



CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 110

	Page
Agenda item 110: Restitution of works of art to countries victims of expropriation (<i>concluded</i>)	1
Agenda item 102: Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries (<i>concluded</i>)	3
Agenda item 107: Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic (<i>concluded</i>)	4
Agenda item 83: Publications and documentation of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fifth Committee	4
Agenda item 86: Personnel questions: (a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General; (b) Other personnel questions: report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fifth Committee	4
Agenda item 87: United Nations salary system: (a) Report of the Secretary-General; (b) Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions Report of the Fifth Committee	4
Agenda item 100: Inclusion of Chinese among the working languages of the General Assembly and the Security Council Reports of the Fifth and Sixth Committees	4
Agenda item 104: Inclusion of Arabic among the official and working languages of the General Assembly, its committees and sub-committees Reports of the Fifth and Sixth Committees	4
Agenda item 12: Report of the Economic and Social Council (<i>concluded</i>) Chapters I, XXX (section A) and XXXI (sections A to C): report of the Fifth Committee	4
Agenda item 79: Proposed programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975 and medium-term plan for the period 1974-1977 Report of the Fifth Committee	4
Agenda item 22: The situation in the Middle East (<i>continued</i>)	22
Suspension of the twenty-eighth session	22

Restitution of works of art to countries victims of expropriation (*concluded*)*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Under this item the Assembly has before it three documents: draft resolution A/L.717/Rev.1, the amendments in document A/L.721/Rev.1 and the amendment in document A/L.725. I shall now call upon those who wish to explain their votes before the vote.
2. Mr. RÍOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Panama supports draft resolution A/L.717/Rev.1, since it embodies a principle of justice. However, we object to one part of this draft resolution, which indicates that many countries have been subjected to this type of plunder solely as a result of colonial occupation. Many countries, of course, without having been under colonial occupation, have also been despoiled of their artistic and cultural treasures.
3. Operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution recognizes the special obligations in this connexion of those countries which had access to such objects only as a result of colonial occupation. I repeat that my delegation wishes to stress the fact that, though it is true that colonial occupation was the cause of many artistic and cultural treasures being taken from their place of origin to distant countries, it is no less true that for other reasons, and not necessarily colonial occupation, artistic treasures were also taken from countries.
4. The amendments to operative paragraphs 2 and 3 submitted by the Byelorussian SSR deal with the same aspect of colonial occupation and refer to alien occupation. This morning, the representative of Greece quite correctly pointed out that many countries—and I must stress that: many countries—had been the victims of plunder and pillage of their archaeological, artistic and historical treasures, and, as I have already said, it was not always because of colonial occupation. In many other cases, it was due to unscrupulous traffickers and the ignorance and collusion of native settlers who, out of greed or naïveté, contributed to the clandestine removal from their country of artistic and cultural treasures that are truly irreplaceable.
5. My own country has suffered, as have many others in Latin America, from this type of pillage. Pre-Colombian art of incalculable value has appeared in foreign museums and private collections as a result of the systematic pillaging of our heritage. We contend that that part of our cultural and historical heritage should be restored to our country. It is for

* Resumed from the 2205th meeting.

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

this reason that we consider operative paragraph 1 of this draft resolution to be extremely pertinent, because it states that the General Assembly:

“*Affirms* that the prompt restitution to a country of its objets d’art, monuments, museum pieces and manuscripts by another country, without charge, is calculated to strengthen international co-operation inasmuch as it constitutes just reparation for damage done”.

6. The nationalist Government that now rules over the destiny of Panama established, for the very reasons that I have stressed and that are brought out in this draft resolution, what is known as the Department of the Historical Heritage to put a stop to the illegal exporting of our cultural and historical treasures and also to try, at the same time, to recover what has already been taken from us by acts, very often, of open piracy.

7. In these circumstances, my delegation wishes to reiterate its support for, and to offer its co-operation in, any activities that the United Nations may undertake in order to implement the campaign for the recovery of works of art and archaeological and cultural treasures.

8. Mr. IPOTO EYEBU BAKAND’ASI (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): During this morning’s meeting the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR submitted amendments aimed at improving the revised draft resolution as submitted in document A/L.717/Rev.1. The sponsors have authorized me to state to the Assembly that they have no objection to those amendments; on the contrary, they accept and support the amendments in document A/L.721/Rev.1. Consequently we ask all peace-loving and justice-loving delegations to vote in favour of those amendments.

9. The amendment submitted by the United States of America is in document A/L.725. The sponsors of the draft resolution have some difficulty in accepting that amendment since, with respect to the time-limit, we feel that the Secretariat of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] and the Member States have experts who could perform this task in less time, and we are asking that this task be performed in two years’ time. Consequently, the three years requested by the United States delegation in order for the report of the Secretary-General to be submitted seems to us to be somewhat excessive, if not exaggerated. Furthermore, the delegation of the United States has informed us that it will abstain from voting on the draft resolution as a whole that has been submitted to the Assembly. Its draft amendment seems to us to be simply a manoeuvre designed to postpone the time-limit beyond that which the sponsors seek for the submission of the report of the Secretary-General, which would enable us to undertake by the thirty-first session a much more thorough study of agenda item 63 already considered in the Third Committee. The representative of the United States has told us that the sponsors have not followed the usual procedure for consideration of this question. At the meeting of the General Committee when this item was included in the agenda, we heard this very same argument put forward by the United States delegation. I must state that the General Committee unanimously recommended that this item be considered directly in the General Assembly. Thus, the argument of the United States seems to be more specious than real.

10. Another alternative has been followed by certain delegations to obtain positive votes in matters of interest to them. However, the sponsors did not choose that other alternative, and consequently we are opposed to the adoption by the Assembly of the amendment in document A/L.725.

11. The Latin American countries have requested that we add one word in operative paragraph 1 to reflect reality, in other words, the universality of the question which has been sought by the co-sponsors. Operative paragraph 1 would therefore read as follows:

“*Affirms* that the prompt restitution to a country of its objets d’art, monuments, museum pieces, manuscripts and documents by another country ...”

I am sure that the Assembly will find no difficulty in including the word “documents” in this paragraph.

12. Having said this, I believe that the Assembly will give its support first to the draft amendments presented by the Byelorussian SSR and thereafter to the draft resolution, submitted by 10 countries and contained in document A/L.717/Rev.1, as enhanced by those amendments.

13. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to announce that the United Republic of Tanzania and the Niger have agreed to become sponsors of draft resolution A/L.717/Rev.1. Although it was announced that the sponsors of the draft resolution had accepted the amendments submitted by the Byelorussian SSR and contained in document A/L.721/Rev.1, we shall vote first on the amendments and then on the draft resolution as it will read after the amendments have been voted upon. Therefore we shall begin by voting on the amendments, contained in document A/L.721/Rev.1, submitted by the Byelorussian SSR, which have been accepted by the sponsors of the draft resolution.

The amendments in document A/L.721/Rev.1 were adopted by 104 votes to none, with 21 abstentions.

14. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The amendments contained in document A/L.721/Rev.1 having been adopted, they will now be incorporated in the draft resolution. We shall now vote on the amendment contained in document A/L.725 and submitted by the United States.

The amendment in document A/L.725 was rejected by 78 votes to 11, with 33 abstentions.

15. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a decision on draft resolution A/L.717/Rev.1, as amended and with the revision made orally by its sponsors, namely, the addition of the words “and documents” after the word “manuscripts” in operative paragraph 1. Operative paragraph 1 should therefore read as follows:

“*Affirms* that the prompt restitution to a country of its objets d’art, monuments, museum pieces, manuscripts and documents by another country, without charge, is calculated to strengthen international co-operation inasmuch as it constitutes just reparation for damage done”.

I now put to the vote draft resolution A/L.717/Rev.1, as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, 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, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 113 votes to none, with 17 abstentions (resolution 3187 (XXVIII)).

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

17. Mr. LINDENBERG SETTE (Brazil): Although we believe that the language of the resolution could have been more precise and could have been improved from the legal point of view, the Brazilian delegation supported it. The Brazilian delegation was particularly happy that the sponsors of the draft resolution just adopted had decided in their revision to recall the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. That Convention was ratified and became a part of Brazilian law in June of this year. It is our understanding that the present resolution in no way conflicts with the Convention. We have in mind, in particular, the protection of *bona fide* buyers.

18. Mr. MEIRA-FERREIRA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): The Portuguese delegation abstained in the vote that has just been taken on draft resolution A/L.717/Rev.1, entitled "Restitution of works of art to countries victims of expropriation". We wish to state that Portugal cannot accept any implication, in whatever form, of the present resolution that might constitute a violation of the sovereign rights of a Member State.

19. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): My delegation agrees with the sentiment expressed in the sixth preambular paragraph of the resolution just adopted, which stresses:

"... that the cultural heritage of a people conditions the present and future flowering of its artistic values and its over-all development".

However, we are not entirely satisfied with the way in which the draft deals with the question of objets d'art which have been removed in the past from the country of origin and we are not happy with some of the language used, particularly the language of paragraph 1.

20. In our opinion, a better approach is that taken in a draft resolution approved in the Third Committee under agenda item 63 on 30 November; that draft resolution is contained in document A/C.3/L.2050/Rev.2. The delegation of Zaire had submitted certain amendments to the text as originally submitted and those amendments were incorporated in the text as approved by the Committee and adopted by the Assembly last week. One of the amendments, which is now paragraph 4 of resolution 3148 (XXVIII):

"Requests the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in cooperation with Member States, to study all the legal implications flowing from the existence of legislation for the protection of the national artistic heritage, including problems of exchange and the voluntary return of various cultural works".

21. My delegation expects the report of the Director-General of UNESCO to contain useful suggestions on the return of cultural works, and we believe that it would be better for the Assembly not to go further at this stage. Consequently, we abstained in the vote on the text just adopted.

22. Mr. VON HIRSCHBERG (South Africa): I should like to make it clear that the South African delegation has considerable sympathy for the objective of the resolution just adopted. There are many aspects of it with which we are in full agreement. Had this objective been formulated more fairly and without embroidery, we would have been happy to vote in favour of it; unfortunately, it is couched in language that in some respects goes beyond what is necessary to achieve its basic aim. Certain passages in it would seem to us to detract from that basic aim. We therefore reluctantly abstained in the vote which has just taken place. This vote should not, however, be interpreted as lack of sympathy or support for the resolution's basic objective; the reverse is the case, as I have said.

AGENDA ITEM 102

Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries (concluded)*

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly still has to consider the appointment of members

* Resumed from the 2194th meeting.

of the Special Committee on the Distribution of the Funds Released as a Result of the Reduction of Military Budgets, established on 7 December 1973 under agenda item 102. Under the resolution adopted by the Assembly [*resolution 3093 A (XXVIII)*], the appointments are to be made by the President of the General Assembly after consultations with regional groups. I had hoped to be able to announce the composition of the Special Committee this afternoon; however, consultations are still continuing. In view of this, I am obliged to follow the precedent established at previous sessions and to defer the announcement to a later date.

24. With the exception of the appointment of the members of this Special Committee, the Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of this item.

AGENDA ITEM 107

Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic (concluded)*

25. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Representatives will recall that the General Assembly considered agenda item 107, and, by its resolution 3061 (XXVIII), adopted at its 2163rd meeting on 2 November 1973, decided to keep this matter under continuous review. It is my understanding, therefore, that the item will be included in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 83

Publications and documentation of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9399)

AGENDA ITEM 86

Personnel questions:

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9462)

AGENDA ITEM 87

United Nations salary system:

- (a) **Report of the Secretary-General;**
- (b) **Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9463)

AGENDA ITEM 100

Inclusion of Chinese among the working languages of the General Assembly and the Security Council

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH (A/9307) AND SIXTH COMMITTEES (A/9452 AND ADD.1)

AGENDA ITEM 104

Inclusion of Arabic among the official and working languages of the General Assembly, its committees and sub-committees

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH (A/9464) AND SIXTH COMMITTEES (A/9452/ADD.1)

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (concluded)*

CHAPTERS I, XXX (SECTION A) AND XXXI (SECTIONS A TO C): REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9454)

AGENDA ITEM 79

Proposed programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975 and medium-term plan for the period 1974-1977

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9450 AND ADD.1)

26. Mr. GARRIDO (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: With reference to agenda item 83, the Fifth Committee deferred consideration of this item to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In making that decision, however, the Committee assumed that the Secretary-General would continue to maintain strict control over United Nations documentation. The Fifth Committee's recommendation is contained in paragraph 4 of document A/9399.

27. On personnel questions [A/9462], the Fifth Committee decided, without objection, to defer consideration of item 86 (a).

28. In connexion with item 86 (b), the Fifth Committee deferred consideration of the report of the Secretary-General on the report of the Joint Inspection Unit on personnel problems and the major recommendations of the Administrative Management Service. In view of the complicated nature of the questions raised in the report of the Unit, and also in view of the late distribution of the report in all working languages, the Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that it should take note of the amendments on the staff rules introduced by the Secretary-General. The Committee also recommends in paragraph 7, of document A/9462, that the General Assembly should take note of the report of the Secretary-General containing its proposals for the United Nations Institute for Training and Research [UNITAR] on staff training. In paragraph 9,

* Resumed from the 2163rd meeting.

* Resumed from the 2203rd meeting.

the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution on the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

29. On agenda item 87 [A/9463], the debate in the Fifth Committee centred on the establishment of the International Civil Service Commission. There was a divergence of views, however, on the composition of the Commission, concerning which several suggestions were made. The other point that was prominently stressed in the Fifth Committee was statutory equality for all the members of the Commission. On the questions posed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions on the foregoing alternatives, no consensus emerged in the course of the discussion. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee is in paragraph 46 of this report; it consists of subparagraph (a), which defers the consideration of the question to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly to give Member States sufficient time to study the matter, and subparagraph (b), which requests the International Civil Service Advisory Board to submit to the twenty-ninth session a report together with its recommendations on the salaries of staff in the professional and higher categories, and staff allowances of the United Nations common system, to be effective from 1 January 1975.

30. On item 100, the decision of the Fifth Committee is found in paragraph 3 [A/9307]. In paragraph 4, the Committee also decided that, should the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution, additional net requirements in the amount of \$1,050,000 would arise under the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975, including \$41,000 under section 1, \$806,000 under section 29, \$40,000 under section 30 and \$163,000 under section 28 J.

31. On agenda item 104, the decision of the Fifth Committee is to be found in paragraph 5 of document A/9464, which contains a draft resolution.

32. I now have the honour to submit for the approval of the General Assembly the adoption of the report of the Fifth Committee under item 79 on the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975 [A/9450 and Add.1].

33. The Committee recommends a gross appropriation of \$540,473,000 and an estimate for income of \$92,646,000. The net expenditure for the biennium 1974-1975 is estimated at \$447,827,000.

34. This is an historic occasion in the United Nations as the Assembly will be adopting for the first time a budget linking programmes to financial resources. Although the document which is before the members of the Assembly did not meet the full expectations of Member States in achieving a full integrated programme planning and budgeting system, the action that the Assembly is about to take is an important first step for the development of such a mechanism in the Organization. It is the cherished desire of all Member States which participated in the formulation of the 1974-1975 budget programme that the preparation of the subsequent appropriations should be geared to the requirements of an improved and meaningful system.

35. The recommendations of the Fifth Committee under this item are in paragraph 120 of part I [A/9450], which

contains a summary of the recommendations. In part I there are also three draft resolutions to be adopted by the General Assembly. These are to be found in paragraph 119.

36. In part II [A/9450/Add.1] the summary of recommendations is to be found in paragraph 90. There are four draft resolutions in paragraph 89 of part II which are recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall first take up the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 83 [A/9399]. The Assembly also has before it a memorandum by the Secretary-General in document A/9210.

38. Since no one has expressed a desire to speak in explanation of vote, we shall now take a decision on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee which appears in paragraph 4 of document A/9399. In the Fifth Committee no vote was taken on the recommendation to defer consideration of agenda item 83 until the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. May I take it that the Assembly adopts the recommendation?

The recommendation was adopted.

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite members to turn their attention to the memorandum by the Secretary-General in document A/9210, concerning the circulation of communications from Member States. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of the memorandum?

It was so decided.

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 86 [A/9462]. The Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution in paragraph 9 and a number of decisions in paragraph 10.

41. We shall first take a decision on the draft resolution in paragraph 9 of document A/9462. Since the draft resolution was adopted without objection by the Fifth Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3188 (XXVIII)).

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite members to turn their attention to the draft decisions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 10 of document A/9462. These draft decisions were adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly will do likewise?

The draft decisions were adopted.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

44. Mr. ARBOLEDA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The deferment of consideration of document A/C.5/1522 by the Fifth Committee until the twenty-ninth

session of the General Assembly, which the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee mentioned a few moments ago, was an extremely sensitive matter because of the importance of personnel questions to the United Nations. It was postponed primarily because of the belated issue of the document I have just mentioned. My delegation hopes that this administrative flaw, this belated distribution of documentation, which is already becoming chronic in the United Nations, will be corrected with the implementation of the important and extremely appropriate proposal of the Ukrainian SSR, to which the Colombian delegation submitted an addition and which was approved by the Fifth Committee on Friday, 14 December.

45. My delegation trusts that the Secretary-General, in his expanded report to be submitted to the General Assembly next year dealing with personnel questions, will take into account the suggestions and recommendations made by a number of delegations in the Fifth Committee in the course of the present session, as well as at previous sessions of the General Assembly.

46. It is for that reason, and some others to which I shall refer in a moment, that the delegation of Colombia agreed to the postponement of this item, inasmuch as it deprived delegations of the right to make comments on a document of such importance. Personnel questions in the United Nations have given rise to constant concern in the Colombian delegation for a number of years. We have indefatigably stressed in the Fifth Committee the need for the Secretariat departments responsible for doing so to show greater interest in the problems confronted by the staff of the United Nations and greater concern over the adverse consequences that these problems may bring about for the staff of the United Nations and, by extension, for the United Nations itself.

47. It was precisely 11 years ago, at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, that the Colombian delegation for the first time expressed this disquiet for consideration by the Fifth Committee. At that time we said that the morale of the staff was a determining factor in its efficiency, and we contended that that efficiency had to be preserved at the highest level by an equally high-level preservation of staff morale.

48. Among the different causes of the lowering of the staff's morale, and therefore of its efficiency, only one is of a material nature, and that is the financial remuneration for the work done. All the other causes are linked to an intangible, namely, the spirit that underlies and imbues all our acts. They are linked to the human aspect of the individual, to his feelings, to his personal problems and those of his family.

49. In the administration of the United Nations there are some persons who form those small bureaucratic cells of administrative subdivisions, intermediary groups which are untouchable, sacrosanct for those who believe that they can rule them. It is these cells, for the very same reason, that oppose any efforts at reorganization since their dubious technical competence would thus be brought to light. To prevent this from occurring, they obstruct any plan for reorganization. They do not allow the higher officials to enter their small private world.

50. Those persons are causing great damage to the majority of competent staff members and thus the entire machinery. These officials are one of the causes that have the most deleterious effect on the morale of the staff. The Joint Inspection Unit, in its report last year, called these persons "general administrators" of low general competence and culture who have in their control the functioning of the Secretariat.

51. It has been said that man cannot realize his full potential unless he works. But for this truth to become a fact, the work must be made worthy and the worker must be given just remuneration. He must be given a spiritual incentive. Mankind has ample examples of this. Karl Marx exalted work as a literally creative force, as the fruitful source of all human values. According to Marx, capital is formed by surpluses in the sense of what the employer has failed to pay the worker for his work—in other words, by exploitation of the worker by the employer.

52. The Bible had already, a few millenia earlier, recognized that work can be a means of exploitation and had decreed that the right wage should be paid to the worker. "The labourer is worthy of his hire", said the Lord according to St. Luke, and St. James condemns failure to pay a worker, because the non-payment was disobedience to God's law. This followed the teaching of the Old Testament as seen in the Mosaic Law and in the words of the Hebrew prophets.

53. I do not intend to repeat all that we have said over the years. I merely want to stress once again the human aspect of the problem and the need to recognize that this human problem exists. We believe that the United Nations cannot continue to run the risk of ignoring it. My delegation urges the Secretary-General and his principal assistant in these important personnel questions, Mr. Davidson, when studying and applying solutions to the different aspects of the problem, to give the basically human aspect the importance it deserves. I personally believe that that is their intention, but it would appear that their subordinates have not yet come to think along the same lines and are unwilling to see the importance of the human aspect of the problem.

54. The Colombian delegation believes that it is interpreting a sentiment which many share, namely, that a generally felt desire should become a reality and that the departments most directly concerned with the staff and its working conditions should at this time be given the necessary impetus to match, in terms of technical competence, organization and leadership, the importance that these personnel questions have for the United Nations. We trust that the future International Civil Service Commission will also serve this purpose. The answer to these essentially human problems must lie in social justice, in genuine and sincere social justice, in that social justice which was preached for the first time in the history of mankind by the extraordinary man who in three short years of public ministry changed the course of history and whose influence has been the greatest the world has ever known; who harshly attacked social injustice in a country ruled by an arbitrary and absolute Government, where the father controlled his children's lives and the power of the master over the slave was total; the social justice of that solitary man, whom an empire feared and considered a danger, because he said things which had never been heard

before, such as "Kings and slaves are equal before God". I repeat, the answer lies in the social doctrine of that miracle man who still speaks to us across the centuries, Jesus of Nazareth.

55. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): I wish very briefly to explain my delegation's vote on the draft resolution [A/9462] concerning the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations which has just been adopted on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee [resolution 3188 (XXVIII)]. Although in this case we supported the draft resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee, I wish to repeat here what my delegation said in that Committee, namely, that we consider that in principle any question concerning the grants of privileges and immunities is a legal question of some importance and significance and for that reason we believe that the Sixth Committee should have been invited to express its opinion before the Fifth Committee took its decision. This would also correspond with the way in which the Convention itself was drawn up in 1946.

56. That kind of procedure was followed in this session with regard to the computerization of the *Treaty Series*, where the Sixth Committee was given the opportunity to express its views on the legal aspects, if any, which arose before the Fifth Committee took its decision. We find that to be a satisfactory method of dealing with administrative questions which have or which may have more general legal implications.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now take up the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 87 [A/9463]. The two recommendations of the Fifth Committee are to be found in paragraph 46 of that document.

58. I shall first put to the vote the recommendation in subparagraph (a).

The recommendation was adopted by 101 votes to 1, with 30 abstentions.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote the recommendation in subparagraph (b).

The recommendation was adopted by 120 votes to 10, with 1 abstention.

60. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now consider agenda items 100 and 104. The reports of the Fifth Committee on these items are contained in documents A/9307 and A/9464. The reports of the Sixth Committee are contained in document A/9452 and Add.1.

61. We shall take a decision first on the report of the Fifth Committee on item 100 of the agenda [A/9307]. I draw the attention of members to the decision in paragraph 4 of that document. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that decision?

It was so decided.

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of document A/9307. That draft

resolution was adopted by the Fifth Committee by 93 votes to none. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution without objection?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3189 (XXVIII)).

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn next to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 104 [A/9464]. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee, which appears in paragraph 5 of document A/9464, was adopted without objection by the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt the draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3190 (XXVIII)).

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now draw the attention of members to the recommendations of the Fifth Committee which appear in paragraph 6 (a) and (b) of document A/9464. In the Committee no vote was taken on those recommendations. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts those recommendations?

The recommendations were adopted.

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a decision on the reports of the Sixth Committee on agenda items 100 and 104 [A/9452 and Add.1]. I should like to inform members that the draft resolution in paragraph 6 of document A/9452 has been superseded by the draft resolution in paragraph 6 of document A/9452/Add.1. That draft resolution was adopted by the Sixth Committee by consensus. May I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution without objection?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3191 (XXVIII)).

66. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 12 [A/9454]. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee which appears in paragraph 5 of document A/9454 was adopted without objection in the Committee. May I take it that the Assembly adopts that recommendation?

The recommendation was adopted.

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to the parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council that were allocated directly to the Assembly for consideration. I refer to chapters I, XXX (section A) and XXXI (sections A to C), concerning, primarily, non-governmental organizations and organizational questions. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of those parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council?

It was so decided.

68. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 79 [A/9450 and Add.1]. An amendment to draft resolution VII recommended by the Fifth Committee in document A/9450/Add.1 has been submitted in document A/L.724. I shall now call on those

representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting on any of the draft resolutions and draft decisions recommended by the Fifth Committee in parts I and II of its report. After all the votes have been taken, representatives wishing to explain their votes at that stage will have an opportunity to do so.

69. Mr. KITI (Kenya): My delegation would like first of all, on behalf of the three sponsors, to introduce the amendment in document A/L.724 and to explain on our own behalf our vote on this amendment.

70. This amendment deals with a question that has been before the United Nations for some time, namely, the standardization of accommodation and official travel of United Nations staff by air. This matter was discussed at length in the Fifth Committee at its 1624th and 1625th meetings. At the second meeting it was decided by the Fifth Committee, by 48 votes to 6, with 25 abstentions, that first class air travel should be limited to the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General. During the same meeting, before that decision was taken, the representative of Ghana proposed an amendment to include the category of Assistant Secretaries-General among those who would travel first class when on official business. This amendment was rejected by 32 votes to 22, with 29 abstentions.

71. It was quite apparent, therefore, because of the large number of abstentions, that Member States still had some doubts and that probably the decision was taken without very much prior consultation. As a result of all these doubts expressed by the numerous abstentions, my delegation and many others conducted intensive, extensive and sometimes protracted consultations outside and within the conference room. Our consultations showed that, by and large, the decision taken by the Fifth Committee still gave rise to doubts in the minds of many people as to whether this decision was in the best interests of the Organization. It was because of these doubts that my delegation and the other two sponsors proposed the amendment which is before us.

72. I must say that, right from the outset, my delegation shared the sentiment that is prevalent and that was prevalent in the Fifth Committee, namely, that there must be an economic utilization of the resources available to the Organization. My delegation is not, however, convinced that the measures adopted by the Fifth Committee during that session will effect any significant savings for the Organization. We feel that the best way of effecting economies, as far as travel is concerned, is by judicious travel arrangements. Together with other Member States, we have been dubious from time to time about the many visits and travel by members of the Secretariat and we feel that if we are to effect any economies, we should look into this area, rather than appear to be penalizing senior members of the Secretariat.

73. It should further be remembered that this question of first class air travel has not only been discussed by Member States in the Fifth Committee and in the General Assembly: it has also been discussed by that most respected of all organs the United Nations, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. While considering this matter especially during its twenty-first session, this important organ, the Advisory Committee also appeared unconvinced of the wisdom of restricting first class travel

only to the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General.

74. We do not want to continue the arguments adduced there, but another reason that has led my delegation and the other sponsors to propose this amendment is that the Fifth Committee attaches great importance to the functions performed by the Assistant Secretaries-General on behalf of the Secretary-General. In many cases those officers travel as personal representatives of the Secretary-General. When they accompany the Secretary-General, it is the conviction of my delegation that, more often than not, they are required to be with him for in-flight consultations.

75. My delegation feels that this question should also be linked with the type of person who is called upon to occupy the post of Assistant Secretary-General. These devoted servants of the Organization are highly qualified people who, in many cases and especially in the case of those who come from the developing countries, prior to joining the Organization occupied senior positions in their respective civil services or in the private sector. It is therefore the conviction of my delegation that we should accord the appropriate personal incentive and dignity to these very hardworking civil servants. In any case, since these staff members have the highly specialized functions I have already named, we feel they should be accorded at least the same privilege as we accord to specialists from inter-governmental organizations who are appointed for their special capacities.

76. My delegation is convinced that the measures envisaged in the small amendment we propose will be in the interests of the Organization. We feel that if we must restrict travel by first class at all and if we intend to exclude anybody, we should exclude everybody and leave only the Secretary-General. But if we feel that there are some people who should be left to enjoy the privilege of first class air travel, we should at least go step by step. Our amendment goes further than the decision that was taken during the twenty-first session, when the privilege was extended to D-2 officers. We feel that, having eliminated the D-2 officers, we should go on and see how effective we have been in saving money for the Organization and then, if appropriate, we should come to this matter again. Needless to say, being a sponsor of the amendment, we shall vote in favour of it, and we do hope it will command the majority of the Organization.

77. Mr. CLELAND (Ghana): The representative of Kenya has already spoken adequately on the amendment and there is little my delegation can add to what has already been said.

78. It will be recalled that, in accordance with normal practice and a directive of the General Assembly at its first session based on recommendations of the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee, first-class accommodation has been provided in the following instances: (a) all types of travel by the Secretary-General and persons who accompany him; (b) all types of travel by the Under-Secretaries-General, Assistant Secretaries-General and officials of equivalent rank; and, finally, (c) official travel by staff at the D-2 level.

79. In its document A/9420, the Advisory Committee agreed, following a study of the issue of standards of accommodation of staff by the Secretary-General and his colleagues in the Administrative Committee for Co-ordination, that the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretaries-General and Assistant Secretaries-General, should be allowed to travel first class when on official duty by reason of the importance of their offices. The only reservation expressed by the Advisory Committee was in connexion with the category of officers within the D-2 level. Even in that case, the Advisory Committee reached agreement that that category of officers should normally travel economy class except when the journey is on official business involving a change of time zone and when the duration of the flight was over five hours. There was, however, the proviso that the standard of accommodation for D-2 officers should be subject to review by the Secretary-General and his colleagues in the Administrative Committee after two years of operation.

80. The sponsors of the amendment would have preferred the inclusion of D-2s in the category of officers who qualify to travel first class. However, in a spirit of compromise, we have agreed to delete that category of officers from the list.

81. It is invidious to make comparisons, but one cannot help recalling that the General Assembly has, in its wisdom, decided that various experts in the United Nations system serve in their individual capacities—and these are represented in over 80 subsidiary bodies of the United Nations—should travel first class. By the same token, Assistant Secretaries-General and those of equivalent rank, most of whom were ambassadors before taking up their present posts, need to be more sympathetically treated with regard to official travel.

82. In presenting this amendment, we want to assure members of this august body that we are taking into consideration the present financial situation of the Organization. We are of the view that in this instance, the financial implications are very marginal and should not be used to deny those who are rendering such invaluable services to the Organization this very small comfort to which they should be entitled.

83. Finally, my delegation would request a recorded vote on this item.

84. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): In connexion with the forthcoming vote on the programme-budget estimates of the United Nations for the biennium 1974-1975, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to explain its vote.

85. First, we should like to stress that the position of the Soviet Union with regard to the budgetary, financial and administrative problems of the United Nations continues to be determined by the Soviet Union's support for the United Nations as a matter of principle, active participation in its activities, and constant concern for improving its effectiveness as the fundamental instrument for the maintenance of peace and international security. That is why, during the consideration of budgetary questions, the Soviet delegation takes the view that funds appropriated under the budget should be used primarily for fulfilling the fundamental tasks of the United Nations as set forth in the Charter.

86. Guided by that position of principle, the Soviet Union, as one of the major contributors to the budget, cannot agree that its contributions and those of other States Members of the United Nations should be expended for purposes other than the realization of the tasks for which the United Nations was founded, still less for purposes running counter to the Charter.

87. As we know, the United Nations will, with effect from 1974, transfer to a new form of budget, namely, a biennial programme budget. It had been supposed that the transfer to a biennial cycle would be actively used for a more rational and economic expenditure of budgetary funds. However, the programme-budget estimates submitted by the United Nations Secretariat for the biennium 1974-1975 were, in the view of the Soviet delegation, prepared without due account being taken of the possible advantages of the introduction of the new form of presentation of the budget. They were prepared without the requisite analysis of the effectiveness and purposes of all the existing programmes, and without a critical re-appraisal of those programmes from the point of view of establishing a proper order of priority and of a possible redistribution of United Nations resources on that basis.

88. Unfortunately, the United Nations Secretariat has not only provided for a continuation of almost all ongoing activities of the United Nations, but has also provided for an expansion of programmes, without having the necessary specific instructions from the General Assembly. As has already been pointed out in the Fifth Committee, the Secretariat has included in the preliminary budget estimates for 1974-1975 expenditure in the amount of \$12 million without any concrete decisions on the part of the General Assembly. It is therefore no coincidence that the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions pointed out in its first report on the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975 that "... programme increases should normally follow rather than precede action by the legislative bodies" [A/9008, para. 27]. That statement is perfectly justified. It should also be pointed out that the United Nations Secretariat has unsatisfactorily carried out the instructions given by the General Assembly to prepare a medium-term programme for United Nations activities for the period 1974-1977. The Advisory Committee did not therefore find it possible to consider this Secretariat document in substance.

89. The proposed budget estimates for 1974-1975 amount to a sum of \$540.5 million, which is \$98.3 million—in other words, 22.2 per cent—more than the amount for the previous two-year period 1972-1973. Such a sizable increase in the United Nations budget has probably never occurred before in the whole history of the Organization.

90. In that connexion, we feel obliged to express our concern that, during consideration of the budget estimates for 1974-1975, certain recommendations of the Advisory Committee designed to economize funds were rejected. The Advisory Committee is a competent body consisting of highly-qualified experts appointed by the Secretary-General and the General Assembly and consequently, we fail to understand such a negative attitude towards the recommendations of the Advisory Committee aimed at cutting expen-

diture. We feel that, if this trend continues, irreversible harm may be done to the finances of the Organization.

91. If the reasons for such an enormous increase in United Nations expenditure is examined, then it can be seen that the lion's share of this expenditure is used on the maintenance of the bureaucratic apparatus of the United Nations Secretariat, which continues to expand year by year without any basis or justification. Instead of a simplification of the cumbersome structure of the Secretariat and a rational redistribution of those staff members whose functions have been reduced, and instead of the adoption of constructive measures to raise work productivity, it is proposed under the budget for 1974-1975 to increase considerably the staff of the Secretariat, both permanent and temporary, as well as to raise the level of posts and expand the number of consultants of various kinds. All this leads to unjustified additional expenditure.

92. Other factors affecting the increased appropriations for the 1974-1975 budget have been changes in the exchange rates of the currencies of various capitalist countries and the devaluation of the United States dollar. The United Nations Secretariat is trying to resolve this problem as if it were a very simple one. It proposes that the deficit in the United Nations budget arising from the fluctuations in currency rates should be covered by an increase in contributions from Member States.

93. The Soviet delegation continues to feel that such an approach is incorrect, and takes the view that such an inevitable increase in expenditure under the United Nations budget should be covered by means of savings, a reappraisal of the order of priority of programmes, a redistribution of resources and an adjustment within the budget—measures which, furthermore, are provided for in the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

94. In that connexion, the Soviet delegation cannot fail to call attention to the rather strange and incomprehensible decision of the Secretary-General to abandon the economy measures which he had successfully introduced in 1972 and which made it possible to save a considerable volume of appropriations in the course of the year without any detriment to the realization of the various tasks entrusted to the United Nations.

95. Therefore, we fully share the concern expressed by delegations in the Fifth Committee and by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions with regard to this premature decision of the Secretary-General, and we believe that strict economy measures should be adopted similar to those taken in 1972.

96. The Soviet delegation would like to express its satisfaction that, after the long and persistent demands of the USSR and other States Members of the United Nations, the illegal appropriations for financing the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the Korean Memorial Cemetery—appropriations which are contrary to the United Nations Charter—have at last been excluded from the budget.

97. At the same time, the Soviet delegation is obliged to note with regret that, despite the categorical objections of many delegations, the budget estimates for 1974-1975 once again include appropriations for financing such illegal, anti-Charter measures as the payment of interest on, and the repayment of, United Nations bonds issued to cover the cost of United Nations operations in the Congo and the Middle East.

98. The Soviet delegation would like once again to state its categorical objection to the inclusion in the budget of expenditure on those illegal measures, and considers that that expenditure should be excluded from the regular budget once and for all.

99. The Soviet delegation would also like to confirm its position with regard to section 19, which relates to the regular programme of technical assistance within the budget estimates for the next biennium. We consider it incorrect to finance measures for technical assistance under the regular budget of the United Nations.

100. The Soviet Union has agreements on economic co-operation with 45 young States, including 20 countries in Asia, 22 in Africa and 3 in Latin America. In accordance with those agreements on economic and technical co-operation, the Soviet Union has been providing the developing countries in question with assistance in the construction and expansion of some 860 projects of various kinds, 400 of which have already been concluded and put into operation. In addition to that, the Soviet Union voluntarily contributes considerable funds for implementing United Nations programmes of technical assistance.

101. Accordingly, our objections to, and our vote against, section 19 of the budget for the next biennium do not flow from any denial by the Soviet Union of the importance of technical assistance; they are due to our attitude of principle with regard to the observance of the United Nations Charter which lays down that the budget should be exclusively for administrative purposes and for covering administrative expenditure.

102. We consider that the financing of technical assistance should be carried out exclusively on a voluntary basis. As it has in the past, the Soviet Union makes its voluntary contribution for technical assistance in its own national currency.

103. The Soviet delegation would also like to state its views with regard to the Secretary-General's proposal for payment of voluntary contributions to cover the financial deficit of the United Nations. We have in mind paragraph 90 of the second part of the report of the Fifth Committee. The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that any attempts to resolve the problem of eliminating the financial deficit without eradicating the major cause of both the deficit itself and its annual increase cannot and will not be successful. In our view, that proposal will merely divert the attention of the General Assembly from the real reasons for the financial deficit which, as we know, is the outcome of illegal activities in violation of the Charter. In addition to the foregoing, that proposal compels States Members of the United Nations to bear the illegal anti-Charter expenditure imposed upon the Organization by a small group of States; and those States—

not the Organization as a whole—should themselves bear that expenditure.

104. Finally, we regard that proposal merely as a wish which cannot achieve our principal aim, namely, the eradication of the causes of the financial deficit of the Organization.

105. In view of the fact that the programme budget estimates for the biennium 1974-1975 include much unjustified and superfluous expenditure, against which the Soviet delegation has objected, and also in view of the fact that appropriations for illegal, anti-Charter measures such as the so-called United Nations bond issue are still included in the budget, the USSR delegation will vote against approval of the proposed budget for the biennium 1974-1975 as a whole. We shall also vote against the draft resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses of the United Nations for 1974-1975, since we consider that, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the right to decide upon questions relating to financial measures of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security rests exclusively with the Security Council, and to grant the United Nations Secretariat the right to expend funds for such purposes is a violation of the Charter.

106. In conclusion I should like to draw attention to one more fact—the procedure for the adoption of the memorandum of the Secretary-General on the question of the dissemination of the information from Member States, contained in document A/9210. We should like to remind the General Assembly that this memorandum was not considered by the Advisory Committee or by the Fifth Committee. Furthermore, the whole question of the publication of the United Nations documents was held over by a decision of the Fifth Committee for consideration at the twenty-ninth session. This morning in the Fifth Committee the Soviet delegation received the explanation from the Chairman of the Fifth Committee that the said memorandum of the Secretary-General will, like other matters connected with this agenda item, be referred without discussion to the next session. Therefore we were most surprised, Mr. President, when you stated that this proposal was before the Assembly. We regard this as some kind of misunderstanding and we hope that the memorandum of the Secretary-General will be the subject of consideration at the next session of the General Assembly.

107. I should also like to explain our vote separately on the draft amendment, submitted by the delegations of Ghana, Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania, to draft resolution VII of the Fifth Committee in document A/L.724. The Soviet delegation cannot agree to this amendment, which will inevitably lead to a considerable increase in expenditures, particularly travel expenditures for officials of the United Nations. We believe that narrowing the circle of persons who may travel first-class on official business is a reasonable and justified measure designed to achieve savings in budgetary funds. We should like to recall that, according to the financial rules with regard to the travel of members of delegations of Member States of the United Nations, only heads of delegations, that is, ministers, may travel first-class. This amendment quite unjustifiably expands the circle of United Nations officials who may travel first-class. First of all, this will involve additional

expenditures, and is therefore unacceptable. Secondly, it is unreasonable. Why should we put on a different footing members of delegations, many of whom are ministers or ambassadors and hold high-level and responsible posts in the administrations of their countries, so that they will travel economy-class while Assistant Secretaries-General will travel first-class? For these two reasons, the Soviet delegation will be obliged to vote against this highly illogical amendment.

108. Mr. ELKHATIM (Sudan): On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution VII contained in document A/9450/Add.1, I should like to make a very brief comment during these last few moments left before the closing of the session on the amendment to the draft introduced by the representative of Kenya and the statement in support made by the representative of Ghana.

109. We take it that the purpose of the amendment is to extend the provisions on standards of accommodation by air, which under the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee, are to be applied to the Secretary-General and to the Under-Secretaries-General and also to the Assistant Secretaries-General.

110. In submitting our draft resolution, we have had constantly in mind the observations made by most of the representatives in their statements during the general debate concerning the continuing serious financial situation of the Organization and the demands of Member States for expanded programmes in the economic and social fields. We in the Fifth Committee do believe that every attempt should be made to achieve all possible economies in areas which have no direct effect on the work of the Organization, in order that maximum funds might be devoted to essential activities. Furthermore, economy-class standards for air travel are being increasingly used for the foreign services of Member States. I should like to take this opportunity to assure the United Nations staff that we shall continue to be very sympathetic, as we have always been, towards all the issues which we think will contribute materially to the betterment of its working conditions.

111. Our draft resolution, which won the support of the majority of the Fifth Committee, was the outcome of a thorough study of various documents, including the report of the Joint Inspection Unit, contained in document JIU/REP/72/4, on the use of travel funds in the United Nations. I quote paragraph 144 of that report:

“The lack of control and the absence of any authority to check the necessity of travel have resulted in an abnormal situation in which each Director is almost the supreme authority to decide when travel should be undertaken, who should attend a meeting and how many staff members should travel for the same purpose.”

I quote also paragraph 151:

“Bearing in mind the present precarious situation and the efforts the Secretary-General is making to restore the financial solvency of the Organization, the recommendation in this report, if approved, would result in estimated savings of some \$900,000, a valuable contribution to the efforts of the Secretary-General.”

112. Going back to staff regulation 4.5 (a), we find that it states that Under-Secretaries-General and Assistant Secretaries-General are a distinct group of members of the Secretariat who are subject to a certain procedure of appointment different from that of all other members of the Secretariat. They are the most immediate collaborators of the Secretary-General who normally head major units of the Secretariat or report directly to the Secretary-General. Moreover, it was stated when those two levels at the top echelon of the Secretariat were proposed in 1967 that the distinction in level was intended to reflect the different responsibilities assigned to the senior officials of the Secretariat rather than to make differentiations in their status.

113. When these senior officials travel on official business they do so as representatives of the Secretary-General. In that capacity they would, under the terms of the draft resolution, be covered by the discretionary provision under which the Secretary-General would be authorized to allow first-class air accommodation. The proposed amendment is intended to relieve the Secretary-General of the task of exercising his discretionary authority in individual cases and to establish the norm as applicable to all Assistant Secretaries-General.

114. So I appeal to representatives again here, as I did when I first introduced the draft resolution in the Fifth Committee, to approve the amendment so far as the inclusion of the Assistant Secretaries-General are concerned. Thus, draft resolution VII in document A/9450/Add.1 would read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

". . . .

"Decides that payment by the United Nations of travel expenses of staff members shall be limited to the cost of economy class accommodation by air or its equivalent by recognized public transportation via the shortest and most direct route, except for the Secretary-General, Under-Secretaries-General and Assistant Secretaries-General, provided that, when special circumstances warrant, the Secretary-General may, at his discretion, allow first-class travel".

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would request those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the voting to do so when all the votes have been taken on agenda item 79.

116. The Assembly will now take a decision on the Fifth Committee's recommendations in part I of its report [A/9450]. First, I draw the attention of representatives to the Fifth Committee's decision in paragraph 40 of that report. That decision was adopted without objection in the Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the decision?

It was so decided.

117. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to the three draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 119 of document A/9450.

118. Draft resolution I is entitled "Administrative arrangements regarding the Fund of the United Nations Environment Programme". The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 3192 (XXVIII)).

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote draft resolution II, entitled "Pension scheme and emoluments of the members of the International Court of Justice".

Draft resolution II was adopted by 118 votes to 11 (resolution 3193 A and B (XXVIII)).

120. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution III, entitled "Salary scales for the Professional and higher categories".

Draft resolution III was adopted by 117 votes to 11, with 2 abstentions (resolution 3194 (XXVIII)).

121. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now draw the attention of representatives to the draft decisions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 120 of its report [A/9450]. Draft decision (a) was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that draft decision (a) is adopted by the Assembly?

Draft decision (a) was adopted.

122. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote draft decision (b).

Draft decision (b) was adopted by 114 votes to 9, with 7 abstentions.

123. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (c) was adopted without objection by the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly endorses draft decision (c)?

Draft decision (c) was adopted.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote draft decision (d).

Draft decision (d) was adopted by 103 votes to 9 with 18 abstentions.

125. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (e) was adopted without objection by the Fifth Committee. May I take it that it is endorsed by the General Assembly?

Draft decision (e) was adopted.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to draft decision (f), which was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly endorses draft decision (f)?

Draft decision (f) was adopted.

127. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft decision (g).

Draft decision (g) was adopted by 101 votes to 15, with 14 abstentions.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (h) was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that it is adopted by the General Assembly?

Draft decision (h) was adopted.

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (i) was also adopted without objection by the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision (i)?

Draft decision (i) was adopted.

130. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (j) was adopted without objection by the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision (j)?

Draft decision (j) was adopted.

131. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (k) was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision (k)?

Draft decision (k) was adopted.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (l) was also adopted without objection by the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision (l)?

Draft decision (l) was adopted.

133. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now vote on draft decision (m).

Draft decision (m) was adopted by 116 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions.

134. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (n) was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision (n)?

Draft decision (n) was adopted.

135. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (o) was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision (o)?

Draft decision (o) was adopted.

136. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As representatives are aware, the remaining documents have not as yet been circulated, and therefore we are unable at this juncture to adopt any decisions on them.

137. Accordingly, I would propose a recess of one hour to give time for these necessary documents to be circulated.

The meeting was suspended at 5.55 p.m. and resumed at 6.55 p.m.

138. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We now have under consideration part II of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/9450/Add.1]. I would draw the attention of members to the decision of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 61 of that document, which was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the decision?

It was so decided.

139. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a decision on the seven draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 89 of document A/9450/Add.1.

140. I first put to the vote draft resolution IV A, "Budget appropriations for the biennium 1974-1975". 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, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, 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, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

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

Draft resolution IV A was adopted by 106 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions (resolution 3195 A (XXVIII)).¹

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution IV B is entitled "Income estimates for the

¹ The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

biennium 1974-1975". The Committee adopted this draft resolution without any negative vote. May I take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution IV B?

Draft resolution IV B was adopted (resolution 3195 B (XXVIII)).

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now put to the vote draft resolution IV C which is entitled "Financing of appropriations for the year 1974". 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, 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, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, 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, South Africa, Spain, 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, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution IV C was adopted by 113 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 3195 C (XXVIII)).²

143. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution V, entitled, "Unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the biennium 1974-1975". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, 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, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala,

Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, 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, South Africa, Spain, 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, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Algeria, Portugal, Romania.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 111 votes to 9, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3196 (XXVIII)).³

144. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote draft resolution VI, entitled "Working Capital Fund for the biennium 1974-1975". 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, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, 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, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

² *Idem.*

³ *Idem.*

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 114 votes to 10 (resolution 3197 (XXVIII)).⁴

145. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to draft resolution VII, entitled "Standards of accommodation for official travel of United Nations staff". An amendment to that draft resolution has been submitted in document A/L.724/Rev.1 In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, we shall first vote on the amendment. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Colombia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Guyana, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mongolia, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Togo, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Upper Volta.

Abstaining: Albania, Bhutan, Burma, China, Congo, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Gabon, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Malawi, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Yugoslavia.

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): There are 54 votes in favour, 38 against and 35 abstentions. The amendment is adopted.

147. On a point of order, I call on the representative of the USSR.

148. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to know whether a simple or a two-thirds majority is necessary for the adoption of this amendment, which has financial implications.

149. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Rule 85, which refers to a two-thirds majority, reads:

"Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall

include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 c of Article 86 of the Charter, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions".

If that rule were applied, it would be necessary to have a two-thirds majority for all budgetary questions. I call on the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs to explain the Secretariat's view on this matter.

150. Mr. MORSE (Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs): It has been traditionally held that the phrase "and budgetary questions", as used in rule 85, implies and requires that the vote on the approval of the budget should be by a two-thirds majority.

151. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It appears that that rule applies to the budget itself and not to a single aspect of it, such as the one with which we are dealing.

152. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to place on record its disagreement with the interpretation given by the Under-Secretary-General. The United Nations Charter uses the words "budgetary questions" not "budget of the Organization". The amendment in question deals with an important budgetary matter. Therefore, we are unable to accept the Under-Secretary-General's interpretation.

153. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since I had accepted the Secretariat's interpretation, I shall now ask the Assembly to decide whether a two-thirds majority is required on the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1 on which we have just voted. Members who believe that such a majority is required should vote in the affirmative.

The proposal that a two-thirds majority was required in the vote on the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1 was adopted by 50 votes to 48, with 29 abstentions.

154. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Under the rules of procedure, the President is subject in all his actions to the decision of the majority. An interpretation was given by the President and challenged by the representative of the Soviet Union. The Assembly has now pronounced itself in favour of the application of the two-thirds majority rule. Hence, that rule must be applied, and the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1 has not been adopted. I shall now put to the vote, therefore, draft resolution VII without the amendment.

155. I call on the representative of Ghana on a point of order.

⁴ *Idem.*

156. Mr. BOATEN (Ghana): I have asked to speak because, in my view, we appear to be completely confused for some reason. I am quite sure that when the voting started most of us were not sure what we were voting on. Therefore I request that the question again be put to the vote, and I ask for a roll-call vote on this matter.

157. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my understanding that rule 83 of the rules of procedure must be applied, since a decision has already been adopted on a proposal. Rule 83 reads:

“When a proposal has been adopted or rejected, it may not be reconsidered at the same session unless the General Assembly, by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting, so decides . . .”.

Thus, under rule 83, what is involved here is a reconsideration.

158. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With all due respect, I consider that the motion made by the representative of Ghana is appropriate and germane and that the motion submitted by the representative of the Soviet Union was belated and out of order. If the representative of the Soviet Union had any doubts regarding the application of the rules of procedure, he should have raised the question before the vote and not after, and should have asked for a ruling by the President. Each vote has its own worth and each delegation, when voting, must know whether it is doing so under the simple majority rule or under the two-thirds majority rule.

159. The General Assembly has just decided that we are dealing with an important question under the rules of procedure, and that a two-thirds majority is therefore required. But my delegation feels that, as the representative of Ghana has proposed, the amendment should be put to the vote again so that each member will know exactly how he should vote under this rule.

160. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Rule 83, which I read out, refers to the reconsideration of a proposal that has been adopted or rejected. Therefore, in accordance with that rule, a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting is required for reconsideration. I now put to the vote the motion to reconsider. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mauritania, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sierra

Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, Israel, Madagascar, Malawi, Mongolia, Peru, Poland, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Upper Volta.

Abstaining: Albania, Bahrain, Bhutan, Burma, China, France, Greece, Haiti, Iceland, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Nepal, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Singapore, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda.

The result of the vote was 71 in favour, 30 against and 28 abstentions.

The motion to reconsider was adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority.

161. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 83 we have now taken a vote on a motion to reconsider. As that motion has obtained a two-thirds majority, the Assembly now has to vote again on the proposal of the representative of the Soviet Union that under rule 85 budgetary questions require a two-thirds majority.

162. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): A point of order, Mr. President. The question is, What is a budgetary question? Some have rightly said that the two-thirds majority rule relates to important factors of the budget itself or sections thereof, and not necessarily to amendments. As I recall and if my memory serves me right, there were many financial implications that were submitted to the Fifth Committee for consideration and only a simple majority was necessary, because although we may call such implications “important questions”, they were not of such importance as to require a two-thirds majority.

163. If we go back in the records of the United Nations, when Committees of the General Assembly wanted certain bodies constituted to study certain questions the Fifth Committee was asked to tabulate the financial implications, and I believe—although I stand to be corrected—that those implications did not require a two-thirds majority. Otherwise, many committees would not have seen the light of day. That is my first point.

164. Secondly, what is the importance of the difference here between second-class and first-class? The whole thing relates to travel. I believe that the difference might be called a bagatelle, a small amount. Let us see what it involves.

165. The Assistant Secretaries-General and the Under-Secretaries-General are like ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiaries. It is not a question of dampening their spirit; it is a question of the dignity and worth of the posts they fill. If some governments have certain people who are envious of

certain members of the Secretariat, that is their business. Envy is a quality that is quite common in human beings. But to see two major Powers which are affluent trying to be parsimonious in the wrong place is beyond my comprehension. The United States and the Soviet Union: is this a détente? What kind of agreement is this?

166. We are Members equal in sovereignty—equal in sovereignty with the Soviet Union and with the United States, which seem to have flashed the red lights on this board. We not only want the dignity of our Under-Secretaries-General to be preserved but also of our Directors to travel first-class. What is wrong with travelling first-class? I travel first-class and find half the seats vacant. And if the airlines are not subsidized they are not making money. So bolster the airline companies a little and let them become solvent.

167. And then, have the Soviet Union and the United States taken into consideration that they are denying seats to tourists? Sometimes people have to stand in line. Fill the first-class section. You spend so much on defence, my good friend Mr. Safronchuk. And our good friend the Congressman from the United States, he will not begrudge a marginal amount to be paid to Pan-American, which used to sell at \$30 a common share but is now selling at \$5. Do you want it to go bankrupt? Fill the first-class seats. And in the Soviet Union there is a controlled economy. Let the Assistant Secretaries-General and the Under-Secretaries-General fill the good seats on the Soviet airline—I cannot remember its name.

168. I think this is foolish, to say the least. We should vote by a simple majority, because this is a financial implication and not a budgetary question of such importance. Everything is a question, but how far, to what extent, is the question important? That is the point that should be taken into consideration.

169. I think the interpretation of our Under-Secretary-General who is sitting at the President's left was correct. I do not want our President on this last day of the session to make a ruling, because it is not becoming to ask him to make a ruling on such a small thing. But for once I should like representatives to go back to the record and see for themselves that financial implications of many projects, more important than this one, were decided upon by a simple majority. I do not think that we should deviate from that rule, lest the Fifth Committee be rendered paralysed if every now and then we must hold a debate on what constitutes an important point and what constitutes one that is not so important.

170. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall sum up the procedural situation so that matters will be perfectly clear.

171. We had voted on the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1. The result of the vote was 54 in favour to 38 against, with 35 abstentions, on the basis of which I declared the amendment adopted. A point of order was raised by the representative of the Soviet Union, in which he called for application of the two-thirds majority rule because, according to his interpretation, the amendment was a budgetary question.

172. I ruled that it was not a budgetary question within the meaning of rule 83, and the point of order was pressed, which was tantamount to a challenge of the President's interpretation of the rules of procedure.

173. Since, in all matters, the President is subject to the will and the decision of the Assembly, I put to the vote the Soviet proposal that a two-thirds majority was required, which was upheld by the Assembly. Then, under the provisions of rule 83, a reconsideration was requested of the decision that the two-thirds majority rule was applicable.

174. Therefore, my understanding is that what must now be voted on is the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1, in the light of the interpretation that the two-thirds majority rule is applicable to it. The amendment was voted on and obtained a majority of 54 votes to 38, with 35 abstentions.

175. Now, we have again to consider whether or not the two-thirds rule is to be applied to that vote which has already been taken in accordance with rule 90. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point in connexion with the voting.

176. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation has listened carefully to the explanations given by the representative of Ghana, and we understood him, as did many of our colleagues, to say that the vote was carried out somewhat hastily with the result that some delegations did not have time to give due consideration to what they were voting on.

177. The representative of Ghana suggested that we vote again on this question, namely, on the amendment which, as a financial item, requires a two-thirds majority under the rules of procedure. Consequently we feel, and we mention this as a question of procedure, that we do not need to vote again on what majority is required for the adoption of the amendment. What we must vote again on is the amendment, as the representative of Ghana has suggested, on the basis of the rule of procedure and the Charter which require that in a vote on an amendment of this kind a two-thirds majority is required.

178. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again, let me explain that a vote had already been taken, and that vote was reconsidered and we therefore have to vote again. That is the interpretation of the representative of Ghana with regard to the amendment.

179. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): A point of order in connexion with the voting, Mr. President. When the representative of the Soviet Union spoke, we were already in the process of voting. It therefore seems to me that this entire discussion is unjustified. In any case, we do not think that the issue is a matter of life or death for the United Nations; it is a very secondary matter. Some delegations wanted to help the United Nations to economize. A little while ago the phrase "budgetary implications" was used, when actually it is a question of saving money for the United Nations. In any case, I propose under rule 79 of the rules of procedure that the question of the draft resolution we are now discussing—that is, draft resolution VII in the report—

concerning travel, be postponed until the twenty-ninth session.

180. Mr. PAQUI (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Though it is true that the representative of the Soviet Union raised his point of order somewhat tardily, it is also true that, since this matter was considered in the Fifth Committee and, although the Fifth Committee took a decision on it by rejecting the proposal of Ghana, the Ghanaian proposal has been resubmitted here, there is no doubt that, in view of the financial implications, this is an important question.

181. Consequently, I believe that it is the second vote we have just cast—the two-thirds majority vote—that must apply and that we must reconsider the Ghanaian amendment. This is an important question. Hence we must reconsider the question of the Ghanaian amendment as it has been posed, because there seems to be some confusion.

182. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Under rule 76, the adjournment of the debate until the twenty-ninth session has been moved. That motion has priority and must be put to the vote immediately. However, before the vote two representatives may speak in favour of and two against the motion.

183. I call on the representative of the United States on a point of order.

184. Mr. BUCHANAN (United States of America): My point of order is that we had already taken a vote on this amendment. We are simply trying to find out what that vote meant and whether or not the amendment prevailed. In those circumstances the question cannot be postponed.

185. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the United States has stated that it is not a question of suspending a debate but of reconsidering a vote. Indeed, rule 76 does not appear to be applicable to this case.

186. Mr. WALDRON-RAMSEY (Barbados): I have come to the rostrum to oppose a postponement of this issue and to support the proposition that the vote we have taken this evening indicates two things: first, that the vote on the amendment must be reconsidered, and, secondly, that a two-thirds majority is required for adoption of the amendment.

187. The position is very clear. In the earlier vote there was a simple majority for adoption of the amendment. The Assembly decided that a two-thirds majority is required for adoption of the amendment. We have decided to reconsider this amendment. So the question before the Assembly at the moment is that the amendment must be reconsidered and that this reconsideration necessitates a two-thirds majority for adoption of the amendment.

188. Mr. BOATEN (Ghana): I am rather amazed that we should be wasting time over this. I think that, as the President put it, the position is that there was a vote taken on an amendment by the General Assembly and it was adopted by a simple majority. Then a proposal was made to the effect that, because the amendment had budgetary implications, it required a two-thirds majority for adoption. A vote was taken on that proposal and it was adopted.

189. Then a point of order was raised that the vote taken on the question whether the amendment required a two-thirds majority should be reconsidered. That proposal was put before the Assembly and it was adopted by the required two-thirds majority. It seems to my delegation that what we have to do at the moment is to vote again on whether we consider this matter sufficiently important to require a two-thirds vote. I think that if we proceed in this way there will be no confusion.

190. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would appeal to the representative of Tunisia to consider this not as the adjournment of a debate, but as the reconsideration of a vote that has already taken place in accordance with rule 83 of the rules of procedure.

191. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, if you ask me not to press my proposal, I certainly will not do so. All that I wanted to say was that a debate had begun, a debate on procedure, on a very controversial issue. There was a very small majority in favour of the amendment. The draft resolution as a whole will receive an even smaller majority, whereas our concern is that the General Assembly should at least adopt it by a large majority, which it cannot do at this time. That is why we think—and I am sure that here I am expressing the view of the majority of the General Assembly—that it would be better to maintain the *status quo* and to take up the question again at the twenty-ninth session. In any case, the General Assembly is master of its own decisions and I leave you to judge, Mr. President.

192. Mr. KITI (Kenya): I have come to the rostrum because I want to recapitulate some of the things that have happened here. First of all, I should like to remind the Assembly that we decided to reconsider the question of the two-thirds majority because the representative of Ghana had put it to you, Mr. President, that the vote that had been taken was taken in haste and that many representatives did not know what they were voting for. Now that question of what people were voting for is the most important thing.

193. In other words, the representative of Ghana was appealing to you, Mr. President, to give the members an opportunity to actually decide what they were going to vote on: whether they were voting against the question of the two-thirds majority or in favour of it. The appeal that was made by the representative of Ghana was not concerned with whether we are going to give the Assistant Secretaries-General first-class travel. I think that was very clear, and if it was not very clear, my delegation might go further and request that we play back the tapes that are available, when it would be seen that it is quite correct to say that the representative of Ghana appealed to you to allow us to reconsider the question of whether the matter requires a two-thirds majority or not, because many people were confused. I want to repeat that many people were confused and did not know what they were voting for.

194. Therefore, my delegation, first of all, opposes the motion that was moved by the representative of Tunisia to postpone the matter. As you correctly stated, Mr. President, we have already taken a decision. What we should do—and this is what we voted upon later on under rule 86—is to reconsider the question of whether the proposal or the

confusion that was injected by the representative of the USSR was in actual fact valid. I want to state that it was a deliberate confusion. As you could see, Mr. President, when the representative of the USSR came back to the rostrum he very skilfully avoided discussing the issue. He attempted as much as possible to try to go back although he knows very well that, in actual fact, by applying the rule that you invoked Mr. President, we could never go back to a question that we have already decided on. We did not decide to vote on the question of first-class travel. We decided to reconsider the question whether it was an important matter or not. Needless to say, we have been hearing too much about interpretations of the rules of procedure.

195. I should like to associate myself with what the representative of Saudi Arabia said here. The history of Kenya here has been short, but many times we have seen amendments introduced in the General Assembly adopted by a simple majority including some relating to budgetary questions. But if we want to split hairs, when we talk about budgetary questions we are referring specifically to a vote. But, we were not discussing the question of a vote here. We were discussing a subsection of a subsection of a vote, and therefore it cannot be a matter sufficiently important to be called a budgetary question.

196. Mr. President, I urge you to heed the appeal that was made by the representative of Ghana to give the Assembly an opportunity to clear itself of the confusion that it fell into because you had us vote too quickly.

197. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): A point of order has been raised and must be disposed of in accordance with rule 73. If this decision is not accepted by any member, he has the right to challenge it. The ruling of the President on this matter is the one I stated a few moments ago, after which I allowed a discussion to take place and listened to different views. Having heard those views, I repeat that the procedural situation is the following: a vote was taken on the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1; after that vote had already taken place and there was a simple majority in favour of the adoption of the amendment, the representative of the Soviet Union raised the objection that, in accordance with rule 85 of the rules of procedure, budgetary questions must be decided by a two-thirds majority. Reconsideration of the existing situation was requested under rule 83, and it was decided that the situation would be reconsidered. Reconsideration of the situation means this: the representative of the Soviet Union had raised the question of the need to apply the two-thirds majority rule. That is the point to be considered—whether or not a two-thirds majority is required.

198. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): On a point connected with the voting procedure, I should like to explain to the representative of Kenya that the Soviet delegation, in proposing that the amendment, of which Kenya is a sponsor, should be put to the vote under the two-thirds majority rule, was basing itself on rule 85, which states that decisions on budgetary questions require a two-thirds majority; it does not distinguish between important and unimportant questions but says that the majority applies to all questions. For that reason we challenged, not the ruling of the President, but the interpretation given by the Under-Secretary-General

because it was contradictory to rule 85. The General Assembly by a majority vote supported our interpretation of rule 85, which was reasonable, since we must abide by the rules of procedure. Violating those rules may have very detrimental consequences. Therefore, I do not understand why certain delegations insist that we should vote again on this question. The General Assembly has agreed that this question is a budgetary question and has to be decided by a two-thirds majority vote. If the representatives of Kenya and Ghana insist that we vote again on this matter, that will be a gross violation of rule 85 of our rules of procedure.

199. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): After the representative of the Soviet Union had made his motion, reconsideration in accordance with rule 83 was requested and the Assembly agreed to that reconsideration. Therefore my ruling is that we have reverted to the original situation—that is, whether the two-thirds majority rule should be applied to the matter under discussion. I understand that the representative of the Soviet Union does not object to that view—in other words, he is not challenging that ruling. Therefore, the matter under discussion is whether, under rule 85 of the rules of procedure, the two-thirds majority rule should apply to the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1.

200. Under rule 87, decisions on that type of question must be taken by a vote. I therefore now put to the vote the proposal that a two-thirds majority is required for the adoption of the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1.

The proposal that a two-thirds majority was required in the vote on the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1 was rejected by 62 votes to 40, with 26 abstentions.

201. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The position now is this: we have just taken a vote in accordance with rule 87, and the result of that vote is that we have decided not to apply rule 85 to the amendment in document A/L.724/Rev.1. Thus, the amendment has been adopted, since in the previous vote on it a simple majority voted in favour.

202. I therefore now put to the vote draft resolution VII, as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, 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, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great

Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Dahomey, Madagascar.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, Malawi, Mongolia, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Upper Volta.

Draft resolution VII, as amended, was adopted by 97 votes to 2, with 28 abstentions (resolution 3198 (XXVIII)).

203. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution VIII, entitled "Formulation, review and approval of programmes and budgets". 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, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, 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, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, 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, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

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

Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 117 votes to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 3199 (XXVIII)).

204. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like now to draw the attention of the Assembly to the draft decisions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 90 of document A/9450/Add.1. Draft decision

(a) was approved by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (a) was adopted.

205. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (b) was approved by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (b) was adopted.

206. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (c) was also approved by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (c) was adopted.

207. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (d) was also approved by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (d) was adopted.

208. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (e) was approved by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (e) was adopted.

209. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (f) was approved by the Fifth Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (f) was adopted.

210. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (g) was also approved by the Fifth Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (g) was adopted.

211. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision (h) was approved by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly adopts it?

Draft decision (h) was adopted.

212. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Under decision (d) just adopted, the General Assembly decided to establish a Working Group on Currency Instability consisting of 13 representatives of Member States to be designated by the President of the General Assembly.

213. Pursuant to this decision, and following consultations that have taken place, I designate the representatives of the following Member States: Bulgaria, China, Cuba, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, India, Japan, Kenya, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

214. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

215. Mr. NAUDY (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation would like to make some comments in explanation of the vote it has just cast on the appropriations requested by the Secretary-General for the biennium 1974-1975.

216. Including the revised estimates and the supplementary costs resulting from the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since the preliminary budget estimates were made, expenditures now amount to some \$540 million, or an increase of approximately 25 per cent over the figures approved for the years 1972 and 1973. Furthermore, we must point out that these estimates are not final because they do not reflect the effect of the currency realignments which have taken place since the budget estimates were prepared. The exchange rates used for the estimates were 3.40 Swiss francs, 21 Austrian schillings and 2.90 guilders to one United States dollar. As a result, the Secretary-General's report does not preclude the possibility that

“. . . to the extent necessary, supplementary estimates would be submitted to the General Assembly at its regular sessions in 1974 and 1975” [A/C.5/1572, para. 2].

217. My delegation is compelled to state that this rate of increase seems to be too high. I should like to adduce three arguments in support of this view.

218. First, we regret that the severity, the spirit of austerity or at least of restriction and moderation, which prevailed in the preparation of the 1973 budget is not reflected in the estimates submitted to us today. Savings were made last year. The same could be done again now, in the view of my delegation.

219. Overstaffing in some sectors; administrative costs that are too high; too costly organization of too many conferences; inadequate effort to absorb certain additional costs such as those due to currency instability; excessive use of consultants; all these defects are apparent to anyone who has studied the budget documents. As an example, I would merely point out that for 1974 five special conferences are scheduled. Five others are scheduled for 1975. Two are already planned for each of the years 1976 and 1977.

220. As regards the attitude of the Secretariat, which in my delegation's view has been somewhat too passive, I can only refer to the recommendations and suggestions formulated by the Advisory Committee in its report in document A/9008/Add.33—particularly those referring to the need to achieve savings before presenting revised requests for appropriations. Such suggestions are of particular interest to my delegation.

221. On the other hand, we do not believe that the Secretary-General has taken the opportunity that was available in the new presentation of programme budgeting in order to reanalyse the initiatives taken by the Organization to determine which present activities could be replaced by new or more important ones.

222. My delegation is aware of the fact that such a thoroughgoing reform as that of changing the presentation of the budget cannot be carried out in one fell swoop. Nor could it bear fruit immediately. However, care should be

taken from the outset to ensure that the new form of presentation does not retain the disadvantages of the old ones, or it will be doomed to failure. By this we mean that the Organization should undertake a truly integrated planning effort and should rid itself of the regrettable habit of adopting fragmentary programmes and simply adding them to those already in existence before the latter have been fully evaluated.

223. That comment leads my delegation to its final observation, which is addressed to the Member States as much as to the Secretariat.

224. The United Nations cannot do everything at once and at any cost. In order to achieve its objectives, especially in the field of development, the United Nations must—as I have already pointed out—try to cut down on its unproductive costs and also administer its programmes, planned within the framework of balanced priorities, with greater attention to the need for economy and financial discipline. In that respect, the provisions at present applicable on the basis of rule 155 of the rules of procedure, which are aimed at encouraging Member States to face up to their responsibilities as regards the administrative and budgetary implications of the decisions they take, seem to us to be ineffective because their formulation makes it possible to interpret them much too broadly. Very often they are applied without adequate conviction.

225. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its concern over the increased appropriations for technical assistance programmes financed from the regular budget. Expenditures of that type should, in our view, be covered by voluntary contributions. For those reasons the delegation of France regrets it was unable to vote in favour of the proposed budget for the biennium 1974-1975. We therefore abstained in the voting.

226. Miss WHALLEY (United Kingdom): It is a matter of regret to my delegation that we were not able to support the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975. During the twenty-seventh session, in welcoming the proposed change in the format of the budget, my delegation expressed the hope that there would not merely be a dramatic alteration in the lay-out of documentation but that termed programme budgeting would be introduced. The format of the budget has indeed now been altered, but those alterations, in the view of my delegation, do little more than cover the old and unattractive form of budget by objects of expenditure.

227. My delegation was disappointed when the initial estimates for the biennium 1974-1975 became available during the summer, since it was clear that they rested on the assumption that all existing activities should continue and no attempt should be made to analyse the base and conduct a critical review of existing programmes and practices. The gross total provided for an increase of an order of 18 per cent over the appropriations for the previous two years, and taking into account the Advisory Committee's recommendations the initial estimates provided for an increase of 16 per cent.

228. The total budget which has now been approved incorporates extra expenditure of around \$40 million, which has

been added to the estimates during the course of this session. Again, my delegation is disturbed by the absence of any attempt to reassess existing programmes and eliminate low-priority activities thus permitting the inclusion of new activities without increasing the total size of the budget.

229. The programme budget for 1974-1975 now provides for an increase of more than 22 per cent over and above the appropriations for 1972-1973. My delegation takes the view—which I am sure is shared by all Members—that it is an essential objective of the United Nations that it should be able to secure value for money. We are not convinced that that objective will be achieved on the basis of the budget that has just been approved.

230. Our misgivings about the operation of the new system of budgeting have been increased since in the light of the discussions in the Fifth Committee there are already indications that supplementary and revised estimates will be submitted at the twenty-ninth session in relation to both currency changes and demands for new staff.

231. In our view, the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies [A/6343] relating to the absorption of increases of expenditure should be applied, and we would in particular urge that savings should be effected by the redeployment of resources and the elimination of waste. In the absence of efforts of that nature, my Government will find it very difficult to support any further increases in the appropriations for the next biennium.

232. Mr. GEHLHOFF (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation approved the proposed programme budget for 1974-1975. Yet the insight we gained in the course of its consideration in the Fifth Committee prompts me to explain our approval.

233. First, my delegation is not in principle against an expansion of the United Nations budget. It is fully aware of the important additional tasks facing the United Nations, such as the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East [UNEF]. I am happy to state that my Government has just made available its full contribution towards the costs of UNEF during the first six months in the amount of \$2,130,000. Yet my delegation is convinced that an increase of nearly 26 per cent in the Organization's budget for 1974-1975 as compared to 1972-1973 is too high, even when one takes into account inflationary pressures and monetary instability. We must try more vigorously than before to resist the temptation to finance new tasks invariably through the allocation of new funds. To put it more precisely, we, the representatives in the different decision-making bodies, must make greater allowance for the financial implications of the decisions we take. We must become more financially minded.

234. In our view, regulation 13.1, according to which the Secretary-General has to submit a report on the administrative and financial implications of a proposal before a draft resolution or decision is adopted, should not be treated as a mere matter of routine. In this respect, it should be considered whether decisions the financial implications of which exceed certain limits would not first require the vote of such bodies as the Advisory Committee or the Fifth Committee,

which are competent to judge such decisions in the light of current measures of the Organization as well as its capabilities in terms of finances and personnel.

235. My second point is closely related to the first. We must ensure that the limited funds of the Organization are more systematically earmarked for important programmes. The decisive point here is to develop a review mechanism. The Fifth Committee has made a first important step in this direction by draft resolution VIII contained in its report in document A/9450/Add.1, of which my delegation was happy to be a sponsor. During the next session of the General Assembly, my delegation will strongly support the implementation of the concept embodied in the draft resolution.

236. With those qualifying observations, I also wish to underline our willingness to co-operate in a constructive manner and to do everything in our power to enable the world Organization to fulfil its task.

AGENDA ITEM 22

The situation in the Middle East (*continued*)*

237. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): One item allocated to plenary meetings has not yet been considered at the present session, namely, agenda item 22. Extensive consultations have indicated that, owing to recent developments in the Middle East, there is a general sentiment not to take up this item at the present time. I am sure that members of the Assembly will be following developments closely.

238. As a result of these consultations, it is felt that the best course would be to resume the session if circumstances warrant consideration of the item by the General Assembly. That procedure has already been adopted at the end of the twenty-seventh session, and it calls for the resumption of the session when the President, after consultations with Member States and with the Secretary-General, believes that conditions would be favourable for the consideration of agenda item 22. The same procedure would be used in setting a date for the resumption of the session. From a procedural point of view, the session would not be declared closed. If there is no objection, I shall take it that this procedure meets with the approval of the General Assembly.

It was so decided.

Suspension of the twenty-eighth session

239. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the decision just taken by the Assembly, the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly will not be declared closed. However, before adjourning this meeting, I shall call on the chairmen of the regional groups and the representative of the United States, as the host country, who have expressed a desire to speak.

240. I call first on the Chairman of the African group of States, Mr. Abdoulaye Diallo of the Niger.

* Resumed from the 2154th meeting.

241. Mr. DIALLO (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): At the close of the work of this twenty-eighth session, I have the honour, in my capacity as spokesman of the African group, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the outstanding and effective way you have carried out your delicate task. We thank you.

242. Last year, speaking from this rostrum at the closure of the twenty-seventh session, the representative of the geographical group to which you belong stated, addressing your predecessor:

“After the Latin American group had 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”.⁵

243. Those words still echo today, when you have given us proof of your outstanding abilities, your wisdom and your patience, born of such long experience. The spirit of co-operation and understanding that you have infused in delegations has made it possible for us to finish our work in the scheduled time. The African group is grateful to you for this, and I am convinced that all the other groups are also.

244. Although in the past three months outstanding speakers have spoken from this rostrum and although everything has already been said, and very well said, and everyone is waiting impatiently for the adjournment of this session, I hope you will nevertheless allow me to make the following comments.

245. This twenty-eighth session began under the happiest of auspices, with three new Member States admitted to our midst: the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. Africa welcomes these new Members.

246. Furthermore, a triumph for all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples has also been noted: the birth on 24 September 1973 of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The General Assembly has confirmed the existence of that country and by an overwhelming majority has condemned the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of its national territory.

247. Another source of satisfaction to us is the achievement of internal self-government by the Territories of Papua New Guinea and Niue.

248. Some will say that for three months we have done nothing but accumulate resolutions, enough of which exist already. However, that is not the view of the African delegations. During these three months we in the African group have approached our work with a spirit of efficiency. We

have tried to co-ordinate our views and take due account of the positions of the other regional groups.

249. I hardly need to list all the many decisions that have been taken during this session. I might simply mention that our Assembly decided to hold an international conference on the law of the sea, and the preparatory meetings for that conference have just concluded here in New York. Furthermore, our Assembly adopted by a very large majority a convention on the punishment and suppression of the crime of *apartheid* and took a number of decisions on the colonial problems, on which approximately 23 resolutions were adopted. The Assembly adopted resolutions on the problems of disarmament, on the use of napalm, bacteriological weapons and defoliants, on the problems of youth and on the question of an international university. The unanimous adoption of a resolution on the holding of a special session of the Assembly devoted to development and international economic co-operation as well as one on a World Food Conference, is a source of satisfaction for the third world and for Africa in particular.

250. I am pleased to say, on behalf of Africa, that our Assembly decided once again, and by an overwhelming majority, to strengthen the relations between the United Nations and the OAU.

251. Furthermore, on behalf of the African group, I should like to express our deep gratitude to all those who supported our initiatives, whether on questions of decolonization and racial problems or on economic and social development. We have made known our wishes and sometimes we have appeared somewhat impatient or frustrated, but we have always been sincere in the explanations we have made. We have tried to understand and support any other initiative, from wherever it came, provided it was in the general interest and contributed to the bringing about of universal peace. In so doing, we have been unsparing in our support for all worthy initiatives.

252. During these three months, acting together with all the representatives of the State Members of this Organization and with the assistance of the Secretariat, we have tried to find solutions to the various problems facing mankind. However, although most encouraging results have been noted during this session, uncertainties still remain; for last October we were all shocked at the tragic battles that marked one of the most murderous and destructive wars ever inflicted on the Middle East, a situation for which the United Nations and the Security Council has thus far been able to provide only a precarious and fragile solution.

253. At this solemn moment, let us all, men and women, leaders at all levels and ordinary citizens—all of us champions of the noble ideals of our Organization—join together in focusing our thoughts and our hopes on Geneva, that city whose name has now become synonymous with peace and concord and where our courageous, but discreet and perspicacious Secretary-General will open in a few days from now that peace conference which so many people have been awaiting impatiently. It is hoped—and this is a hope that all of us harbour—that this conference will finally restore peace and justice.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2116th meeting, para. 261.

254. At this time, on the eve of Christmas and the New Year, we hope that the nuclear Powers, and the super-Powers in particular, can offer mankind the most beautiful of all gifts, the gift of taking an initiative not by mere words but by embarking on the road to complete and general disarmament, by halting the manufacture of nuclear weapons and by agreeing to international control and to the destruction of existing stockpiles.

255. I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of Africa, to thank our Secretary-General for his meritorious efforts to create satisfactory working conditions for us. I also wish to thank the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Bradford Morse, the Vice-Presidents and the personnel of the Secretariat, including our loyal interpreters, whom we have frequently so sorely tried and without whose help we could not understand one another, the silent but efficient translators, the précis-writers and all those who see to it that the United Nations operates to our full satisfaction.

256. Africa wishes all these people a joyful return to their homes, a Merry Christmas and a happy New Year in 1974.

257. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the Chairman of the Asian group of States, Mr. Ghorra of Lebanon.

258. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): Mr. President, as Chairman of the Asian group of States for this month it is a singular honour for me to express to you, on its behalf and on behalf of my delegation, our congratulations on the splendid and efficient manner in which you have conducted the deliberations of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your active and dedicated participation in the life of the United Nations over the years has earned you a special and noteworthy place in its annals. Delegations have unanimously recognized your qualities as an eminent jurist, a forthright statesman, and a devoted humanist by elevating you to the high office of President of the General Assembly. As an illustrious and noble son of Latin America, you have reflected its attachment to legality, to the primacy of human rights and values and to the cause of peace. You have vividly embodied the ideals and hopes of your great continent in the performance of your duties. In fact, the pride of the Latin American Group in seeing you at the helm of this session of the Assembly has been shared by all other delegations as well.

259. My own country, Lebanon, which has long enjoyed both wide and close cultural and human relations with the countries of Latin America, has an added particular reason for great satisfaction and pleasure at your performance. Thanks to your wise guidance and leadership, all the Committees of the Assembly successfully concluded their work either on time or earlier than scheduled, and without resorting to night meetings—perhaps except for tonight. This is, indeed, a rare occurrence in the history of sessions of the General Assembly. In this connexion, I wish to pay a special tribute to all the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the various Main Committees who have diligently and effectively contributed to the success of this session as well.

260. Our friend, the energetic and capable Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, and all his assistants have also

earned our deep gratitude. At the same time, we pay a tribute to members of the Secretariat, mentioned by the Ambassador of Niger, Chairman of the African group of States, who have worked devotedly and efficiently to make this a successful session.

261. Mr. President, one of the principal characteristics of this session of the General Assembly was the fact that delegations, thanks to your leadership and that of the various Chairmen of the Committees, adopted most of their resolutions and decisions by consensus. This reflects the deeper spirit of understanding and co-operation that is present in our deliberations; it reflects also the general improvement in international relations brought about by détente, principally among the major Powers. Though détente is not in itself a panacea for the ills from which the world suffers, it does nevertheless ease international tensions and it promotes more favourable conditions for the solution of seemingly intractable problems. In this process, our Organization must play a more effective role to overcome some lethargic tendencies that have overtaken it in recent years, for it has a unique mission to fulfil the hopes of mankind. To achieve such a fulfilment, our esteemed Secretary-General has reminded us in the introduction to his annual report that

“... we need action as well as thought, innovation as well as criticism, determination as well as idealism, if mankind is not to be overtaken once again by the destructive side of human nature”.⁶

262. Speaking of the Secretary-General, let me, on behalf of the Asian group of States, pay a vibrant tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for the tireless efforts, constructive and imaginative endeavours he has been setting in motion to fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter, to implement United Nations resolutions and to serve the cause of humanity, justice and peace in the world. We all realize how difficult his task is, but at the same time we recognize his outstanding talents and boundless devotion to this Organization. I wish to assure him that the Asian group of States wishes him well and supports every effort he undertakes to make the United Nations more responsive to the hopes and the needs of mankind.

263. It is regrettable that the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly was overshadowed at the outset by tragic developments in the Middle East. It seemed at some stages that our regular work on specific items was slowed down. However, the session picked up momentum and can justifiably credit itself with very important achievements that constitute important landmarks in the life of the United Nations.

264. At the beginning of the session we welcomed the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas as new Members of the United Nations, reaffirming and furthering the principle of universality. This session of the General Assembly has launched the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; it has solemnly commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and rededicated the United Nations to a more effective role in the promotion,

⁶ *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 1A, part I.

preservation and enjoyment by all peoples of those rights and in the struggle against *apartheid*.

265. It has undertaken a very thorough review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade with more determination to make it successful. It has concluded its preparatory work for the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which is sailing under the stewardship of a great son of Asia, Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka. It has adopted an important resolution for the convocation of a World Food Conference in 1974 [*resolution 3180 (XXVIII)*], to work out a programme of action to combat food shortages, hunger and mass poverty, and has adopted a significant resolution calling for the reduction of the military budgets of the nuclear Powers by 10 per cent and the allocation of a portion thereof to development in the developing countries [*resolution 3093 (XXVIII)*].

266. I do not wish to allude to all the achievements of this session, because they are many; but I do wish to mention some accomplishments which are a source of satisfaction to all of us and particularly to the Asian States. I have in mind the resolution to establish the United Nations University [*resolution 3081 (XXVIII)*], with its principal Centre in Tokyo, Japan. I also wish to recall the decision to make the Arabic language, which has stemmed from Asia and which is the official language of 19 Arab States in Asia and Africa and a great language of culture also, an official and a working language of the United Nations [*resolution 3196 (XXVIII)*]. Last, but not least, I wish to mention the decision of the Economic and Social Council approved by this session of the Assembly to transform the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut into an Economic Commission for Western Asia after 25 years of delay. The establishment of this Commission is a great source of satisfaction to the 12 Arab States of Western Asia because their Governments and peoples believe that within the framework of the United Nations they could associate themselves constructively and positively with the process of progress and development undertaken under the aegis of the United Nations.

267. As we are terminating our work today, the United Nations is anticipating with hope the opening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East to be held later this week [21-22 December 1973] at Geneva, to deal with a problem which has plagued the Arab world and the world at large for over 25 years. This session of the Assembly has demonstrated more than any previous session its solidarity with the just cause of the Arab peoples. It has resoundingly supported the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force in various ways and rejected the claim for any Israeli territorial expansion. The United Nations and the overwhelming majorities of Governments have called upon Israel to withdraw from all the Arab territories it occupied following the June 1967 war. Time and again, they have resolutely affirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. There is the belief that the chances for peace are better now than ever before. Let us hope that a new era of peace, tranquillity and justice will dawn over the Middle East and the world, ending the sufferings and the hardships that the Arab peoples and the world community at large have endured and are enduring at present.

268. Speedy and effective action to bring about peace in the Middle East on the basis of justice and United Nations resolutions would restore to the world healthier conditions for political and economic stability and co-operation.

269. In conclusion, Mr. President, may I in the name of the delegations of the Asian countries convey to you, to the Secretary-General and his staff and to all of the representatives here a message of goodwill and peace as we approach Christmas and the New Year.

270. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the Chairman of the group of Eastern European States, Ambassador Guero Grozev of Bulgaria.

271. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly is concluding its work. On this occasion I should like to express to you on behalf of the delegations of the Eastern European countries our sincere congratulations and feelings of gratitude and esteem for the great skill and tact with which you have presided over the deliberations of this session. We should like to express the same feelings of gratitude and esteem also to the Vice-Presidents of this session, and to the Chairmen and officers of all the Committees. We are happy to note the valuable contributions of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his assistants, and of all the Secretariat members who by their tireless work and skill have promoted the successful conclusion of our work.

272. We have no grounds for dissatisfaction with the results of this session. On the contrary, we believe that this session, although it could not be called historic, outstanding, unique and so on, was nevertheless a serious and business-like session and, what is most important, that it yielded very useful results.

273. The twenty-eighth session began its work in an atmosphere of considerable positive changes in international relations, changes which without any doubt whatsoever had a favourable effect on our work.

274. It is said that the first step taken in learning to walk is the most important. Our session also began to walk by taking a successful first step at the very outset by admitting to membership the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Bahamas. In so doing the United Nations drew yet closer to its goal of universality.

275. By the adoption of the resolutions on the strengthening of international security, on the World Disarmament Conference, on the reduction of the military budgets of permanent members of the Security Council and on other disarmament questions, and on a number of other important problems, our Organization has once again confirmed its determination to play an increasingly significant role in the struggle to maintain international peace and security.

276. By the adoption of a number of resolutions on economic, social and legal questions, our Organization has once again expressed its will to strengthen and expand mutually advantageous international co-operation, to increase assistance to developing countries and to aspire to progress and greater social justice in the world.

277. The resolutions adopted on colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination are the best possible indications of the firm determination of the overwhelming majority of countries to put an end to these shameful phenomena of our time and to grant every people the right to live in freedom and independence and to determine its own fate.

278. One matter is outstanding, however, not only before this session but before the whole of mankind—that is, the solution of the Middle East problem. Hopes and possibilities for a lasting and just settlement of this problem are at hand, but the dangers of further complications have still not disappeared. Let us hope that good sense and a proper understanding of their own interests will finally prevail among those directly or indirectly responsible for this situation and the illegal occupation of Arab territories, and that we shall then be able to hope for a lasting and just peace in that still troubled part of the world. We wish the forthcoming Geneva Conference every success.

279. By dissolving the so-called United Nations Commission for the Rehabilitation and Reunification of Korea the United Nations has taken a first constructive step towards the elimination of obstacles to the peaceful unification of Korea and the triumph of peace and understanding in that part of the world too.

280. Once again we should like to stress that the basic and most important achievement which in our view characterized the work of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly was the adoption of constructive decisions and resolutions, in particular on some highly important political problems. Now there remains the most important part, putting these decisions and resolutions into effect for the benefit of our own peoples and the whole of mankind.

281. We are convinced that that will be our major concern between now and the next session, and we wish success, good health and happiness to all and *bon voyage* to all those returning home. Let us hope that the New Year, 1974, which is so close now, will be a year of further success in the strengthening of peace, security and co-operation throughout the world.

282. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the Chairman of the group of Western European and Other States, Ambassador Walter Gehlhoff of the Federal Republic of Germany.

283. Mr. GEHLHOFF (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, on behalf of the group of Western European and Other States, I have the honour and great pleasure to extend to you our warmest and most sincere thanks for the impartiality, circumspection and brilliance that you have shown in conducting the proceedings of the General Assembly. During the three months of the current session, which is now nearing its end, we all have come to admire the excellent guidance you gave us in our work.

284. Mr. President, the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly over which you presided came in its membership close to universality. It will go down in history as an important Assembly. During this session we witnessed the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Near East and the convening of the Third United

Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, to mention only a few examples. These and other decisions are proof of the vital role our Organization is playing in the system of international relations and world politics.

285. The fact that it has been possible to consider and bring to a successful conclusion so many items on our heavily loaded agenda is due not least to your exemplary leadership. Your skill and experience induced us to cooperate in a spirit of compromise, despite many difficulties and differences of opinion.

286. In the course of our work we have achieved many positive results, while in some cases, as we all know, our efforts have unfortunately fallen short of our aims. Peace and security, the noblest task of the United Nations, have not yet become a reality in all parts of the world. This is also borne out by the most deplorable attacks yesterday on airliners and innocent human lives. Much hard work remains to be done during the next session of the General Assembly, which calls for all our energy and dedication to our common aims.

287. My message of gratitude would be incomplete without a word of thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the Vice-Presidents, and to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, and his entire staff. Our work would have come to a standstill without the valuable assistance and experience of the Under-Secretary-General and the untiring help of the Secretariat staff. Out of their large number I would just like to mention the interpreters who helped us to understand each other, and the documents service staff who provided us with the necessary papers.

288. In conclusion, in the name of the Western European and Other States group, I should like to extend my best wishes for the holiday season, and a happy New Year, to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General, and to all the members of the United Nations staff, as well as to the delegations of the other regional groups.

289. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the Chairman of the Latin American group, Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina.

290. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, because of the happy chance that during the month of December I happen to be Chairman of the Latin American group, it is my privilege to come to the rostrum and greet you on behalf of all the countries comprising our region. Now that the deliberations of the General Assembly are ending, we wish to pay a tribute and express our fraternal and warm thanks to you who have presided over the twenty-eighth session with an equity, wisdom and dignity that has been a matter of particular pride to those of us who are your colleagues and friends from Latin America. The tribute that has been paid you by previous speakers, Mr. President, bespeaks clearly the general recognition that your conduct has earned. Our tribute from Latin America carries a special emphasis, a feeling of special appreciation, for from your high post you have honoured all of us. From your high post you again brought to bear the extraordinary qualities that you possess. You knew how to

be firm when confronting the strong, flexible when circumstances so dictated, understanding and kindly at all times.

291. In order that we might conclude our work successfully, you presided over our deliberations with a full knowledge of the problems, of the situations, and, what is even more important perhaps, of people. You proved what many of us know or feel in this house, and that is that even for the most delicate problems solutions are possible when there is goodwill and a determination to find them. It is thanks to that laudable attitude on your part that the Assembly was able to cope with some obstacles that seemed insurmountable.

292. For many years, serving your own country, the sister Republic of Ecuador, you have given us the benefit of your valuable contribution in the approach to and the solution of the problems that are raised here. You, Mr. President, have carried out an exemplary career, imbued with a true vocation for peace, for co-operation and for love of justice.

293. When you assumed the Presidency of the General Assembly you indicated that you would act without any preconceptions, that is to say, that you would be a President for all and of all. We can say now, Sir, that you have lived up to your promise, so much so that your name, Leopoldo Benites, has now been indissolubly linked to those of the illustrious Latin Americans who preceded you in your high post and who, like yourself, were an honour to our region. Two simple words best express the feelings and congratulations of your friends in our group—thank you.

294. Our appreciation must also be extended to those who co-operated with you most closely, the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly who so ably replaced you at certain times—and in this may I particularly mention two other colleagues and friends, the Ambassadors of Guyana and Honduras. Our greetings must also be addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to give him words of support, affection and encouragement in his delicate undertakings, the Under-Secretaries—particularly Mr. Bradford Morse, who is in charge of General Assembly affairs and whose co-operation has been invaluable. To all the members of the staff, from the highest to the most humble, we also address the thanks and the appreciation of the Latin American group.

295. Finally, I should like to express heartfelt hopes that all over the world peace and security will be strengthened, that co-operation and understanding will replace confrontation and that the high and noble ideals which underlay the creation of the United Nations will continue to prevail so as to make a reality of the desires for union and brotherhood that imbue all peoples. The forthcoming holidays offer an auspicious occasion for us to extend to all Members of the United Nations and all those present here our best wishes for happiness, prosperity and well-being on behalf of the Latin American group.

296. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the host country.

297. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): Mindful of the privilege that is mine as the representative of the host country, it is my pleasure to say a few words at the closing of

this General Assembly session. It is a genuine satisfaction because my delegation believes that this Assembly has accomplished much over the past three months. On the great issues, as in the lesser ones, the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly has generally exhibited a spirit of realism and conciliation which does us all credit.

298. In agreeing on the means to finance a United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, in planning and approving the convocation of a World Food Conference and in drafting and adopting a basic contribution to international law in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, the Assembly has shown its capacity to respond expeditiously and effectively to the urgent needs of the world community.

299. These achievements, and others, and the manner in which the United Nations system as a whole responded to the renewed outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East, has I believe led to a revival of spirit among us, a resurgence of belief on the part of public opinion in the creative possibilities of the United Nations and, hopefully also, to a renewed sense of optimism here in this hall.

300. Certainly there are issues on which the United Nations membership is not yet prepared to join in consensus. It is to the credit of this Assembly that we have in a number of instances been able to achieve moderate solutions on issues about which it seemed there would inevitably be sharp confrontation. The manner in which we here have been able to search out and find a measure of agreement on the most contentious of issues or, when that has not been possible, to express our disagreement in a manner which did not exacerbate already delicate situations, provides reassurance concerning this institution's ability to grapple with the great problems before it in a realistic and meaningful way so that the views of all may be given due weight.

301. It is, therefore, all the more tragic that, as this successful Assembly draws to a close with its record of real achievement, and on the very eve of an historic conference which we hope will open the way to a just and enduring peace in the Middle East, the world community is presented with yet another shocking display of international lawlessness—to put it bluntly, of brute insensate madness. Yesterday's murders in Rome and in Athens are the more repellent because of their cold-blooded brutality and their purposeless waste, a waste I submit that must stun us all: wasted lives, wasted principles, wasted support, wasted sympathy. Expressions of revulsion and disapproval come from every quarter. This is a welcome advance over international reactions to earlier terrorist murders, to the massacres of Olympic athletes, to the killing of diplomats, and to other horrors of this age. But I would insist that revulsion and disapproval are not enough. The world waits for a forthright effort by this world Organization to find means of safeguarding the innocent. To the shame of us all, we, the representatives of the world community, have failed to find common ground which would enable us to take adequate measures to prevent these offences against human kind. As President Nixon said in a statement in Washington earlier today: "Governments must resist terrorist demands since appeasement will not put an end to this international scourge."

302. Let us ponder the words of John Donne: "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee." Are we not all brothers one of another? Can we not unite to ensure that the events of yesterday are a last aberration?

303. At the opening of this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Secretary of State Kissinger called for the institutionalization of an era of peace throughout the world through the medium of the United Nations, the achievement of a true world community. My delegation believes, and believes deeply, that the United Nations has begun to make progress towards this noble objective.

304. The progress made by this session of the Assembly is due in no small part to you, Mr. President, for the skilful and sensitive manner in which you have guided our deliberations. My delegation wishes to express to you our gratitude and admiration for your efforts. We believe that the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, under your dedicated guidance and unfailing courtesy, will be recorded as a decisive beginning in the revitalization of the United Nations, as the opening phase of a new era of intensified international co-operation.

305. My delegation would also like to express its appreciation for the great contributions made by each of this year's Vice-Presidents, for the tireless efforts of our energetic and co-operative Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and for the efficient support provided by a devoted Secretariat staff.

306. I would not want to end these remarks without affirming my delegation's profound appreciation for the assistance provided to all of us by Secretary-General Waldheim, whose devotion to the United Nations and to its purposes is an inspiration to us all.

307. My delegation believes that this Assembly is ending its work tonight with a sense of accomplishment, that all of us can look to the future with confidence that the momentum towards international co-operation achieved here this year will be sustained and, we hope, intensified in the year to come.

308. In closing, I would say that I am sure that Ambassador Scali would want to join with me in extending sincere greetings to each of you for a peaceful and rewarding holiday season and for the New Year. God bless us every one.

309. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): To speak on behalf of the Arab States, I call on the representative of the United Arab Emirates.

310. Mr. HUMAIDAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, how pleasant it is to be given the task of thanking you and expressing to you the gratitude and the respect of the Arab group, of which I have the honour of being Chairman for this month of December. As Vice-President, I have had the opportunity of getting to know you very well and of appreciating your qualities, your wisdom, your humanity and your great culture. I shall never forget the discussion my Minister for Foreign Affairs and I had with you on the culture and civilization of the Arab

world. That discussion is engraved in my memory as testimony to the wealth and breadth of your culture. I should also like to express the satisfaction of the Arab group with the outstanding manner in which you have directed our proceedings.

311. This session was marked by a very important phenomenon, that is, the positive role played by the countries of the third world with a view to strengthening the United Nations and thereby ensuring respect for its Charter.

312. The other aspect of that phenomenon is the increased understanding shown for it by the industrialized countries. All this has been possible only because of the solidarity and co-ordination among the third world countries with a view to safeguarding their national independence and their natural resources. The result of the vote on several resolutions on this subject confirmed this development, which we believe to be a positive one and which without any doubt constitutes a step forward towards the restoration of the credibility and effectiveness of our Organization.

313. The war that broke out on 6 October last in the Middle East shows us once again that world peace will remain precarious until the decisions of the United Nations are implemented and the Charter of our Organization is respected.

314. This session has also been marked by the entry into our Organization of three new Members—the Bahamas and the two Germanys. That is an important step towards the universality of our Organization. Furthermore, we rejoice in the declaration of independence of Guinea-Bissau, which I had the pleasure of announcing and which my Government has officially recognized.

315. We should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has spared no effort to strengthen the role of our Organization.

316. To my colleagues the Vice-Presidents I should like to express my gratitude for their friendly support. Our gratitude goes also to Mr. Morse, Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs. From working with him, I have been able to observe at close hand his dynamism and his goodwill.

317. We should like to thank also all the members of the Secretariat for their contribution to the satisfactory carrying out of our work.

318. Finally, Mr. President, I wish you and all the peoples of the United Nations a happy New Year.

319. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Having listened to the generous words of all the Chairmen of regional groups, I shall now call on the last speaker, who belongs to no regional group, the representative of Israel, Ambassador Jacob Doron.

320. Mr. DORON (Israel) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, since this is hardly the time or the hour for further controversy, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Israel, only to associate myself with the words of praise and admiration addressed to you by preceding speak-

ers this evening. I should like to express to you our sincere appreciation, our deep respect and our best hopes for your success and prosperity.

321. Through you, Sir, I should like to express our appreciation and our thanks also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Bradford Morse, and his collaborators.

322. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Distinguished representatives and, may I say, friends: At this late hour I am not going to make a speech, nor am I going to sum up the work done. The time may come when I am able to do so.

323. Today I speak with great humility. Perhaps because of the fact that during the last few days I have had to be almost a recluse as the result of a physical disability, I have had the opportunity to draw up a balance-sheet, very calmly and serenely summing up to myself my duties and asking myself whether I have fulfilled them. I believe that, morally speaking, I have done so. I have endeavoured to be objective and impartial, and in accordance with the principles of justice I have tried to give to each his deserts. But it would be audacious for me to attribute to myself the qualities that have so generously been ascribed to me this evening, because if there was any chance of success in my work that chance rested on the co-operation of all the regional groups.

324. I have undertaken constant and active consultations with the regional groups. I have tried to turn to them and seek their advice, to hear their concerns, to listen to their doubts and to seek solutions to their differences. But it was precisely the encouragement I received from those groups that perhaps gave this Assembly, now nearing its end, the feeling it has—a feeling of co-operation and harmony.

325. This spirit of co-operation and harmony was such as I have very seldom been able to appreciate so closely. It made my work both possible and easy, without my difficult or onerous night meetings save this one today, which is already prolonged, and without weekend meetings. And I must say that in addition to the advice so generously given by the chairmen of the regional groups my work has rested on the exceptional fact that heading the Main Committees I found determined, energetic and clear-sighted men aware of their duties and having a high sense of their responsibilities.

326. The work of the President of the Assembly is totally dependent on the work of the Committees. It is they that do the spade-work. We here simply put the final touches on what has been examined with care and in detail in the committees. It is for that reason that I most sincerely wish to thank the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the Main Committees for the co-operation given me, which has made my work easy and has allowed us to complete our work on time.

327. At the most difficult moments I have also enjoyed the co-operation, the timely, generous and kindly co-operation, of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, particularly in these last few days, which were somewhat difficult for me. This is the first day I have come out from my seclusion, and therefore I must humbly ask that all my errors, all my mistakes be overlooked with benevolence and generosity.

328. I also wish to express my most sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. When I first started my work as President, which was made easy by your kindness, I said, and I repeat today, that I was to a large extent dependent on the timely advice and the old and extremely close friendship the Secretary-General has always offered me. That hope of the first moment has been amply fulfilled.

329. Despite the many difficulties he himself must face and has faced in the last few months, I have always been able to count on his co-operation and the co-operation of the staff of the United Nations—first among them that man wholly composed of loyalty, of goodness mixed with energy, of clear-sightedness and at the same time of unlimited generosity. I am, of course, speaking of—and despite his modesty I wish to use his name—the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse.

330. I also wish to express my thanks to all the staff of the Secretariat. It is usual to refer to both the visible and the invisible staff—those present in the hall and those behind the glass walls working under onerous and difficult conditions. To all the staff of the Secretariat—those in the highest posts and those engaged in the lowliest of chores—to each and every one I owe profound thanks.

331. Before concluding, I should like to say that, even though the days of Christmas do have a religious meaning for much of the human race, they also have another aspect independent of that meaning. Christmas is a day devoted to the hope of peace on earth for men of goodwill. Its message leads me to wish for every one of you peace—not only the outer peace for which this Organization is working, but the inner peace born of the knowledge of duty performed, because you have nobly performed your duty.

332. Peace, love: that is the meaning of the next few days. For all in the coming year I wish every possible happiness. To those who stay here, with whom I shall be in contact, and those who will be leaving to return to their homes—to all I wish the best of personal happiness in the coming days. I thank you all.

The meeting rose at 9.50 p.m.