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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 20 September 1993, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)

- Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: letter from the President of the Economic and Social Council [8] (continued)
- Report of the Economic and Social Council [12] (continued)
- Social Development [93] (continued)
 - (a) Questions relating to the world social situation and to youth, ageing, disabled persons and the family
- Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization: draft resolution [10] (continued)
- Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments [17] (continued)
 - (h) Appointment of a member of the Joint Inspection Unit: note by the President

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- The situation of democracy and human rights in Haiti [22] (continued)
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- Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security [42] (continued)
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- Convening of an international conference on Somalia [152] (continued)
- Restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields [47] (continued)

- Closing address by the President
- Minute of silent prayer or meditation [2] (continued)
- Closure of the session

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (A/47/1011)

The PRESIDENT: This morning the General Assembly will first turn its attention to document A/47/1011, which contains a letter dated 2 September 1993 from the President of the Economic and Social Council addressed to me. The annex to that letter contains the text of a draft resolution on the International Year of the Family; the Economic and Social Council recommends that draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly. The President of the Economic and Social Council requests that, in order to facilitate the preparatory process for the International Year of the Family, action on the draft resolution be taken before the end of the forty-seventh session.

To enable the Assembly to take the required action it will be necessary to reopen consideration of agenda items 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council" and 93 (a), "Questions relating to the world social situation and to youth, ageing, disabled persons and the family".

May I take it that the Assembly wishes to reopen consideration of agenda items 12 and 93 (a)?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it also that the Assembly wishes to consider those two items directly in plenary meeting?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: May I further take it that the Assembly agrees to proceed immediately to the consideration of the draft resolution contained in the annex to document A/47/1011?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 12 and 93 (continued)

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

- (a) QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION AND TO YOUTH, AGEING, DISABLED PERSONS AND THE FAMILY

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution contained in the annex to document A/47/1011, entitled "International Year of the Family".

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 47/237).

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 12 and sub-item (a) of agenda item 93?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 10 (continued)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION: DRAFT RESOLUTION A/47/L.65

The PRESIDENT: In connection with this item, which includes "An Agenda for Peace", the Assembly has before it a draft resolution issued as document A/47/L.65.

I should like to point out that in the English version of the draft resolution, in the first line of paragraph 5 of section V, the word "should" is to be deleted.

The draft resolution before us is a consensus text. It is the result of extensive consultations undertaken on my behalf by His Excellency Ambassador Nabil Elaraby, Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations, as Chairman of the informal open-ended working group on agenda item 10, along with his close associates, His Excellency Ambassador Juan Antonio Yáñez Barnuevo, Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, who was the Vice-Chairman of the working group, and His Excellency Ambassador Francis Mahon Hayes, Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to them for their productive efforts and to all Member States that made a significant contribution through their constructive participation in the activities of the working group.

(The President)

The draft resolution before the Assembly today represents a solid step forward.

I call on the representative of Egypt.

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt): It gives me great pleasure to report back to you, Mr. President, on the successful conclusion of the work of the informal working group on the report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace".

The draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.65 is the result of an extended process spanning nine months of consultations and deliberations. The active participation of many delegations has been a clear indication that Member States are determined to address the Secretary-General's proposals contained in "An Agenda for Peace" and build upon what has already been accomplished by the adoption of resolution 47/120. This fact was clear throughout the entire process, in which clear recognition of the vital importance of enhancing the role of the General Assembly in considering, evaluating and implementing the proposals contained in "An Agenda for Peace" was demonstrated.

The point of departure of the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" was to strive for reform based on a vision to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations to meet future challenges. The ideas and proposals presented in the report were discussed within the context of the working group. The draft resolution aims at elaborating and refining many of these proposals. By reconciling divergent views and stretching far enough to attain a consensus, the objective was always to seek a balanced text that would command the widest possible support. No doubt some delegations would have preferred more articulate formulations - and I subscribe to such a view - but, in all candour, it should be noted that time was needed for Governments to take stock of the rapid developments we witness every day. Time is now needed for Governments to analyse and digest these developments, and then agreement on the required improvements will, hopefully, be reached. When faced with difficult options one has to be a realist and accept the gradual, incremental approach.

The draft resolution acknowledges the importance and usefulness of several measures suggested by the Secretary-General in "An Agenda for Peace". With respect to certain new concepts, such as preventive deployment, demilitarized

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

zones and post-conflict peace-building, the draft resolution contains progressive development to the extent possible, reflecting that they are relatively novel concepts that continue to evolve and develop.

Agreement was also reached on some measures to improve the implementation of Article 50 of the United Nations Charter in order to alleviate adverse consequences arising from the carrying out of preventive enforcement measures taken by the Security Council. The draft resolution invites the Security Council to consider a range of measures with a view to establishing appropriate means for resolving special economic problems. It is reassuring to note that the draft resolution encourages States to make greater use of the International Court of Justice for peaceful settlement of disputes. The draft resolution also decides to keep under examination all the recommendations of the Secretary-General in this regard. It is therefore expected that the General Assembly will examine the Secretary-General's proposals to authorize him, pursuant to Article 96, paragraph 2 of the Charter, to take advantage of the advisory competence of the Court, and that other United Nations organs which already enjoy such authorization will turn to the Court more frequently for advisory opinions.

In conclusion, allow me to express my deep appreciation to you, Mr. President, for having conferred upon me the responsibility of chairing the informal open-ended working group, a task which was by no means an easy one but which was greatly facilitated by your support and guidance. The cooperation of the Vice-Chairmen of the working group, Ambassador Yáñez Barnuevo, Permanent Representative of Spain, and, later, Ambassador Hayes, Permanent Representative of Ireland, was crucial. Their wide and distinguished experience in political and legal matters assured the successful conclusion of our work.

I cannot imagine that the task of the working group would have been accomplished without the invaluable support, advice and creativity of the Chairmen of the drafting groups, Ambassador Osvald of Sweden, Ambassador Cárdenas of Argentina, Ambassador Türk of Slovenia, Ambassador Sreenivasan of India and the Deputy Permanent Representative of Singapore, Mr. Mark Hong.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Their tireless efforts and outstanding abilities have contributed immensely to the success of our work.

Before concluding, I should like to acknowledge with appreciation the support, the patience and the perseverance of the Secretariat. Assistant Secretary-General Benon Sevan and his collaborators, Mr. Tapio Kanninen and all the others, carried out their tasks with admirable dedication.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the members of the delegations who have participated in the work of the group and constantly demonstrated willingness to cooperate with the Chair with objectivity and, more importantly, with flexibility, thus enabling us to reach a successful conclusion of our work.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/47/L.65, entitled "An Agenda for Peace".

May I take it the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/47/L.65, as revised in the English version?

Draft resolution A/47/L.65, as orally amended, was adopted
(resolution 47/120 B).

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I welcome the adoption by the General Assembly of this resolution on "An Agenda for Peace". It follows a previous resolution of the General Assembly, resolution 47/120, and eight presidential statements by the Security Council on this subject.

Today's resolution is an important step forward in the follow-up to "An Agenda for Peace". It covers, in particular, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building. This is encouraging progress. It will help to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to respond to a world in a state of rapid transition.

I am gratified by the attention given to "An Agenda for Peace" by Member States in the 15 months since I produced it. There have been many meetings, both formal and informal. The process of debate has resulted in today's invaluable guidance. Today's resolution shows the determination of Member States to pursue the effective implementation of the report.

(The Secretary-General)

The resolution expresses general support for the concepts of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building.

Other sections of the resolution, however, require action, both by the United Nations system and by intergovernmental bodies. They are those concerned with the role of the General Assembly; special economic problems arising from the implementation of preventive or enforcement measures, i.e., Article 50 of the Charter; post-conflict peace-building; and the safety of personnel.

I welcome the recognition by the General Assembly of the important and effective role which measures of preventive deployment and demilitarized zones have played in the past. I am gratified, too, by the decision to give further consideration to the role of such measures and to their effective implementation in the future.

I also welcome the Assembly's positive response on the subject of special problems arising from the implementation of preventive or enforcement measures. The Assembly recognizes that an immediate solution should be found to such problems, provided Member States wish such measures to be effective, in situations where they are applied as an alternative to the use of force.

The Assembly recognizes the need for sustained cooperative effort by the United Nations to deal with the underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian causes and effects of conflicts, to promote durable foundations for peace. I am pleased that the General Assembly has acknowledged the usefulness of the concept of post-conflict peace-building. I am grateful, too, that the Assembly has affirmed its readiness to support a wide range of activities in this area.

While the resolution does not address all the recommendations contained in my report concerning the use of the International Court of Justice, the Assembly has reaffirmed the role of the International Court of Justice, under the Charter, in the peaceful settlement of disputes. I look forward to the Assembly's further examination of all my recommendations concerning the International Court of Justice. They include recommendations on the use of the advisory competence of the Court.

(The Secretary-General)

As Secretary-General, I am moving to implement all the recommendations made on "An Agenda for Peace" by the various intergovernmental organs and bodies involved. I have set up an interdepartmental task force in the Secretariat. It will work out practical measures in response to specific decisions by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

In "An Agenda for Peace", I stressed the importance of measures of economic and social development in laying the foundations for a peaceful world. The work of the United Nations in the social and economic fields is inseparable from its responsibility to promote international peace and security. I intend to explore these linkages further, and to develop a more comprehensive concept of international peace and security, in "An Agenda for Development".

In the post-cold-war period, the world needs a new system for maintaining international peace and security. In "An Agenda for Peace", I set out proposals for strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations in discharging its responsibilities under the Charter.

The proposals form a consistent and integrated set of measures to address human security in all its aspects.

The resolution which the General Assembly has just adopted takes a step towards the realization of a new international consensus and framework for action in the field of international peace and security.

I hope, therefore, that the implementation process will now proceed vigorously. I will do all I can to facilitate it. Where recommendations have not yet received formal consideration by Member States, I urge the Assembly and the Security Council to do so without delay.

(The Secretary-General)

Last but not least, I must pay a special tribute to the Chairman of the informal open-ended working group, Ambassador Nabil Elaraby of Egypt, and to his close associates, Ambassador Yánez Barnuevo of Spain and Ambassador Francis Hayes of Ireland, for their tireless efforts during the past eight months in negotiating the text of the resolution adopted today by consensus. I thank them for their contributions and their collaboration.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. WISNUMURTI (Indonesia): It is a distinct honour and privilege for me to speak on behalf of the non-aligned countries on the resolution which we have just adopted, contained in document A/47/L.65, concerning the Secretary-General's report on "An Agenda for Peace".

Let me start by expressing our sincere appreciation and thanks to Ambassador Elaraby of Egypt, Chairman of the open-ended working group dealing with the matter, for so ably guiding our deliberations. Once again, he has shown his leadership and wisdom, which have led to yet another concrete result in the form of the resolution, which addresses important aspects of the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" complementing resolution 47/120 of 18 December 1992, entitled "An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy and related matters" adopted last December. We are also indebted to the Co-Chairmen of the informal working group and the coordinators for their dedicated efforts, which have culminated in the adoption of this resolution.

The concepts, issues and approaches contained in the report "An Agenda for Peace" are of fundamental importance to the non-aligned countries. The basic action, as emphasized by the final documents adopted by the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Jakarta in September of last year, is that:

"'democracy within the family of nations would require the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the Organization'." (A/47/675, chap. II, para. 28)

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

They also endorsed

"the Secretary-General's view that resort to preventive diplomacy could be pursued through early identification of potential conflicts; engagement in peace-keeping where conflict occurs; preservation of post-conflict peace through peace-keeping and assistance in the implementation of agreements achieved; post-conflict peace-building; and the adoption of measures aimed at addressing the deeper political and socio-economic causes of conflict".

(ibid)

The Tenth Non-Aligned Conference also attached particular importance to the restructuring, democratization and enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations.

It is within that framework that since the report of the Secretary-General was first discussed in the informal working group last year the non-aligned countries have made valuable contributions in addressing the various proposals contained in "An Agenda for Peace". From the beginning of this exercise, which began nine months ago, we have been conscious of the complexities of the issues involved. They are of interest and concern to all Member States in varying degrees. We also recognize that many of these proposals are new and evolving and therefore call for a cautious approach and serious introspection.

Because of these compelling factors, we have been imbued from the very beginning of this exercise with a sense of the need to be flexible but without, at the same time, compromising on the immutable principles on which the Non-Aligned Movement is built.

Having said that, let me express our satisfaction that the second phase of our discussion on the remaining aspects of the report "An Agenda for Peace" have gone equally well. The useful and exhaustive discussions that took place among so many Member States have helped to clarify the ramifications of the issues and concepts involved and to bridge the differing views. The results, by and large, were profoundly gratifying. We need only recall the substantive areas of consensus achieved on a number of pertinent questions. At the same time, it

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

should also be noted that, being a consensus text, the resolution contains certain elements and formulations that did not fully meet our expectations. This, however, does not undermine the fact that, in many parts, the resolution generally reflects the views of the non-aligned countries.

In this context, we take particular note of the section of the resolution relating to the strengthening of the General Assembly's role. As may be recalled, the non-aligned countries called for enhancing the General Assembly's role in accordance with its powers and functions, as provided for in the Charter. The resolution seeks to achieve this objective through, inter alia, the full and effective use of the functions and powers set out in Articles 10, 14 and 22 of the Charter. It is understood that the call to enhance the role of the General Assembly should not be confined only to those Articles; thus, it should include other provisions concerning the functions and powers of the Assembly that, in our view, are of equal importance.

On preventive deployment and demilitarized zones, the resolution stresses the importance of transparency and consultations with Member States involved in any decision-making concerning the undertaking by the United Nations of preventive deployment, or the establishment of demilitarized zones. It reaffirms that such undertakings should be based on the consent of, and, in principle, on a request by, the Member State or States involved, having taken into account the position of other States concerned and all other relevant factors.

Another important provision in the resolution is the emphasis given to respect for the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, and non-intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. These principles should certainly guide any undertaking of preventive deployment or demilitarized zones. The provisions that I have just highlighted could provide some assurance that preventive deployment and demilitarized zones can really promote the prevention or containment of conflicts and not instead aggravate the situation or the conflict.

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

We welcome the call to consider making greater use of the International Court of Justice in the peaceful settlement of disputes. We believe, however, that this should not be construed as undermining the importance of optional jurisdiction under Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. We are pleased with the provision in the resolution that requests States to consider making contributions to the Trust Fund to assist States in resolving their disputes through the Court.

The resolution also addresses the special economic problems arising from the implementation of preventive or enforcement measures as provided for in Article 50 of the Charter. It behoves the Security Council to recognize the urgency of the situation and to institute appropriate measures. We sincerely hope that the establishment of the voluntary fund will lead to the alleviation of the special problems faced by certain countries owing to the imposition of sanctions.

While recognizing that post-conflict peace-building is a new and evolving concept, the resolution acknowledges the usefulness of the proposals of the Secretary-General on this matter contained in his report. It is indeed appropriate that activities for post-conflict peace-building should be undertaken in conformity with the Charter and on the basis of agreements ending conflicts or reached after a conflict, or at the request of the Government or Governments concerned.

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

The resolution explicitly acknowledges the role of the regional arrangements and organizations in contributing to the attainment of the objectives set forth in the Secretary-General's report. In this context, we are familiar with the fruitful cooperation between the United Nations and various regional agencies that have acted as partners in facilitating the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

The question of the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel is dealt with in the final part of the resolution. We are of the view that the consideration of further steps to enhance the status and safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel is a matter of urgency.

It is therefore clear that, in reaching a common understanding on this set of complex issues, we have succeeded in the delicate and difficult task of reconciling divergent views.

In conclusion, as a result of the deliberations during the past nine months, we have come to appreciate each other's concern and interest. We hope that this spirit of cooperation and compromise, which has characterized our deliberations so far, will be carried forward into the future.

The resolution, taken as a whole and in conjunction with the Charter, constitutes an essential foundation upon which a durable edifice for peace and security can be built. The non-aligned countries believe that this is a continuing process whose success can be assured by the active participation of all Member countries.

Mr. MARUYAMA (Japan): Japan joined the consensus on the just-adopted resolution on "An Agenda for Peace". The document is the result of nine months of intensive discussion. While it may not satisfy all parties, it does reflect the current thinking among Member States on ways and means of strengthening the role of the United Nations in the area of international peace and security.

Japan participated actively in the deliberations of the Assembly's open-ended working group and intends to continue its active engagement in any follow-up to "An Agenda for Peace". I should like to stress that this consensus

(Mr. Maruyama, Japan)

document is only the first step. We will have to elaborate our thinking further and work together if we are to meet successfully the new challenges of the post-cold-war era.

Japan wishes to take this opportunity to express its deep appreciation to all the delegates who contributed actively and with patience to achieving this consensus. Our particular thanks go to Ambassador Elaraby of Egypt, Ambassador Yáñez Barnuevo of Spain and Ambassador Hayes of Ireland, who chaired the working group of the whole and skilfully managed to bridge many differences. Our thanks also go to Ambassador Osvald of Sweden, Ambassador Cardenas of Argentina, Ambassador Sreenivasan of India and Minister Counsellor Hong of Singapore, all of whom performed the difficult task of guiding their respective working groups.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): I should like to begin by paying a special tribute to Ambassador Nabil Elaraby, the Permanent Representative of Egypt, for the most sagacious and determined leadership that he provided to the ad hoc open-ended working group of the General Assembly which finalized the important resolution that we have just adopted. Ambassador Elaraby has done us all the greatest service through his skilful diplomacy in bringing together an understanding on issues of great importance and diverse, long-range complexity.

We are also grateful to all those representatives who chaired, with great skill and ability, the various drafting groups in which various sections of the resolution were negotiated. Without the hard work put in by them, and of course by individual delegations, this resolution would not have been possible today.

The subjects dealt with in resolution 47/120 and the latest resolution, which complements the earlier one, are of great significance, especially in the present context. Indeed, in our view the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" came at a most opportune moment in the history of the United Nations. We regard this report as one of the most important documents to emerge in the field of international relations, and feel that it contains a visionary perception of the evolution of current trends.

We therefore warmly welcomed the report, and wholeheartedly supported the many far-reaching and constructive recommendations contained therein. In our

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

view, these suggestions were of particular interest and value to the small and medium-sized States, which constitute the bulk of the United Nations membership. We had hoped that other delegations would regard the Secretary-General's recommendations in the same positive light. We therefore went to the open-ended, ad hoc working group with a forward looking and ambitious brief.

Unfortunately, the final product that we have today adopted falls short of our expectations. We have accepted it in a spirit of compromise as a consensus document representing both the lowest common denominator and a delicate balance among divergent positions. We feel that in the search for consensus a number of caveats and qualifications had to be accepted, particularly in the case of important concepts such as preventive deployment, demilitarized zones and post-conflict peace-building, thereby detracting from their importance and effectiveness.

We were particularly dismayed at the refusal of certain States, enjoying military preponderance in their regions, to endorse unequivocally these concepts, the very purpose of which is to check aggressive designs and prevent the outbreak of conflicts.

The section on the International Court of Justice and the one on special economic problems arising from the implementation of preventive or enforcement measures were practically stonewalled by a group of delegations representing some powerful countries. While the latter section still has something to offer, the one on the International Court of Justice is in our view virtually devoid of substance.

We remain convinced of the validity and the usefulness of the Secretary-General's various recommendations, no matter how radical or innovative they might appear to some. Looking at the plethora of conditions introduced into the resolution, as well as at the grudging acceptance of ideas that deserve to be strongly endorsed, one cannot escape the feeling that perhaps the Secretary-General's report is a little ahead of its time, but, then, that has frequently been the fate of all visionaries. Nevertheless, we regard resolution 47/120 and the one adopted today not as the culmination of an exercise, but, rather, as the beginning of a journey.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

I wish to conclude by reiterating our warm appreciation and thanks to Ambassador Elaraby for his splendid and inspiring leadership.

Mr. ANSARI (India): India has been a strong supporter of the role of the United Nations in world affairs in accordance with the principles of the Charter. This consideration has also guided our approach to the present resolution, which we have supported in a spirit of cooperation.

The cornerstone of the Charter is respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-interference in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. These principles remain as true today as they were when the Charter was adopted. We are pleased to note that the present resolution has reaffirmed these principles as crucial to any common endeavour to promote international peace and security.

The General Assembly is the principal organ of the world body, in which all Member States are represented. We note that the resolution has reaffirmed the role of the General Assembly.

The Charter recognizes achieving international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character as one of the principal purposes of the United Nations. An agenda for development is therefore necessary to complement "An Agenda for Peace". A balance between the United Nations development and peace-keeping activities is thus essential. It is equally important that the United Nations decision-making should be broad-based, to ensure the widest measure of support for its peace-keeping activities.

(Mr. Ansari, India)

With regard to preventive deployment, my delegation stresses that this should be undertaken only after exhausting fully the entire range of measures for the pacific settlement of disputes. There is also a need to exercise caution so that preventive deployment does not become an instrument to serve the partisan purposes of States. The resolution stresses that the implementation of any concepts and proposals on preventive deployment and demilitarized zones contained in "An Agenda for Peace" should be in conformity with the provisions of the Charter. The resolution acknowledges that preventive deployment and the establishment of demilitarized zones are to be considered on a case-by-case basis. My delegation is of the view that in each case where preventive deployment or a demilitarized zone is considered it should be fully in conformity with the principles of the Charter. In the case of disputes between States, my delegation feels that preventive deployment on international borders should be decided with the consent of both the States parties to the dispute. In keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter, preventive deployment should not be considered where the situation on the ground is ambiguous and not in conformity with the stipulations of the Charter with regard to the role of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General has stressed in his report, "An Agenda for Peace", that States affected by special economic problems should have a realistic possibility of having their difficulties addressed under Article 50 of the Charter. Sanctions are a means of implementing the will of the international community against errant States. They will lose their meaning if the adverse impact of the sanctions goes against the crucial political and economic stability of the larger community and in the process jeopardizes the will to act against errant States. The present resolution recommends a set of measures which we hope will be the beginning of the process of finding a satisfactory solution to a problem on which a large number of non-aligned and other States have expressed concern. We hope particularly that funds to provide financial assistance to affected countries can be established simultaneously with the imposition of sanctions, as this would demonstrate the genuine concern of the United Nations for the plight of the nations adversely affected. My delegation

(Mr. Ansari, India)

also believes that such funds should be established on the basis of assessed contributions.

My delegation supports the role of regional arrangements and agencies in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. We note that the present resolution recognizes the role of regional arrangements in their fields of competence. Action by regional organizations should be limited to their own regions, should be in relation to their member States, and, above all, should be without intervention in the internal affairs of other States. International cooperation should be without distinction as to race, sex or religion, as stipulated in paragraph 3 of Article 1 of the Charter. Action by regional organizations should be based on the consent of all the States parties to a dispute. My delegation is also committed to the principle that the United Nations bears the principal responsibility in this matter.

Yet another important section in the text, dealing with post-conflict peace-building, rightly affirms the right of each State freely to choose its own political, social and economic systems and provides a clear framework for activities relating to the economic and social rehabilitation of conflict-torn countries. We are happy to note that the text avoids any attempt to prescribe interventionist measures in other States, on any account.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to record its appreciation for the tireless efforts of the open-ended working group, under the able guidance of Ambassador Elaraby, to harmonize the various points of view of Member States. We would like also to compliment the Permanent Representative of Indonesia, who, as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, effectively coordinated the position of non-aligned countries on various crucial and important issues contained in the Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace". The statement made today by the Permanent Representative of Indonesia on behalf of the non-aligned countries enjoys our full support.

In our view, any exercise in conceptualizing new ideas in the realm of international law and practice needs caution and prudence. The challenge before us is to clarify the normative concepts and procedural safeguards that can generate adequate confidence in the wider and larger interest of the international community.

Mr. WOOD (United Kingdom): Like others, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, and all those who assisted you in your efforts, which have resulted in the adoption of the resolution before us today. Our particular thanks go to Ambassador Elaraby, the Permanent Representative of Egypt and Chairman of the working group, for his remarkable efforts over many months.

The resolution probably satisfies no one in its entirety. We for our part regret that it did not prove possible for the Assembly to give more positive encouragement to a number of the valuable concepts in the Secretary-General's report - for example, to preventive deployment and demilitarized zones and to post-conflict peace-building. These concepts are evolving in practice on a case-by-case basis. We shall do all we can to ensure that this evolution continues in the future.

In conclusion, may I say how grateful we were to the Secretary-General for his remarks this morning and for his determination to promote further - and by action - the recommendations in "An Agenda for Peace".

Mr. HAYES (Ireland): The draft resolution in document A/47/L.65, which we have just adopted by consensus, is one of the most important to have come before the General Assembly during this session. It is an important step in the process of enhancing the role of the United Nations and enabling the Organization to respond more effectively to the challenges it faces by developing along the lines envisaged by the Secretary-General in his report, "An Agenda for Peace".

The resolution was the fruit of lengthy deliberations within the informal working group so ably chaired by the Permanent Representative of Egypt, Ambassador Elaraby. My delegation is pleased and honoured to have been able to take part in the work of the group, and we hope we have made some small contribution to the outcome. That outcome, in our view, is an accurate reflection of the current position of the States Members of the United Nations, collectively. We see it not as an end-point of the reform process, but as an important step along the way. We look forward to renewed efforts to develop further the themes addressed in the resolution. I assure the Assembly that we will endeavour to play an active and positive part in this process.

(Mr. Hayes, Ireland)

All seven sections of the resolution are important. In these few remarks I shall refer to just three of the sections, but I do not thereby intend to imply any hierarchy of importance between them.

In our view, the question of enhancing the role of the General Assembly so as to enable it to fulfil effectively the functions assigned to it under the Charter, as covered in section I of the resolution, is of particular importance. Accordingly, we welcome in particular the intention of the General Assembly to make full and effective use of its functions and powers as set out in Articles 10 and 14 of the Charter. We intend to play a full part in the General Assembly's consideration of the use of existing or new machinery to facilitate consideration of situations within the scope of Article 14 and in its consideration of ways and means to improve cooperation between the organs of the United Nations.

We also welcome the acknowledgement in section V of the usefulness of the Secretary-General's proposals relating to post-conflict peace-building. We consider that this is one of the most important activities that the Organization is called upon to carry out at the present time, and we look forward to an expansion of these activities in the future. We consider it particularly important that these activities should contribute to the establishment of democratically accountable institutions and to ensuring the full enjoyment of human rights in those areas where conflict has occurred.

Ireland, as a traditional troop-contributing country, shares the grave concern expressed in section VII of the resolution over the growing number of fatalities and injuries among United Nations peace-keeping and other personnel. We consider that this is an issue which deserves the highest priority, and we look forward to consideration during the coming session of further steps to enhance the safety and security of personnel. We trust that it will be possible in the near future to agree on concrete measures to this end.

We believe that this resolution will make an important contribution to ensuring that the United Nations can play the role which the peoples of the world expect of it. We accordingly welcome its adoption today by consensus.

Mr. CHERNIACOSKI (France) (interpretation from French): Since the publication of the Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", France has shown a keen interest in his analysis and proposals, especially with respect to preventive diplomacy and post-conflict peace-building. This is why, after contributing last autumn to the elaboration of the first resolution on the subject, France played an active part in the consultations of the informal working group of the General Assembly entrusted with the follow-up consideration of the report.

The text of this resolution reflects a balance between the positions of various Member States. In that respect I should like to say that my country hopes the scope of our resolutions will not exclude international realities or practices recently developed by our Organization. Too cautious an approach - particularly on certain concepts such as preventive deployment - will be inappropriate for the type of decision the United Nations will have to take in the new international context for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Finally, my delegation is pleased by the views expressed this morning by the Secretary-General and his intention to promote the ideas put forward in "An Agenda for Peace".

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 10?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 17 (continued)

APPOINTMENTS TO FILL VACANCIES IN SUBSIDIARY ORGANS AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS

(h) APPOINTMENT OF A MEMBER OF THE JOINT INSPECTION UNIT: NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT (A/47/809/Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: As indicated in document A/47/809/Add.1, as a result of consultations in accordance with Article 3, paragraph 2 of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, including consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and with the Secretary-General in his capacity as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Coordination, I now submit to the Assembly the candidature of Mr. Raúl Quijano of Argentina for appointment as a

(The President)

member of the Joint Inspection Unit for a five-year term of office, beginning on 1 January 1994.

May I take it that it is the wish to the General Assembly to appoint this candidate?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of sub-item (h) of agenda item 17.

AGENDA ITEM 22 (continued)

THE SITUATION OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN HAITI

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolutions 47/20 A of 24 November 1992 and resolution 47/20 B of 20 April 1993 on this item. As members know, this item has been included on the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 28

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that on 18 September 1992 the Assembly decided to include this item on the agenda of the present session.

It is my understanding that it would be desirable to defer consideration of this item to the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to defer consideration of this item and to include it on the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 28.

AGENDA ITEM 30 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly has adopted resolutions 47/64 A through E of 11 December 1992 on this item. As Members know, the item on the question of Palestine has been included on the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 35 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolutions 47/63 A and B of 11 December 1992 on this item. As members know, the item on the situation in the Middle East has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 35.

AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA: PROCEDURES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FIRM AND LASTING PEACE AND PROGRESS IN FASHIONING A REGION OF PEACE, FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolution 47/118 of 18 December 1992 on this item. As members know, the item on the situation in Central America has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 36.

AGENDA ITEM 40 (continued)

QUESTION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992 on this item. As members know, this item has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 40.

AGENDA ITEM 42 (continued)

ARMED ISRAELI AGGRESSION AGAINST THE IRAQI NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS AND ITS GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM CONCERNING THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that, on 18 September 1992, the Assembly decided to include this item in the agenda of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly and that, by decision 47/464 of 23 December 1992, it further decided to defer consideration of this item to a later date during this session and to include it in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session. As members know, this item has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 42.

AGENDA ITEM 45

QUESTION OF CYPRUS

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that, on 18 September 1992, the Assembly decided to include this item in the agenda of the present session but deferred a decision on the allocation of the item to an appropriate time during the session.

It is my understanding that it would be desirable to defer consideration of this item to the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

May I take it, then, that it is the wish of the Assembly to defer consideration of this item and to include it in the draft agenda of the forty-eighth session?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 45.

AGENDA ITEM 46

CONSEQUENCES OF THE IRAQI OCCUPATION OF AND AGGRESSION AGAINST KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that, on 18 September 1992, the Assembly decided to include this item in the agenda of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

(The President)

It is my understanding that it would be desirable to defer consideration of this item to the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

May I take it, then, that it is the wish of the Assembly to defer consideration of this item and to include it in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 46.

AGENDA ITEM 79 (continued)

REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolutions 47/188 to 47/194 of 22 December 1992 on this item.

In connection with resolution 47/191, entitled "Institutional arrangements to follow up the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development", I should like to point out that in his introduction to this draft resolution, the Rapporteur indicated that it would be adopted on the understanding that the issue coordinator would continue to conduct informal consultations on the venue of the future sessions of the Commission on Sustainable Development at the resumed forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

By a letter dated 13 September 1993, I have been informed by the issue coordinator - the Permanent Representative of Malaysia - that there was still no consensus on the venue of the future sessions of the Commission. The issue coordinator expressed the hope that necessary arrangements would be made to allow for further consideration of the issue at the forty-eighth session.

As members know, an item on the implementation of decisions and recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 79.

AGENDA ITEM 103 (continued)

REVIEW OF THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL FUNCTIONING OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolutions 47/212 A and 47/213 and decision 47/455 of 23 December 1992 and resolution 47/212 B and decision 47/468 of 6 May 1993.

As members know, this item has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 103.

AGENDA ITEMS 106 and 107 (continued)

CURRENT FINANCIAL CRISIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

FINANCIAL EMERGENCY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolution 47/215 of 23 December 1992 on these items. As members know, an item entitled "Improving the financial situation of the United Nations" has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of these items is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda items 106 and 107.

AGENDA ITEM 111 (continued)

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted decision 47/456 of 23 December 1992 on this item. As members know, this item has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 111.

AGENDA ITEM 115 (continued)

FINANCING OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolutions 47/204 and 47/205 of 22 December 1992 on this item.

As Members know, this item has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 115.

AGENDA ITEM 116 (continued)

FINANCING OF THE UNITED NATIONS IRAN-IRAQ MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolution 47/206 of 22 December 1992 on this item.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 116.

AGENDA ITEM 118 (continued)

FINANCING OF THE UNITED NATIONS TRANSITION ASSISTANCE GROUP

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolution 47/207 of 22 December 1992 on this item.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 118.

AGENDA ITEM 143 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolution 47/121 of 18 December 1992 on this item. As Members know, the item on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been included in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item at the present session is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 143.

AGENDA ITEM 152 (continued)

CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOMALIA

The PRESIDENT: Members may recall that the Assembly adopted resolution 47/167 of 18 December 1992 on this item.

May I take it that the Assembly considers that discussion of this item is concluded?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 152.

AGENDA ITEM 47 (continued)

RESTRUCTURING AND REVITALIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND RELATED FIELDS: DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.58/Rev.1 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT: In connection with this item, the Assembly has before it a draft resolution issued as document A/47/L.58/Rev.1 and Corr.1.

I have been informed that Member States have agreed to continue and limit negotiations to the role, size and functioning of the Executive Boards before a final decision is taken on the result of the earlier negotiations on restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields with a view to finalizing the negotiations and bringing the matter for decision to the General Assembly not later than the end of November 1993.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to defer consideration of item 47 to the forty-eighth session of the Assembly and to include it in the draft agenda of that session?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 47.

CLOSING ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: One year ago, I opened the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations with the hope for a better world. Regrettably, the world one year later has not become a better place. Conflicts have arisen one after the other. The number of victims is ever-increasing and most of them are innocent civilians. Virtually daily, the challenges before the United Nations increase; at the same time, the resources of the Organization are limited. The financial difficulties invoke unprecedented measures of self-restriction.

Undoubtedly, the United Nations is facing important decisions. Though the road is not crystal-clear, "An Agenda for Peace" contains wonderful ideas and, at the same time, confronts practical problems. The forty-seventh session of the General Assembly recognized its importance both in the general debate and by the adoption of resolutions relating to agenda item 10. Yet, this is barely enough. The time has come for further deep consideration and reconsideration of the role of the United Nations as the world mechanism for peace and development.

(The President)

It is my hope that the next session of the General Assembly will play an essential role in this regard.

It is a significant fact that the forty-seventh session directed its attention to preventive diplomacy. From a strategic point of view, this is one of the basic directions of the efforts of the United Nations. If perhaps this had been in the forefront of the deliberations in previous years, some conflicts could have been avoided. Of course, the complexities of the issues are great; none the less, investing in preventive diplomacy is invaluable.

(The President)

I see the future of the United Nations vested in a world mechanism for the prevention of conflicts and wars. This future is not unattainable. In the world today, there truly exist issues that warrant preventive diplomacy, in which the United Nations can play a decisive role.

While contemplating the future of the world and trying to seek political solutions, we must not forget about the hundreds and thousands of victims of the wars. No one has the right to dismiss the fact that the United Nations is indeed the hope for saving innocent and suffering people from the ravages of war. I am thinking, for example, about Bosnia, where, if the political will does not prevail in the very near future, those who must endure the coming winter will simply not survive. The political efforts, no matter how great the cost, must not be at the expense of these lives. This is why I strongly appeal to all Member States, their Governments and their political leaders for immediate international humanitarian action for the people of Bosnia, without regard to nationality or religion. I additionally appeal to all sides in the conflict to provide all necessary conditions for this international humanitarian effort.

The terms "revitalization" and "restructuring" now occupy quite a prominent place in United Nations vocabulary. This is hardly surprising, because the Organization is taking a self-critical look in an attempt to adapt to the momentous changes that have occurred in the world over the past several years. The forty-seventh session of the General Assembly witnessed this with the adoption of the resolution under agenda item 31, "Revitalization of the work of the General Assembly". It is important that Member States reached a consensus on the reform of the General Assembly and made the first concrete step by restructuring the main Committees. It is my hope that the forty-eighth session will further manifest this revitalization momentum.

It would be no exaggeration to say that never before in its history has the Organization been asked to do so much by so many. To be able to meet these challenges, the United Nations must re-evaluate not only its mechanisms and structures, but also its practices, with a view to making itself stronger and more efficient. This can be very well exemplified by so practical a problem as the imposition of sanctions, now facing the Organization and its Member States.

(The President)

The irony is that sanctions very often not only exert pressure on the Member States against which they are directed, but also place a huge burden on those complying with them. It would be extremely helpful if the Security Council would come up with a set of measures involving the financial institutions and other entities within the United Nations system that could protect States from such difficulties. In this regard, I should like to emphasize the importance of the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly on agenda item 10.

At the end of my mandate, I should like to express my gratitude to all Member States for encouraging and supporting me during my tenure as President of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I should like to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and to wish him enduring success in the tremendous tasks which lie ahead. I also extend my appreciation to all those from the Secretariat who facilitated my work.

I wish to thank you once again, distinguished delegates, for having bestowed upon me the honour of serving as the forty-seventh President of the General Assembly. With the next session, the international community will again renew its expectations for a better world. Hopefully, my successor will have reasons, one year from now, to conclude that the United Nations has succeeded in making the world a better place. I can only say that we sincerely aspire to this goal.

AGENDA ITEM 2 (continued)

MINUTE OF SILENT PRAYER OR MEDITATION

The PRESIDENT: We are now coming to the end of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

CLOSURE OF THE SESSION

The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.