations in regard to agenda item 73, that is to say, the budget estimates. We inquired at the documents station in this hall and we were told that the document was not yet available to delegations. Now this afternoon we have been informed of the text of document A/L.697, which has just been introduced by the representative of Australia. This is a document which, according to the sponsors, is an amendment to the draft decision recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 33 of document A/8985/Add.1.

23. First of all, I am struck by a serious doubt, and that is, whether after 4.30 this afternoon, at the last meeting of the General Assembly at the present session, after having taken a decision to conclude our work today, we should at this stage open nothing less and nothing more than a whole new debate on the question of accommodation at Headquarters, since obviously it is sufficient to read paragraph 33 of the document which contains the draft decision recommended

by the Fifth Committee and the so-called amendment introduced by the delegation of Australia to realize that this is no amendment. This is a substantive proposal which would request the General Assembly to take a decision totally annulling the decision reached by the Fifth Committee after several days of substantive debate on the question of accommodation.

24. This circumstance worries my delegation, since the delegation that sponsored the so-called amendment have not at the same time requested an extension of the present session, which would be the only reasonable way for this Assembly at this stage, at the closing meeting, to engage in a debate which would require at least a minimum of serious thought since it would mean committing this Organization financially and legally. A commitment of this Organization—which is a group of sovereign States—seems to us to deserve the same consideration as the practical or technical questions which might arise for a company or for a group of architects or contractors in the city of New York.

25. Obviously, the so-called amendment contained in document A/L.697 would not have the effect which the representative of Australia wished to claim for it in this Assembly, namely, to preserve the objectives adopted by the Fifth Committee. The decision of the Fifth Committee could not have been simpler, nor could it have been more practical, in opposition to the so-called Australian amendment and bearing in mind the advanced stage of the work of this Assembly, since the Fifth Committee, with very good judgement, recommended that the Assembly defer until the next session consideration of the subject entitled "Office accommodation at Headquarters" so as to enable the Secretary-General to present a complete report on the various proposals from Member States, including the developing countries, for the location of Secretariat units in their cities.

26. We see no valid reason which can be advanced at 4.30 p.m., at the last meeting of the present session of the General Assembly, to invite this Assembly to take a substantive decision now—which is what the so-called Australian amendment calls for—when the decision of the majority of the members of the Fifth Committee, after several days of debate, was simply to postpone until next year any decision, as well as further consideration of this question.

27. Were the Assembly to adopt the so-called Australian amendment and the suggestions and recommendations of the ACABQ, we would then have to re-open the debate already held in the Fifth Committee, the result of which is found in paragraph 33 of its report. We would have to enter into a discussion of many matters that are in the documentation submitted by the Secretary-General and by the ACABQ itself, matters which might constitute sources of concern for some delegations and in regard to which it was decided that, since there were such doubts and worries, the wisest and most practical course would be not to condemn, cancel or liquidate negotiations which have been undertaken so far but simply to postpone any substantive decision until next year; and, at the same time, enable the General Assembly to be in a position next year to assess the accommodation question more accurately and with more facts at hand than it has at the present time.

28. Above all, I wish to point out that, while the Fifth Committee brings to the Assembly a purely procedural proposal—merely to defer consideration of the question until the twenty-eighth session—the so-called amendment introduced by the representative of Australia obviously is a substantive proposal, with financial implications for our Organization, which therefore presupposes a decision, and, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, such a decision would require at least a two-thirds majority of the Members of this Assembly voting in favour.

29. We believe that there are no valid reasons to urge this Assembly at this late hour to get enmeshed in such a debate on the question of accommodation. Let us bear in mind that with the same sense of urgency this Assembly was called upon three years ago to approve a building plan at Headquarters [*resolution 2618 (XXIV)*] of which no Member of the Assembly has ever seen even a part, not a single brick or the beginning of any structure; the arguments used then to justify the urgent approval of that plan were the same as those advanced by the representative of Australia this afternoon.

30. On the other hand, the General Assembly has, in several resolutions adopted by vast majorities, requested more complete information on the various proposals and possibilities to relocate Secretariat units in various cities and, in accordance with the Fifth Committee's proposal, in this case emphasis would also be placed on the developing countries. This very year the Secretary-General made a proposal, which was adopted by the Fifth Committee, to transfer the Division of Human Rights to Geneva. That is a specific example of how incomplete the study has been. But these are rational means to enable the Organization to make the best use of existing possibilities.

31. It seems to us that in order not to open up a substantive debate on the question of accommodation at Headquarters—a discussion which at least anyone who has been here since 1969 knows may be lengthy and complex and may therefore jeopardize the previous decision of the General Assembly to complete its work today—the plenary Assembly should follow the counsel of good judgement of its Fifth Committee and approve the recommendation contained in paragraph 33 of the second part of the report and, of course, reject the so-called Australian amendment in document A/L.697.

32. To act otherwise, it seems to me, would be to take a hasty decision, a decision not in accordance with the sound judgement displayed at the conclusion of the lengthy debates during several meetings of the Fifth Committee, and would also reflect some gaps and doubts expressed even in the report of the ACABQ. One part of the so-called Australian amendment would have us approve the following statement:

“The [Advisory] Committee understands that inquiries are in progress to determine whether any legal obstacles might prevent the conveyance to the United Nations of an ownership interest in the property before the bonds are redeemed.” [*A/8708/Add.17, para. 23.*]

This is taken directly from the report of the Secretary-General [*A/C.5/1458/Add.1, paras. 2 and 4.*]

33. I wonder whether, having gone through various building experiences in Manhattan in the past three years, having faced the space difficulties to which the representative of Australia referred, having met with legal, technical or financial obstacles to deciding in favour of one solution or another—and this debate having lasted for several years—this Assembly should adopt a decision in haste, a decision which is the result of a last-minute offer which did not have the support of the Fifth Committee. And should we take such a decision at a time when we are not able to prepare a serious study of the matter? In order to do so we would have to alter the schedule previously approved by this Assembly.

34. For these reasons my delegation will not go further into the reasons why we support the recommendation in paragraph 33 of the report of the Fifth Committee to the General Assembly and the reason why we oppose the so-called Australian amendment. We do not wish to embark on a discussion which is in any case inappropriate at this stage. We therefore appeal to the General Assembly to reject the Australian amendment, because it is not an amendment. It would mean introducing at the last minute a proposal that was already rejected by the Fifth Committee. We appeal to the Assembly to approve the recommendation of the Fifth Committee, which does not exclude any possible future solution, but simply creates the conditions for this Organization, in full sovereignty and with adequate facts before it, to pronounce itself.

35. Mr. PRAT GAY (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina will vote in favour of the 12-Power amendment [*A/L.697 and Add.1*]. We received that document this morning in our delegation's office.

36. In this way, we shall be reaffirming in the plenary Assembly our position on this matter, as we explained it on 16 December last and affirmed it when we voted against paragraph 33 of the report of the Fifth Committee.

37. We are convinced that the solution proposed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 1 of his report [*A/C.5/1458/Add.1*] and accepted by the ACABQ in paragraph 23 of document A/8708/Add.17—to negotiate a rental agreement, with a subsequent option to purchase, for 250,000 square feet in a building to be erected across the street from our Headquarters—is the best short-term solution. Thus we will be validly solving, in the decade of the 1970s, an acute problem that affects the proper functioning of the Secretariat and therefore that of our Organization.

38. We reaffirm here what we stated at the 1555th meeting of the Fifth Committee, when the debate on this item started. For Argentina this is a short-term solution.

39. A long-term solution would mean buying real estate or transferring some offices outside the city of New York. We would have to have more information in order to take a really well-thought-out decision on so significant an item.

40. We therefore agree that we should request the Secretary-General to submit a complete report on the various proposals of Member States regarding the location of offices of the Secretariat in their cities. In this way we will

be complying with resolutions 2618 (XXIV) and 2895 (XXVI), of which my delegation had the privilege to be a sponsor.

41. With all that background, and bearing in mind that carrying out any far-reaching decision in this field would doubtless take a few years, we will be able at the twenty-eighth session to take long-term measures after carefully weighing the advantage of geographically decentralizing certain tasks within the United Nations. Here we have particularly in mind the establishment of centres of action in the international field in the world of the developing countries. Only then will the General Assembly, as the Secretary-General states in paragraph 66 of his report "... clearly indicate its preference as far as the long-term solution to the space problem is concerned" [A/C.5/1458].

42. As we see it, by authorizing the Secretary-General to make rental arrangements as is proposed, we are already providing a valid solution for the immediate future, within the decade of the 1970s. For the long term and the tasks of the next decade, the 1980s, we believe it is essential to have the information that we request of the Secretary-General regarding offers that may be made by various Member States.

43. Mr. MAJOLI (Italy): We voted in the Fifth Committee in favour of the recommendation of ACABQ, as contained in paragraphs 23 and 24 of its report [A/8708/Add.17], and we are going to vote now for the amendment introduced by Australia [A/L.697 and Add.1]. We so voted previously, as we will do today, for the sake of good administration, economy, and the effectiveness of our Organization. We wonder whether perhaps the issue at stake has been explained clearly enough.

44. The point is that we are not dealing with the construction of a new United Nations building. We are not dealing with an expansion of the Headquarters. The building on the other side of First Avenue is going to be built anyhow, independently of our decision. It is not an extension, a new venture, an enlargement of the Secretariat offices that we are discussing. It is simply and plainly a question of rationalizing the existing situation in New York, renting space so as to consolidate under one roof, near the main building of the Headquarters, the eight United Nations offices and warehouses now scattered around town, and to do that for the same price that we now pay for rents and services. The possibility of a future purchase is only an option, a bonus, which does not commit the United Nations at all. As far as the rent is concerned, there would be no increase in expenditure; on the contrary, there would be a guarantee of no rent increase for many years to come. In other words, a long-term lease would ensure a rent which would not be subject to the pressures of the market, which would remain fixed at the initially agreed level and which would thus avoid the risk of the increases that would most probably ensue because of the escalation clause in the commercial rental of the various premises now occupied by the United Nations offices.

45. But above all there will be the great advantage of the more functional performance of such offices, avoiding uneconomic and inefficient operation and all the risks and waste and loss of time caused by the present scattering of

those offices, with the consequent need and expenses for security, messengers, communications and the like.

46. We are not faced by higher expenses; instead the United Nations is going to eliminate costly inefficiencies and to realize economies in general services, gasoline, telephone bills, and so on. The present dispersal of a large number of staff in rented premises is uneconomic and detrimental to the proper working of the Secretariat.

47. So why defer a decision which is perfectly reasonable and responds to common sense, good organization, good administration, economy and efficiency?

48. By inaction we would probably lose a good opportunity for consolidating in one high-quality and convenient space the offices at present located outside the Secretariat building, and we would have to face bigger expenditure in the coming years on increases in rents and the cost of general services.

49. By voting for the amendment we would give the Secretary-General the necessary authorization to stop the present proliferation of offshoots of Headquarters, placing them under control in one location that would be near at hand.

50. Mr. SEMICHI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): At this final stage of the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and at a time when we are taking up our final consideration of the budget estimates for 1973, the amendment introduced by Australia on behalf of a number of countries deserves to be analysed in the context within which it was prepared at the last minute. In fact, the Fifth Committee studied the question of office accommodation at Headquarters very late in its work calendar and therefore the discussion of this very important chapter was for strictly practical reasons very difficult.

51. Since the time available to us in the Fifth Committee was not sufficient for all delegations validly to state their respective positions on the question, the Cuban delegation proposed at the 1555th meeting that the Committee's report should include a paragraph which had the merits of recognizing the importance of the question and of advocating postponement of the decision regarding the substance until the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. By then delegations will have had time to receive and study the complete reports on the various proposals of Member States, including the developing countries, concerning the location of offices of the Secretariat in their cities. This initiative also had the merit of taking into account the difficulties of the Secretary-General as regards his current work, while leaving Member States time for thought before taking a final decision on the acquisition by the United Nations of new offices opposite its present Headquarters. The substance of the Cuban proposal is given in paragraph 33 of document A/8985/Add.1.

52. The delegation of Algeria is speaking in this final stage of this debate because it seems to us that the amendment would render null and void the vote taken in the Fifth Committee at the 1556th meeting and put the problem back in its original context: that is, the phase which

preceded the debate in the Fifth Committee when we were seized of the facts by the Secretary-General [A/C.5/1458 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1] and of the deservations of the ACABQ [A/8707/Add.17]. No reference is made to the recommendations of the Fifth Committee or to the draft resolution adopted by it at its 1556th meeting by 35 votes to 32, with 14 abstentions, whereby it decided to include in its report the paragraph proposed by the Cuban delegation. The delegation of Algeria fails to see why we should ignore a wise decision taken at Committee level even though that decision was considered—incorrectly, let us say at once—to be untimely by some delegation which were in the minority in the voting.

53. The problem here must be analysed in terms of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. Must we or must we not concentrate the entire Secretariat of the United Nations in a single country, a single city? Should we or should we not authorize the Secretary-General to enter into a contract with the United Nations Development Corporation when that decision, which concerns more than \$10 million, could wait, without prejudicing the activities of the Secretariat, for another year?

54. Delegations will have to pronounce themselves either in favour of or against the principle of decentralization of the Secretariat offices.

55. The delegation of Algeria, which realizes the accommodation difficulties of the Secretariat, refuses to be forced, in the last minutes of the twenty-seventh session, to take a hasty decision which may prove to be disadvantageous for the United Nations itself.

56. My delegation will accordingly vote against the Australian amendment not only because it does not enlighten the General Assembly sufficiently on the main concern of the delegations, namely, the importance of the question and the relatively short time allotted to us to deal with it properly, but also because it would cause the Assembly to misunderstand the reasons which led to the adoption of the Cuban resolution.

57. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to state briefly the reasons why it cannot support the amendment which has been submitted at this meeting concerning the recommendations of the Fifth Committee on office accommodation at Headquarters. The Fifth Committee gave detailed consideration to this problem, and it was shown quite convincingly that it would be premature to adopt at this session any far-reaching decisions concerning the rental, much less the purchase, of new premises in New York. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation, together with a majority of other delegations, supported the Cuban proposal that consideration of this very important question should be postponed until the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

58. We would indeed be acting very hastily if we agreed now to the recommendations of ACABQ in paragraphs 23 and 24 of document A/8708/Add.17 that the Secretary-General should be authorized to conclude an agreement with the so-called United Nations Development Corporation on the rental of new office accommodation.

59. In the view of the Soviet delegation, such an agreement would involve the United Nations for many years to come in an obligation to rent and perhaps even to purchase premises in New York and would entail expenditure in excess of \$40 million. However, as was clearly shown in the discussion in the Fifth Committee, the possibility of fuller and more effective utilization of the new premises in Geneva has not yet been fully studied. More than \$35 million has already been spent on these and on other new premises in different locations. It is significant that it was the United States delegation in the Fifth Committee which insisted on the conclusion of agreements with the United Nations Development Corporation. And this happened after the United States delegation had forced through the United Nations the decision to reduce its contribution by \$13 million. Now it is proposed that we should bind ourselves by a decision involving substantial additional expenditure on the rental and purchase of premises in New York—and, it should be added, for the benefit of a private corporation. It is, of course, quite impossible to agree to this, and, in particular, this is not a case where it would be appropriate to take a decision in excessive haste. Besides, this is in no way an urgent matter. The documents submitted by the Secretary-General and ACABQ show that the Development Corporation's proposal cannot realistically be put into effect until three or four years from now. The United Nations Development Corporation is a purely commercial enterprise, and yet it takes the liberty of issuing ultimatums and laying down conditions. It says: "Accept our proposals, now or never." And this ultimatum has been repeated here by the representatives of certain delegations. If the Corporation really wishes to help the United Nations, it can wait a little and give the United Nations an opportunity to study the matter more thoroughly. If we take a decision now on increasing expenditure on rents and, in particular, on the building of new premises in New York, we shall be continuing an undesirable practice—the politically harmful and financially burdensome tendency of further concentrating United Nations organs in New York.

60. Furthermore, to take a vote now on the amendment introduced by the representative of Australia on behalf of 12 delegations would be a flagrant violation of the rules of procedure. Rule 80 of the rules of procedure states as follows:

"Proposals and amendments shall normally be submitted in writing... As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the General Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all delegations not later than the day preceding the meeting."

Consequently, if we are to vote on the amendment which has been submitted to us this afternoon, we must extend this plenary meeting of the General Assembly until tomorrow; according to the rules of procedure, we cannot vote on the amendment today.

61. If the amendment is put to the vote, the Soviet delegation will speak against it, for we support the decision and recommendations on this item which the Fifth Committee adopted on 16 December at its 1556th meeting.

62. We also support the proposal of the representative of Cuba that, if the amendment is put to the vote, it will require a two-thirds majority for adoption, since it will have far-reaching financial implications.

63. Mr. NAUDY (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation will oppose the amendment appearing in document A/L.697. The position which my delegation explained at length in the Fifth Committee on the subject now before us has not, in fact, changed. In summary, the French delegation feels that the Secretary-General's proposals appearing in document A/C.5/1458 are not complete. They do not sufficiently take into account the principle of decentralization and balanced geographical distribution of the offices of the Organization, a principle that was laid down in General Assembly resolution 2618 (XXIV).

64. Moreover, in the absence of studies and of sufficient information, we do not think that we should give a blank cheque to the Secretary-General, as envisaged in paragraph 23 of the ACABQ report, to negotiate with the United Nations Development Corporation an agreement of which we do not know the exact terms and which could, directly or indirectly, as has been emphasized by the speakers preceding me, commit the Organization to the purchase of premises and the expansion of its installations in New York.

65. With regard to procedure, the French delegation would like to add one comment. We support the view expressed by the delegation of Cuba regarding the majority that would be required in a vote on the proposal at present before the General Assembly. This would be the two-thirds majority prescribed by rule 85 of the rules of procedure. Actually, if we analyse the purpose and the real significance of the amendment in document A/L.697, what do we see? The purpose of that amendment is to cancel out the effect of the proposal to postpone until next year the consideration of this question, the proposal adopted in the Fifth Committee, and to bring us back to paragraph 23 of the ACABQ report, where the suggestion is made that the Secretary-General be authorized to negotiate a rental agreement with the Corporation. This is, of course, a recommendation that has financial implications, since once such an agreement is negotiated it will, sooner or later, have financial repercussions; and the recommendation is all the more important in that the mandate thus given to the Secretary-General is not limited in respect of the duration of the agreement, its content and the expenditures that it will entail.

66. We repeat: to amend the Cuban proposal in the way we are being asked to amend it would bring us back to the ACABQ recommendation, which is purely budgetary. This is why, in the view of the French delegation, a two-third majority will be required in this case.

67. Mr. SILVEIRA DA MOTA (Brazil): The delegation of Brazil had occasion in the Fifth Committee to support the action proposed by the Secretary-General and endorsed by that Committee for consolidating rented office space in New York. We opposed the move to defer consideration of this question until the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly since, in our view, it is high time that something was done to alleviate the problems caused by the acute

shortage of space and office accommodation at Headquarters.

68. Nothing, indeed, would be gained by postponing the issue. In point of fact, to remain idle at this time would be counter-productive in terms of economy and of efficiency.

69. We welcome the amendment put forth by the 12 sponsors in document A/L.697 and Add.1. The adoption of the amendment would correct the narrowly-taken decision of the Fifth Committee. Brazil will gladly vote in favour of the proposed amendment.

70. Mr. STEENBERGER (Denmark): If Denmark, like the other Nordic countries, joined the list of sponsors of the draft amendment in document A/L.697 and Add.1, we did so in the conviction that the decision taken in the Fifth Committee to defer until next year the question of office accommodation at Headquarters was not an expression of sound and rational management. There is now the possibility of concentrating the various United Nations locations in town into one building adjacent to this building. As for financial implications, I would say only this: to rent space in the building would cost no more than the currently-rented accommodations, and there would even be considerable savings in administration.

71. In our view, we have before us an obviously advantageous offer. To defer the matter until our next session would mean to turn down that offer; the possibility will not, we are told, be open to us next year.

72. Allow me to stress certain other advantages beyond the obvious administrative ones. The proposal is for renting—not for buying. It consequently does not bind our future decisions on decentralizing the United Nations accommodations.

73. In this connexion, I should mention that if the proposed amendment is adopted the decision will still contain its original valuable part—namely, the request to the Secretary-General to submit a complete report on the various proposals of Member States, including the developing countries, concerning the location of offices of the Secretariat in their cities. Nothing in this respect would be prejudiced by authorizing the Secretary-General to negotiate a rental contract for the new building, which is meant to allow the concentration of what is already in New York. The proposal does not mean an expansion of the New York-located Secretariat.

74. It is regrettable, and not in the interest of our Organization, that such a purely administrative question should remain unsolved.

75. Mr. RAE (Canada): When the question of office accommodation at Headquarters was considered in the Fifth Committee my delegation opposed the proposal of Cuba to defer consideration of the matter until the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We did so because we agreed with the recommendations of ACABQ in paragraph 23 of its report which reads in part:

“... the Secretary-General might be authorized to negotiate a rental agreement with the Corporation,

without commitment to acquisition, and to report to the Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on the possibility of securing eventual ownership by an option to buy or other means." [A/8708/Add.17.]

76. The Canadian delegation has studied very carefully the various alternatives that the Secretary-General considered for rationalizing the accommodation situation in New York. We supported his recommendation to transfer the Division of Human Rights to Geneva, and we agree that the possibility of further transfers should be pursued. However, it is clear that there are definite limitations on the ability of Geneva to absorb additional personnel, as was indicated in the statement made at the Fifth Committee's 1555th meeting by the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management.

77. The Fifth Committee was also informed by the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management that the Canton of Geneva had indicated that it could not handle at present a large influx of United Nations personnel because of shortages of adequate housing and schools. There remains the continuing problem of overcrowding and the need to consolidate in one building the various units occupying rented accommodation at five different locations in New York.

78. The alternative offered by the United Nations Development Corporation proposal seemed to my delegation to offer the possibility of bringing together in one building, adjacent to our present location, the units that are now in rented premises. The consolidation could be expected to produce better space utilization, better security and messenger services, lower charges for telephone service and less time lost by the staff in travelling between these various locations. The Secretary-General estimated the savings through consolidation to be on the order of \$125,000 to \$150,000 a year.

79. The proposed rent to be charged by the United Nations Development Corporation compares favourably with other recent leases that the United Nations has executed and with the space currently being offered. We understand as well that the rental rate, following negotiations, could be significantly lower. In addition, and most important in our view, the rental rate would not be subject to escalation. The financial advantages of this proposed rental agreement, with consequent savings in administration and staff time, appear to our delegation to be sound and sensible reasons to extend to the Secretary-General the authority he seeks on this project.

80. It should not be thought that this would be an irrevocable step. We would be authorizing the rental—not purchase—of the premises although my delegation believes that there may be long-run merit in the purchase option. We would be asking the Secretary-General to report back to the twenty-eighth session on the possibility of taking up the option to purchase in favour of the United Nations, and we would thus be able to take further decisions at that time.

81. In his explanation before the Fifth Committee, the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management indicated that a lease could be executed for as few as five years if the United Nations would pay for interior

arrangements, such as partitions, or for a period of seven to 10 years if interior arrangements were to be provided at no cost. He also indicated that most leases entered into locally by the United Nations run for periods of five to 10 years.

82. Finally, the proposal of the United Nations Development Corporation offers the possibility of attractive and convenient space at a reasonable, non-escalating rental, with savings in service costs of up to \$150,000 a year, and no commitment for a period beyond normal lease terms.

83. The proposal—and this is important—has been recommended to us by the Secretary-General and endorsed by ACABQ. Also, there is no viable alternative, in the opinion of my delegation, to proceeding with this project to consolidate rentals in New York without further delay. It would indeed be self-defeating if the General Assembly were to decide not to proceed with this proposal and, as a result of deferring it to the twenty-eighth session, lose the opportunity of participation at a later date.

84. For these reasons, we support the recommendations of ACABQ and would urge Member States to cast a positive vote on the proposed amendment.

85. This plenary meeting should also be aware that the vote on this proposal at the Fifth Committee's 1556th meeting was held on a Saturday morning, with over 50 Member States absent. The proposal to defer was adopted by a narrow majority of 35 votes in favour to 32 against, with 14 abstentions. It seems, therefore, only reasonable to give all Member States a chance to vote on this proposal, which will increase the efficiency of the United Nations system in New York.

86. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes to explain briefly the reasons which have led it to support the 12-Power amendment in document A/L.697 and Add.1.

87. Every year the problem of office accommodation for the United Nations in New York is one of the most controversial and thorny items on the agenda of the Fifth Committee. However, in the course of the present session that Committee had before it a particularly interesting report which, according to Mr. Davidson, the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management, represents the result of assiduous work by a group of high-level officers with a remarkable sense of responsibility, to which my delegation hastens to pay a tribute.

88. I shall not comment here on all the conclusions reached by the authors of the report but will limit my statement to the only question raised by the amendment. The report of the Secretary-General in document A/C.5/1458 draws the attention of the Assembly to the fact that our Organization at present pays more than \$2,250,000 a year in rental for the eight offices outside United Nations Headquarters in Manhattan. A considerable amount has been added to that to cover additional expenditure on security, communications and transport. It goes without saying that this situation is too costly and is incompatible with good management.

89. We have taken note with interest of the proposal made by the United Nations Development Corporation and of the

constructive position of the Secretary-General on the subject. Furthermore, ACABQ has had the wisdom to emphasize that the suggestions of the Secretariat deserve to be followed. In this connexion I am referring to paragraphs 23 and 24 of the report in document A/8708/Add.17. Were we to endorse this proposal, not only would we no longer have to pay more than \$2,250,000 a year in rent for the five buildings but in addition, our Organization could make substantial savings, as is confirmed in paragraph 6 of document A/C.5/1458.

90. The attitude of my delegation with regard to administrative and budgetary questions has always been characterized by a prudent and rational approach, and it continues to be based solely on the concern to effect savings while ensuring good administration. We therefore feel that both the Secretary-General and ACABQ have assisted us in this matter by indicating to us the most rational and economic course to follow.

91. Furthermore, the sponsors of the amendment have not touched upon the other provisions of paragraph 33 of the report of the Fifth Committee. My delegation believes that it would be useful for the Secretary-General to submit to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly the report requested of him by that Committee. That document would give us an exact picture of all the interesting possibilities for decentralization of United Nations units. At that time we would have an opportunity of stating our views on this problem, which is not covered in the 12-Power amendment, which my delegation proposes to support.

92. In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that, as has been clearly explained by the delegations which preceded me, the amendment would not in any way mean the erection of a new building. It would enable the Secretary-General to achieve concentration in a single building of the eight offices which are now scattered throughout New York. What is more, the 12-Power amendment would in no way prejudice the report which the Secretary-General is to submit with regard to the decentralization of our Organization, including placing some elements in the developing countries.

93. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): When an item such as this confronts us, especially when we have an amendment, presented by Australia and other sponsors, relative to a financial issue, I think we should not rush into taking decisions until we have had time to scrutinize other alternatives and consider them in the light of what some tell us we might derive in benefits from the United Nations Development Corporation project discussed in the Fifth Committee were it proceeded with.

94. Even now we do not have document A/8985/Add.1—unless it is being circulated—and the amendment submitted by Australia and other States applies to paragraph 33 of that document.

95. But I grasp from the debate certain elements which are quite concrete, and I shall enumerate them. First, let us assume we gave the green light now to the so-called United Nations Development Corporation to proceed with the project; it would take at least four or five years for the project to become operative. That is the first point.

96. The second point is that we were given to understand that the United Nations Development Corporation had considered borrowing at 6½ per cent when this country is trying to contain inflation and when commercial banks pay only between 4 and 4½ per cent on savings. Bear that in mind, Mr. President and fellow representatives.

97. The third point to which we should give serious consideration is that the United Nations Development Corporation is purchasing land, if it does not already own it in nominees' names, and that land is part of the capital of the project to which the 6½ per cent applies. Have you thought of that, you in ACABQ and the Fifth Committee?

98. That is not all. We have been told—and I checked this with the very helpful members of the Secretariat—the amount of rent that we are paying for space outside Headquarters in New York City, including the Chrysler Building and in the Burroughs Building on 40th Street and Third Avenue. I have been given to understand that we are paying \$2.5 million per annum.

99. The fourth point—and this is very important—is that we are given the inducement that the rent will be at approximately \$9 or less per square foot. There are many places that are crying out to be rented in New York City. I am not going to prophesy about the future of New York City, because that is something that relates to crystal-gazing. However, I believe that the United Nations, rather than plunging into something which has not been sufficiently scrutinized from the financial point of view, can make a much better deal. I was given to understand that we may need 250,000 square feet, which the United Nations Development Corporation would gladly provide, first, after four or five years and, secondly, at 6.5 per cent interest.

100. The fifth point is that the United Nations was napping when it rented space outside Headquarters and agreed to pay a real-estate tax of 15 per cent hidden in the rent. We have paid \$375,000 to the City of New York per annum. If New York City, through its Mayor and Board of Estimate, did not see their way to reimburse the United Nations because they have their own difficulties, I shall not throw mud at them. But I wish that the observer from Switzerland were here, and I am sure that I shall be borne out by my colleague from France, by my colleague from Austria and by my colleague from Italy when I say that—and I think I am right in saying this—that the Swiss Government does not levy any real estate tax on the facilities of the Palais des Nations or on the other facilities that have been built in Geneva. Nor does the Italian Government charge any real estate tax on the facilities of the Food and Agriculture Organization, nor does the Austrian Government charge any real estate tax on the facilities that have been built in Vienna, and so forth. And I am sure that when the environment secretariat builds in Nairobi the Government of Kenya will not ask for real estate tax on the land.

101. How can we be expected not to be vigilant when \$2.5 million have been paid in rent year in and year out? And I was napping too. I should have known, but I cannot know everything until I examine and scrutinize the details. The City of New York could very well have reimbursed that tax every year. But the past is past, and I think we would

only create a big problem if we were to ask for reimbursement to the extent of \$1 million or \$2.5 million.

102. The representative of Australia said—and I took notes when he was speaking—that the rent can be brought down by perhaps \$150,000 to \$200,000, whereas \$375,000 could have been saved if we had claimed reimbursement of the real-estate tax for the facilities that we are using in the Chrysler Building and in the Burroughs Building and elsewhere. Therefore, that saving is fictitious, I submit, unless we continue to let the city charge us the real estate tax of 15 per cent on the facilities that we are using in both the Chrysler Building and the Burroughs Building.

103. But that is not all. That is why we should not rush. Mr. Secretary-General, do not let them sell you a bill of goods. You cannot do everything, and neither can I. You have to look after many things and you have to rely on those around you. I am saying this to my beloved Secretary-General, whom I support whole-heartedly because of the efficient work that he has been doing. But he is not a paragon, and even if he were a paragon, he could not do everything. When we hear that “the Secretary-General says”, do you think that he really says everything that is being issued in his name? Nobody can do everything.

104. Well, now it will be said that Baroody has criticized, but what has he to offer as an alternative? Of course I have an alternative, otherwise I would not have taken the rostrum; I would not have come here except to try to find a possible solution, which I hope will be not only plausible but also practicable.

105. First of all—and I say this parenthetically—it is deplorable that we are here in New York City, a jungle without leopards and tigers, but with human beings with lurking daggers that are worse than the teeth of any lion. But that is parenthetical—we are chained to the City, whether we like it or not.

106. What is the alternative? We could construct at the northern end of our small park or garden a building of 400,000 square feet. Of that, 250,000 square feet is the maximum that we would need to house the facilities that we are now renting outside Headquarters. I checked on the cost of such a building and learned that it would cost \$40 million. But remember that we would have 150,000 square feet to spare, because it would contain 400,000 usable square feet. We could rent the additional 150,000 square feet either to organizations or perhaps to missions, to whomever would be in the market for space. Of course we could be choosy. Multiplying \$8—and we are not paying for the land; we have the inducement—by 150,000, we get roughly between \$1.2 million and \$1.5 million per annum. There are two avenues we can explore for the financing. We can ask the Federal Government of the host country. We shall give it an option and we shall not offer 2 per cent. We shall offer 4 per cent. We bought bonds, and we got only 2 per cent. That was a good gesture. We shall give them 4 per cent. Then we shall amortize the amount in 25 to 30 years, and the building will be ours. It will be the United Nations building. The advantage will be that we are not taking the cost of the land into account, because this is the land we are utilizing. Incidentally, I think that Mr. Rockefeller gave it for 99 years, and then it will go to the Federal

Government. Ambassador Phillips can correct me if I am wrong. It is being leased, as it were, to the United Nations, and then we can negotiate with the Federal Government if we want to clear out of New York. But you and I will not be around then. It is negotiable. So in 25 years the building will be ours.

107. The question of savings on telephone calls does not arise. Proximity has been referred to. Instead of crossing the street, people will cross the garden when they come to Headquarters. The proximity of the offices, mentioned by my colleagues from Australia, does not apply either, because the proximity here is the same. Therefore this is something to consider.

108. But what if the Federal Government of the host country says, “I am not in the market for that project”? There are two additional sources we can tap. We can float our own bonds. I checked once with Ambassador Malik. I asked him, “How much do you pay on your bonds to the people who borrow from you in the Soviet Union?” I think he told me 4 per cent. So the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom, we, everybody according to his capacity, will buy bonds at 4 per cent, to be amortized within a period of 25 to 30 years. It may be less, because we may have more space available in that building when we decentralize, and there is this project for decentralization. For example, the Division of Human Rights is going to be sent, I believe, to Geneva. Little by little all the European facilities will be expanded, as they have been expanded in Geneva. Some other countries, like Austria, Italy and France, will probably expand their facilities, and then we shall perhaps be able to amortize at 4 per cent in 20 years. Remember that we are getting an income from the additional 150,000 square feet which will be made available in that building, without our having paid for the land, and at a low rate of interest. This is something financial. You are bureaucrats here. You bicker in the Fifth Committee. Get some of your financial people to bear me out or to say that Baroody is wrong. I am open to correction.

109. What is the third source, if the Federal Government of the host country does not want to participate or if the membership does not want to participate? We can go to international bankers and domestic bankers. What if, as a gesture to the United Nations, the Chase Manhattan or the First National City Bank each lent us money, say, at 4 per cent? They are getting 4 per cent anyway—and remember that inflation is being contained. There are other sources, but I have mentioned the three main sources of financing this project, bearing in mind that if we build here in the north section we shall not be paying for the land, which figures in that United Nations Development Corporation project at 6.5 per cent. Six and a half per cent is not a mean percentage. Remember also that the building will be our own after 25 years at most.

110. Furthermore, as the trend is to decentralize, I think that in time we shall have more space in that building, and then we can perhaps generate some income to feed the United Nations budget. That is why I beg my colleagues not to be hasty, since, after all, if they vote for this amendment today they will be more or less tying themselves to a project which has not been studied in depth and to which there is an alternative—an alternative which stands on its

own feet from the point of view of financing. Otherwise, if they want to play politics—and I find that time and again in the United Nations on political questions people come together by force of solidarity—that is understandable, because we have not yet reached that point where the United Nations Charter will transcend solidarities. However, when it comes to financial questions, nobody should act on the basis of solidarity or for ulterior motives. I have no axe to grind. The land is not mine. I am not selling it to the United Nations. Therefore I ask my colleagues to vote on the basis of good finances, the more so because, even if the Assembly gives the green light to the United Nations Development Corporation it will be three or four years before its project becomes operative, and those leases, I understand, will still run for three or four years. So we have a breathing spell.

111. I do not say, Rule it out. Perhaps in the long run we shall have to go back to such a development corporation. They call it a corporation because they are going to incorporate and go to the insurance companies and to other sources of financing.

112. I have something to add. I tried to sell some of my ideas to none other than Senator McGee of the United States delegation. I said, "You are a member of the Senate—try to help us." He said he would keep an open mind. I did not mean to lobby with the Senate—we do not interfere—but no doubt the Congress will hear what I have said, and I am sure that our American friends here, whom we supported on the reduction of their contribution from 31 per cent to 25 per cent, will have an open mind and not be prone to support the United Nations Development Corporation without scrutinizing the whole question carefully. I am sure they are honourable, honest men, and I have no doubt that if they find that what I have said is true they will not be hasty and precipitate matters. Therefore I am constrained to vote as I hope most of you will vote—much as I like my Australian friends and others who are supporting the Australian amendment.

113. Mr. MSELLE (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation voted for the draft paragraph to be included in the Fifth Committee's report [A/8985/Add.1, para. 33.] The Tanzanian delegation adopted that position for the following reasons.

114. There was the question of lack of time. The documents before the Fifth Committee did not receive as thorough a discussion as they should have had. We all know that the question of accommodation at Headquarters in New York is an important and extremely politically sensitive item, which also involves the expenditure of large sums of money and, therefore, as much time as possible should be spent discussing all the issues involved in this matter. Yet the discussion of the question of accommodation, and particularly of the project now under discussion, was held during only two meetings in the Fifth Committee, namely, the 1555th and 1556th meetings, as indicated in paragraph 21 of document A/8985/Add.1.

115. The second consideration which led the Tanzanian delegation to adopt the attitude it took in the Fifth Committee was that there were many problems which needed thorough examination before the Assembly could

decide on the current proposals of the Secretary-General. For example, the relationship between the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations Development Programme, on the one hand, and the United Nations on the other, was not clearly shown in the documents that were before the Fifth Committee. Other unresolved questions on this matter can be found in the Advisory Committee's report in document A/8708/Add.17, paragraphs 23 and 24.

116. There is no question that the current proposals for the consolidation of office space in New York have, as pointed out by a number of speakers before me, as their ultimate objective the purchase of the property that we may decide to rent at this session. But we do not have at the current session a complete picture of the essentials of a rental contract let alone a purchase contract; and until the Assembly gets this picture in focus it will be unwise, in the judgement of my delegation, to proceed as suggested in the proposed amendment which is now under discussion.

117. Lastly, the members of the General Assembly may recall that in 1969 a detailed discussion was held on constructing new premises at Headquarters in New York. Those proposals failed to materialize because promises that were given to help the United Nations did not bear fruit. A large section of the membership has come to the conclusion that it would be inappropriate, because of political and other reasons, to continue expanding the New York United Nations establishment.

118. The proposed paragraph in the Fifth Committee's report is therefore designed to help the Assembly to examine all other accommodation centres before it decides to take steps that would lead to further expansion in New York. We believe this opportunity can be afforded the General Assembly if it decides to revert to this matter during the twenty-eighth session.

119. Finally, my delegation is unhappy with the manner in which our name—the United Nations—seemed to have been usurped by some corporation without our consent. We did not give consent for the so-called "UNDC" to use the initials "UN". Perhaps we should charge it a commission for this.

120. For those reasons, my delegation will vote against the amendment in document A/L.697 and for the text in paragraph 33 of document A/8985/Add.1. We hope that this paragraph will be adopted by as large a majority as possible.

121. Mr. REFSHAL (Norway): I shall be brief, because the reasons and arguments which prompted my delegation to become a sponsor of the amendment in document A/L.697 and Add.1 need no long-winded explanations. Our reasoning is devoid of likes or dislikes; we have no emotional sensation at all in this respect. We regard this proposal as a straightforward, administrative, business disposition which is rational and in the best interest of an efficient and economical running of the Secretariat.

122. Listening to some of the counter-arguments here today one might get the impression that the Assembly was about to take a major and decisive decision. My delegation has followed the question of Headquarters accommodation

for several years and it does, of course, remember the decision taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session when we decided to expand this building and to build a new annex on the other side of Forty-second Street, at a cost of some \$80 million. That was a major decision, and that is already three years ago.

123. In the meantime we have not been able to build. So what we are faced with today is, quite simply—and it almost sounds slightly silly—the question whether to endorse the Secretary-General's proposal to go out and rent office space. The United Nations is renting office space now anyway, bits and pieces around town, which is impractical and costly. In the view of my delegation, the Secretary-General has this authority already as part of his general policy, as the highest executive officer of the United Nations, to provide office space as he deems necessary.

124. I have one more point. The proposed amendment in no way affects, hampers or stops the ongoing studies of the question of decentralization. They will continue. The fact is that office space in New York is needed whether or not we decide to decentralize. The fact that the Secretariat has already rented costly office space in various locations in New York has not prevented the ongoing study of decentralization. I should like to repeat that, in the view of my delegation, this is a simple question of administration.

125. Finally, I would address myself to the contention that has been made that this is a question that must be decided by a two-thirds majority. My delegation cannot see that at all. What we are about to take a decision on is a question that has no financial implication whatsoever for the time being. By the time the financial implications come into it and are here it will still be within the sole and absolute control of the General Assembly to make those appropriations or not, as it wishes. Furthermore, it cannot be regarded as a budgetary item. It is not a budgetary item. It is simply a question of endorsing the report of the Fifth Committee and the decisions recommended in it. Of course the General Assembly at its plenary meeting can endorse or reject or amend any decision recommended to it by any of the Committees by a simple majority. Otherwise, the Assembly, in plenary meeting, would be subject to decisions taken by one of its own Committees, and that would be clearly illogical.

126. Mr. COGAN (Ireland): At such a late stage in the proceedings of the General Assembly it is not my intention to delay our work further. Therefore I shall be very brief. The matter which now occupies the attention of the Assembly is the report of the Fifth Committee on the budget estimates for the financial year 1973. An amendment [*A/L.697 and Add.1*] has been proposed by several members of the Assembly with particular reference to paragraph 33 of the second part of the report. My delegation wishes to state that it agrees with the delegation of Norway that this amendment to the report of the Fifth Committee, which does not entail any financial implications for the year 1973, does not constitute an important budgetary question requiring approval by a two-thirds majority in accordance with Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter and rules 85 and 86 of the rules of procedure, but rather should come under the heading of other questions, as

referred to in Article 18, paragraph 3, of the Charter, which may be decided by a simple majority of the members present and voting.

127. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): I should like to comment very briefly on some parliamentary questions which have been raised with respect to the amendment before us and, if I may avail myself of this opportunity, on some of the remarks made by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

128. I would simply like to assure that representative—and I have, subsequent to his remarks, checked my memory to make certain that I am correct—that a number of the alternative proposals, indeed. I think the principal ones, which he suggested should be considered by the General Assembly with respect to the expansion of Headquarters facilities have been examined; and, as I understand it, the Secretary-General, in his report to ACABQ said that the proposals are not viable at the present time. I refer specifically to the suggestion that additional building space might be constructed at the northern end of the park. I remember that when this was a lively issue many people hoped that it might prove viable. But I am informed that this has been very carefully examined and has been found not to be viable in present circumstances.

129. I should like also to reassure the Assembly on one point to which the representative of Saudi Arabia referred, and that is the matter of exemption from local city real-estate taxes. It is my understanding, and I have confirmed this, that if the United Nations enters into a lease agreement with the United Nations Development Corporation, whether for a short term of five years or for a much longer term, as deemed necessary, that portion of those premises occupied by the United Nations would be exempt from local real-estate taxes. Therefore, I would reiterate that there is no question here of the United Nations having to pay New York City real-estate taxes on that portion of the United Nations Development Corporation building to be constructed across the street.

130. Now I should like, as I have said, to comment briefly on the parliamentary question before us, the question of the majority necessary for us to act on the amendment before us. We are convinced that the amendment in document A/L.697 requires only a simple majority. That amendment does not come within the terms of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, or of rule 85 of the rules of procedure of this body. The amendment, if adopted, will not affect the budget for 1973. It is, moreover, doubtful whether the amendment will involve any cost additional to that already being borne by the Organization for the rental of space. Indeed there is reason to believe that it would decrease the long-range costs to the Organization. Even if the draft resolution did have financial implications, that in itself would not make it into a question requiring a two-thirds majority. As the Legal Counsel said here only a few days ago—and I quote his ruling in part.

“I have already observed that . . . the mere fact that a resolution has financial implications does not make it a budgetary question, and thus resolutions having only an indirect effect on the budget, such as those that called for meetings of the General Assembly in Europe”—and then

he cites a number of precedents, including the decisions to add Spanish and Russian as working languages—"have generally been held not to require a two-thirds majority." [2108th meeting, para. 168].

That is sound advice and that interpretation of Article 18, which we all accepted last week, is clearly applicable to the situation before us this afternoon.

131. In sum then, the question before us does not affect the budget for 1973 and it is not a budgetary question within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2. For all those reasons we shall vote in favour of the proposition that this amendment requires a simple majority for adoption and not a two-thirds majority. But in view of the different views which have been expressed on this question this afternoon I request that you, Mr. President, invite our Legal Counsel to give us his opinion on the voting majority required for the adoption of this amendment.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): That brings us to the end of our discussion on the amendment. We shall now have to decide whether the amendment must be adopted by a two-thirds majority, as proposed by some delegations, or by a simple majority. I would request Mr. Stavropoulos, the Legal Counsel and Under-Secretary-General, to give us his opinion.

133. Mr. STAVROPOULOS (Under-Secretary-General, the Legal Counsel): The amendment contained in document A/L.697 and Add.1 proposes certain modifications in the terms of the decision recommended in paragraph 33 of document A/8985/Add.1. Consideration should therefore be given to whether this proposal, either in the form adopted by the Fifth Committee or in a form that would restore the recommendations of ACABQ, requires a two-thirds majority for adoption. It is clear that the relevant part of the recommendation of the Fifth Committee itself has no financial implications, since it would defer any substantive decisions to the twenty-eighth session of the Assembly, and the instructions to be given to the Secretary-General concerning his report would not, in either form of the proposal, in any way commit the Assembly to a particular solution.

134. The question is therefore whether the item relating to office accommodation by itself requires a two-thirds vote because of its financial implications. The proposal of the Secretary-General that was endorsed by ACABQ [see A/8708/Add.17] would in effect call for the rental of new office space close to Headquarters to replace a number of scattered premises now being rented at a greater distance. The total amount of the rental payments involved, both of the existing premises and of those to be substituted, is in the order of \$2 million per annum, or \$2.4 million per annum with collateral expenses. Thus, except for the possible expenses connected with terminating the existing leases, there should be no significant extra costs in implementing the proposed arrangement—and as a matter of fact it is designed in the long run to save money, to make economies. In addition, the Secretary-General already has authority at this stage to enter into rental agreements. A possible option for the eventual purchase of the premises would be submitted to the Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, but no definitive decision is to be taken on it now.

Therefore I consider that authorization to the Secretary-General to enter into the arrangements proposed by him and endorsed by ACABQ and the Fifth Committee would not constitute the sort of "decision of principle" that might require a two-thirds majority as a "budgetary question". It is my belief that it will require only a simple majority.

135. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members have heard the statement of the Legal Counsel on the question of the amendment to the proposal now before the Assembly. From the course of the debate it is clear to me that the question of the majority required for the adoption of both the amendment and the recommendation of the Fifth Committee is the subject of controversy, and I therefore consider that the appropriate course would be for the General Assembly to decide by a simple majority vote whether an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter is involved here.

136. I shall therefore put to the vote the motion that this matter should be considered an important question.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, France, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Somali, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Zambia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Khmer Republic, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Burma, Cameroon, Central African Republic, China, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, India, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Mauritius, Paraguay, Qatar, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Upper Volta.

The motion was rejected by 59 votes to 41, with 27 abstentions.

137. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As a result of this vote the General Assembly has decided that a two-thirds majority is not required.

138. I call on the representative of Cuba on a point of order.

139. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would have liked to speak immediately after the statement of the Legal Counsel, since my delegation thought and still thinks that the decision taken on the majority required by the so-called Australian amendment has an importance which we should not hide from ourselves. It has been said that the amendment will have no financial implications. The representative of the United States has said that in fact, far from increasing the costs, the result will be to effect some savings. But obviously no one has been able to deny that you, Mr. President, stated a little while ago, at the outset of this afternoon's meeting, that the Assembly was beginning to consider agenda item 73, which is nothing other than the budget estimates for the financial year 1973. Nor was anyone able to deny that the rules of procedure of the Assembly and the Charter itself clearly prescribe that budgetary questions are included among those always requiring a two-third majority.

140. I have before me the clarification given by the Legal Counsel a few days ago. This is what he stated: "... under Article 17, paragraph 1, there is the budget itself, which includes both income and expenditures" [2108th meeting, para. 163]. That is to say—

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United States on a point of order.

142. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): I should like to point out that under rule 90 of the rules of procedure the voting has already commenced. The President had announced the beginning of the voting, and under rule 90 "no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting". I would suggest, Mr. President, that the speaker is out of order.

143. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to point out that the voting on this point has already taken place. I understand that the representative of Cuba is merely explaining his point of view. But, I repeat, the voting on this point is concluded.

144. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): If I understand correctly, the only thing that has been put to the vote up to the present is the matter of interpretation of the provision regarding the kind of majority required in the voting on the so-called "Australian amendment". I believe there are other representatives who wish to explain their votes on the amendment before the voting. At no time did the President announce that the voting on the amendment itself had begun.

145. My delegation asked to speak to explain its vote on the vote that had already taken place, that is as to whether a two-thirds or a simple majority was required.

146. As I was saying, I wish the record to show that the General Assembly is faced with a budgetary proposal. Whether such a proposal increases or reduces the budget, or keeps it at the same level, the Charter says that any budgetary matter requires a two-thirds majority. We can differ as to our interpretation of the financial implications of the amendment; but the General Assembly, even though it may have so decided in this case—and this is what my

delegation wished to put on the record—cannot alter the Charter. Therefore, although there was a majority in favour of the motion that so greatly concerns the United States—a slim majority, to be sure—the Charter will still continue in effect and a two-thirds majority will still be required for any decision involving the budget, such as the one before us today.

147. The legal implications of the adoption of the so-called "Australian amendment", should it be adopted by a majority contrary to the Charter, are obvious. This is not the procedure for amending the Charter, for the Charter itself lays down the proper procedure. Obviously, this is no occasion for any ruling by the Legal Counsel nor for a simple-majority vote of the General Assembly. History will record the very significant fact that with relation to item 73, entitled "Budget estimates for the financial year 1973", an amendment to that document—which is the budget itself—was adopted—if the Assembly takes that unfortunate decision—by an illegal majority. Such a decision, therefore, would be illegal, I repeat, as are the sums we are already paying to fatten the profits of the rather important business the United States has with Headquarters.

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia on a point of order.

149. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, before there is any voting, I wish to point out that, had I not had the help of Mr. Gazarian and his aides, I would not know which paragraph we are dealing with. It is true, it is mentioned—paragraph 33—but the document in which it appears [A/8985/Add.1] was not made available to us, even though I sent my aide for it several times. Has it now been circulated? Until five minutes ago I had the old document. This is why I wanted to make sure, before taking the floor, that my colleague had document A/8985/Add.1, dated 19 December. Until five minutes ago, it was not available, and we should not vote on an amendment when we do not know what it is addressed to.

150. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The amendment was distributed this morning, and document A/8985/Add.1 during this meeting. In view of the discussion that has taken place, I thought that all delegations knew what we were talking about.

151. As I said, we have concluded the discussion on the amendment. I deemed it advisable, following that discussion, to ask the Assembly to vote on the procedural question concerning the majority required for adoption of the Australian amendment. The problem has now been solved, and we shall revert to the report as a whole—that is, parts I and II [A/8985 and Add.1]—and shall vote on the points in their order of presentation.

152. I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting on all the decisions, recommendations and draft resolutions contained in parts I and II of the report of the Fifth Committee. Representatives may address themselves to any of the decisions to be taken.

153. After all the votes have been taken, representatives who wish to explain their votes after the voting will be given an opportunity to do so.

154. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Before a vote is taken on the budget estimates for 1973, the delegation of the USSR considers it necessary to give an explanation of its vote. In considering budgetary matters we work on the principle that budget allocations should be used primarily to deal with the basic tasks of the United Nations, as defined in the Charter. In accordance with this position of principle, the Soviet Union, as one of the main contributors to the budget, cannot agree that its contributions or the contributions of other States Members of the United Nations should be expended for any purpose other than carrying out the tasks for which the United Nations was established; it goes without saying that they should not be expended for purposes which contradict the Charter.

155. The Soviet delegation would like to point out that at the initial stage, as a result of the efforts made by the Secretary-General, it proved possible in preparing the estimates for 1973 to reduce the rate of growth of budgetary expenditure to an optimum level of slightly more than 5 per cent above the previous year's expenditure. However, during this session a number of unjustified decisions have already been taken to increase 1973 expenditure, bringing the total 1973 budget to almost \$226 million; that figure is more than 8 per cent higher than expenditure in 1972.

156. The Soviet delegation would like to state its dissatisfaction with the administrative and budgetary activities of the United Nations. For a number of years now, the United Nations budget has been increasing at an unjustifiably high rate, and the basic part of the budget is not being spent on carrying out useful measures or on the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the main purpose of the United Nations, but is swallowed up by the continuing inflation of the Secretariat staff and by the financing of various secondary measures and measures having no relation to the regular budget of our Organization. The estimates before us provide for approximately three quarters of the budget to be allocated for the maintenance of the greatly expanded body of permanent and temporary staff. While on the subject of budget allocations for these purposes, the Soviet delegation would like once again to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that, despite the Assembly's frequent references to the need to achieve as quickly as possible an equitable geographical distribution of staff in the Secretariat, the situation remains unsatisfactory. Vacancies in the Secretariat staff continue to be filled to a large extent by nationals of over-represented countries, while under-represented countries encounter great difficulties of a subjective nature when they propose their nationals for posts in the Secretariat. As a result, the under-represented countries, which include the USSR and, in particular, many developing countries, are obliged to bear the burden of large and disproportionate budgetary expenditure for the employment of staff from over-represented countries.

157. The Soviet delegation regrets having to point out that, despite the categorical objections of many delegations, the budget estimates for 1973 once again include illegal allocations for the financing of measures carried out in flagrant violation of the Charter, such as the payment of interest on and repayment of the principal of the United

Nations bonds issued to meet the costs of United Nations operations in the Congo and the Middle East and the costs of maintaining the Memorial Cemetery in Korea and the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, whose activities are contrary to the real interests of the Korean people.

158. The Soviet delegation reaffirms its position of principle on this matter and insists on the exclusion from the regular budget of the sections dealing with the financing of these measures which are illegal and contrary to the Charter.

159. The Soviet delegation would also like to restate its position on sections 12, 13 and 14 of the budget estimates. We consider that it is illegal to finance technical assistance measures under the regular budget. The Soviet Union has, of course, always been in favour of providing comprehensive technical assistance to developing countries both on a bilateral basis and through the United Nations. Under existing agreements, the Soviet Union provides economic and technical development assistance to more than 40 developing countries on various continents and makes a large voluntary contribution for the execution of United Nations technical assistance programmes. Thus, our objections to and votes against sections 12, 13 and 14 of the budget estimates are not based on a denial of the importance of technical assistance but on our position of principle on the observance of the Charter, which stipulates that the regular budget is to be used for administrative expenses. We consider that measures of technical assistance should be financed exclusively from voluntary contributions. For that reason the Soviet Union, as in the past, will make its contribution to meet these expenses in national currency. In recent years, the budget has been affected by changes in the exchange rates of the currencies of certain capitalist countries. The Secretary-General is providing for increased expenditure in the budget estimates for 1973 in order to meet additional costs arising from the overvaluation of the currencies of certain capitalist countries and from the worsening of the crisis in the financial and monetary system of the entire capitalist world.

160. The Soviet delegation considers that it would be improper to attempt to cover the deficit which has resulted from fluctuations in exchange rates by means of an increase in the contributions of Member States. This deficit must be overcome by means of economies in budget allocations.

161. The Soviet delegation has objected to the fact that the budget allocations for 1973 include much groundless and unnecessary expenditure, which has led, as we have already pointed out, to an unjustified increase in the estimates of more than 8 per cent in comparison with 1972. Furthermore, the budget still contains allocations for a number of illegal measures which are contrary to the Charter. The delegation of the USSR will therefore vote against approval of the budget estimates for 1973 as a whole.

162. As to draft resolution III, on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1973, the Soviet delegation feels obliged to state that according to the Charter the Security Council alone has the right to decide questions relating to the financing of United Nations

measures for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is a contravention of the Charter to authorize the Secretariat to spend money for that purpose. The Soviet delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolution.

163. The Soviet delegation will also vote against draft resolution VII C, which proposes that we should simply write off the amount owed by the Chiang Kai-shek régime when its representatives were expelled from the United Nations and that the Chiang Kai-shek debt should be incorporated into the short-term deficit, thus placing responsibility for paying off the debt on all States Members of the United Nations. For more than 20 years, the Soviet Union was a firm and consistent advocate of the immediate expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek régime from the United Nations and the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It cannot agree to a solution of this matter which would place responsibility for repayment of the Chiang Kai-shek debt on all Member States.

164. The Soviet Union certainly does not intend to contribute to the repayment of the Chiang Kai-shek debt. In our view, financial responsibility for the debt should be laid at the door of those Powers, headed by the United States, which for many years illegally maintained the Chiang Kai-shek régime in the United Nations and tried to protect it even at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, which, at long last, adopted by a majority vote the just decision to remove the representatives of that régime from the United Nations.

165. The Soviet delegation requests a roll-call vote on draft resolution VII C on the Chiang Kai-shek debt.

166. Many delegations have expressed serious concern at the present financial difficulties of the United Nations and have offered views and various suggestions on ways of overcoming them. The Soviet delegation shares this concern and is trying to do everything it can to overcome the financial difficulties of the Organization and establish a sound foundation for the budgetary policies of the United Nations. In our view, the most equitable and realistic way of overcoming these financial difficulties is the following.

167. Firstly, we must exclude from the regular budget the illegal expenditure to cover repayment of the principal of the so-called United Nations bond issue and the payment of interest on it; we must also exclude from the budget the costs of the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and those of maintaining the Korean cemetery, because they are also illegal and in violation of the Charter. If certain States, especially those which initiated these United Nations operations which are contrary to the Charter, wish to meet the expenses to any extent, that is their affair; they can make voluntary contributions for the purpose.

168. Secondly, the delegation of the USSR proposes that the Western Powers which hold United Nations bonds should waive repayment, because, as we have explained, the bond issue was used to finance military operations in which those Powers illegally involved the Organization. It would, however, be unjust to call upon those developing countries

which hold bonds to waive their right to payment. Redemption of the bonds held by developing countries could be covered by voluntary contributions.

169. Thirdly, we should exclude from the regular budget any expenditure on technical assistance and incorporate it into the United Nations Development Programme. Those States which up to now have made contributions to the regular budget for the financing of technical assistance should assume an obligation to increase their contributions to the United Nations Development Programme by amounts equal to those which they previously contributed to the regular technical assistance programme. States making voluntary contributions should themselves decide the currency in which their contributions to the Programme are to be made.

170. Finally, we could help to resolve the financial difficulties of the United Nations by establishing strict financial discipline and firm control over the rational and effective expenditure of funds under all sections of the budget.

171. The budget for 1973 will not, unfortunately, be adopted unanimously, because quite a number of delegations voted against it or abstained in the Fifth Committee. This is a clear indication of the serious differences of opinion on this question among Member States, including those States which bear the main burden of financing the Organization's activities. If the differences of opinion on such an important question grow more serious, then the United Nations may in future encounter even greater financial difficulties. This would be a very sad development for everyone, both for the countries which advocate greater restraint in budgetary matters and for those which call unjustifiably for boundless inflation of the budget. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation would like to express the hope that the Secretary-General, both in carrying out the budget for 1973 and in preparing the budget estimates for 1974-1975, will use all the means at his disposal to achieve maximum economies.

172. Mr. NAUDY (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation has followed with interest and sympathy the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General in favour of a moderate and stabilized financial policy. We are happy to observe that as regards the financial year 1972 this action was reflected by the non-use of appropriations amounting to more than \$4 million. Furthermore, the French delegation pays a tribute to the caution which reigned over the initial budget estimates for 1973. However, we regret that the revised budget estimates and the supplementary estimates of all sorts are none the less very near to \$7.5 million. This second set of estimates, presented *in extremis* and following a debatable method, is due mainly to decisions whose financial implications were not fully appreciated by Member States when they were adopted and which relate to conferences or the establishment of units.

173. The French delegation considers that, during a period when the financial difficulties with which the Organization is struggling are still unsolved, we should establish and manage all our programmes with increased concern for savings and realism. For these programmes to be effective

and useful as desired, they should be relieved in so far as possible from the deadweight of unproductive expenses. After the reductions quite rightly recommended by ACABQ, the total estimates for expenditure submitted for the approval of the General Assembly are slightly less than \$226 million, which, as compared with the budget of 1972, represents a growth rate of 6.2 per cent if we refer to the estimates, or 8.2 per cent if one takes into account the appropriation not used by the Secretary-General.

174. Subject to the comments I have just made, the French delegation will vote in favour of the \$226 million estimates, expressing the hope that the new form of presentation of the budget will facilitate the task of both Member States and the Secretariat in carrying out a financial policy characterized by both economy and productivity.

175. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): I wish to explain why the United States will vote in favour of the budget estimates for the financial year 1973 rather than abstain as we did last year with respect to the estimates for 1972.

176. First of all, and most importantly, we have been impressed by the wisdom and determination which the Secretary-General has shown in administering the budget appropriations for 1972. He has faced up squarely to the critical financial situation of the Organization and has imposed austerity measures which have enabled him to limit his expenditures to the level of anticipated income, and thus he has avoided an increase in the deficit. This has been a real accomplishment and a tribute to his efforts.

177. Accordingly, we have not been surprised that the Secretary-General has continued to follow an austerity policy in presenting the budget estimates for 1973. The rate of increase represented by the expenditure budget is considerably less than that with which we were faced a year ago. We consider that this is in keeping with the fact that the financial situation of the Organization has, regrettably, shown no improvement.

178. We are voting for the budget estimates for 1973 in the expectation that the Secretary-General will continue his policy of keeping expenditures within the limits of anticipated income at least until the financial situation has shown significant improvement, and we hope that all delegations will assist him in this effort by following a policy of moderation and restraint in the demands they place upon the resources of the Secretariat.

179. Finally, it is our earnest hope that all delegations will continue to participate actively in the search for a definitive solution to the financial problems of the Organization.

180. Mr. HATCHETT GUTIERREZ (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): After having studied the Secretary-General's report [A/C.5/1458 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1] and the report of ACABQ [A/8708/Add.17], and after having analysed the diverse and ample arguments which were put forward on this item by various delegations in the Fifth Committee, the Mexican delegation voted in favour of the inclusion of paragraph 33 in the report of the Fifth Committee contained in document [A/8985/Add.1]. The

Mexican delegation voted in favour because it arrived at the conclusion that it was appropriate to have a report of the Secretary-General by the next session containing complete, not only marginal, information with respect to the request in resolution 2618 (XXIV), as was relevantly pointed out in paragraph 9 of the ACABQ report.

181. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the building of the United Nations Development Corporation will be completed in 1975 and that tacitly there is already a consensus to request the Secretary-General to present a complete report on the different proposals from Member States, including the developing countries, on housing offices of the Secretariat in their cities. Consequently, the only matter outstanding for our consideration is whether or not the next session of the General Assembly will be free to pronounce itself on paragraphs 23 and 24 of document A/8708/Add.17, having previously considered the report requested from the Secretary-General.

182. The delegation of Mexico hopes to have that opportunity at the next session. Since we consider that this item was amply discussed in the Fifth Committee, and in the conviction that the decision taken by the Committee was the most appropriate one, my delegation would like to express its support of the majority agreement adopted in the Fifth Committee.

183. My delegation will vote in favour of the approval of the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee. My delegation would also like to place on record that we maintain our reservations, as we explained in the past, with respect to sections 17 and 20 of the budget.

184. Mr. ALGÅRD (Norway): Just about a year ago at its closing meeting on 22 December 1971, the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session decided to establish a Special Committee on the Financial Situation of the United Nations. The mandate of the Special Committee was to seek ways and means to solve the financial problem of the Organization and to submit concrete proposals to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session.

185. When the Committee started its work in January of this year I had the honour of being elected its Chairman. After nine months of work with a long series of meetings and numerous informal discussions, the Committee submitted its report [A/8729]. I wish that I were able to put before this 2116th plenary meeting the kind of concrete proposals that were the object of the Committee's terms of reference. Regrettably, I am not in that position. That does not mean that the Committee's work has been altogether in vain. The Committee was able to identify and analyse the problems which fall into three categories: one, the present—how to persuade Member States to pay in full and on time; two, the past—how to eliminate the deficit already incurred; and three, the future—how to establish an agreed budget from which there would be no withholdings in the future.

186. There was consensus agreement in the Committee that all these problems would have to be solved simultaneously in a total package and that the responsibility for seeking a final solution rested with all Member States, and not solely with any single category of Member States. There

was, however, no unanimity in the Committee on how to make up such a package, although 12 of the 14 members who took part in the work did develop a tentative working plan.

187. If the Special Committee did not succeed in its efforts to submit concrete proposals to the Assembly today, it is not because the financial problem is insurmountable; it is because of the inherent political problems. If no concessions are offered with regard to those political principles in the future, there will be no accommodation and the financial problems will remain unsolved. I think we all can see how detrimental that would be to the work and to the prestige of our Organization.

188. I would appeal—and, Mr. President, I can do no more than appeal—to all Governments of Member States once again to bear this in mind and to review their position again. I have no doubt that the Secretary-General, with his active and energetic devotion to our Organization, will continue to seek solutions. I wish him luck and I should like to assure him that if I can be of any assistance to him in this respect, I shall be glad to respond.

189. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have reached the end of the list of Members who wanted to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

190. The General Assembly will now pronounce itself on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee contained in part I of its report [A/8985].

191. May I first invite members to turn their attention to the decisions which appear in paragraphs 47, 51 and 58? Since the Fifth Committee adopted those decisions without objection, may I take it that the General Assembly endorses the decision in paragraph 58 and takes note of the decisions in paragraphs 47 and 51 of document A/8985?

It was so decided.

192. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Next, I invite Members to turn their attention to the recommendations appearing in paragraphs 59 and 76. If I hear no objection, May I consider that the General Assembly approves those recommendations?

It was so decided.

193. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now vote on draft resolution I recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 77 of document A/8985. This draft resolution is entitled: "Form of presentation of the United Nations budget and duration of the budget cycle". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El

Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

The draft resolution was adopted by 128 votes to none (resolution 3043 (XXVII)).

194. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite members to turn their attention to the various decisions and recommendations of the Fifth Committee in part II of its report [A/8985/Add.1]. First we shall take up the recommendation in paragraph 11. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Libyan Arab Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela,¹ Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Cuba, Dominican Republic, Spain.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Congo, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Finland, Gabon, Hungary, Iceland, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malta,

¹ The delegation of Venezuela subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the recommendation.

Mongolia, Netherlands, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

The recommendation was approved by 94 votes to 3, with 30 abstentions.

195. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the recommendation contained in paragraph 33 of document A/8985/Add.1 and to amendment A/L.697 and Add.1. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, I shall first put to the vote the amendment and then the recommendation, amended or not. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Albania, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Haiti, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Khmer Republic, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

Against: Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, France, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iraq, Jamaica, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Oman, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Zambia.

Abstaining: Bhutan, Botswana, Central African Republic, China, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Gabon, Honduras, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Mauritius, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, Zaire, Afghanistan.

The amendment was adopted by 55 votes to 53, with 21 abstentions.

196. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now put to the vote the recommendation contained in paragraph 33 of document A/8985/Add.1, as amended following the adoption of the amendment.

A recorded vote was taken

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Burundi, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece,

Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

Against: Albania, Algeria, Chad, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Hungary, Madagascar, Mali, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Yemen.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Botswana, Burma, Cameroon, China, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Guyana, Honduras, Iraq,² Jamaica, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Mexico, Oman, Peru, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Zaire, Zambia.

The recommendation as amended, was approved by 75 votes to 15, with 26 abstentions.³

197. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I refer now to the recommendations made by the Fifth Committee in paragraphs 34, 37, 39, 41 and 42 of document A/8985/Add.1. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves those recommendations.

It was so decided.

198. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in part II of its report [A/8985/Add.1, para. 67].

199. Draft resolution II A is entitled "Budget appropriations for the financial year 1973". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauri-

² The delegation of Iraq subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the recommendation.

³ The delegation of Bolivia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the recommendation.

tania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Cuba, Mali, Portugal, Romania, South Africa.

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 113 votes to 8, with 5 abstentions (resolution 3044 A (XXVII)).

200. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn next to draft resolution II B entitled "Income estimates for the financial year 1973". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Portugal.

Draft resolution II B was adopted by 127 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 3044 B (XXVII)).

201. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now vote on draft resolution II C, entitled "Financing

of appropriations for the financial year 1973". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

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

Draft resolution II C was adopted by 119 to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 3044 C (XXVII)).

202. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Draft resolution III is entitled "Unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1973".

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka,

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

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

Abstaining: Mali, Portugal.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 115 votes to 9, with 2 abstentions (resolution 3045 (XXVII)).

203. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution IV entitled "Working Capital Fund for the financial year 1973". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

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

Abstaining: Cuba, Fiji.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 116 votes to 8, with 2 abstentions (resolution 3046 (XXVII)).

204. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution V entitled "Revenue-producing activities". Since the Fifth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection, may I take it that the Assembly decides to do the same?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 3047 (XXVII)).

205. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution VI entitled "Use of travel funds". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Canada, Netherlands.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 126 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 3048 (XXVII)).

206. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution VII entitled "The financial situation of the United Nations", which includes three separate draft resolutions, A, B and C. We shall vote first on draft resolution VII A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri

Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United States of America.

Draft resolution VII A was adopted by 113 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (resolution 3049 A (XXVII)).

207. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution VII B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Draft resolution VII B was adopted by 125 votes to none (resolution 3049 B (XXVII)).

208. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution VII C. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Iceland, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait,

Laos, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti.

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

Abstaining: Italy, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malawi, Niger, Paraguay, Portugal, Romania, South Africa, Swaziland, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Cuba, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Fiji, France, Gabon.

Draft resolution VII C was adopted by 92 votes to 9, with 24 abstentions (resolution 3049 C (XXVII)).

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

210. Mr. HSING Sung-yi (China) (*translation from Chinese*): With regard to the question of the assessed contributions unpaid by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the Chinese delegation deems it necessary to state once again the principled stand of the Chinese Government on this matter.

211. I believe everyone is aware that the assessed contributions unpaid by the Chiang Kai-shek clique were incurred during the period when the lawful seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was illegally usurped by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. For these unpaid assessed contributions, the People's Republic of China certainly cannot be held responsible in any way. This is self-evident both from the legal point of view and from common knowledge.

212. The General Assembly adopted at its twenty-sixth session the resolution restoring all its rights to the People's Republic of China and expelling forthwith the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the place which they unlawfully occupied at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it (*resolution 2758 (XXVI)*). In order to implement this resolution of the General Assembly, the assessed contributions unpaid by the Chiang Kai-shek clique should have been deleted forthwith from China's account. More than a year has elapsed since the participation of the delegation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations. We have long

paid the assessed contributions due from China for the period between 25 October and the end of 1971 as well as for the year 1972. However, as a result of the retention of the assessed contributions unpaid by the Chiang Kai-shek clique on China's account, the assessed contributions already paid by China have not yet been accurately recorded on China's account. The Chinese delegation has repeatedly asked the Secretariat to take action to end this extremely unjustifiable state of affairs.

213. We are very pleased that this principled stand of the Chinese delegation has won the sympathy and support of many friendly countries. We should like to express our thanks to all the delegations that support this stand of China.

214. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have concluded our consideration of all the agenda items allocated to the Fifth Committee. I wish to congratulate the officers and members of the Fifth Committee for the work they have accomplished and for making it possible for us to conclude our work as planned.

Pending appointments

215. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In paragraph 3 of its resolution 2930 (XXVII), the General Assembly decided to establish a Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference consisting of 35 Member States, to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly.

216. In paragraph 9 of its resolution 3034 (XXVII), the General Assembly decided to establish an *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism consisting of 35 members, to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly.

217. I had hoped to be able to announce the composition of both these Committees before the formal closing of the session, but lack of time and the fact that certain regional groups have not made known their candidates prevented me from completing the indispensable consultations with Member States. In view of this, I am obliged to defer the announcement of the composition of these two Committees. It is my intention, however, to announce the membership of these Committees as soon as possible.

218. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The interest which my delegation has taken from the outset in the question of the convening of a World Disarmament Conference—an interest which has been proved by facts and by the action taken since last year when at this rostrum I had the honour of announcing on behalf of all the sponsors the happy results of the negotiations which made possible the adoption by acclamation of resolution 2833 (XXVI) last year and an interest which was proved again when the Government of Mexico was the first to send a reply to the Secretary-General on 12 June 1972 and when my delegation had the privilege of opening the debate on that item at the First Committee's 1872nd meeting on 23 October this year—in my opinion justifies my having asked to speak on this occasion.

219. Mr. President, I want to congratulate you on the decision you appear to have taken that, it having been

impossible so far, as my delegation understands it, to find a solution acceptable to all Member States, you will adopt the prudent course of taking as much time as may be necessary to deal with the proposal. We are convinced that now, just as last year and just as at the time when the debate was begun in the First Committee, finding a solution acceptable to all is an essential pre-condition for the success of the enterprise in which we are engaged.

220. In our opinion, it is also an essential condition that all the five States possessing nuclear weapons should co-operate actively and effectively, spontaneously and not as a result of force, in the work that will be necessary if we are to progress on the road leading to the holding of the Conference. That co-operation, in the opinion of my delegation, can be offered in one of the two following ways: either from within the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference—and this, of course, would be the preferable way—or else, should that be impossible, from outside it. But we believe that it will be essential for the nuclear Powers to be in a position to offer that co-operation on a footing of absolute equality. We, who for more than 10 years have taken part in the deliberations of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, would not want to see any repetition of such unfortunate situations as those that have had as their consequence in that body the absence of two of the nuclear Powers.

221. We are convinced that here, as on few occasions, it will be necessary to take account of the well-known aphorism that advises us not to lose sight of the forest for the trees. The Special Committee is of course only an instrument, a means; it is not an end in itself. The end, the goal, is a world disarmament conference enjoying the participation of all States.

222. We are confident, Mr. President, that in your future consultations your efforts will be directed towards organizing the Special Committee in such a way that, far from being an obstacle to obtaining such participation, it will instead become an effective instrument for that purpose.

223. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): With regard to the seats that have become vacant in the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, I should like now to refer to the note by the Secretary-General [A/8988] in which he informs the members of the Assembly that, by a letter dated 24 November of this year⁴, the Permanent Representative of Guatemala has notified the Chairman of the Special Committee that, as of the year 1973, his country will no longer be in a position to participate in the Committee's work.

224. Further, I have been informed by the Chairman of the Special Committee that there are other seats to be filled as well. Since no candidature has been put forward, I am not at this time in a position to fill the vacant seats in the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. I hope to be able to do so in due course.

225. As regards the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on

⁴ Document A/AC.115/L.346.

the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly, at its 2114th plenary meeting, authorized the President to continue his consultations and to fill the seats that have become vacant as soon as possible, on the basis of those consultations. Accordingly, I shall see to it that this is done.

Completion of the work of the twenty-seventh session

226. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who have expressed a desire to speak at this stage of our proceedings. I call first on the representative of Gabon, who wishes to speak on behalf of the African States.

227. Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, as you are about to conclude the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, it is incumbent upon the spokesmen for the various regional groups to perform the pleasant duty of expressing to you the sentiments of those on whose behalf they speak.

228. The African group of States, over which I have the honour of presiding during this month of December and on whose behalf I speak, has asked me to express to you its satisfaction at the thoroughly remarkable fashion in which you have conducted and so well guided our work.

229. During the three long months of our current session, which is now about to come to an end, the African group has had cause only to rejoice at your activities and the determining role that you have played as President of the General Assembly. Despite the complexity of the problems and the numerous difficulties that have arisen on so many occasions, you have kept a firm hold on the helm and brought our ship into port.

230. A most dynamic President, with a way at once direct and persuasive, you have been able to cool the debates and imbue them with an objectivity and effectiveness without which it would have been indeed difficult to find satisfactory answers to the questions that arose.

231. The African group is happy, consequently, to pay a public tribute to your talents and to express to you its warmest congratulations and most sincere gratitude. The successes you have achieved represent a broadly positive balance which is to be put down to your credit. Among the results achieved, we must emphasize particularly the important resolutions adopted on outer space, on the strengthening of international security, on the environment, on the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, on the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, on the convening of a Conference on the Law of the Sea, on the situation in the Middle East, on terrorism, and, finally, in the field of decolonization.

232. In this connexion, the African group is pleased at the adoption, by a very wide majority of the General Assembly, of the resolution relating to co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [*resolution 2962 (XXVII)*]. In reaffirming that co-operation, already established in practice, the General Assembly wished once again to stress its concern over the persistence of colonialism in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique,

and over the persistence of racism in Rhodesia, and Namibia. The condemnation of those backward policies by the great majority of nations, and the resolute attitude of the African States in the struggle for the liberation of their continent constitute powerful and decisive support and encouragement for all peoples struggling for their dignity and for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

233. We should also like to thank the Vice-Presidents and other members of the Bureau, Mr. Bradford Morse, Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, all your assistants, the interpreters and translators—in short, all those who, in one way or another, have contributed to the success of our work.

234. In taking leave of you and all the other representatives, Mr. President, I should like, on behalf of the African group, to express again our gratitude and appreciation for the task accomplished, and to wish you all a happy holiday and good health in the coming year.

235. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Turkey to speak on behalf of the Asian States.

236. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Mr. President, I have the honour and pleasure to pay a tribute to you in my capacity as Chairman of the group of Asian States for the month of December. My pleasure is all the greater as representative of Turkey because the President of the General Assembly whom I am addressing comes from a country with which my Government maintains close and friendly relations. In fact, these relations have deep roots going back centuries in the past, and have always exemplified the best and noblest features of our two nations.

237. In the view of the Asian countries I have the honour to represent, the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly has been an important one. Its importance lies not only in the contents of the many resolutions adopted but also in the spirit of co-operation demonstrated by each and every member of this Assembly, a spirit which has allowed us to take further action towards the common goal of establishing a world order based on peace, justice and progress.

238. If at this General Assembly session we have been able to find a compromise among the views and interests of 132 delegations on many important issues, if many resolutions which will enhance the cause of peace have been adopted, and if a spirit of co-operation has prevailed, it is due, to a large extent, to you personally, Mr. President. For this you deserve our gratitude and appreciation. You deserve it for the manner in which you have conducted our work, for your skill, tact and patience—in short, for your rare qualities of leadership.

239. My predecessor on this rostrum has highlighted the many important issues covered during your presidency. The presidency of the General Assembly is one of the most rewarding, as well as one of the most demanding, offices. Through your relentless efforts, your dedication and your effectiveness, you not only have highlighted the dignity and importance of that high office, but also by the confidence

and respect you have gained from all the members, have rendered the office of the presidency a focal point of the work of the twenty-seventh General Assembly session, and a centre of harmonization, which contributed to the smooth and successful conclusion of our work.

240. I was also fortunate to have an opportunity to establish personal contacts with you, Sir—contacts which allowed me to witness in your office, behind this impressive podium, your outstanding human qualities as well. Your friendliness, your kindness and personal charm and your unique sense of humour were additional factors which contributed to your success.

241. I should also like to express the appreciation of the group of Asian States to the Secretary-General, as well as our appreciation for the invaluable assistance of the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Bradford Morse, and all his staff—in fact, the entire staff of the United Nations wherever they may be and wherever they work, who shared the burdens and deserve therefore to partake in the success which has crowned your important tasks. At this time of the year, no speech could end without an expression of wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year to you personally, Mr. President, to all your staff and all those who work under you and to the membership of the United Nations.

242. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call now on the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

243. Mr. POLYANICHKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, since the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is at present Chairman of the group of Eastern European States, it has the great honour and pleasure of expressing to you on behalf of the group and on its own behalf its sincere gratitude for the tremendous work you have done in the lofty and distinguished but far from easy office of President of the General Assembly.

244. The group of socialist States of Eastern Europe feels particular satisfaction and pride that you, the representative of a fraternal State—the Polish People's Republic—were elected President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly and have displayed outstanding ability in your skilful, energetic and wise guidance of this distinguished international body. The office of President, as we all know, demands much time, great efforts, flexibility and sincere dedication to the cause of peace and friendship among peoples. You have justified the deep trust placed in you by Member States and have displayed outstanding ability as an organizer and leader of debates, negotiations and consultations; you have shown a spirit of restraint and an amiable attitude which have made no small contribution to the successful conclusion today of the varied and meaningful work of this session of the General Assembly.

245. I should also like to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Morse, his staff, the interpreters, translators and the entire Secretariat staff, whose tireless zeal and hard

work were so essential to the successful and efficient conduct of this session of the General Assembly.

246. Practical experience is the best criterion for appraising the activities of the United Nations and its organs. The future will show to what extent the work and decisions of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, one of the main organs of the United Nations, satisfy this criterion and meet the requirements of our times. However, we can already say that this session of the General Assembly has made a definite, useful contribution to the common struggle of mankind and, primarily, of the peace-loving forces for the easing of international tension, the strengthening of security and peace among peoples and the development of international co-operation on the basis of the equality of all States and peoples.

247. The General Assembly has considered a number of questions of great international importance. It has adopted resolutions on these questions which, if successfully carried out, will undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of world peace and international security. We consider that the most important of the resolutions adopted was the one proposed by the Soviet Union concerning the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*]. This decision is in the interests of all States, large and small, and in the interests of all mankind.

248. We should like to note the successful outcome of the consideration of an extremely important and constructive proposal concerning the convening of a World Disarmament Conference [*resolution 2930 (XXVII)*]. This is a comparatively new departure for the United Nations, and it has received on this occasion the understanding and support of the overwhelming majority of States. We realize that further efforts will be needed on the part of all States which truly and sincerely wish to intensify the struggle to curb the arms race and achieve general and complete disarmament—efforts aimed at carrying out this important decision of the General Assembly.

249. The General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session has also considered and approved recommendations on such important questions as the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2993 (XXVII)*], the prohibition of chemical weapons [*resolution 2933 (XXVII)*] and nuclear tests [*resolution 2934 (XXVII)*], world economic co-operation, co-operation on environmental matters [*resolution 2995 (XXVII)*], and a number of other questions.

250. The results of the consideration of the situation in the Middle East testify to the deep concern felt by the overwhelming majority of States and peoples of the world at the presence of a dangerous hotbed of war in that area, to the steadily growing support for the just cause of the Arab peoples and to the isolation of the aggressor and of those on whose support and assistance he relies.

251. The General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session has made a substantial contribution to the intensification of the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. It has expressed its solidarity with and broad support for the

colonial peoples of Africa who are fighting for freedom, independence and equality.

252. The establishment of the Office of the Permanent Observer of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations, the election of the German Democratic Republic by the Economic and Social Council to membership in the Economic Commission for Europe and the election at this session of the General Assembly of the German Democratic Republic to membership in the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme—these are all important steps towards implementing the principle of the universality of the United Nations and the inadmissibility of discrimination in the United Nations, which is an organization of peace-loving States.

253. We are confident that in the near future both German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the People's Republic of Bangladesh will be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

254. In conclusion, Comrade President, I should like to wish you, the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, the delegations and the entire Secretariat staff happiness and success in their personal lives in the new year and all success to everyone in the noble effort to strengthen international peace and security and to foster and consolidate friendship among peoples.

255. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Colombia to speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

256. Mr. ESPINOSA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am honoured to express our gratitude on behalf of the Latin American group for the fact and intelligence that you have displayed and for the success which, thanks to those qualities, you have obtained as President of the General Assembly.

257. Under the system existing in the Latin American group of States, I had the privilege of representing the group throughout the entire session, and therefore I was very pleased to have had frequent contacts with you in considering many of the problems in which the Latin American group was interested or could make its contribution towards a solution. Those contacts gave me the opportunity to appreciate much more that the success of this session of the General Assembly was due in large part to your eminent qualities as a statesman, diplomat and politician and to your long experience as a leader of organizations and peoples.

258. It is true that we must all deplore the fact that, when we come to the end of this session we cannot say, as we would have liked that peace has been achieved throughout the world. But we are certain that this is not due, Mr. President, to your mistakes or to the mistakes of this Assembly, because it was not possible for the United Nations to consider some of the most painful conflicts in history. There are other conflicts which breed as much anguish. Despite the persistent efforts of the United Nations, a solution has not been reached permitting fraternal friendship among all neighbouring peoples.

259. But the Latin American group is convinced that this session of the General Assembly has contributed to that state of détente to which you, Mr. President, referred so many times, and that the example of harmony and co-operation which has been set here will contribute to lessening all conflicts and will assist in reaching the solutions which we all desire.

260. Mr. President, upon entering the gallery of those who have served the United Nations, you will do so through the doors of the great Presidents, because you have been just such a President and you have been able to transmit to the General Assembly, in a spirit of cordiality, the capacity and talent for dialogue, for compromise and for the solution of major conflicts. Therefore, you will always be remembered in the annals of the United Nations.

261. Since, under the rules of the General Assembly, the Latin American group will assume the role of nominating a President for the next session of the General Assembly, we clearly realize the challenge facing the people of our region to match the mark you have left in the history of the Organization. After the Latin American group has unanimously decided to put forward the candidate who will be your successor, we are certain that the next session will be presided over by another great man at the service of the United Nations. On the day that you, pursuant to the rules, preside over the first meeting of the new session and transfer the powers of the President to an illustrious Latin American, we are certain that this historical thread of greatness will be continued in the fruitful work of the United Nations.

262. The statements made by the chairmen of the regional groups who have spoken before me and the manner in which they recalled the most important achievements of this session of the General Assembly frees me from the duty and the temptation to do so. We have worked on many items and we have devoted ourselves to the study of initiatives which came from many regions. If there is something which characterizes the United Nations it is that there is no monopoly of initiative, of points of view, of the love of peace or of devotion to the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter of this Organization. Many of the steps we have taken have had successful results. With respect to others, the Latin American group knows that we have perhaps fallen short of our aims. But the work and the efforts will continue, and every year we shall come closer and closer to that aim which has been kept in mind since the San Francisco Conference when it was resolved to unite nations for the purposes of peace, brotherhood and equality among nations and peoples.

263. May I, Mr. President, on behalf of the Latin American group, express to you our satisfaction at having worked in this session of the General Assembly under your wise guidance. May we also say to you that we are grateful and we should like to express our best wishes to you and wish you continued triumphs in your career. You will be able to return to your great country in the certainty of having nobly enshrined its great name. The gratitude of the Latin American countries is a gratitude that we should like to extend to the great Polish nation.

264. We who saw you working would also like to thank your illustrious collaborators, members of your delegation,

who extended to all of us that spirit of cordiality and understanding which was the greatest characteristic of your presidency.

265. The Latin American group is pleased that this first General Assembly under Mr. Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General has worked so effectively, since this indicates that this term will, because of the talents and devotion of Mr. Waldheim, be one of the best in the history of the United Nations.

266. The gratitude of the Latin American group is also extended to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Bradford Morse, who has proved himself as a man of talent and as being singularly capable. To him, to all the staff of the Secretariat, to all those who have carried our voices in all the languages to be understood by our colleagues, the Latin American group, through me, would like to express its gratitude. We wish you all happiness and prosperity.

267. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Greece on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

268. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, I have the honour and pleasure, as we close this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, to extend to you our warmest thanks for your efficient and impartial conduct of the proceedings of the General Assembly. We should like to take this opportunity to say that the unanimous testimonies of confidence extended to you when you were elected, in which a tribute was paid to your personal qualities as a distinguished statesman as well as to your country, have been most happily vindicated. The cause of international peace and security and that of freedom and independence are fundamental objectives of the United Nations. Your efforts and your initiatives as President of the General Assembly at this session have given us positive assistance in discussing, thoroughly analysing and trying to promote constructive solutions to the great issues of concern to us. A number of difficulties have arisen, of course, at this twenty-seventh session, but under your distinguished guidance the General Committee of the General Assembly has dealt with them with skill, talent and tact. Therefore we should like to pay a tribute to all the officers of the General Assembly for their tireless work in the course of the past three months.

269. Our gratitude also goes to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose fruitful activities during his first year in office already allow us to express the conviction that the United Nations will devote itself with a renewed faith to negotiation, conciliation and harmony among the nations in the years to come, for the benefit of world peace and prosperity. Moreover, I should be failing in my duty if I did not echo other representatives who have come to this rostrum to pay a tribute to Mr. Morse, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, for the effective way in which he has done his job and to all the members of the Secretariat, visible and invisible, for the work they have done to contribute to the satisfactory conduct of this Assembly's proceedings.

270. I should not wish to conclude without extending to you, Mr. President, and to all the officers of the General

Assembly, to the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Committees, to the Secretary-General and indeed the entire staff of the Secretariat and to all representatives our sincerest wishes for a happy, prosperous and peaceful New Year.

271. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Mr. President, I speak here as the representative of the host country to the United Nations. First I wish to thank you for the impartial, courteous and capable administration of your high office, which has indeed been apparent to us all. You have been a forceful and effective President. I would like also to thank those members of the Secretariat whose support has meant so much to us all. Particularly I should like to congratulate the Secretary-General and my former Congressional colleague Mr. Morse, Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, on the completion of their first year of distinguished service to this body in their very important new posts.

272. Probably most delegations have shared our experience during the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly—moments of satisfaction and moments of disappointment. Some have complained that the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly has been a dull session. If that is so, let us hope that it is because the world has moved away from the sensational politics of confrontation towards the concept of negotiation.

273. As we close our session here today, my thoughts turn to a former President of my country, who in October 1945 proclaimed the coming into force of the Charter of the United Nations, Harry S. Truman. He now lies gravely ill, and I should like from this rostrum to extend to him and his family our respect and our affection. He certainly was, I think we would all agree, a gallant fighter in the cause of world peace.

274. Mr. President, speaking officially, I say "thank you and farewell" to you as you depart, and I also say farewell to others whose imminent departure may deprive me of another opportunity to speak with them. Speaking personally, I would say that my own experience here at the United Nations will shortly be coming to an end. For me it has been an enormously stimulating and totally rewarding time—a time of some frustration but a time of much joy. I have been tremendously impressed by the high calibre of the diplomats with whom I have been privileged to associate—diplomats from all over the world—and I shall leave here with the conviction that we must all work to make the United Nations a stronger and much more effective instrument to meet the needs of mankind. The Organization needs our constructive criticism, but it needs, too, our unswerving support.

275. With those thoughts, Mr. President, and again with my congratulations to you, to our Secretary-General and to Mr. Morse, I wish you and all my fellow representatives a peaceful and happy new year. My life is indeed richer for having known you as my friends.

276. Mr. MAGHUR (Libyan Arab Republic): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations of the Arab States, I have the honour to express to you our deep appreciation and gratitude for the wisdom, forbearance and courage with

which you have guided our debates. Indeed, the fruitful results achieved by the General Assembly at this session are in large part directly attributable to your own unflinching determination and dedication to the work of the General Assembly.

277. We wish also to express our gratitude to our esteemed Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, who throughout the past year has demonstrated in his leadership his concern for the failures as well as the successes of this world Organization. To my colleagues the Vice-Presidents I wish to express my deep appreciation for their friendly co-operation. Finally, I wish to thank Mr. Morse, the Under-Secretary-General, and the staff of the Secretariat, whose industrious contributions have made possible the conduct of our deliberations.

278. I will close by taking this final opportunity to express my profound hope that the work of the forthcoming sessions of this Assembly will reflect both enhanced respect for and increased implementation of the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, so that as a result the world of tomorrow may at last know the meaning of freedom, peace and security.

279. Mr. President, I wish you and the peoples of the United Nations a Happy New Year.

280. Mr. REYES (Philippines): Mr. President, on behalf of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, otherwise known as ASEAN—namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines—I have the honour to thank the representative of Turkey, the eloquent spokesman of the group of Asian States, that larger body to which ASEAN countries belong, and at the same time to place on record very briefly, as a kind of foot-note to the representative of Turkey's statement, ASEAN's own deep appreciation of the fair, firm, constructive, efficient and altogether admirable leadership with which you have guided the deliberations of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. So successful has been your leadership that the Assembly, doubtless to the surprise of a good number of representatives, is adjourning on schedule.

281. To borrow from the terminology of moon missions, to which you yourself aptly referred at lunch today, the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly has, under your Presidency, been from the beginning on course and on target.

282. Your admirable qualities as President have been delightfully embellished by your formidable personal charm, your refreshing forthrightness and your gift of making friends not only for your good self and your great country, Poland, but also for the United Nations, of which you, Sir, are at this moment the highest representative in the eyes of the world.

283. For these reasons we of ASEAN have no hesitation in paying a tribute to you as one of the outstanding Presidents of the United Nations General Assembly, to the lasting credit of this Organization, of your native Poland, and of your distinguished self.

284. On behalf of ASEAN I shall conclude this brief statement with two more highly deserved tributes: firstly, to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our enterprising, able and dedicated Secretary-General, who in his first year in office has already amply justified his election to his extremely important and demanding post at this crucial stage in the development of the United Nations; and, secondly, to the exemplary and indispensable supporting role so unobtrusively yet effectively played by your own exceptionally talented personal staff and by the small army of experienced, resourceful and devoted officials of the Secretariat whose labours were so brilliantly orchestrated by the forceful, tireless and sagacious Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, who is still a freshman at his job, but is already looking and acting very much like a seasoned veteran.

285. Finally, Mr. President, I should like to associate ASEAN with the best wishes for a safe journey home and a blessed new year which have been addressed so sincerely and so eloquently to you by the previous speakers.

286. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Chairmen of Committees of the General Assembly, I am happy to pay a tribute to Mr. Trepczyński, President of the Assembly, for the way in which he has assured the success of the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. An inspired and great democratic spirit, sometimes bypassing the rigid protocol, Mr. Trepczyński has been able to show us all the talent and the greatest experience of the veterans of this international arena. By his actions here and outside he has contributed to a better perspective of the United Nations. Our distinguished President has worked for peace, progress and justice with vision, a vision comparable to that of Copernicus.

287. To the Secretary-General, who in his first year of activity without respite at the head of the Organization has greatly contributed to the work of our Committees, I should like to address our thanks and congratulations for the determination and persistence with which he has faced the most complex problems. We have quite clearly seen the impartiality of his actions; and, of course, we know that sometimes certain adversities are always inherent in the accomplishment of great tasks.

288. Finally, I should like to address to Mr. Morse and all the members of the Secretariat, whose effectiveness and devotion are worthy of the admiration of us all, our congratulations.

289. At the termination of the work of the twenty-seventh session, allow me to conclude with an observation that I made during the present session. Whenever right subsides and wrong triumphs, the vast majority of the peoples of the United Nations expect our world Organization to manifest itself and to rescue mankind.

290. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like, on behalf of the Secretary-General, Mr. Bradford Morse and myself, to thank all the representatives who have spoken. Their generous comments addressed to me have deeply moved me. They have also confirmed the constructive atmosphere in which our proceedings have

taken place and the spirit of co-operation which has prevailed during this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

291. The twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is drawing to a close after three months of intense activity.

292. When the current session of the Assembly opened, each of us hoped that our debates would produce results which would respond to the wishes of all mankind.

293. Today, we must ask ourselves to what extent the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly has fulfilled those expectations.

294. It is a basic truth, confirmed by years of experience, that an international community such as the United Nations, which bears such heavy responsibilities, can only perform its task with the help of the ties of solidarity and the will to co-operate which bind its Member countries together. Consequently, the attainment of the aims of the Organization is inseparable from progress in international détente and improved understanding among all the countries of the world.

295. During the periods of tension and confrontation which the United Nations has experienced, it has had to face problems which were bound to make it feel helpless and frustrated. It is only progressive détente that can create the conditions for the understanding which is necessary if our Organization is to be able to do constructive work.

296. We have therefore noted with satisfaction that during the past three months Europe has taken steps toward building a peaceful future.

297. Preparatory talks have been initiated at Helsinki with a view to the convening of a European conference on security and co-operation in the near future. The German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have reached an agreement regulating their mutual relations in accordance with the principles of international law. The observers for the two German States are seated, with equal rights, in this hall, and all the prerequisites for the admission of these two States have now been fulfilled.

298. The favourable signs which have appeared in other parts of the world likewise bear witness to the improvement in the international climate. The spirit which marked the Georgetown Conference has contributed greatly to that improvement. It has had an auspicious and important influence on the conduct of our work.

299. During the current session the Assembly has adequately reflected the general belief that the urgent tasks our Organization is required to perform can be accomplished only under changed international conditions. The aspirations of our time cannot be realized in the context of an armed peace, an uninterrupted arms race, or conflicts.

300. The Assembly, conscious of its responsibilities, has studied in depth the measures to be taken in order to eliminate the use of force in international relations, prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and promote disarmament.

The Assembly has taken important decisions in these fields.

301. We must now work patiently and energetically to ensure that the relations between States develop on the basis of respect for the rules of international law. In that connexion, it is gratifying to note that the Main Committees of the Assembly, by dint of their considerable competence and hard work, have achieved marked progress in the development of international norms.

302. Progress in the field of the protection of our environment and in economic, cultural, scientific and technological co-operation is now an essential element of international life. It is closely linked to the task of strengthening peace and security throughout the world.

303. In these fields, which determine the course of development and the attainment of human rights, the Assembly, at its present session, has sought solutions to current questions.

304. It is therefore with particular concern and apprehension that we note that no solution has yet been found to the major international problems existing today. In Vietnam a horrible war continues to be waged against a small nation fighting for its survival. During our deliberations we have heard many statements echoing the protests which have been voiced throughout the world against that war. Now that peace in Indo-China is possible and feasible, a new escalation of that war, so inhuman in all its aspects, jeopardizes the future of détente and carries the grave risk of increased tensions in international life.

305. With regard to the situation in the Middle East, there has likewise been no progress towards a positive solution in spite of the fact that the Assembly has once again called for respect for the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in this matter.

306. The Assembly has paid special attention to the problems of the enclaves of colonialism and racism still existing in various parts of the world and it has taken important decisions concerning those questions.

307. The debates in our Assembly have often reflected the differences in political, ideological and socio-economic orientation which are characteristic of our age. We can take satisfaction in noting that, thanks to the new climate of détente, these differences have not hampered the activities which the United Nations is undertaking with a view to strengthening co-operation and security in the world. The Assembly, in thus giving expression to the diversity of trends existing today, has repeatedly underlined the importance of the problems affecting the common interests of mankind.

308. The struggle for the attainment of our goal will not, however, come to an end with the closure of this session. New efforts will be needed and new initiatives will have to be forthcoming if the problems which are still pending are to be solved satisfactorily and the world is to be able to enjoy a peaceful future in an atmosphere of international détente.

309. The intensive pace of the work accomplished at this session and the concerted and sustained effort which it has involved show that an international Organization bearing so many responsibilities can be effective.

310. For this effort and for the work which has been accomplished, your President expresses to all of you his sincere gratitude. I thank the representatives, and in particular the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, the members of the General Committee of the General Assembly, and the officers of the Assembly Committees. I would like, above all, to let you know how much the efforts contributed by each of you have facilitated the accomplishment of my tasks.

311. On behalf of the Members of the General Assembly, as well as on my own behalf, I should like to express gratitude to all members of the Secretariat, whatever their posts, who, from the 38th floor to the third basement, have facilitated the work of our Assembly. I particularly thank the interpreters and translators, whose excellent and intensive work has enabled us all to understand each other without difficulty.

312. I wish also to express my extreme appreciation to those members of the Secretariat who have worked closely with me during this session and have given me their effective support.

313. I thank Mr. Bradford Morse, who has given me the benefit of his wide knowledge and his efficiency and whose friendly presence has always been so helpful to me.

314. I thank you, Mr. Secretary-General, for the extremely valuable assistance which, with your open mind,

your competence and your dedication, you have lent to our deliberations. The extremely active role which you have played during this session and the useful advice which you have given us certainly have contributed greatly to the smooth conduct of our work.

315. Finally, I should like to express our esteem and gratitude to all the journalists who have been following the proceedings of our Assembly and whose activities have made it possible for our work to be better known throughout the world.

316. I should like to express the hope that the new year will be an auspicious one for the realization of the lofty aims and noble ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

317. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite representatives to stand and observe one minute's silence.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

318. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I declare closed the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 9.05 p.m.