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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

AGENDA ITEM 98

**Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New
International Economic Order**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/9952)

1. Mr. LASCARRO (Colombia), Rapporteur of the
Second Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*):
I have the honour to introduce to the General As-
sembly the report of the Second Committee on agenda
item 98, "Programme of Action on the Establishment
of a New International Economic Order" [A/9952].
Paragraph 11 contains a draft resolution entitled
"Operation of the Special Fund", which the Com-
mittee recommends to the General Assembly for
adoption.

2. I should like to draw the attention of the General
Assembly to paragraph 10 of the Committee's report,
in which it is stated that

"... the Committee agreed, as proposed by the
representative of Norway, to recommend to the
General Assembly that, at the first election, it should
elect as members of the Board of Governors of the
Special Fund those States which were members
of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Pro-
gramme."

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it
was decided not to discuss the report of the Second
Committee.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*):
I call upon the representative of Egypt, who wishes to
speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

4. Mr. HOSNY (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*):
My delegation wishes to reaffirm and to place on
record two observations it made in detail in the Second
Committee on 3 December 1974,¹ during the discussion
of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special
Programme which is entrusted with following up the

Special Programme for providing emergency relief and development assistance to countries most seriously affected by economic crisis, in accordance with section X of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted by the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*].

5. The first observation relates to annex II of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee contained in document E/5590. According to the lists in tables 1 and 2 in that annex, developing countries have contributed the greater share of the assistance covered by those two lists. In table 1, the developing countries contributed about 77 per cent of the total Government assistance officially extended up until 8 October 1974.

6. These developing countries contributed \$2,083 million of the total assistance of \$2,720 million. At the same time, the contributions of developed countries did not exceed \$637 million, that is to say only 23 per cent of the total assistance extended within the framework of table 1. Table 2 presents a similar situation for it indicates that the total contribution by developing countries to the Secretary-General's Special Account as of 8 October 1974 amounted to more than \$163 million out of a total of \$223 million, that is to say, 73 per cent of the total volume of assistance contributed to that Account, whereas the contributions of developed countries to this Account amounted to only \$60 million, that is to say, 27 per cent of the total.

7. My delegation also notes, with regard to what is going on at present in relation to the Special Programme carried out in accordance with the Programme of Action adopted by the sixth special session of the General Assembly—namely, that developing countries are carrying the greater part of the burden—that the same situation also applied with regard to bilateral aid and also to the contributions to the International Monetary Fund and to the World Bank, for developing countries have actually come to bear the greater share in financing bilateral assistance and multilateral contributions.

8. My delegation pays tribute to the attitude of developing countries in this connexion in solidarity with other sister countries in the third world.

9. My delegation also notes that some developed countries, particularly the richest among them and those which have the highest *per capita* income, are at present seeking to disavow their commitment to offer an increasing share of their gross national product [*GNP*] to developing countries and are trying to shift this responsibility to developing countries themselves.

10. What is happening now is that some developed countries, particularly the richest among them, are trying gradually to relinquish their commitment with regard to development assistance and to shift the burden of this commitment to developing countries, some of which are now contributing a percentage which ranges between 6 per cent and 8 per cent of their *GNP*, and are contributing it in the form of official government aid for purposes of development. This is confirmed by the size of official assistance given by Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, Algeria, the Libyan Arab Republic, Venezuela, Qatar and other developing countries, whereas the total contributions of the majority of developed

countries in this connexion ranges between 0.25 per cent and 0.5 per cent of their *GNP*; developed countries have to realize that their failure to carry out their commitments in good faith in accordance with the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]¹—whether as regards development aid or other targets of the Strategy—is primarily responsible for the deterioration of international economic conditions at the present time.

11. Mr. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, made a statement before the Economic and Social Council on 18 October 1974,² in which he dealt with the negative stand adopted by advanced industrial countries towards their commitment to development assistance. Mr. McNamara attached to his statement a table indicating that the total aid extended officially by member States of the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development, which comprises the richest countries in the world, gradually decreased from 0.52 per cent in 1960 to 0.44 per cent in 1965, fell to 0.34 per cent in 1972 and went down to only 0.3 per cent in 1973. We may well compare this deteriorating figure with the provisions of the International Development Strategy.

12. This steady decrease, according to the register of statistics, continued between 1960 and 1973—that is to say, before oil prices were raised to a level nearer to the level of prices of the exports of industrial countries. In other words, the above-mentioned statistics are clear in reaffirming that the negative stand adopted by the richest developed countries has continued since 1960 and was taken before the rise in the prices of oil, which is used by some industrial and advanced countries as a pretext to disavow their commitments and relinquish their responsibilities.

13. My delegation urges those developed industrial countries which have failed to carry out their commitments with regard to development assistance to change the attitude which they have adopted from 1960 until the present time, and to start to contribute effectively to the achievement of the objectives of the International Development Strategy and to the objectives of the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly in an attempt to establish a new international community based on international co-operation and interdependence.

14. My delegation also avails itself of this opportunity to hail those industrially developed countries which are heading quickly towards the achievement of these objectives. But this is confined only to some of these countries. With regard to development assistance, my delegation wishes to mention in particular the Nordic countries, including the Scandinavian countries and Finland, and also New Zealand, Canada and Australia, which are working sincerely for the realization of the objective of development assistance in accordance with the objectives of the International Development Strategy.

15. So much for the first observation. The second observation relates to the fact that Egypt was not included in the list of countries which were most seriously affected. Egypt is a country where the average *per capita* income is less than \$200 annually and the net deficit in its balance of payments for 1974

is estimated at \$753 million, that is to say about 24 per cent of the value of Egyptian imports for the year 1974.

16. The net deficit in the Egyptian balance of payments for the year 1975 is also estimated at about \$1,377.5 million, or the equivalent of 34 per cent of the value of imports for the year 1975.

17. Therefore, Egypt should immediately be included in the list of countries most seriously affected. These are the statistics with regard to the Egyptian balance of payments and average *per capita* income which are taken into consideration by the secretariat of the Special Programme to provide emergency relief when defining the countries to be included in the list of countries most seriously affected.

18. That is in addition to the fact there is another important criterion which applies to Egypt, namely, that it is a country that was exposed to foreign aggression and occupation and, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (c) of section X of the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, is one of the countries that are most seriously affected. Nevertheless, the secretariat of the Special Programme to provide emergency relief has not so far included Egypt in this list.

19. The delegation of Egypt is confident that the secretariat will take all these factors into account, particularly since they have previously been communicated by the Permanent Representative of Egypt to Mr. Raul Prebisch, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the United Nations Emergency Operation, and hasten to include the name of Egypt in the list of countries most seriously affected. Considering that this is the third time that the Egyptian delegation has raised the matter at plenary meetings of the United Nations, it sincerely hopes that it will not be obliged to do so once again.

20. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to link its approval of the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly with the two above-mentioned observations both as regards the role of advanced countries in financing the Special Programme and development assistance in general and as regards the inclusion of the name of Egypt in the list of countries that are most seriously affected.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 11 of its report [A/9952]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the financial and administrative implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/9976.

22. The Second Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3356 (XXIX)).

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the election of members to the Board of Governors of the Special Fund.

24. Under paragraph 1 of article III of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly has decided that the Board of Governors of the Special Fund shall be

... composed of representatives of thirty-six States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies or of the International Atomic Energy Agency elected by the General Assembly, keeping in view, *inter alia*, the need for balance between the representation of potential donors and recipients."

25. In this connexion, I should like to invite the attention of members to the recommendation contained in paragraph 10 of the Second Committee's report [A/9952], which states that the Assembly should elect as members of the Board of Governors of the Special Fund those States which were members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme.

26. The representatives of the United States and of the Federal Republic of Germany have indicated that they wish to make statements in this connexion. If there is no objection, I shall call on them.

27. Mr. FERGUSON (United States of America): I should like first to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere thanks, appreciation and gratitude to you, Mr. President, to the Secretariat and to all the delegations which have been so understanding in the consultations that have been connected with certain of the problems which have so recently arisen in connexion with this item.

28. The draft resolution just adopted finally establishes the United Nations Special Fund, called for by the General Assembly at its the sixth special session in section X of resolution 3202 (S-VI) of 1 May 1974.

29. During that special session my delegation repeatedly expressed its doubts as to the viability of a Special Fund to respond to the urgent emergency needs of countries most seriously affected by economic imbalances, principally, in our opinion, attributable to sudden and traumatic increases in the price of petroleum. We expressed the view at that time that time was of the essence in responding to this emergency. But the most expeditious way of responding to unquestioned needs would be a consistent plan utilizing existing channels of assistance and existing institutions. Regrettably, and again in our opinion, the views of my Government were not heeded nor reflected in the action taken at the sixth special session.

30. Despite our disappointment with that outcome—a disappointment which we have repeatedly expressed in the special session itself, in sessions of the Economic and Social Council, in meetings and consultations of the Second Committee—we none the less acquiesced in the will of the majority.

31. My Government takes seriously its obligations as a Member State of this Organization. In that spirit we participated in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, on the Special Programme. We consequently, but with deep regret, acquiesced in the adoption of the resolution now before us.

32. Despite the strong views of my Government regarding a new international economic order, we have no desire to obstruct the work of the Special Fund or the work of any other body of the United Nations. It may well be that for newly rich Member States without established patterns and institutions for rendering assistance in emergencies, the Special Fund could prove to be exceptionally attractive. For the

United States, however, we shall be consistent in our views and in our positions regarding the most effective means of responding to the plight of the most seriously affected. We did not believe last May that this new institution either was needed or could be a viable means of rendering such assistance. We do not believe so today. We do not today believe that it is viable. Consequently, as we have stated previously, my Government will not pledge or contribute to this Special Fund, as we believe it already duplicates existing facilities whose services are available for this very purpose.

33. I should like now to turn particularly to paragraph 10 of document A/9952, wherein the Second Committee recommended that at the first election of the Board of Governors of the Special Fund the Assembly should elect as Governors those States that were members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme. Although my Government was a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, participated in its deliberations, and acquiesced in the draft resolution produced by the Committee, we shall, none the less, for all the reasons I have stated deriving from the sixth special session, decline to be candidates for election to the Board of Governors. We believe the Board of Governors should logically consist of those expecting to contribute or expecting to receive assistance from the Special Fund. We should not have wished to create the impression, through our participation in the Board, that eventual United States support would have been likely. Our declination of election to the Board is thus, in our view, an action consistent with our express views and consistent with our intentions.

34. In conclusion, we must also note that the cost of the projected staffing and administration even now appears unnecessarily high for an institution with such dim prospects for attracting meaningful resources. We fear, as we had predicted last May and as we predicted last July, that unfortunately the principal function of this Fund may turn out to be simply to insert yet another layer of bureaucracy between those who are willing to help and those who are in such desperate need.

35. Mr. NEUFELDT (Federal Republic of Germany): When we joined the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Fund, my delegation made it clear that the Federal Republic of Germany did not intend to contribute to the Fund but would prefer to provide assistance to the most seriously affected countries through existing channels. During the deliberations on this item in the Second Committee we agreed on the procedure of transforming the *Ad Hoc* Committee into the Board of Governors, because the mere transformation would not have given the impression that we had changed our attitude. Unfortunately, we now find ourselves in a different situation. The formal election of the members of the Board and the statement we have just heard might give the impression that the acceptance of membership on the Board may imply a commitment to contribute to the Fund. Since the position of my Government is unchanged in this respect, I wish to announce that the Federal Republic of Germany is not a candidate for election to the Board of Governors of the Special Fund. I should like to stress that this position is based exclusively on

budgetary and not on political considerations. I further want to emphasize that this decision should not be construed to mean that the interest of my Government in international assistance has diminished. On the contrary, my Government has decided to increase substantially the funds for our co-operation with developing countries in the field of both bilateral and multilateral co-operation.

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Mexico, who will address the General Assembly on behalf of the Group of 77.

37. Mr. GARCÍA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As Chairman of the Group of 77, I feel obliged to express in this Assembly the reaction of the developing countries to the decision of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany just announced by their representatives not to participate in the work of the Board of Governors of the Special Fund created by the General Assembly under its resolution 3202 (S-VI) of 1 May 1974.

38. The announcement of that decision has—why not admit it?—caused us some surprise and a good deal of disappointment too. In making our feelings public, however, we are acting without bitterness but, rather, with a feeling of hope—hope that the countries that have just withdrawn their participation will alter their position in the near future.

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In view of the recommendation contained in paragraph 10 of the Second Committee's report [A/9952], and in the light of the statements just made by the representatives of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Mexico, the last-named on behalf of the Group of 77, and in accordance with what appears to represent the general feeling of the General Assembly, I would suggest that the General Assembly elect the following members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme as members of the Board of Governors of the Special Fund: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chad, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, France, Guyana, India, Iran, Japan, Kuwait, Madagascar, Nepal, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

40. I would suggest further, again in accordance with what appears to be the general feeling of delegations, that the General Assembly authorize the Economic and Social Council to elect two additional members to the Board of Governors of the Special Fund from among States constituting the group of Western European and other States, thus bringing to 36 the number of members of the Board of Governors in accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that it is so decided.

It was so decided.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now consider the length of the term of office of the members of the Board of Governors. Article III, paragraph 2, of the resolution

provides that "of the members elected at the first election, the terms of one third of the members shall expire at the end of one year and the terms of a further one third of the members at the end of two years".

42. Regarding the procedure for choosing among the elected members the 12 members to serve for three years, the 12 members to serve for two years and the 12 members to serve for one year, I would remind members of the Assembly that the procedure of drawing lots has been used in respect of other bodies of the United Nations when a similar choice has had to be made. I therefore propose that the Assembly draw lots to select the members to serve terms of three years, two years and one year respectively.

43. After consultations with the chairmen of the regional groups, it has been decided to distribute the seats as follows. Of the nine States elected from the African group, three members would serve for one year, three for two years and three for three years. Of the eight States elected from the Asian group, three would serve for three years, three for two years and two for one year. Of the three States elected from the Eastern European group, one would serve for three years, one for two years and the other for one year. Of the seven Latin American States elected, two would serve for three years, two for two years and three for one year. Of the nine States elected from the group of Western European and other States, three members would serve for three years, three for two years and three for one year.

44. In the particular case of countries to be elected by the Economic and Social Council from the group of Western European and other States, two counters marked A and B, corresponding to the two States to be elected by the Economic and Social Council, will be added to the others for the drawing by lot. The counter marked A will correspond to the State to be elected whose name comes first in the English alphabetical order and the one marked B will correspond to the other State to be elected.

45. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to the distribution and the procedure I have just described?

It was so decided.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now proceed to the drawing of lots.

47. The result of the drawing of lots is as follows: the 12 Member States to serve for three years on the Board of Governors of the Special Fund are Algeria, Argentina, Czechoslovakia, India, Nigeria, Paraguay, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Zaire, and country "A" and country "B"; the 12 Member States to serve for two years are Australia, Brazil, Chad, Iran, Kuwait, Madagascar, the Netherlands, the Syrian Arab Republic, Swaziland, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia; the 12 Member States to serve for one year are Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Japan, Nepal, Norway, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Upper Volta and Venezuela.

48. I shall now call on those representatives who have expressed the wish to explain their positions on the decision taken by the Assembly.

49. Mr. TSHERING (Bhutan): The delegation of Bhutan is happy that the draft resolution contained in the report of the Second Committee [A/9952] has been adopted without a vote by the General Assembly. In the opinion of my delegation, this decision of the General Assembly clearly reaffirms the urgent need for the implementation of the Special Programme.

50. My delegation has asked to be allowed to speak, however, in order to express our concern that some deserving countries are yet to be included in the provisional list of the countries most seriously affected by the current economic crisis. In resolution 3202 (S-VI), which established the Special Programme, certain criteria had been established and it is the hope of my delegation that a land-locked and least developed country like Bhutan would also be included when the list of the most seriously affected countries is finalized. This would indeed take into account the criteria outlined in the resolution adopted at the sixth special session.

51. We have, however, noted from the statement made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General delivered in the Second Committee³ that additional countries would be included in the list in future, and therefore we hope that Bhutan's case will be given due consideration.

52. We find that the most recent developments on the subject of the Special Programme have not been encouraging, but we wish to express our hope that the potential donors and those who are able to contribute will review their position and come forward to make the Programme of Action a success in the interest of peace and prosperity for all.

53. Mr. MIFIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The position of the Soviet Union on the question of providing assistance to countries which have suffered most and also on the draft resolution on the structure and the functions of the Special Fund [*ibid.*, para. 11] created by a decision of the General Assembly at its sixth special session, on raw materials and development, has been set forth in detail by Soviet representatives in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme on assistance to the countries which have suffered most, at the Ministerial Meeting of Contributors, convened by the Secretary-General on 27 September 1974 and also in statements in the Second Committee at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The delegation of the Soviet Union would like to confirm this position.

54. In connexion with the decision of the General Assembly to transform the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme as it is presently composed into a Board of Governors of the Special Fund, the Soviet delegation states that the possible participation of the Soviet Union in the Board of Governors does not mean any change in its position with regard to contributions to the Special Fund.

55. In this regard and also in connexion with the agreement of the Soviet Union to participate in the World Food Council, the Soviet delegation would like at the same time to stress the following. The Soviet Union, as is well known, provides economic assistance to developing countries in substantial proportions and intends to continue to do so. In pro-

viding assistance on the basis of its ability, the Soviet Union will continue to adhere to forms and methods of co-operation which are most in keeping with its social and economic structure and which have proved their effectiveness.

56. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Venezuela feels that its views, although brief, should be expressed in connexion with this item. They will be brief because we are already now in the last hours of the General Assembly.

57. My country attributes great importance to the Special Fund created by the General Assembly at its sixth special session in May 1974. The specific provisions governing the operations of the Fund are contained in the draft resolution in paragraph 11 of document A/9952.

58. Venezuela is aware of its responsibilities in view of the present international situation and it was one of the first countries to supply financial support for the Emergency Operation. My country has announced the fact that its contribution would be approximately \$100 million. Of this amount, \$50 million has already been made available. A direct contribution of \$30 million in cash was made to the Secretary-General's Special Account and \$20 million took the form of bilateral loans to two countries of the region, on particularly advantageous terms.

59. Moreover, I should perhaps refer at this time to recent agreements signed between Venezuela and all the countries of Central America, carried out with the same principles of international solidarity which have been referred to so frequently both inside and outside of the United Nations and must now become a reality.

60. Venezuela points out, with regret, that despite the laudable efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Raul Prebisch, the Emergency Operation has not worked efficiently enough. Some developed countries have taken a wait-and-see attitude or have assumed a negative attitude with regard to the Special Fund and have refrained not only from contributing but also from participating on the Board of Governors. We regret this attitude because international solidarity, when emergencies exist should exist outside of any political considerations.

61. Finally, I must state that Venezuela is not a "new rich" country but, rather, is making such contributions to the Emergency Operation even though it is confronting great economic and social problems. Because, despite the fact that for more than 50 years we have exploited oil, we are now barely at the initial stages of development. If we are to accept definitions, we are an "old rich" country because oil has been in the subsoil of Venezuela for millions and millions of years. We make these contributions because, as I said above, we are aware of our commitments and responsibilities as a member country of the international community.

62. Mr. MACKENZIE (United Kingdom): I said yesterday from this podium in another connexion that my delegation regretted the tendency for consensus laboriously reached in committee to be reopened very soon thereafter in the plenary Assembly. That, naturally, remains our view today.

63. And so, in view of statements made from the podium before the vote this afternoon regarding the composition of the Board of Governors of the Special Fund, I would like to clarify the position of my delegation. The United Kingdom delegation, in reaffirming its willingness to serve on the Board as requested, wishes also to make clear, as we already have done in the Committee, that this participation does not imply any commitment by my authorities to make a special financial contribution to this Fund. We base our willingness to serve on two facts: first, the fact that the Board of Governors not only will administer the Fund but also has significant responsibilities, under article I of the resolution we have just passed, as a "central monitoring body" for over-all flows of aid; and, secondly, the fact that the United Kingdom is, of course, already participating in aid begun given to the most seriously affected countries by the European Economic Community.

64. Mr. MWANGAGUHUNGA (Uganda): Uganda is glad to note that the draft resolution in document A/9952 has been adopted by consensus. In this connexion, Uganda understands article VI, paragraph 2, which reads:

"The eligibility of potential beneficiaries, other than the least developed among the developing countries and the land-locked developing countries, shall be periodically reviewed by the Board of Governors".

to mean that Uganda, a land-locked and least developed country among the developing countries, like other land-locked and least developed countries among the developing countries, shall be automatically included on the list.

65. I hope that the authorities concerned with the list after the passage of this resolution will revise the list accordingly.

AGENDA ITEM 82

United Nations salary system:

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Report of the International Civil Service Advisory Board

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PARTS I AND II) (A/9981 AND ADD.1)

66. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to introduce to the Assembly parts I and II of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 82, concerning the United Nations salary system.

67. In part I of the report [A/9981], paragraph 74, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of draft resolution I, entitled "Statute of the International Civil Service Commission". This draft resolution contains as an annex the statute of the International Civil Service Commission.

68. Draft resolution II recommended by the Fifth Committee to the Assembly for adoption is also contained in paragraph 74 of document A/9981. It deals with the salaries and allowances of staff in the Professional and higher categories and contains in the

annex the consequential amendments to the Staff Regulations of the United Nations.

69. Part II of the report of the Fifth Committee on the item [A/9981/Add.1] deals with the appointment of the members of the International Civil Service Commission. In this connexion, I would draw the attention of the Assembly to document A/9988, in which a change is proposed by the Secretary-General in the list of candidates proposed for the Commission in paragraph 1 of document A/9981/Add.1; in paragraph 8 of document A/9981/Add.1 the Fifth Committee refers to the General Assembly, for appropriate action, the question of appointment of the members of the International Civil Service Commission.

70. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): We have had more than one opportunity to express our view that if the Organization wishes to strengthen its role, to restore its authority and to extend its influence, it must adapt itself to the new world in which we are living, a world different from the one in which and for which it was established.

71. We have also had an opportunity to express our conviction that, in this adaptation, an important if not decisive role should be played by the organs of the Secretariat and by the staff making up the Secretariat who give life to the entire Organization.

72. That explains the particular interest we attach to the establishment of an International Civil Service Commission. We have followed the discussions in this connexion and we now have a draft statute for that Commission, which appears in part I of the Fifth Committee's report [A/9981], and some proposals submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly for its approval [*see A/9981/Add.1*]. My statement will be limited to a few brief comments on those two documents.

73. First, with regard to the proposals placed before us, we note that a particular place in the composition of the Commission has been given to the permanent members of the Security Council. We believe that there is no reason for automatically granting a place in the Commission to the permanent members of the Security Council. Their privileged position has a legal effect only with regard to questions directly bearing on the maintenance of international peace and security. It seems to me that that is indeed the general interpretation of the provisions of the Charter granting these permanent members a privileged status within this Organization. We therefore hope that when members are reappointed to this Commission the particular status of the permanent members of the Security Council will not be taken into account.

74. The second comment I should like to make with regard to the composition of this Commission is that it does not take any account of equitable geographical distribution. We do not wish to reopen the list that has been submitted, but we hope that, in the reappointment of members of the Commission, this defect will be progressively corrected, and that, in particular, when a member of this Commission is to be replaced it will be understood that the vacancy should not be filled by a member from the same geographical region.

75. It is clear, however, that considerations of geographical distribution are not the most important ones in our view and that in making his choice the

Secretary-General should have in mind, above all, the competence of the person involved. We know that when the Secretary-General was setting up this Commission he was compelled to reject some extremely valuable candidates simply because the draft statute stipulated that the Commission would be made up of only 13 members. We believe that that was to be regretted; that is why my delegation would like formally to propose an amendment that in article 2 of the draft statute the word "thirteen" be replaced by the word "fifteen". This amendment of course has no financial implications and, from conversations I had with various representatives before coming to this rostrum, I believe there will be no objections to it. I therefore hope it will be adopted by consensus.

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in part I of its report [A/9981].

77. Mr. DIPP GÓMEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I take great pleasure in announcing that the Government of the Dominican Republic, having reconsidered the financial implications involved in a 6 per cent increase in the base salary of the staff of the United Nations in the Professional and higher categories and in the light of its appreciation of and recognition for the work done by the staff in serving with dignity, courtesy and efficiency the Member States represented here, has instructed me to give our support to the increase which has been proposed by the International Civil Service Advisory Board and which has been endorsed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

78. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution II, which calls for a 6 per cent increase in the net base salaries of staff in the Professional and higher categories and also recommends an increase in the dependency allowance in respect of a child payable to staff in these categories from \$300 to \$450 a year.

79. Mr. GHAFURZAI (Afghanistan): The delegation of Afghanistan has always been well disposed towards and understanding of recommendations offered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations with regard to measures aimed at improving the working of the Organization. Thus we have given due consideration to the measures introduced with regard to increasing salaries by a reasonable percentage in order to maintain the standards of the staff and to protect them from ever-increasing prices and inflationary pressures.

80. However, my delegation finds it difficult to cast an affirmative vote in connexion with the relevant proposal for a 6 per cent increase in the salaries of Professional and higher categories. Therefore we voted against adoption of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.5/L.1216 when it was submitted for consideration before the Fifth Committee. Our reasons are as follows. First, the present standard of remuneration of these two categories is in our view already sufficient and along with the post adjustment system can easily offset the negative impact of high prices and the inflationary trend. Secondly, although we are confident that the Secretary-General is making every effort to avoid additional expenses in the operation

of the budget as far as administrative and staff expenses, including salaries, are concerned, the present recommendation for a 6 per cent increase in the salaries of the two afore-mentioned categories provides an additional financial burden for Member States. This is particularly true for those developing Member States which are not in a position to shoulder such increases in their contributions to the regular budget of this Organization.

81. Furthermore, for the reasons I have just explained, the proposed increase is not very pressing or justifiable. However, my delegation does not intend to oppose here the adoption of draft resolution II, section A, as contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [*ibid.*], and has decided to abstain in the vote.

82. Mr. HSING Sung-yi (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): As inflation and the fluctuation of currency have affected the livelihood of many staff members of the United Nations Secretariat, particularly the low-ranking personnel, it would be reasonable to raise their wages, and we are in favour of doing so. However, we consider it obviously inappropriate to increase the salaries of all staff members by 6 per cent, irrespective of their rank and income rate. For instance, the actual yearly salaries of some high-ranking officials have already exceeded \$50,000. A 6 per cent increase would mean an additional income of over \$3,000 a year for them. But for the low-ranking staff members an increase of 6 per cent amounts to only several hundred dollars. In effect, a 6 per cent increase of salaries for all, irrespective of their present level, would mean that the higher the salaries, the greater the increase, and that the lower the salaries, the less the increase. This is indeed most unreasonable.

83. We are of the opinion that the rate of increase should be determined in the light of the base salaries and that the low salaries should get greater increases, while the high salaries should get less, and there should be no increase at all for those who already receive very high salaries. For instance, the salaries of high-ranking officials of the level of Assistant Secretaries-General and above are already very high. Why cannot there be a decision not to increase their salaries but to freeze them at the present level? We are in favour of an appropriate increase in salaries. But the present proposal for salary increase is not reasonable.

84. In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation will abstain on draft resolution II contained in document A/9981.

85. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation will not be able to support the proposal contained in draft resolution II in document A/9981 for an increase in the net base salaries of the Professional and higher categories of United Nations staff. We consider this proposal for a net increase premature and unjustified, for the following reasons.

86. First, the arguments and data adduced by the Secretariat to justify such an increase—that is, the effect of inflation on the purchasing power of the staff—are clearly exaggerated.

87. Secondly, the influence of the rise in the cost of living on the material welfare of the Secretariat staff is sufficiently taken care of by the post adjustment system.

88. Thirdly, the salaries of staff members are considerably higher than those of members of the United States civil service, which is one of the highest paid civil services in the world.

89. Fourthly, before a decision is adopted for an increase in the salaries of the staff of the Secretariat, this question should be submitted for consideration to the International Civil Service Commission, and only after that Commission has had a chance to study it should a decision be adopted, because this question falls fully within the competence of that body.

90. Fifthly, such an increase in staff salaries would have very great financial implications, to the extent of \$25 million in additional expenditure, which would impose an added burden on all Members of the Organization.

91. In the light of those considerations, the Soviet delegation will not be able to support this proposal and will vote against it.

92. Mr. FERGUSON (United States of America): Draft resolution II in document A/9981 before this Assembly is of great importance: first, because it has system-wide implications; secondly, because of its costliness; and, thirdly, because it contains certain factors of inequity. Accordingly, my delegation regretfully must pray your indulgence, Sir, to reiterate our position on the question of a salary increase for United Nations staff members.

93. Our objection to the draft resolution now before this Assembly is limited solely to the issue of an across-the-board net increase, for Professional and higher categories, of 6 per cent. We have no objections to the other decisions itemized in the draft resolution.

94. This Assembly will not ensure a satisfied and efficient and effective Secretariat merely by increasing salaries. The morale of this great and this good body of international civil servants would rather better be advanced by an over-all improvement in personnel management policies.

95. Secondly, this proposed increase must be placed within the context of the current financial difficulties of the United Nations and the widespread policy of national austerity practised by the vast number of individual Member States which make up this body.

96. Thirdly, this Assembly should bear in mind that the proposed salary increase runs clearly contrary and is counter to a basic principle well established in tradition, whereby international organizations establish their salary scales in relation to those of the highest-paid national civil service of a Member State.

97. The international civil servant should certainly rank at the top of the national scales but should not exceed them and certainly should not exceed them unduly.

98. With this salary increase, United Nations salaries will exceed those of the highest paid national civil service by a range of 31 to 54 per cent.

99. Finally, the effects of this decision will be felt not only in the United Nations itself but throughout

the system. For the United Nations it would result in an additional cost add-on of \$6.2 million net for 1975 and \$26 million for the United Nations system as a whole. That is money which, if so appropriated and expended, would notably increase the assessments on Member States. But, most importantly, it would increase expenditures without any equivalent increase in substantive programmes of various United Nations agencies.

100. For those reasons, briefly stated, the United States firmly opposes the proposed 6 per cent salary increase and will be compelled to vote "No" on draft resolution II.

101. Mr. BENKHAYAL (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation supports the proposed 6 per cent increase in the base pay of staff in the Professional and higher categories and will vote in favour of draft resolution II in document A/9981. We are strongly convinced that living expenses have increased very markedly during the past few months. That has been proved by statistics published by both official and unofficial bodies.

102. Furthermore, the United Nations Secretariat, which works very hard in preparing for the sessions of various committees and the General Assembly and in carrying out tasks assigned to it in resolutions, is in dire need of being given its full rights. We have always taken the position here that the rights of all should be protected, and we therefore believe that in this case too everyone should have his full rights.

103. I hope that what I have said will not be interpreted as conflicting with our position on our contribution to the budget for 1974-1975. We should not wish the fact that we are against an increase in our contribution to be taken as meaning that we are against any and all increases in the budget, or as being in contradiction with our position on agenda item 82, which we are now considering. We were against the unjustified increase in our contribution, as we are against any increases that are unjustified. We are not, however, against legitimate increases such as the one now under consideration. I request the General Assembly not to oppose this increase, which has been proposed after prolonged debate and close study in various Committees.

104. Finally, my delegation wishes to support the amendment proposed a short while ago by the representative of Algeria on increasing the number of members of the International Civil Service Commission [*see para. 75 above*].

105. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I will reluctantly vote in favour of a 6 per cent increase in salaries. What should the increase be? Three per cent? Why not make it zero per cent? I say "reluctantly" because I think the Secretary-General has chosen a good team of Professionals to work with us, and you want to dampen their spirits.

106. They are making fortunes, are they, out of their salaries here in New York City? Most of them have no savings. I have checked with a good number of them. They are not splurging.

107. I suggested to my good friend of, I believe, the United Republic of Tanzania, that the increase should be at least of the order of 12 to 15 per cent. Why 12

to 15 per cent? Is that an arbitrary figure? No. Here they admit that there has been double-digit inflation for some time, between 12 and 15 per cent.

108. How envious we should be of Alice in Wonderland in this city. Remember, Lewis Carroll, who wrote that fable, lived in the nineteenth century. Alice ran and ran and ran, and found herself in the same place. Now the salary-earners run and run and run and find themselves five or six steps back.

109. Assuming the Assembly votes for 6 per cent, and inflation amounts to 12 per cent, they will be losing 6 cents on the dollar.

110. My good friend, Mr. Safronchuk, I do not know how it is in the Soviet Union. You should be happy that your personnel here are receiving good salaries—if you consider them to be good, that is; I consider them to be less than fair.

111. And now I want to address myself to my good friend, Mr. Ferguson of the United States. Why do you not interfere with your corporations, who give some of their executives \$150,000, \$200,000, \$300,000, \$400,000 up to \$800,000? I know a chairman of a bank who takes home \$800,000. Why do you not do something about that?

112. You take issue only with the Professionals of the Secretariat, who are so "over-spoiled", compared with what your staff make in the Federal Government and elsewhere. That is your business, what you give them. But we should set the standards for national States and not take any State as a standard for United Nations salaries, just because we are living in New York. Anyway, the money is spent in New York. What are you griping about? It goes back to your people. The city is broke. Give them a little increase in salary so that they may spend it in New York. That is not said with levity. And have you forgotten the numerical value of the dollar, or any other currency for that matter? I say that in fairness to the dollar, because I have been in Europe and I know that this applies to other currencies as well. The numerical value is fictitious. A hundred dollars means nothing any more. It is like \$20 was about 20 years ago. I was in this city. I do not know about roubles. Your socialist system is a Utopia. Why do you not want people to enjoy Utopia outside the Soviet Union?

113. Whom are you fooling here? Both of you, the Soviet Union and the United States, say that you will vote against an increment of 6 per cent. How much do you spend on defence, my good friend Mr. Ferguson? Is it \$80 billion or \$84 billion? The figure in the budget of the Soviet Union may be a secret but it must be billions of roubles too.

114. Both of you and all of us admit that the United Nations is the best medium so far for endeavouring to maintain the peace of the world. Do a few million dollars here and there represent a calamity to your budgets? Or are you against this increase on principle? What kind of principle is this? We are not spoiling the Professionals. We are trying to help them maintain a moderately decent standard of living. They cannot send their wives and daughters out to work as you do in the United States. They have to get permission from your Department of Labor to do that.

115. I do not think your opposition is justified—of course I mean those who give you your instructions; I know that you do not formulate the policy. I know what Ministers of Finance are in almost every country. They are parsimonious, tight-fisted. But look at the way your Ministers of Defence loosen their fists and splurge. Try and reason with them as representatives of your country in this Assembly before you come here and voice the instructions they give you.

116. But let me hasten to say that I am partly with the People's Republic of China when it says—at least this is the gist of what they say—that the General Service staff, those who receive lower salaries, should receive better remuneration. Of course they should: they are human; they have to eat and drink. As I stated in the Fifth Committee, I know girls here who have to bundle up, three or four in a room, in order to be able to work for this Organization.

117. Do you want the daughters of millionaires to come to service us here for prestige? Perhaps you want people to pay to have a job here. Why then do we not charge for joining the United Nations staff?

118. That is why I said that I would reluctantly vote in favour of this increase. I almost submitted an amendment to make the increase 9 per cent, but I thought that the better part of wisdom was to vote for the 6 per cent increase in conformity with an Arabic proverb: "Since the Judge is willing". And the Judge here is the majority on this question; they are willing to accept 6 per cent. Remember that this draft resolution needs a very simple majority. You may say that it is a budgetary question and therefore needs a two-thirds majority. Yes, it needs two thirds, if the currency is constant; but the currency is fictitious. Are you paying in real currency, or in inflated currency? Therefore, the rule requiring a two-thirds majority does not apply, and if anybody invokes it I am ready to open a long debate on it—not procedural, but substantive.

119. The currency is inflated, full of hot air. The purchasing power has been attenuated. When I came to this country, I paid a nickel for a ride in the subway. It is 35 cents now and they are thinking of raising it to 50 cents. A taxicab used to take me through half of Manhattan for a dollar and a half; it is now three to four dollars without the tip. And you are begrudging the Professionals a moderately decent living? No. Please do some juggling with your budgets, you the Soviet Union and you the United States, and allocate some funds from the defence budgets to the United Nations and to other worthy organizations. You cannot do this to the United Nations. The United Nations must continue to have efficient people.

120. Our beloved Secretary-General will see to it that all the Professionals are worthy, and are not appointed just because certain States, for reasons of their own, submit names of persons who cannot do the job properly. I must say that on the whole the quality of the Professionals has improved. I say this with authority because I have to deal with them. And you want to dampen their spirits? They are not working here to make a fortune. They are working because they are dedicated to this Organization. You should encourage them instead of trying to tell them: look in Washington or in Moscow the Government officials, or the staff, or whatever you call them, receive less salary. It is

your privilege to give them 10 times or one-tenth of what they receive.

121. I repeat: the United Nations, with its 138 Members, should set the example for its constituent States rather than following like sheep and paying the same salaries as are paid by two major Powers.

122. Mr. HUMAIDAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Heeding the appeal made by the Secretary-General in his valuable statement in the Fifth Committee⁴ regarding an increase in the salary of Secretariat staff, and fully convinced of the justice and the necessity of such an increase, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution II.

123. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite members to turn their attention to part I of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/9987]. The draft resolutions recommended by the Committee are contained in paragraph 74 of the report.

124. Draft resolution I is entitled "Statute of the International Civil Service Commission". I would remind members that the representative of Algeria submitted an amendment to replace the word "thirteen" by the word "fifteen" in article 2 of the draft statute annexed to draft resolution I, and expressed the hope that his amendment would be adopted by consensus. However, the representative of the United States has requested a recorded vote on the Algerian amendment.

125. I therefore now put the Algerian amendment to the vote.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Fiji, Israel, Nicaragua, Paraguay, United States of America, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela.

The amendment was adopted by 75 votes to 12, with 42 abstentions.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As the amendment increasing the number of members of the International Civil Service Commission to 15 has been adopted, we should perhaps amend also the second sentence of paragraph 1 of article 5 of the draft statute to read:

“Of the members initially appointed, however, the terms of five members shall expire at the end of three years, and the terms of five other members at the end of two years.”

Therefore, five members would serve for four years, five members for three years and five members for two years.

127. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that amendment.

It was so decided.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Fifth Committee adopted draft resolution I by consensus. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution I, as amended, by consensus?

Draft resolution I, as amended, was adopted (resolution 3357 (XXIX)).

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the statute of the International Civil Service Commission, annexed to the draft resolution that has just been adopted.

130. Article 2 of the statute provides that the Commission shall consist of 15 members appointed by the General Assembly. Article 4 states that the Secretary-General, in his capacity as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, shall compile a list of candidates for appointment.

131. In this connexion, I request members to turn to the decision contained in paragraph 8 of document A/9981/Add.1, that is, part II of the report of the Fifth Committee on the agenda item now under consideration. The Fifth Committee decided to refer to the General Assembly, for appropriate action, the question of the appointment of the members of the International Civil Service Commission. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that decision?

It was so decided.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now proceed to the appointment of the members and officers of the Commission. With the Secretary-General's permission, I shall outline his proposals on the matter.

133. The list of 13 candidates that he has proposed for appointment appears in paragraph 1 of part II of the Fifth Committee's report [A/9981/Add.1]. However, the Secretary-General has since been advised that Mr. Jamshid Amouzegar is unable to accept appointment to the Commission. The Secretary-General therefore proposes the appointment of Mr. Amjad Ali of Pakistan, whose curriculum vitae has been distributed in document A/9988.

134. Moreover, in the light of the amendment that has just been adopted, two further documents [A/9988/

Add.1 and 2] are being circulated, in which the Secretary-General sets forth the curricula vitae of Mr. Doudou Thiam and Mr. Michael O. Ani, whom he proposes for appointment to the Commission.

135. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to appoint the 15 candidates proposed by the Secretary-General as members of the Commission?

It was so decided.

136. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As mentioned in paragraph 2 of document A/9981/Add.1, the Secretary-General has proposed that Mr. Raúl Quijano be appointed as Chairman for a term of four years, and Mr. A. L. Adu as Vice-Chairman for a term of four years. May I take it that the Assembly adopts that proposal?

It was so decided.

137. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I would now ask members to turn their attention to article 5 of the draft statute, which provides that the members of the Commission shall be appointed for a term of four years, and adds that, of the members initially appointed, however, “the terms of four members shall expire at the end of three years and the terms of four other members at the end of two years”.

138. However, taking into account the amendment we have just adopted [*see paras. 126 and 127 above*], the phrase I have just read out will have to be modified to read as follows:

“Of the members initially appointed, however, the terms of five members”—instead of four—“shall expire at the end of three years, and the terms of five”—instead of four—“other members at the end of two years.”

139. Regarding the procedure for choosing the members to serve for four, three and two years, I should like to remind members that the procedure of drawing by lot has been used in respect of other bodies of the United Nations when a similar choice has had to be made. I therefore propose that the Assembly draw lots to determine the names of the representatives who will serve for the different terms.

It was so decided.

140. We shall now proceed to the drawing of lots. Inasmuch as the terms of office have been determined for the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Commission [*see para. 136 above*], their names are not included in the drawing.

141. I shall now announce the results of the drawing of lots.

142. In addition to the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman, the following three members will serve for a term of four years: Mr. Pascal Frochaux, of Switzerland; Mr. Jiří Nosek, of Czechoslovakia; and Mr. Doudou Thiam, of Senegal.

143. The following five members will serve for a term of three years: Mr. Toru Hagiwara, of Japan; Mr. Robert E. Hampton, of the United States; Mr. A. H. M. Hillis, of the United Kingdom; Mr. Antonio Fonseca Pimentel, of Brazil; and Mr. Jean-Louis Plihon, of France.

144. The following five members will serve for a term of two years: Mr. Amjad Ali, of Pakistan, Mr. Michael

O. Ani, of Nigeria; Mr. A. S. Chistyakov, of the Soviet Union; Mr. P. N. Haksar, of India; and Mrs. Halima Warzazi, of Morocco.

145. I shall now put to the vote draft resolution II A. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

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

In favour: India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Guyana.

Against: Hungary, Israel, Italy, Laos, Malawi, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, German Democratic Republic.

Abstaining: Iceland, Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, United Republic of Cameroon, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bahamas, Bhutan, Burma, China, Cuba, Gabon, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Honduras.

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 90 votes to 21, with 20 abstentions (resolution 3358 A (XXIX)).

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Draft resolution II B deals with amendments to the Staff Regulations resulting from the adoption of draft resolution II A. Since draft resolution II A has been adopted, it seems to me that draft resolution II B also is adopted. May I take it that the Assembly agrees?

Draft resolution II B was adopted (resolution 3358 B (XXIX)).

147. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Guatemala, who wishes to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

148. Mr. MALDONADO-AGUIRRE (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to explain its vote, but first allow me to reiterate the congratulations that the Guatemalan Minister for External Relations addressed to you, Mr. President, at the beginning of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly [2245th meeting].

149. Mr. President, you were elected unanimously at one of the most tense and most controversial periods

of mankind's history—and that consensus symbolized the aspirations of nations to live within the norms of law, that is, respect for the independence, sovereignty and dignity of States, their juridical equality, and their need to have recourse to peaceful means, negotiation and consultation to resolve their disputes and conflicts. Accordingly, I should like now, at the final stages of this difficult session, to express our confidence in the work of the United Nations, which has progressed so successfully under your guidance during this session.

150. We reluctantly abstained in the vote, notwithstanding our sincere desire to cast an affirmative vote. Owing to the present international inflation, my country has been obliged to adopt severe austerity measures, including that of keeping the salaries of the higher paid civil servants at a stable level until there are circumstances propitious for giving them a more fitting remuneration for their valuable service.

AGENDA ITEM 73

Programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9960)

151. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present the report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget for the biennium 1974-1975, under agenda item 73. That report is contained in document A/9960.

152. In paragraph 146 of its report, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption two draft resolutions. In draft resolution I the Fifth Committee recommends an increase of \$65,560,000 in the gross appropriation approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 3195 (XXVIII), to a total of \$606,033,000; and an increase of \$7,873,000 in the total estimated income, to \$100,519,000.

153. Draft resolution II deals with the effect of currency instability and inflation on the budgets of organizations in the United Nations system.

154. In paragraphs 147 and 148 of the report, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption a number of other decisions taken by the Fifth Committee under agenda item 73.

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

155. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall first vote on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 146 of its report [A/9960].

156. Draft resolution I A deals with the revised 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, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland,

Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, 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 Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Cuba, France, Gabon, Israel, Italy, Romania, United States of America.

Draft resolution I A was adopted by 109 votes to 9, with 7 abstentions (resolution 3359 A (XXIX)).

157. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution I B, entitled "Révised income estimates for the biennium 1974-1975".

Draft resolution I B was adopted by 127 votes to none (resolution 3359 B (XXIX)).

158. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution I C, entitled "Financing of revised appropriations for the year 1975".

Draft resolution I C was adopted by 110 votes to 9, with 7 abstentions (resolution 3359 C (XXIX)).

159. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote draft resolution II, entitled "The effect of continuing currency instability on the budgets of organizations in the United Nations system".

Draft resolution II was adopted by 118 votes to 11 (resolution 3360 (XXIX)).

160. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I ask members to turn now to the draft decisions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 147 of its report [A/9960].

161. A separate vote has been requested on the draft decision appearing in subparagraph (d) of paragraph 147, which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly:

"(i) Takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on United Nations accommodation in Addis Ababa, Bangkok and Santiago, Chile [A/C.5/1596] and of the related report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/9608/Add.4];

"(ii) Takes note of the addendum [A/C.5/1596/Add.1] to the report of the Secretary-General and concurs with the observations and

recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions contained in paragraphs 7 to 15 of its report [A/9608/Add.14]."

The draft decision in subparagraph (d) of paragraph 147 was adopted by 115 votes to 11, with 2 abstentions.

162. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): May I take it that the draft decisions as a whole contained in paragraph 147 of the Fifth Committee's report are adopted by the Assembly?

The draft decisions as a whole were adopted.

163. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the Assembly to turn now to the recommendation in paragraph 148 of the Fifth Committee's report. May I take it that the Assembly approves this recommendation?

It was so decided.

164. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of the United States.

165. Mr. FERGUSON (United States of America): My delegation was obliged to abstain on draft resolution I, relating to the revised estimates, totalling \$65,560,000, for two reasons. The first concerns the \$6.2 million net add-on to the budget caused by the salary increase just approved by this Assembly. We consider that this decision is unjustified and we are thus unable to support the budget increases under all sections resulting from this raise in salaries for the Professional and higher categories.

166. Secondly, while we appreciate the conservative nature of the estimates as concerns the effects of inflation on the budget of the Organization, we believe a still greater effort should have been made through absorption, savings and the reductions in various marginal activities to cover a greater portion of the inflationary effects. This is a time of real austerity for many Member States whose economies are currently in difficulty. Our Organization should demonstrate the same spirit as these Member States which are attempting to cut back their own national budgets.

167. In the light of those two considerations I have just mentioned and, in addition, the approval by this Assembly of several resolutions with financial implications which we consider most undesirable, my delegation found itself obliged to abstain on the revised estimates.

168. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have concluded our consideration of all the items allocated to the Fifth Committee, with the exception of the appointment of the members of the Working Group on United Nations Programme and Budget Machinery.

AGENDA ITEM 77

Pattern of conferences (continued):

- (a) Report of the Joint Inspection Unit;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

169. Mr. WOLTE (Austria): At its 2324th meeting, this morning, the General Assembly adopted by consensus the draft resolution regarding the inclusion of Vienna in the pattern of conferences [see resolu-

tion 3350 (XXIX)], which had been recommended, also on the basis of consensus, by the Fifth Committee. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the adoption of this resolution and we wish to thank in particular those delegations that have contributed to that end. I can assure the General Assembly that my Government will fully co-operate in the implementation of this resolution, which it regards as a further element in the close co-operation between my country and the United Nations.

170. During this morning's meeting, the representative of Yugoslavia too, speaking on item 77 [2324th meeting, paras. 10-13], registered his Government's support for the resolution I have just referred to. My delegation appreciates and is grateful for this expression of support and the positive attitude which it reflects.

171. At the same time, the representative of Yugoslavia referred also to other matters which, in our view, are unrelated to item 77. However, since he considered it appropriate to do so, my delegation, in exercise of its right of reply, feels bound to make the following statement.

172. In its note of 2 December 1974, the Austrian Federal Government addressed itself in a most detailed and concise manner to the various points which the Yugoslav Government had raised in its note of 29 October 1974. In view of this full and detailed presentation of my Government's position, I can limit my remarks to the following observations.

173. Under the Austrian Constitution, the principles of which were laid down more than 100 years ago, all Austrian citizens have equal rights. Consequently, Austrian citizens belonging to a minority enjoy, without any exception, all the rights enjoyed by all other Austrian citizens. They, furthermore, enjoy special rights enabling them to safeguard their distinct character and to promote their language and culture.

174. Austria has been and continues to be greatly interested in maintaining and developing the best possible relations with all its neighbours. The same applies in full measure to Yugoslavia, with which Austria entertains excellent relations in a variety of fields. It is therefore particularly regrettable that the delegation of Yugoslavia should have considered it necessary to raise a number of questions which are still pending and are under close review. In this context, I wish to recall once more my Government's readiness to enter into a full and constructive dialogue with Yugoslavia on all open questions—a readiness which has been expressed repeatedly and was most recently emphasized anew by the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Dr. Bruno Kreisky.

175. Mr. JOB (Yugoslavia): In our statement here this morning on agenda item 77, the Yugoslav delegation did not intend to provoke any debate on bilateral matters. In speaking again today on this item my delegation wishes merely to express its hope that the Austrian Government's meeting of its obligations under the Charter and international treaties will be equal to that confidence in it that our Organization has shown by adopting the resolution "Inclusion of Vienna in the pattern of conferences", which my delegation has also supported. We think that the adoption of that resolution gave us a legitimate opportunity and occasion to voice the hope we expressed this morning.

176. We cannot be expected—and it would be unreasonable indeed to expect it of us—to be less mindful of the basic rights and interests of our minorities than other countries are—and some were very active here on such matters not so long ago. It is true that recently the Austrian Government handed the Yugoslav Government a note with a detailed answer. That answer was not found satisfactory. The case that we are making on the position of our minorities in Austria has been well established and documented over the years; and we still expect and hope that the obligations under the State Treaty and other obligations will be suitably and fully implemented. We hope that whatever the Government of Austria has to do to fulfil completely its obligations, which we referred to here this morning, will be further encouraged by the confidence shown by all of us here in including Vienna in the pattern of conferences.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Spécial Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (concluded)*

177. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to call the attention of members of the Assembly to document A/9971 concerning the decision of the Government of Venezuela to withdraw from the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with effect from 1 January 1975.

178. When the news of the withdrawal of Venezuela arrived, I was immediately approached by the representative of Cuba, at the time the sole candidate for the vacancy created by the withdrawal of Venezuela from the Special Committee. Cuba's request was formally presented in a letter to the Secretary-General dated 17 October 1974.

179. Since no other candidate has come forward, I have therefore undertaken to propose to the General Assembly the nomination of Cuba as a member of the Special Committee with effect from 1 January 1975. May I take it that the General Assembly confirms that nomination?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 43

United Nations Industrial Development Organization (concluded):**

(d) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization

180. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In his note [A/9746], the Secretary-General proposes that Mr. Abderrahmane Khene be appointed as Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial

* Resumed from the 2321st meeting.

** Resumed from the 2319th meeting.

Development Organization for a term of four years ending on 31 December 1978.

181. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly confirms this appointment.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 65

Question of Namibia (*concluded*):*

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) United Nations Fund for Namibia: reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of the Secretary-General;
- (e) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

182. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In connexion with agenda item 65, under the terms of section VII of resolution 3295 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974 the General Assembly requested the President of the General Assembly, on the basis of consultations to be undertaken by the Secretary-General with the regional groups, to nominate during the current session of the General Assembly additional members to the United Nations Council for Namibia with a view to ensuring a broader representation in the Council.

183. As a result of the consultations held by the Secretary-General with the regional groups, I nominate the following States to be additional members of the United Nations Council for Namibia: Algeria, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Finland, Haiti and Senegal.

184. May I take it that the General Assembly approves those nominations?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 37

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*concluded*).**

- (a) Reports of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

185. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): According to paragraph 12 of resolution 3324 D (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly decided to expand the membership of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to request the President of the General Assembly, in consultation with the regional groups, to appoint additional members, taking into account the principle of equitable geographical representation.

186. I have been informed by the Chairman of the Special Committee that two vacancies remain unfilled. Two additional candidates have been proposed for the other groups. In the absence of other nominations I have decided not to proceed for the time being with the appointment of additional members to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

* Resumed from the 2318th meeting.

** Resumed from the 2320th meeting.

187. For a better understanding of this problem I invite members to consider the membership of the Committee and to examine its regional distribution. Members will observe that there is one regional group that is not represented at all in the Committee, for reasons that—we hope—are entirely transitory.

AGENDA ITEM 59

Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (*concluded*)*

AGENDA ITEM 74

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

AGENDA ITEM 77

Pattern of conferences (*concluded*):

- (a) Report of the Joint Inspection Unit;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

AGENDA ITEM 95

Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)**

188. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should now like to refer to resolutions and decisions adopted by the General Assembly on items 59, 74, 77 and 95, which relate to the following bodies respectively: the Group of Experts on the Draft Convention on Territorial Asylum; the Working Group on United Nations Programme and Budget Machinery; the Committee on Conferences; and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations.

189. I had very much hoped to be able to announce the composition of these bodies before the adjournment of the session, but it has not been possible. I am therefore obliged to follow the precedent established at earlier sessions and to defer the announcement of the composition of those bodies. It is, nevertheless, my intention to make this announcement as soon as possible.

AGENDA ITEM 109

The situation in the Middle East

190. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There is one agenda item that has been assigned to the plenary meetings that has not yet been considered at the present session, namely, item 109, entitled "The situation in the Middle East".

191. Extensive consultations have indicated that, owing to the 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.

192. As a result of those consultations, it is felt that the best course to follow would be to resume the session

* Resumed from the 2311th meeting.

** Resumed from the 2323rd meeting.

if at any time circumstances warrant the General Assembly's consideration of this item. This procedure was already adopted at the end of the twenty-eighth session. 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 item 109. The same procedure would be used in setting a date for the resumption of the session. Therefore, from the procedural point of view, the session would not be declared closed.

193. If I hear 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-ninth session

194. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In view of the decision just taken by the Assembly, it is quite clear that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will not be declared closed.

195. However, before adjourning this meeting, I shall call on the chairmen of the regional groups and on the representative of the United States, in his capacity as representative of the host country—all of whom have asked to speak.

196. I call first upon the Chairman of the African group, Mr. Yao of the Upper Volta.

197. Mr. YAO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I have the rare privilege and the pleasant duty, as we are about to conclude our work, to tell you simply, on behalf of the African group, how grateful we are to you. It is a simple expression of thanks because, despite our great pride and satisfaction at the brilliant way in which you have discharged the heavy responsibilities entrusted to you by the Assembly in your unanimous election, the fact that you belong to Africa requires a certain modesty on our part.

198. Allow me, none the less, Sir, to point out how superbly you have presided over the meetings of our Assembly; and this you have done with a rare determination and an obvious desire to solve certain problems which up to now, because of a certain tradition, had seemed likely to remain unsolved. The question of the credentials of South Africa and the question of the national rights of the Palestinian people are outstanding examples of this. Courage is always necessary to find the light; but even before the opening of this session, we Africans already knew that Boutrika was not accustomed to turning his back on truth or on responsibility.

199. This year, despite a most uncertain international situation, one of suspicion and mutual mistrust and hence not very favourable for frank and fruitful international co-operation, it has nevertheless been comforting to observe that our session has been able, in many fields, thanks to your courage, to make outstanding achievements, which have now become part of the assets of our Organization. Is it not precisely because of certain of these achievements, which some of the privileged of yester-year have found difficult to accept, that some speak these days of a "mechan-

ical majority", a "tyrannical majority", and even of an "irresponsible majority"?

200. This session has certainly been a difficult one because it has been one of truth—a session in which no compromise could be accepted when the triumph of justice and the right of peoples to self-determination and independence had to be ensured. Thus, through struggle and sacrifice, a sister nation, Guinea-Bissau, supported by anti-colonialist forces, has gained national sovereignty. What is more, the determination of the national liberation movements, supported by peoples that believe in just causes and in the defence at any cost, of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, has finally brought down the fascist régime in Portugal, so that tomorrow it will be the turn of Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique and Angola.

201. From this standpoint, is it Utopian to hope that such a day is not far off for the Palestinian people?

202. I am well aware that this is not the time for polemics, but I felt it important to recall, as we are about to take our leave of one another and as each of us is preparing to return home, that it is the hope of creating a better world that should bring our Organization as you said, Sir, to rely on the trilogy of principles which you quite properly evoked at the beginning of our session: the principles, of course, of justice, freedom and peace. Whatever may be the outcome of our work, however, we believe that this is not the time either to define our differences, but rather to reconcile them. That is why Africa voices the hope that when we gather again next year to resume our debates we shall each do so in such a way that none of us will permit individual interests to take precedence over our collective interest. It is also to be hoped that a new attitude will emerge, one which will promote the solution of problems affecting international peace and security, the essence of the items debated during every session.

203. Until that time comes, may I, on behalf of the African group, express our gratitude to all delegations for their courtesy, even when the complexity of the problems before us did not always make relations simple.

204. Moreover, I could not conclude without adding to the well-deserved tribute paid to you, Mr. President, our tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim; the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Morse; and to all those working with them: the senior staff of the Secretariat, the interpreters, translators, secretaries, documents officers and technicians of all kinds; the security force and all those whom we see, and also those whom we do not see, lost in the anonymity of their offices. They deserve our deep thanks and sincere appreciation for their devotion and for their untiring efforts in the service of the Assembly.

205. Let me not forget the two persons who presided over the meetings of the Security Council during this session when it met at the request of the African group to deal with the difficult problem of southern Africa—the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon and the representative of Australia. We should like to thank them for having offered all their

talent and experience to assist in the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*.

206. The third Secretary-General of the Organization, U Thant, has left us. He has left with us an eternal message of peace and fraternity, two ideals enshrined in his entire life. I should like to request all delegations to meditate upon his noble legacy as we take leave of one another.

207. Mr. President, I should like to extend to you and to all the members of the Assembly the best wishes of the African group for a year of peace and fraternity in freedom for all.

208. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call upon the Chairman of the Asian group, Mr. Rossides of Cyprus.

209. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, at the conclusion of this session, as Chairman of the Asian group, I wish to express our deepest appreciation for the effectiveness and wisdom of your leadership as well as for the frankness of your initiatives, which have inspired a comparable frankness in ensuing discussions on vital subjects such as strengthening the role of the United Nations. From such discussions emphases emerged—among other things on the need to implement United Nations resolutions. The sincerity and frankness of the discussion on that subject led the General Assembly session to conclude in a spirit of hopeful co-operation.

210. Under your wise guidance, Mr. President, all the Committees of the Assembly successfully concluded their work in time, and also satisfactorily. May I express here, on behalf of the Asian group, our profound sense of gratitude to you, Mr. President, for your signal contribution to the United Nations and to its future.

211. On this occasion, I also wish to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his imaginative endeavours towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the cause of justice and peace in the world.

212. Our thanks go also to the capable and energetic Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, all his assistants and all members of the Secretariat for their assistance in the demanding task of this General Assembly.

213. In this connexion I wish to express our gratitude also to the chairmen and officers of the Main Committees, who effectively contributed to the success of this session.

214. In assessing the achievements of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, perhaps one may say that the most positive element is the completion and adoption of the Definition of Aggression [resolution 3314 (XXIX)], after so many decades of repeated and fruitless efforts. That achievement acquires greater significance in the light of cases of aggression which over the years have constituted unmistakable signs of deterioration in the very concept of international security through the United Nations.

215. Another mark of positiveness in the work of this Assembly under your guidance, Mr. President, has been the unanimous adoption of constructive resolutions on controversial international issues. The

effectiveness of such unanimous adoption lies in their consequent implementation. In this spirit, the General Assembly has proceeded in a very positive and constructive way. The achievement of the Definition of Aggression acquires more significance in the light of unmistakable signs of deterioration in the very concept of international security and legal order in our time.

216. The practical effect of the Definition of Aggression is that, without interfering with the discretion of the Security Council, it can serve as a guide in determining acts of aggression under the Charter; but it will be of little practical avail to international security if in actual practice Security Council resolutions remain unimplemented, for the implementation of United Nations resolutions, and particularly decisions of the Security Council, lies at the very root of the essential functions of the United Nations in its primary and main responsibility—that of maintaining international security and peace, which constitutes the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

217. For that reason, in Articles 41 and 42, the Charter mandatorily provides for such implementation. On this occasion it is submitted that it is of paramount interest to the international community that the Charter as it stands be effectively adhered to, for long frustration arising from a lack of implementation might give cause to question the validity of the Charter. But, in any case, the question is really one of implementation, and this question of implementation of United Nations resolutions has pertinently been brought out in discussions on the subject of strengthening the role of the United Nations. It was generally felt that when resolutions of the United Nations remain unimplemented it prejudicially affects the authority, the prestige and the very credibility of the Organization, with harmful consequences for all nations and peoples and the cause of peace. Indeed, the nations of the world are now delicately poised on the verge of a new historic era, an era that will be either one of progressive ascent in a new world of reason and security through international legal order or one of rapid decline sliding down to anarchy and chaos.

218. Our former Secretary-General has left a legacy of warning to the world in this respect, and our present Secretary-General has also pointedly drawn attention to the dangers ahead and given a relevant warning in practically the same spirit: that we are precariously poised in delicate balance. That has also been philosophically noted by contemporary statesmen of big nations who have spoken to the effect that the next decade will be either one of great outputs of human creativity or the beginning of extraordinary degradation and disarray.

219. The need is being emphasized for a new spirit of interdependence in order to avoid uncontrollable political and economic and social chaos. In the face of warnings of such chaos from sources qualified to speak on the matter, can we the Members of the United Nations go home satisfied that the very survival of mankind is not at stake, and in the near future?

220. It is not my intention to sound dramatic or to bring a sense of pessimism to the otherwise hopeful prospects at the conclusion of this successful session of the General Assembly. It is however necessary to look at reality, stark reality, in the proper perspective, and try to improve the situation in the world by

improving the functioning of the United Nations, in a more determined and more constructive way, so that we can look ahead to the time when this Organization may become in practice a world Organization which can ensure international security, peace and progress to our world.

221. In this hope, may I, Mr. President, thank you again for your guidance in this Assembly.

222. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on Mr. Florin of the German Democratic Republic, speaking for the socialist States of Eastern Europe.

223. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, it is my honour, on behalf of the group of the socialist States of Eastern Europe, to express to you personally our sincere thanks and profound gratitude for the skilful, wise and competent leadership you have shown at this session of the General Assembly during which many important decisions have been adopted. Thanks to your industry and your fine political sense and statesmanlike abilities, it has become possible to conclude successfully the consideration of an extensive and important agenda at this session.

224. We should also like to express our gratitude to the Vice-Presidents and to the chairmen and members of all Committees. Our thanks go to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, to his associates and all the Secretariat staff, both those whom we see and those whom we do not see, who have been working tirelessly to bring our work to a successful conclusion.

225. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly has been held at a time characterized by further progress in the process of international *détente*. This process, which is in the interests of all peoples and States, has developed and expanded further. The results of the recent meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, and also between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, and the President of the French Republic, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, are of particular significance for the cause of peace, security, mutual understanding and increased co-operation. The positive changes that have occurred in international relations have created favourable conditions for United Nations activity on the basis of the United Nations Charter. We believe that the results of this session are evidence of this.

226. As is well known, one of the first acts of the General Assembly at the twenty-ninth session was the admission of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada as Members of this Organization.

227. At this session the Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions in decisive spheres of international co-operation, which will help to foster the further development of international *détente* and the solution of problems on the basis of sovereign equality and realism.

228. Among these decisions, without any doubt, are such resolutions as the one on the preparation of a convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of inter-

national security, human well-being and health [*resolution 3264 (XXIX)*], the resolution on preparations for the World Disarmament Conference [*resolution 3260 (XXIX)*], the resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 3332 (XXIX)*], and others too, the ultimate purpose of which is the achievement of a cessation of the arms race, and in particular of the nuclear-arms race.

229. This session has made a considerable contribution to the solution of the Middle East problem by adopting extremely valuable decisions on the question of Palestine, with the participation of representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It has become even more obvious that for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, it is essential to remove the causes of tension in that region. We share the opinion of the majority of Member States that this can only be done on condition that Israeli troops are withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories, that the security and independence of all countries of the region are guaranteed, and that the national rights of the people of Palestine are guaranteed, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own State.

230. We hope that at the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, the prompt reconvening of which is advocated by the socialist and Arab countries, a decision will be reached on the establishment of a just, lasting peace in that region.

231. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly on Cyprus [*resolution 3212 (XXIX)*], together with the decisions of the Security Council on this question, creates a sound basis for a rapid and just settlement of the Cyprus question that will maintain respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that country. The United Nations in its actions must be guided by its desire to defend the lawful interests and rights of the Cypriot people.

232. In our future activities in the spirit of the purposes and principles of the Charter we must devote particular attention to the Definition of Aggression, which has been adopted at this session [*resolution 3314 (XXIX)*].

233. The adoption by the United Nations of resolutions in the economic and social sphere and in the field of international law has confirmed the will of the Organization to take into account the historical trends of international development and its determination to contribute to co-operation based on equality. There is no doubt that the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] will have a positive effect not only on the work of the United Nations but generally on international economic co-operation on an equitable basis.

234. Important resolutions have been adopted against colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

235. The decision to deny the racist régime in Pretoria the right to speak for the people of South Africa, adopted by an overwhelming majority, is evidence of the determination of our Organization to put an end once and for all to the violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

236. The policy pursued by the new Government of Portugal has relieved this Assembly of a heavy burden and cleared the path to a just solution of the remaining problems of decolonization—a solution that will be in accordance with the will and the aspirations of the African peoples.

237. The outcome of the session confirms that international *détente* serves not only the cause of peace and international security but also the just struggle of the oppressed colonial peoples.

238. We note with satisfaction the growing co-operation between the socialist countries and the non-aligned countries.

239. By developing the process of international *détente* and actively advocating peaceful and equitable co-operation among States, we create the conditions required for more fruitful activity by the United Nations.

240. The task now awaiting us is that of implementing the important decisions adopted at this session.

241. The year 1974 is drawing to a close. It is essential to do everything possible to ensure that the new year of 1975 will be crowned with further success in guaranteeing lasting peace, international security and co-operation for the benefit of all peoples.

242. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the Chairman of the group of Latin American States, Mr. Siclait of Haiti.

243. Mr. SICLAIT (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the delegations of Latin America and on my own behalf, to thank you for the way in which you have guided our proceedings. You have undertaken the delicate task of presiding over the General Assembly at a time when the world is questioning the viability of the economic system in which it had heretofore placed its trust, at a time when the needs that require satisfaction are giving rise to tendencies to seek unilateral, preventive or defensive solutions. You have assumed this heavy responsibility with good grace and great wisdom. Thanks to your statesmanlike qualities, which make you a distinguished international personality, you have succeeded in maintaining a certain cohesion within the Assembly, despite divergent interests, so that we might find common solutions whether it be to help Honduras or Bangladesh, which were ravaged by catastrophic floods, or black peoples that are still victims of racial discrimination.

244. The decisions adopted under your guidance, such as those concerning disarmament and the denuclearization of some geographical areas, questions which were examined by the First Committee under the chairmanship of one of the most outstanding and distinguished sons of Latin America—I refer to my dear friend and colleague, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas—will have a great impact and favourable consequences on the well-being and prosperity of millions of human beings throughout the world.

245. For all those reasons, the delegations of Latin America would like to express their sincere congratulations and gratitude. They would also like, through me, to say to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to his immediate fellow-workers—in particular the indefatigable Under-Secretary-General for Political

and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse—to the interpreters and to all other members of the Secretariat how deeply they appreciated the very useful assistance they were given, patiently and courteously, so that the important work of this twenty-ninth session might be brought to a successful conclusion.

246. On behalf of the Latin American group and on behalf of my own delegation, I should like to express from this rostrum our friendship, our appreciation and our warm congratulations to the chairmen of the Committees and their officers as well as to all those delegations which during this session devoted themselves to the cause of justice and co-operation. We extend to them our best wishes for prosperity, peace and happiness.

247. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the Chairman of the group of Western European and other States, Mr. Plaja of Italy.

248. Mr. PLAJA (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, now that we are coming to the end of the work of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, I have the pleasure and privilege of addressing to you the thanks of the group of Western European and other States. The conclusion of the session is not, in our opinion, the time to draw up a detailed balance-sheet of the work that has been done. There is not even time for us to review, even quickly, the past three months of intense activity. This has indeed been an important session. Important decisions have been taken on difficult and sensitive issues. The Secretary-General, in his reports, has often drawn our attention to the fact that our Organization can only have the power and importance that the States composing it wish to give it.

249. The Organization, with its vocation to universality, is truly a mirror of the world and it represents the collective conscience of all the human race. This world, this human race—seeking for new solutions to problems old and new arising in all fields, economic, social, human rights and, lastly, political matters—this world, this human race, is now undergoing a process of rapid and profound change. The future course of history will to a large extent depend on the degree to which the nations of the world succeed in finding just and equitable solutions to these problems.

250. There is no better forum than the General Assembly for comparing ideas and establishing a constructive dialogue among all countries on these pressing current issues. It is this quest, carried on in all good faith, with a frankness, I would even say with a warmth, that reflects the sincerity of the convictions and the aims of every one of us, that sums up, in my view, the essential features of our work this year.

251. In guiding the work of this important session, you, Mr. President, have exhibited tireless dedication, dynamism, courtesy and patience. In performing your task, which has at times been so difficult, you have once again revealed the talents and qualities that have made you the eminent statesman and diplomat we all know, and that have elevated you to the presidency of this Assembly by unanimous election. The group of States in whose name I speak offers you its most sincere and cordial thanks for this.

252. I also wish to thank all the Vice-Presidents who shared with you the responsibility for the conduct of our labours. Our gratitude also goes to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. His tireless efforts to find solutions for the problems facing the Organization and his unswerving determination in the quest for ways and means to enable the Organization to carry out its tasks in ever-better fashion, are for us all an example and an encouragement.

253. I could not conclude, Mr. President, without also addressing my warm thanks to your associates; to all the Secretariat staff and, in particular, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Morse; to the interpreters, the translators, the secretaries, the security guards—I do not wish to forget anyone—in other words, to all of those who, through their assiduous work, have made possible a successful outcome for this session. I wish to take this opportunity to address to you, Sir, and to all delegations, our best wishes for the coming year, together with the hope that it will be for all a year of progress along the road to peace and justice.

254. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, Mr. Koh, of Singapore, will now address the Assembly.

255. Mr. KOH (Singapore): Mr. President, the delegations of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and my own country, the five member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, would like briefly to express our sentiments towards you.

256. This has been an extremely eventful and momentous session of the General Assembly. Our proceedings have sometimes been intense and heated. Throughout all those proceedings, you have presided over us with admirable calm and dignity. In doing so, you have preserved the dignity of this august Assembly. For this, all of us owe you our very warm appreciation. We have sometimes disagreed with one another on important issues at this session, but I am confident that we can all agree with the eloquent Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, when he described you as a "revolutionary President", and when he remarked that after you, the presidency of the General Assembly would never be the same again.

257. I conclude, Mr. President, by expressing to you and to the brave people of Algeria the very best wishes of the five delegations members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

258. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on Mr. Zaimi, of Morocco, who will address the Assembly on behalf of the group of Arab States.

259. Mr. ZAIMI (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, at the conclusion of the work of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the Moroccan delegation is pleased to speak in the name of the Arab group, which Morocco has the honour of representing this month, in order to express our feelings and sentiments at this time.

260. The twenty-ninth session has dealt with a number of important international issues which are directly related to the peace and security of the world.

During this session we have adopted a number of resolutions of great significance. Suffice it to mention here the resolutions concerning the cause of liberation and the elimination of racial discrimination, and those relating to economic problems and problems of development, matters whose further consideration we have referred to the seventh special session, to be held next September.

261. I should like also to refer to our decisions in the field of disarmament, on the preservation of world peace and the peaceful uses of scientific discoveries and our resolutions relating to human rights and social issues.

262. We can say that this session was one at which we reviewed and corrected the past. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly corrected its past in its treatment of the Palestine issue when it decided after long years to discuss this subject separately from what is termed the Middle East crisis. We have dealt with this subject in its proper framework, and we hope that as a result a real solution of this problem can at last be reached. The General Assembly also rectified its position when it invited the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to participate effectively in the work of this session and to have its say on other world issues unrelated to its own particular problems, thereby shouldering its international responsibility. The General Assembly has also corrected its stand with regard to South Africa and thus put an end to the abnormal situation which had allowed the delegation of that country to participate in the work of the General Assembly in spite of the rejection of its credentials. We also noted that the General Assembly has corrected its stand with regard to the problem of the Sahara and has observed that the manner in which colonialism is being liquidated in that part of the world is incompatible with the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

263. Before I conclude, I should like to refer also to economic matters, to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by our Assembly [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and to the resolution establishing the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 3349 (XXIX)*]. In this connexion, we hope that the General Assembly will be able to agree on the composition of this Committee.

264. Even though our work has sometimes been characterized by heated and over-eager discussion in the consideration of certain topics and in spite of the differences of view with regard to the means of solving the delicate problems we have examined, nevertheless as we look forward to a better future we venture to hope that in this we were governed by a positive spirit and that our disagreements will in no way affect the success of attempts to increase the chances of international peace and security in all parts of the globe. For we are fully convinced that the path is still long and that our task is still difficult.

265. It is a source of pride to the group on behalf of whom I am speaking today that the progress we have achieved during this session may be attributed to you, Mr. President, to your wise guidance and your objectivity and your just and fair spirit, as well as to what may be called your tactfulness in dealing with all subjects, which has enabled us to complete our con-

sideration of an agenda fraught with many difficult problems.

266. The Arab group would also like to extend its thanks to the Secretary-General and to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and to all staff members of the Secretariat, who have patiently co-operated with us and helped us to carry out our task. They have prepared a large number of documents, a number that increases every year.

267. Finally, the Arab group would like to express its thanks and gratitude to all other friendly delegations for the spirit of co-operation and understanding which has permeated our discussions and which has enabled us to carry out our task in full.

268. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call upon Mr. Scali of the United States in his capacity as representative of the host country.

269. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): As this session draws to a close, it is my privilege to say a word of farewell as representative of the host country.

270. This has been an active and much discussed session, one which we shall remember. One of the pleasant results of our work is that the personal and professional ties which we develop help to bind us together. Our close association over the past three months has been for me a rich and rewarding experience. As we part today and all of you return to your homes all over the world, you go with the warmest best wishes of my Government, my delegation and myself.

271. I wish to salute our President, Mr. Bouteflika, for his dedication and the many hours he has devoted to guiding our deliberations. I also wish to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Morse, as well as the members of the Secretariat, for their tireless service to our Organization. I hope that each and every one of you will have a pleasant journey and a well-deserved rest and that we shall return to renew our labours in a new year of greater peace and happiness.

272. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call upon Mr. Baroody, the representative of Saudi Arabia.

273. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Whereas Baroody has had the privilege of serving in this Organization since it was founded in San Francisco in 1945, noting that Baroody has known all the past Presidents of the General Assembly and three former Secretaries-General of this Organization, he has come to the following irrefutable conclusion: the Secretary-General and all members of the Secretariat have been wonderful throughout the twenty-ninth session, but you, Mr. President, have been simply fantastic. My love and best wishes to you all.

274. Long live the United Nations!

275. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Secretary-General, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: Although I might have been tempted to make a closing speech, the majority has dictated otherwise and the unanimous, inflexible and implacable decision that we will suspend rather than conclude

the twenty-ninth session has come between my perfectly normal, natural and legitimate desire to share my feelings and my thoughts with you, and the possibility of my doing so. I trust that I shall have an opportunity to do so on another occasion. I must say that I am not particularly sorry that you have reached this decision. All things considered, I believe that we are much too close to events to be able to ponder them well and perhaps also too close to the facts to be able to assess them in all objectivity.

276. So until we can prepare a new recipe, as it were, I shall content myself with using another that has turned out well in the past and I shall follow the example of my predecessor, President Leopoldo Benites, with all the sobriety that was characteristic of him.

277. Before I suspend this session, then, may I be allowed to convey to you all, in a few words, my warmest and most heartfelt thanks for your co-operation, without which I most certainly could not have carried out the task that you were kind enough to assign to me—a task which I can indeed say was overwhelming. The fact is that our task, our work, has not always been easy; and perhaps I can also say that, to everyone's general satisfaction, our debates have been quite animated. The problems which have come to the Assembly are problems which, justifiably enough, arouse more than the mere interest of our countries, and we have all certainly tried to be worthy of the great ideals on which the United Nations was founded.

278. The United Nations is embarked on a long journey—as indeed it must be if it is to achieve its objectives. It might be claimed that on that long journey this session represents but a short stage, but still it does represent one stage. Undeniable progress has been made in many sensitive areas. The Organization has most certainly laid the groundwork for future sessions. This session is therefore part of a consistent whole, wherein we are trying to prepare a better future for all mankind.

279. The Secretary-General, as you all know, has shown tireless devotion to duty at my side—and what makes that devotion even more worthy of praise is his discretion.

280. Mr. Morse, now my friend, has, day and night, given of himself, at the head of a team, all of whose merits and qualities perhaps not even the employees of the United Nations have yet discovered.

281. My gratitude goes also to the other officers of the Assembly. They have, to a man, shown great faithfulness to duty, and I wish to pay a tribute to that. Any of them might not have deemed fit to bring their actions and ethics into conformity with the whole framework of the work of the twenty-ninth session, that we have tried to make consistent; but they did what was required of them, and many of them have done more.

282. My thanks also go to all the members of the Secretariat, to those whom we see but never hear and to those whom we hear and never see—and especially to the members of the Interpretation Service who have shown their customary devotion to our work. It is perhaps a commonplace to say that we owe a great deal to them but we do owe a great deal to their help in our efforts at mutual understanding, and the intel-

ligible exchange of ideas and opinions. Their role, albeit modest, requires that a special tribute be paid to them, and I am doing this with a special pleasure because in my position perhaps I, more than anyone else, have had occasion to rely on their co-operation and understanding, and to beg their patience and their contribution to our common efforts.

283. I shall not forget the press. For the first time since I have been in this Organization—and I definitely have the impression now that I have been here for quite some time—the press has accorded the United Nations the importance it deserves. It matters little perhaps that some facts have been distorted; it matters little perhaps that at times truths have been turned into untruths; it matters little perhaps that what is obvious has been made obscure. The main thing is that this session was not received with indifference. The specialists in the field of information used to say in the past: “I do not want you to say anything good or bad about me. The only thing that I ask of you is to spell my name correctly”.

284. I think I can safely say that the United Nations is no longer the property of just those who work here. It has become the business of the people of the world, it has become the business of world opinion, it has become the business of the entire international community, and I am glad that that is so; although perhaps at times I have been a scapegoat, I am indeed pleased that I have been at the centre of this great awakening. It was only natural, of course, that those who have worked side by side with me should have expected it of me, and from the bottom of my heart I thank all the others for having tolerated me.

285. This will be a memorable or a historic session; but I know personally that history is not written in the present. This session may come to be considered revolutionary; but I know that evolution, like revolu-

tion, can only be judged by results. We shall take the necessary time to ponder on all the events that we have seen so closely and to draw the appropriate conclusions.

286. Since I shall have an opportunity one day to share with you the conclusions I reach—and I request your indulgence here and now in that regard because I shall not fail to be frank and shall always call a spade a spade, regardless of the circumstances—in conclusion may I now, on the threshold of the holidays and the New Year, give you my best wishes for your good health, happiness and prosperity. I should also like, through you, to express the same feelings to the peoples you represent. After this particularly trying session, I can safely say that I understand and share everyone's desire for a well-earned rest, a rest that will make it possible for us to resume our work in a more relaxed and more serene atmosphere, with renewed optimism.

287. Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with the decision you reached a short time ago, I now declare suspended the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 10.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Second Committee, 1643rd meeting, paras. 15-16.*

² *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Resumed Fifty-seventh Session, 1924th meeting, paras. 1-31.*

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Second Committee, 1643rd meeting, paras. 4-10.*

⁴ *Ibid., Fifth Committee, 1689th meeting.*