



CONTENTS

CONTENTS (continued)

Agenda item 59:	
Operational activities for development:	
(a) United Nations Development Programme;	
(b) United Nations Capital Development Fund;	
(c) Technical co-operation activities undertaken by the Secretary-General;	
(d) United Nations Volunteers programme;	
(e) United Nations Fund for Population Activities;	
(f) United Nations Children's Fund: report of the Secretary-General;	
(g) World Food Programme;	
(h) United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries	
Report of the Second Committee .....	
(i) Confirmation of the appointment of the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme .....	
Agenda item 61:	
Food problems: report of the World Food Council	
Report of the Second Committee .....	
Agenda item 62:	
United Nations Special Fund	
Report of the Second Committee .....	
Agenda item 63:	
United Nations University:	
(a) Report of the Council of the United Nations University;	
(b) Fund-raising efforts for the United Nations University: report of the Secretary-General;	
(c) Question of the establishment of a University for Peace: report of the Secretary-General	
Report of the Second Committee .....	
Agenda item 65:	
Human settlements:	
(a) Report of the Commission on Human Settlements;	
(b) Report of the Secretary-General	
Report of the Second Committee .....	
Agenda item 68:	
Technical co-operation among developing countries:	
(a) Report of the Secretary-General;	
(b) Report of the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme	
Report of the Second Committee .....	
Agenda item 12:	
Report of the Economic and Social Council (continued)	
Report of the Second Committee (Parts II and III)	
Agenda item 16:	
Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs (continued):	
(a) Election of fifteen members of the Industrial Development Board;	
(c) Election of twelve members of the World Food Council;	
(d) Election of seven members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination;	
(e) Election of members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund;	
(f) Election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries .....	

Page

Page

Agenda item 55:	
Development and international economic co-operation (continued):	
(a) Report of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 .....	1925
Agenda item 128:	
Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council (concluded)	1933
Agenda item 129:	
Drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries .....	1945

**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM  
(United Republic of Tanzania)**

**AGENDA ITEM 59**

- Operational activities for development:**
- (a) **United Nations Development Programme;**
  - (b) **United Nations Capital Development Fund;**
  - (c) **Technical co-operation activities undertaken by the Secretary-General;**
  - (d) **United Nations Volunteers programme;**
  - (e) **United Nations Fund for Population Activities;**
  - (f) **United Nations Children's Fund: report of the Secretary-General;**
  - (g) **World Food Programme;**
  - (h) **United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries**

**REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(A/34/787)**

- (i) **Confirmation of the appointment of the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme**

**AGENDA ITEM 61**

- Food problems: report of the World Food Council**
- REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(A/34/824)**

**AGENDA ITEM 62**

- United Nations Special Fund**
- REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(A/34/768)**

1923

**AGENDA ITEM 63****United Nations University:**

- (a) Report of the Council of the United Nations University;
- (b) Fund-raising efforts for the United Nations University: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Question of the establishment of a University for Peace: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(A/34/792)

**AGENDA ITEM 65****Human settlements:**

- (a) Report of the Commission on Human Settlements;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(A/34/793)

**AGENDA ITEM 68****Technical co-operation among developing countries:**

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Report of the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(A/34/789)

**AGENDA ITEM 12**

Report of the Economic and Social Council  
(continued)\*

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(PARTS II and III) (A/34/635/Add.1 and 2)

1. Miss GARCIA-DONOSO (Ecuador), Rapporteur of the Second Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the Second Committee on the following agenda items: item 59 [A/34/787], item 61 [A/34/824], item 62 [A/34/768], item 63 [A/34/792], item 65 [A/34/793], item 68 [A/34/789] and item 12 [A/34/635/Add.1 and 2].
2. In paragraph 34 of the report of the Committee on item 59 concerning operational activities for development, it is recommended that the Assembly adopt six draft resolutions. In paragraph 35 the approval of two draft decisions is recommended. All these drafts were adopted by the Second Committee without a vote.
3. In paragraph 10 of its report on item 61, dealing with food problems, the Second Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which was adopted by the Committee without a vote.
4. As to the report on item 62 concerning the United Nations Special Fund, in paragraph 4 the Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a decision which was approved without a vote.

\* Resumed from the 76th meeting.

5. With regard to item 63 concerning the United Nations University, the Second Committee, in paragraph 14 of its report recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions. The two draft resolutions were adopted by the Committee without a vote.

6. With regard to item 65 on human settlements, the Second Committee, in paragraph 15 of its report, recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of four draft resolutions. Three of these draft resolutions were approved by the Committee without a vote. Draft resolution I, entitled "Living conditions of the Palestinian people", was adopted by the Committee in a recorded vote by 102 votes to 2, with 21 abstentions.

7. With regard to item 68, concerning technical co-operation among developing countries, the Second Committee recommends in paragraph 9 of its report that the General Assembly adopt a draft resolution that was approved by the Committee without a vote.

8. In paragraph 48 of part II of the report of the Committee on item 12 dealing with the report of the Economic and Social Council, there are 15 draft resolutions on assistance to various countries which the Second Committee approved without a vote.

9. Finally, in paragraph 20 of part III of the report of the Committee on item 12, there are five draft resolutions, three of which were adopted by the Committee without a vote. The other two: draft resolution I, entitled "Assistance to the Palestinian people", and draft resolution IV, entitled "Permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Arab territories", were the subject of recorded votes and were adopted by the Committee.

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

10. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations with respect to the recommendations contained in the reports of the Second Committee to the Assembly are reflected in the relevant summary records of the Committee. May I remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly on 21 September 1979 that:

"... when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in the plenary Assembly, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in the plenary Assembly, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary Assembly is different from its vote in the Committee." [4th meeting, para. 349.]

11. I invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 59, entitled "Operational activities for development" [A/34/787]. I also invite members to turn to the note of the Secretary-General dealing with the confirmation of the appointment of the Administrator of UNDP [A/34/762].

12. I shall now call on the representative of Fiji, President of the Governing Council of UNDP.

13. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): I would like to join previous speakers in expressing on behalf of my Government our full support for the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Morse as Administrator of UNDP for a further period of four years. When, in 1976, Mr. Morse took over the management of UNDP, the Programme was going through the most serious financial crisis it had ever experienced. Mr. Morse focused immediately, with all the energy which we have now learned to admire, on re-establishing the confidence of both donors and recipient countries in the Programme. An increase of some 50 per cent of the resources of the Programme between 1976 and 1979 attests to the fact that Mr. Morse fully succeeded in his efforts.

14. Draft resolution A/C.2/34/L.122 and Add.1, adopted last night by the Second Committee, which provides that the Administrator of UNDP be entrusted with the management of the United Nations Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development, reflects the full confidence that we have in Mr. Morse as manager of what is already the largest multilateral programme of technical co-operation.

15. This confidence has been built up throughout the four years during which Mr. Morse has headed UNDP, not only because he was able to attract new resources for the Programme, but essentially because under his leadership the Programme was reoriented to respond more closely to the evolving needs of the developing countries. Mr. Morse rightly placed the emphasis on the contributions which UNDP must make to the establishment of a New International Economic Order and has played personally a most decisive role in the promotion of technical co-operation among developing countries. Indeed, the success of the Buenos Aires Conference<sup>1</sup> was due to a large measure to his deep commitment to the concept of technical co-operation for developing countries, in their efforts to achieve self-reliance.

16. The new dimensions in technical co-operation were also developed while Mr. Morse served as Administrator of the Programme. They place squarely on the recipient countries the full responsibility not only for the selection of programmes and projects but also for their execution, with the assistance of the organizations of the United Nations system. By now, the procedures of UNDP ensure, probably more effectively than in any other programme, that the recipient countries benefit from assistance which is fully multilateral. This is something that we must always keep in mind when, as donor or as recipient, we have an opportunity to stress the characteristics of UNDP. This is also why the Programme must remain the central funding agency for technical co-operation in the United Nations system.

17. My Government has full confidence that Mr. Morse will receive the full support of all Governments and agencies in his difficult and exacting task of ensuring the continued growth of the programme. This support is fully deserved as Mr. Morse has also devoted

close attention to the effectiveness of UNDP operations and has strengthened the programme's activities through a process of decentralization at the field level without increases in the administrative support costs.

18. Finally, I am sure we will all agree that beyond his ability to manage the largest and, possibly, the most complex programmes of operational activities of the United Nations system, Mr. Morse has a deep personal commitment to the cause of the countries and peoples that look forward to a more just and more equitable economic order.

19. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the six draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 34 and on the two draft decisions in paragraph 35 of its report [A/34/787].

20. Draft resolution I is entitled "United Nations Fund for Population Activities". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 34/104).*

21. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "United Nations Children's Fund". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution II without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 34/105).*

22. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution III, entitled "United Nations Development Programme". The Second Committee also adopted draft resolution III without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 34/106).*

23. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "United Nations Volunteers programme". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution IV without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 34/107).*

24. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution V, entitled "Target for the World Food Programme pledges for the period 1981-1982". The Second Committee also adopted draft resolution V without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 34/108).*

25. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VI is entitled "United Nations Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution VI without a vote. I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise.

*Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 34/109).*

26. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft decision I, entitled "Administrative expenses of the United

<sup>1</sup> United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires from 30 August to 12 September 1978.

Nations Capital Development Fund". The Second Committee also adopted draft decision I without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft decision I was adopted (decision 34/428).*

27. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we turn to draft decision II, entitled "Documents relating to operational activities for development". The Second Committee adopted draft decision II without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft decision II was adopted (decision 34/429).*

28. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn to the note of the Secretary-General in document A/34/762, dealing with the confirmation of the appointment of the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme. In this note the Secretary-General proposes that the appointment of Mr. Bradford Morse be extended for a four-year term until 31 December 1983. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to confirm the extension of the appointment of Mr. Morse?

*It was so decided (decision 34/311).*

29. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to congratulate Mr. Bradford Morse on his reappointment and to wish him continued success in his valuable work. I also wish to express my very personal sense of satisfaction at Mr. Morse's reappointment for, like many in this Assembly, I have been extremely encouraged and, indeed, inspired by the dynamic, dedicated and wise leadership provided by Mr. Morse as the head of the UNDP administration. His sense of commitment and his concern are too familiar to need elaboration. I most sincerely wish him all the best.

30. I shall now call on those delegations wishing to explain their positions at this stage.

31. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation takes pleasure at the decision just taken by this Assembly to renew the mandate of Mr. Bradford Morse as Administrator of UNDP.

32. It was in January 1976 that Mr. Bradford Morse assumed his new functions as Administrator of UNDP.

33. The General Assembly, at its seventh special session in 1975, entrusted to the Programme very important responsibilities in the pursuit of economic justice in international relations. The new Administrator also knew of the great hopes that the international community had of the role the Programme would play in bringing about the establishment of a new international economic order. On 15 January 1976, at the 495th meeting of the Governing Council, Mr. Morse committed himself to doing everything in his power to support the developing countries in their heroic efforts to attain their economic and social objectives within the dynamics of the creation of the new international economic order. On that same occasion, he promised all the members of the Council that

he would see to it that the resources of the Programme would be duly and effectively utilized so as to best serve the developing countries.

34. We can assert today that Mr. Morse is a man of his word who, by his dedication and by the energy he has ceaselessly devoted to the task of the development of the developing countries in particular, has indeed earned the confidence that has just been renewed in him today by this Assembly.

35. My delegation will not speak of the development activities being carried out by the Programme in the economically backward countries. Better than words or over-long descriptions, these activities themselves are true testimony to the dynamic, effective and even universal character of the Programme of which Mr. Morse is the head.

36. In the period 1975-1976, just before Mr. Morse assumed his post, the Programme had passed through an unprecedented financial crisis. The priority task for the Administrator was to restore the confidence of the recipient and donor countries. I am sure delegations will agree with me when I say that, thanks to his dynamism and courage, the Programme was able to overcome one of the gravest crises in its history.

37. Once confidence had been restored, Mr. Morse was able to reorient the Programme in the direction required by the urgent needs of the developing countries. Within this context, he always laid stress on the role of the recipient countries in the execution of projects, and any member country that has already taken part in the work of the Governing Council of the Programme will certainly have heard Mr. Morse stating more than once that: "There are no UNDP projects, only projects of the developing country assisted by the UNDP".

38. Burundi, which will soon be leaving the Governing Council of UNDP after three years of service, can testify that during that period one of the guidelines for the Programme has been the promotion of a new international economic order. Mr. Morse has always shown that by practical and specific action the Programme could make an effective contribution to the establishment of a new international economic order.

39. As an example, I should like to mention the crucial role played by Mr. Morse in the preparations for the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires, in September 1978.

40. In conclusion, there is also a recent factor which will not have escaped the Assembly's attention: the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, very recently held at Vienna<sup>2</sup> recommended the creation of a United Nations Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development which would be managed under the Programme. In so doing, the Conference recognized the vast range of the Programme's activities, but it was

<sup>2</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda).

also aware that the Programme's Administrator, wholly devoted to the task of development, was a man of untiring energy. By the decision it has just taken, our Assembly is once again recognizing the merit of a man who has already demonstrated his ability and his willingness to serve the noble cause of development. With such personalities the international community can successfully continue its irreversible march towards justice and progress.

41. Mr. ROSEN (United States of America): The United States Government is gratified by this Assembly's approval of the Secretary-General's nomination of Bradford Morse as Administrator of UNDP for a second term of four years.
42. A true international civil servant, Mr. Morse embodies the highest traditions of his profession. Mr. Morse has served the United Nations since 1972 with competence, devotion, integrity and tremendous energy. The unanimous support he has received in this body demonstrates the universal recognition that he has served well and truly the international community as a whole.
43. When he assumed his present assignment as Administrator in 1976, UNDP was faced with great difficulties, it was diminishing in scope and it was in the midst of a liquidity crisis. Mr. Morse directed its recovery with such success that today it is fully recovered and financially sound, and performs its mission superbly. Brad Morse's dynamic and optimistic approach derives from his bedrock conviction that UNDP has an essential role to play in improving the welfare of billions of people, thereby enhancing the peace and stability of the world. Administrator Morse is a credit to the United Nations, and my country is particularly proud that one of its citizens has achieved so much for humankind.
44. Mr. B. C. MISHRA (India): As Chairman of the Group of 77, I should like to express my sense of gratification at the decision of the Secretary-General to nominate Mr. Bradford Morse for another term as Administrator of UNDP and at the action just taken by the Assembly. Under Mr. Morse's leadership, the UNDP has expanded its horizons and has become more closely attuned to the development aspirations of the developing countries. The substantial increase in the funding of UNDP in recent years owes much to Mr. Morse's personal efforts. He has also promoted management and programming techniques which make the application of these funds more sensitive to development plans in the developing countries.
45. UNDP has gone from strength to strength in the last few years. It is now on the verge of the major decisions needed for the next planning cycle. This is a critical task, and on its successful execution depends to a large measure the continued effectiveness of the Programme. UNDP has also significantly expanded its activities in fields such as that of technical co-operation for developing countries, where it has acted in response to the directives of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries.<sup>3</sup> For the developing countries, this is an extremely important issue, and we await with anticipation the high-level meeting on technical co-operation among developing countries next year. The United Nations is also in the process of setting up an interim fund for science and technology, which will be a major responsibility for UNDP over the next two years. This too is a matter of highest concern and importance for the Group of 77. With all these important issues on the anvil, the Secretary-General has quite rightly decided that this is not the time for change of leadership of UNDP, particularly when that leadership has proved its vigour and skill in past years. We fully support the Secretary-General's decision and its approval by the Assembly this afternoon. I am glad to express, on behalf of the Group of 77, our support for Mr. Bradford Morse and our best wishes for success in his endeavours in the years ahead.
46. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): On behalf of my delegation, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the decision of the Secretary-General to reappoint Mr. Bradford Morse as Administrator of UNDP.
47. We believe that this decision and its confirmation by the General Assembly are an expression of the great appreciation on the part of the international community of Mr. Morse's performance and dedicated work in guiding UNDP, especially with regard to the solving of the financial difficulties in which UNDP was involved a few years ago, and of his constant efforts to increase the financial resources of UNDP so that the Programme may fulfil its obligations towards the developing countries in the current development cycle.
48. At the same time, it is an expression of confidence in Mr. Morse by the international community. In his activity and in his official and public statements, he has given proof of understanding of the problems facing the developing world, and the least developed countries in particular, and of his conviction concerning the need to change the existing unequal and outdated international economic relations and to establish new ones, as well as to accelerate, as a matter of urgency, the development of the developing countries. UNDP contributes to the achievement of these objectives not only in the field of its own primary activity, technical assistance, but also by creating favourable conditions for a broader channelling of financial means from other sources into the development programmes of developing countries.
49. We are convinced that, during his forthcoming term, Mr. Morse will continue to contribute with the same dynamic energy, skill and dedication the accelerated development of developing countries and, thereby, to a rapid development of the world economy and of the international community as a whole.
50. Mr. KOH (Singapore): I wish to express briefly the great pleasure and satisfaction my delegation feels

<sup>3</sup> Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August-12 September 1978 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11 and Corrigendum), chap. I.

at the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Bradford Morse as Administrator of UNDP for a further term of four years. I should like to take this opportunity to refer to some of our collective debt to him in the past.

51. Mr. Bradford Morse first joined our Organization in May 1972 as the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs.

52. For four years he helped to manage the work of the General Assembly excellently from the seat to the left of the President. I wish also to recall his very valuable contribution to the preparation for the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly—two very important landmarks in the developing countries' quest for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

53. I should also like to salute his outstanding achievements as the Director of the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office, a relief operation which many have referred to as a model.

54. In 1976, Mr. Morse was appointed Administrator of UNDP. At that time UNDP was stricken with a liquidity crisis and the organization and its staff were suffering from a very low morale. In a very short time he was able to turn things around. He restored financial health to UNDP. He infused in the organization and its staff a new sense of collective purpose and heightened morale. He also enhanced the support and confidence of both contributor and recipient countries.

55. Let me conclude by saying that this Organization is indeed fortunate to have a man of the high intellect, integrity and leadership qualities of Mr. Bradford Morse to lead UNDP for another four years.

56. Mr. ESPECHE GIL (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): the Permanent Mission of my country, in a note to the Secretary-General on 18 October last, communicated the position of the Government of Argentina to the effect that the appointment of Mr. Bradford Morse should be extended for a period of four years to 31 December 1983.

57. Mr. Morse has performed his functions as Administrator of UNDP with great efficiency and dedication, and deserves the recognition of my delegation.

58. Furthermore, we had the opportunity to welcome him to my country as Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries which was held at Buenos Aires in 1978. We noted there his great organizational capacities and the intelligent, objective and balanced way in which he helped Governments to achieve fruitful results.

59. For all these reasons, the delegation of Argentina joins in the congratulations that this Assembly has extended to Mr. Morse and we wish him every success in the performance of his important duties.

60. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Romania wishes to express its pleasure at the unanimous confirmation by

the General Assembly of Mr. Bradford Morse as Administrator of UNDP.

61. In our opinion that decision is a recognition of the eminent qualities demonstrated by our Administrator since he was appointed to the post. We appreciate and hold in high esteem the efforts made by the Administrator to consolidate the Programme, his ability dynamically to tackle the various activities involved in technical assistance for development with a view to constantly furthering the universality of UNDP.

62. Mr. Morse's recognized capacity in the administration of the Programme goes hand in hand with the dedication and effectiveness with which he has implemented the decisions of the Governing Council. In his conduct we see a guarantee of UNDP's increasingly direct involvement in our concern to bring about a new international economic order, in close connexion with the strengthening of the role of the Programme as a centre for financing technical assistance within the United Nations system.

63. Our congratulations to Mr. Bradford Morse on the confirmation of his reappointment as Administrator are, at the same time, an expression of the satisfaction of the Romanian Government with the results of the co-operation between Romania and UNDP. We hope that that co-operation will expand and develop further in the future.

64. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): On behalf of Jordan, I wish to express the profound appreciation which we all feel on the occasion of the confirming of Mr. Bradford Morse's appointment or rather the extension of his term of office as the Administrator of UNDP for four years until 31 December 1983.

65. This most commendable decision by the Secretary-General is deeply appreciated by all those who have been following Mr. Morse's exemplary performance as Administrator of this most important and global programme over the past four years.

66. Bradford Morse has not only shouldered his solemn responsibilities with dedication, enthusiasm, hard work and success, he has succeeded in doing so with great diplomatic skill, adroitness, impartiality and friendliness, which have endeared him to all those who recognize the immensity and complexity of the task of steering such a multifarious and multinational programme, which has had, and will increasingly have, an enormous impact on numerous States Members of our world body, in various geographical regions, at different stages of development and of course with a wide selection of priorities.

67. As a member of the Governing Council of UNDP, it is my duty to thank the Secretary-General for his wise decision. It is also my distinct pleasure to extend my Government's and my own congratulations to Brad—for this is how he likes to be addressed—for the universal recognition which has been accorded to him and which he has abundantly earned. This, I am confident, reflects the sentiments of the region to which Jordan belongs.



68. We wish him all the success he deserves and the Programme so sorely needs in achieving an accelerated pace of development in the developing world, thus fulfilling one of the principal goals of the United Nations in its pursuit of a new and more equitable international economic order. I am confident that all States, donors and beneficiaries alike, will accord Mr. Morse their full co-operation. Congratulations.

69. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): It is with great pleasure that I speak briefly at this moment. I consider it my pleasant duty to convey to this Assembly my Government's deep appreciation for the way in which Mr. Bradford Morse has managed the affairs of UNDP during the last four years—a Programme to which my country has traditionally attached the greatest importance. We all know that the Programme went through an extremely difficult period in its existence and that it was due in no small measure to the competence and dedication of its Administrator that it pulled through and became once again the excellent organization that it is today.

70. We know that the near future may present the Programme with a number of delicate questions, especially in the areas of income and distribution of resources. I should like to state here that my Government has the fullest confidence in the abilities of Mr. Morse to lead the Programme during the coming years and I therefore have whole-heartedly supported the Secretary-General's proposal to appoint him for another term of four years. The Assembly's decision will ensure the continuity of the Administrator's activity in the service of the Programme.

71. Mr. JÖDAHL (Sweden): It is my pleasure to speak on behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

72. The Nordic delegations were very happy to endorse the extension of Mr. Bradford Morse's appointment as Administrator for another four-year term. Ever since the founding of UNDP, the Nordic countries have taken a keen interest in the splendid work that organization is doing. In view of the importance that the Nordic Governments attach to the over-all responsibility of UNDP for and co-ordination of operational activities for development, we feel confident that the Programme will benefit from the continuation of the talented leadership of Mr. Morse. We say so with even greater conviction against the background of his untiring efforts on behalf of the Programme as he skilfully guided it through a difficult phase of financial constraints. I can assure him of the complete trust and support of the Nordic Governments in the years to come.

73. Mr. KAABACHI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly's confirmation of the appointment of the Administrator of UNDP provides an excellent opportunity for the Tunisian delegation to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Bradford Morse, whose selflessness and determination to support the development of the developing countries are recognized and appreciated by all in this Assembly.

74. The strengthening of the operational activities for development, the increase in the generous assist-

ance for the benefit of the developing countries and the implementation and consolidation of technical co-operation among developing countries are all positive elements to the credit of UNDP, under the effective leadership of its Administrator, Mr. Bradford Morse.

75. Last year, as Chairman of the Group of 77, my delegation had occasion to work closely with Mr. Morse and was able to appreciate properly his ceaseless efforts for the cause of development. Finally, my delegation would like to stress particularly—and in so doing to support—the actions taken by Mr. Morse, the Administrator of UNDP, to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council with regard to assistance to the Palestinian people.

76. Mr. AKIMAN (Turkey): It gives me great pleasure to express, on behalf of the Turkish Government, our full support for the extension of the appointment of Mr. Morse as Administrator of UNDP for another term of four years.

77. Mr. Morse, during his first term, has made enormous contributions towards the strengthening of UNDP and—through that Programme—for the betterment of the lives of millions of people around the world. At the same time, under his leadership, the Programme's activities have contributed to the advancement of international understanding on world development problems.

78. In our view, Mr. Morse has three main virtues: vision, perseverance and charm. His vision has brought to UNDP new approaches and dimensions. With his perseverance the Programme, which was on the verge of financial collapse, has not only doubled its resources but established a solid and sound fiscal position as well. As for his charm, I do not think I have to dwell very long on that point. The full support he is receiving from all of us is enough proof of that. Mr. Morse has demonstrated his dedication to and full involvement in the problems of developing countries, a manifest quality of a true international civil servant. I should like to congratulate him on his past achievements and record and at the same time congratulate the Assembly for confirming his reappointment as Administrator of UNDP.

79. Mr. de PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although other members of the group of Western European and other States have already done so, it is my pleasure to speak on behalf of those countries that are members of the group and that have not yet spoken, on the question of operational activities for development and especially on the confirmation of the appointment of my distinguished friend, Mr. Bradford Morse, as Administrator of UNDP for a further period of four years, until 31 December 1983, and in saying this I would mention that my country is a member of the Governing Council of that Programme.

80. There is no need to recall the importance of the Programme in the promotion of world development. With almost 4,000 projects a year, covering many countries, the Programme has been a force in the struggle against poverty. It is also unnecessary to list the attributes of the Administrator, Mr. Morse, who has

been sufficiently well known to all of us since well before he took over the direction of the Programme in January 1976. His work as Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and at the sixth and seventh special sessions and subsequently his participation as Secretary-General of the Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries at Buenos Aires have earned him great esteem. His re-election, I believe, is wise for two reasons. During his first four-year term he has made it possible for the resources of UNDP to be doubled and for it to overcome the financial problems it had when he took over.

81. Furthermore, like other donor countries, Spain has proved its confidence in him by increasing this year its contribution, which is now 14 per cent greater than during the previous period.

82. On behalf of my group, I have great pleasure in congratulating Mr. Morse on his re-election and the Secretary-General on his wisdom in making this choice.

83. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to express on behalf of the Andean countries, that is, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, our pleasure at the appointment of Mr. Bradford Morse as Administrator of UNDP, on the wise suggestion of the Secretary-General, for a further term of office.

84. Mr. Morse not only is a personality of great international significance in the United Nations and in his own country, but has also demonstrated great human qualities, devotion and international understanding, and has displayed great efficiency as Administrator of UNDP. In that important post he has brought to the Programme a high level of financial stability after a period of crisis, and also a high level of efficiency in regard to new methods of action in, for example, technical co-operation among developing countries and, as has already been indicated, at the United Nations Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development.

85. He has been able to respond to and understand the concepts and the needs of Member States and has given a faultless interpretation to the universality and the voluntary nature of the Programme, which are essential elements of its philosophy. These two elements have thus converted it into the best possible type of United Nations presence in the field and into a concrete instrument of world support for the efforts at development by the countries of the third world, through the process of the transfer of technology and the acceleration of their progress, in keeping with the highest goals of the United Nations.

86. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Like others who have spoken before me, I wish to say a few words concerning the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Bradford Morse as Administrator of UNDP. Jamaica has followed the work of UNDP for many years and, speaking personally, I have been involved with the Programme for a long time, first as an official of the Government of Jamaica in the planning field and, more recently, at the United Nations as a member of

the Governing Council and in other capacities since then.

87. My delegation and I have been in a position to observe the evolution of the Programme and the development of the perceptions of those who have had the responsibility for leadership in that organization. It is during this period that the developing countries, in the face of a growing realization of the nature of their position in the global economic system, called for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

88. My delegation wishes to express its very deep appreciation to Mr. Morse for the enlightened leadership and the dynamism which he has brought to UNDP. The past few years have been a challenge to all of us—to Member States, to the United Nations and its agencies and to us as representatives. UNDP, under Mr. Morse's leadership, has shown its understanding of the issues facing the global community, and especially those relating to the condition of developing countries. He has spoken boldly about those issues and has guided the work of the Governing Council with great effectiveness, so that it has been able to continue to make its maximum contribution both to the conditions of individual developing countries and to the broader aim of establishing the New International Economic Order.

89. My delegation firmly believes in the United Nations system and is convinced that, in the present state of turmoil and uncertainty in the world, the United Nations is the place from which much of the leadership and sense of direction must come. My delegation therefore welcomes the Assembly's decision to confirm Mr. Morse's appointment as Administrator of UNDP for a second term.

90. Mr. NISHIDA (Japan): I should like to join previous speakers in congratulating Mr. Bradford Morse on his re-appointment as the Administrator of UNDP. The Government of Japan has been highly appreciative of his dedicated contribution to the enhancement of the work of UNDP, particularly in reorganizing the structure of the Programme and improving the efficiency of its activities. We wish him all success in his future work and hope that, under his able leadership, UNDP will make further progress in providing to developing countries the necessary technical assistance which would be conducive to the economic and social development of those countries.

91. I should like to take this opportunity to assure Mr. Morse of our fullest support, as a member of the Governing Council of UNDP, for his future work.

92. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is fulfilling a moral duty in expressing the profound pleasure afforded to the Government and the people of Panama by the Assembly's unanimous confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Bradford Morse as the Administrator of UNDP for an additional term of office of four years, ending on 31 December 1983.

93. Mr. Morse's re-election is a source of pleasure to Latin American countries, and especially to Panama



which, during the administration of Mr. Morse, assisted by Mr. Gabriel Valdés and his distinguished associates in the area, has benefited from important programmes which have significantly contributed to the acceleration of the development of my country.

94. Panama joins enthusiastically in the well-deserved congratulations addressed in this Assembly to Mr. Morse, whose professional and human qualities are a model for all officials who like him have completely dedicated themselves to international public service.

95. Mrs. ZHANG Zong-an (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation, like others who have spoken, is very pleased with the confirmation of the reappointment of Mr. Morse as the Administrator of UNDP. We would like to offer him our congratulations. Mr. Morse, as the Administrator of UNDP, in his work over the past years, has made important contributions to the development of the developing countries.

96. During his administration China has started a very effective co-operation with UNDP. We hope, and we are also convinced, that Mr. Morse, in his future work, will make further contributions to the economic development of the developing countries.

97. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): I wish, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, to join in expressing deep appreciation to the Administrator of UNDP, Mr. Bradford Morse, for his excellent performance, efficiency, competence and wise leadership, which in our view are among the most valuable assets of this United Nations endeavour.

98. My delegation is pleased to join in the confirmation of his reappointment as the Administrator of the Programme for a further four-year term, and we should like to assure Mr. Morse that the understanding and co-operation which has existed between my country and UNDP will continue in the future. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our readiness to extend to him and to UNDP our understanding and co-operation.

99. Mr. Morse's competence is many-faceted, but, for the sake of brevity—which is one of his virtues—I shall refrain from emphasizing any one aspect of it and shall conclude by saying that we wish him great success in his noble endeavours.

100. Mr. SCHWEISGUT (Austria): My delegation would like to echo previous speakers and also congratulate Mr. Bradford Morse on his reappointment as Administrator of UNDP for another four-year period. My delegation attaches the greatest importance to the work of UNDP and highly appreciates the outstanding performance of its Administrator, Mr. Bradford Morse. May I assure him of Austria's continued support in his invaluable work.

101. The PRESIDENT: As I have already said, the expression of confidence and satisfaction in this Assembly by a broad cross-section of its members from all regions and representing all tendencies is a clear reflection of the confidence which the members

of this Assembly have in Mr. Bradford Morse and of the satisfaction of this Assembly with the excellent work of and the contribution made by the Administrator. Once again, on behalf of the Assembly, I wish him continued success.

102. The Assembly will now consider the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 61, entitled "Food problems" [A/34/824]. May I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolution entitled "Report of the World Food Council", recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 10 of its report. The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/110).*

103. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 62, entitled "United Nations Special Fund" [A/34/768]. The Second Committee recommends, in paragraph 4 of its report, a draft decision which was adopted without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft decision was adopted (decision 34/430).*

104. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to agenda item 63, entitled "United Nations University". The Assembly will now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 14 of its report [A/34/792].

105. Draft resolution I is entitled "Establishment of a University for Peace". Since the Second Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote, may I consider that the General Assembly also adopts draft resolution I?

*Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 34/111).*

106. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "United Nations University". The Second Committee also adopted draft resolution II without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 34/112).*

107. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 65, entitled "Human settlements" [A/34/793]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the four draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 15 of its report.

108. We come first to draft resolution I, entitled "Living conditions of the Palestinian people". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that resolution is contained in document A/34/803. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh,*

Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* Israel, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Samoa, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 120 votes to 2, with 21 abstentions (resolution 34/113).*

109. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Global report on human settlements and periodic reports on international co-operation and assistance on human settlements". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution II without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 34/114).*

110. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "United Nations Audio-Visual Information Centre on Human Settlements (Vision Habitat)". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution III without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 34/115).*

111. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Strengthening of human settlements activities". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution IV without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 34/116).*

112. The PRESIDENT: The Fifth Committee is expected to report subsequently on draft resolution

A/C.2/34/L.68 which was submitted to it by the Second Committee at its 54th meeting and on the statement of the administrative and financial implications of that draft [A/C.2/34/L.82].<sup>4</sup>

113. The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 68, entitled "Technical co-operation among developing countries" [A/34/789]. The draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9 of its report was adopted without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/117).*

114. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12, concerning the report of the Economic and Social Council. We shall consider first part II of the Committee's report,<sup>5</sup> [A/34/635/Add.1]. In paragraph 48 of that report the Second Committee recommends 15 draft resolutions, which were all adopted without a vote.

115. Draft resolution I is entitled "Assistance to Grenada". May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution I?

*Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 34/118).*

116. The PRESIDENT: Next we turn to draft resolution II, entitled "Assistance to Cape Verde". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 34/119).*

117. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution III, entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of Chad". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution III?

*Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 34/120).*

118. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn to draft resolution IV, entitled "Assistance to Guinea-Bissau". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution IV?

*Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 34/121).*

119. The PRESIDENT: Next we turn to draft resolution V, entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of Uganda". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution V?

*Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 34/122).*

120. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution VI, entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of Equatorial Guinea".

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 98, document A/34/848, paras. 74-76.

<sup>5</sup> For part I of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12, see 61st meeting, paras. 33-45.

I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution VI.

*Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 34/123).*

121. The PRESIDENT: Next, we have draft resolution VII, entitled "Assistance to Djibouti". May I consider that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution VII?

*Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 34/124).*

122. The PRESIDENT: Next, we turn to draft resolution VIII, entitled "Assistance to Botswana". I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt draft resolution VIII.

*Draft resolution VIII was adopted (resolution 34/125).*

123. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution IX, entitled "Assistance to Seychelles". May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution IX?

*Draft resolution IX was adopted (resolution 34/126).*

124. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to draft resolution X, entitled "Assistance to the Comoros". I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution X.

*Draft resolution X was adopted (resolution 34/127).*

125. The PRESIDENT: Next, we turn to draft resolution XI, entitled "Assistance to Zambia". May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution XI?

*Draft resolution XI was adopted (resolution 34/128).*

126. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution XII, entitled "Assistance to Mozambique". I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution XII.

*Draft resolution XII was adopted (resolution 34/129).*

127. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution XIII, entitled "Assistance to Lesotho". May I consider that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution XIII?

*Draft resolution XIII was adopted (resolution 34/130).*

128. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn to draft resolution XIV, entitled "Assistance to Sao Tome and Principe". May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution XIV?

*Draft resolution XIV was adopted (resolution 34/131).*

129. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we turn to draft resolution XV, entitled "Assistance to Tonga". I take

it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution XV.

*Draft resolution XV was adopted (resolution 34/132).*

130. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to part III of the report of the Second Committee [A/34/635/Add.2]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the five draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 20 of its report.

131. Draft resolution I is entitled "Assistance to the Palestinian people". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* Canada, Israel, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Burma, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 112 votes to 3, with 21 abstentions (resolution 34/133).<sup>6</sup>*

132. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee adopted draft resolution II, entitled "World Tourism Organization" without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 34/134).*

<sup>6</sup> The delegations of Malta and Yugoslavia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

133. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee also adopted draft resolution III, entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction and development of Lebanon", without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 34/135).*

134. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Arab territories". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/34/788. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* Israel, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted by 118 votes to 2, with 21 abstentions (resolution 34/136).<sup>7</sup>*

135. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we come to draft resolution V, entitled "Role of the public sector in promoting the economic development of developing countries". The Second Committee adopted draft resolution V without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 34/137).*

136. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the voting.

137. Mr. WHYTE (United Kingdom): My delegation joined in the adoption by consensus in the Second Committee of the draft resolutions now appearing as VIII and XII in document A/34/635/Add.1. We wish to state that they now contain some elements of an historical nature.

138. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): The General Assembly has just now unanimously adopted the draft resolution formerly contained in document A/C.2/34/L.28, recommended by the Second Committee, concerning assistance for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of Uganda. My delegation is very grateful to the sponsors of that draft resolution for their encouragement and support. Special mention must be made of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which, as Chairman of the African group of States for the month of November, undertook the responsibility of introducing that draft resolution in the Second Committee.

139. That resolution signifies an important landmark for my country. It provides a necessary mandate for the various organizations and agencies within the United Nations system that have been dealing with matters of assistance for Uganda.

140. But over and above the provision of that mandate, the resolution is significant as an act of solidarity with the people of Uganda in their determination to overcome the heritage of the Amin dictatorship and in their hope to build in its place a new democratic and prosperous society.

141. This solidarity was first manifested in the appeal of the Secretary-General earlier this year for emergency humanitarian assistance for Uganda. Since then, my Government has benefited enormously from the consistent and generous help extended to it by the Secretary-General and members of his staff. My Government is looking forward to receiving at Kampala, at the earliest opportunity, the United Nations mission envisaged in paragraph 9 of the resolution.

142. Many organizations and agencies within the United Nations system have already responded to our need with keen interest and manifest good will. It is our hope that with the mandate provided by this resolution, those organizations and agencies will now move even more confidently to translate their good will into concrete commitments for the assistance for Uganda. In the fulfilment of this task, we shall count on the co-operation of the governing bodies of those organizations and agencies.

143. My delegation wishes to express special gratitude to the Member States and the international economic institutions that have responded generously to the appeal made by my President in the General Assembly on 28 September this year [14th meeting], as well as the appeal made by my Government at the donors' meeting on assistance to Uganda, which was

<sup>7</sup> The delegation of Malta subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

convened in Paris from 6 to 8 November 1979 under the auspices of the World Bank. We urge the Member States that have not yet done so to respond to these appeals urgently and generously.

144. For its part, the Uganda National Liberation Front Government is sparing no effort to create conditions that are most conducive to the task of national reconstruction.

145. For a while, the Front was very concerned about the incidence of violence perpetrated by remnants of Amin's army and secret police in the capital city of Kampala. I am happy to say that, through a series of carefully planned campaigns and popular vigilantes, the incidence of violence in Kampala has drastically decreased. The situation is now well under control, and the Uganda National Liberation Front Government is able to ensure security of life and property for the people.

146. The Uganda National Liberation Front has moved swiftly to democratize the political process within the country. The National Consultative Council, which is the supreme policy-making body and legislature for the country during the interim period, originally consisted of 40 Ugandan exiles elected at Moshi before the collapse of the Amin régime. The Council has now been fully expanded through local elections to over 130 members in all. This has provided an important framework for democratic discussion and practice in all matters of national interest.

147. Meanwhile, the Uganda National Liberation Front is making arrangements for national general elections, which are scheduled for June 1981. Plans for a national population census are already well under way. The census exercise is expected to take place in January 1980.

148. The task of national reconstruction is principally the responsibility of the people of Uganda. We possess the political will and the economic resources to make possible the realization of this vision. But we are asking for initial assistance in order to set this process in motion. The need is great and time is of the utmost essence.

#### AGENDA ITEM 16

**Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs (*continued*):\***

- (a) Election of fifteen members of the Industrial Development Board;
- (c) Election of twelve members of the World Food Council;
- (d) Election of seven members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination;
- (e) Election of members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund;
- (f) Election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries

149. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider agenda item 16(a), relating to the election of 15 mem-

bers of the Industrial Development Board to replace those members whose term of office expires on 31 December 1979. The outgoing members are: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Chad, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Kenya, Sudan, Swaziland, Switzerland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and United Republic of Tanzania. Those members are eligible for immediate re-election.

150. I should like to remind members that after 1 January 1980 the following States will still be members of the Industrial Development Board: Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, China, Democratic Yemen, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, India, Iraq, Japan, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States of America. Therefore, those 30 States are not eligible for election.

151. Under rule 92 of the rules of procedure, all elections must be held by secret ballot and there shall be no nominations.

152. May I, however, recall the recommendation of the General Committee, adopted by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting on 21 September 1979, to the effect that

“. . . the practice of dispensing with the secret ballot for elections to subsidiary organs when the number of candidates corresponds to the number of seats to be filled should become standard . . . unless a delegation specifically requests a vote on a given election.” [A/34/250, para. 16.]

153. I should like to announce that the Chairmen of the regional groups have informed me of the following candidatures—for six seats from list A: Central African Republic, Gabon, Indonesia, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco; for five seats from list B: Austria, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland; for two seats from list C: Argentina, Trinidad and Tobago; and for two seats from list D: Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

154. Since the number of candidates endorsed by each group corresponds to the number of seats to be filled in that group, I declare those candidates elected members of the Industrial Development Board for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1980.

*Argentina, Austria, Belgium, the Central African Republic, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Indonesia, Italy, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were elected members of the Industrial Development Board for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1980 (decision 34/312).*

155. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now turn to agenda item 16(c) and consider the candidates proposed by the Economic and Social Council to fill the vacancies occurring on the expiration of the terms of 12 members of the World Food Council [see A/34/3/Add.1, chap. XXXIX, para. 29]. The retiring members are: Australia, Cuba, France,

\* Resumed from the 61st meeting.

Guatemala, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Madagascar, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

156. The following States have been nominated by the Economic and Social Council: from the group of African States: Ghana, Senegal and Sudan; from the group of Asian States: Bangladesh and Philippines; from the group of Latin American States: Barbados, Honduras and Nicaragua; from the group of socialist States of Eastern Europe: Romania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; from the group of Western European and other States: Australia, France and Germany, Federal Republic of.

157. The number of States nominated from among the African States, the Asian States, the Latin American States and the socialist States of Eastern Europe is equal to the number of seats allocated to each of those groups. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to declare those States elected members of the World Food Council for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1980?

*It was so decided.*

158. The PRESIDENT: Since the number of States nominated from among the Western European and other States is higher than the number envisaged for that group, we shall have to proceed to an election by secret ballot.

159. Ballot papers indicating the number of States to be elected for the group of Western European and other States are being distributed. Only the countries nominated by the Economic and Social Council are eligible during the balloting. These are Australia, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

160. I should like to stress that the names of these countries only may be written on the ballot paper. In accordance with existing practice, the countries receiving the largest number of votes and not less than the majority required will be declared elected. In the case of a tie for the last place there will be a restricted ballot limited to the two countries that have obtained an equal number of votes. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure?

*It was so decided.*

161. The PRESIDENT: I would now request representatives to use only the ballot papers that are being distributed and to write the names of the countries for which they wish to vote. I repeat that ballot papers containing any names other than Australia, France and the Federal Republic of Germany will be declared invalid.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Vidal (Dominican Republic) and Mr. Zaimi (Morocco) acted as tellers.*

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

162. The PRESIDENT: I propose now to suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

*The meeting was suspended at 5 p.m. and resumed at 5.25 p.m.*

163. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	145
<i>Number of invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	145
<i>Abstentions:</i>	1
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	144
<i>Required majority:</i>	73
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Australia.....	105
Federal Republic of Germany.....	100
France.....	76

164. Having obtained the required majority and the greatest number of votes, Australia and the Federal Republic of Germany are elected members of the World Food Council for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1980.

*Australia, Bangladesh, Barbados, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Honduras, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Romania, Senegal, the Sudan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were elected members of the World Food Council for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1980 (decision 34/313).*

165. On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to congratulate the countries which have been elected members of the World Food Council, and I should like to thank the tellers for their assistance in this election.

166. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to agenda item 16(d) concerning the election of seven members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination. In this connexion, the General Assembly has before it the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council [see A/34/3/Add.1, chap. XXXIX, para. 21]. The retiring members are: Argentina, Colombia, France, Sudan, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and United States of America.

167. The following States have been nominated by the Economic and Social Council: Argentina, Costa Rica, France, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly declares these States elected members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination for a term of three years beginning 1 January 1980.

*Argentina, Costa Rica, France, the Sudan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania and the United States of America were elected members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1980 (decision 34/314).*

168. The PRESIDENT: I should like to congratulate those States which have just been elected members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination.

169. We shall now turn to agenda item 16(e), concerning the election of members of the Board of



Governors of the United Nations Special Fund. As members are aware, the General Assembly adopted earlier this afternoon [see para. 103 above], under agenda item 62, "United Nations Special Fund", a decision to continue performing the functions of the Board of Governors within the context of its consideration of the item entitled "Development and international economic co-operation" [agenda item 55] pending subsequent consideration of the question by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. Therefore there is no need to proceed to the elections of the members of the Board of Governors of the Special Fund.

*It was so decided (decision 34/315).*

170. The Assembly will now turn its attention to agenda item 16(f) concerning the election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries. Since no candidate has been put forward by the regional groups, I suggest that the Assembly decide to defer to its thirty-fifth session the election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the wish of the General Assembly.

*It was so decided (decision 34/316).*

#### AGENDA ITEM 55

##### Development and international economic co-operation (continued):\*

##### (a) Report of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174

171. The PRESIDENT: The representatives will recall that the General Assembly, at its 45th plenary meeting, on 23 October, concluded its debate on item 55(a). I now call on the representative of Pakistan, who will introduce draft resolutions A/34/L.55 and A/34/L.15.

172. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): I have the privilege of introducing the draft resolutions contained in documents A/34/L.55 and A/34/L.15, on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development, in my capacity as Vice-President of the Assembly, charged by you, Mr. President, with presiding over the informal consultations on the draft resolutions contained in documents A/34/L.14 and A/34/L.15, which were introduced at the 40th meeting of the General Assembly by the representative of India on behalf of the Group of 77.

173. Intensive and protracted consultations were held in an open-ended working group for almost two weeks on draft resolution A/34/L.14. All regional groups, as well as individual delegations, participated actively in those consultations and made valuable contributions to the final outcome. It gives me great satisfaction personally to report to you, Mr. President, and to this Assembly that these sustained efforts resulted in the achievement of a consensus text, which is now contained in document A/34/L.55. I have the

honour of submitting this text to the Assembly as the Vice-President's text, in the earnest hope that the General Assembly will be able to adopt it without a vote.

174. At this stage I should like also to state that I have been authorized by the Chairman of the Group of 77, Ambassador Mishra of India, to inform you and the General Assembly that, in view of the submission of the consensus text in draft resolution A/34/L.55, the Group of 77 has withdrawn its original draft resolution contained in document A/34/L.14.

175. The consensus text in document A/34/L.55 is the result of the collective efforts of all participants and represents the highest degree of agreement on the central theme before this Assembly, namely, the launching of global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. I should like to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation and thanks for the full and unre-served co-operation and support extended to me by all groups and delegations during the course of the informal consultations and for the spirit of flexibility, frankness and eagerness for constructive dialogue demonstrated by all sides, which made this happy result possible.

176. I do not intend to analyse in detail the contents of draft resolution A/34/L.55, as most of the representatives are already familiar with it. However, I shall briefly touch on the over-all structure and the main themes of the draft. In doing so, I do not wish to preempt in any way the right of any delegation to explain its viewpoint or interpret any aspect of the consensus draft resolution.

177. First of all, I should like to emphasize that the draft resolution should be viewed as a composite whole. The preambular part, which has its own logic and sequence, is intimately related to the operative paragraphs, which in their turn are also closely inter-related to one another. Thus the draft resolution as a whole has an organic and unified structure.

178. Let me now turn briefly to the main themes of the draft resolution. The major success of our consultations was the agreement to take the political decision, at this session of the Assembly, to launch global negotiations at the special session in 1980. This is reflected in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution. At the same time, the draft resolution makes it quite clear that the successful launching and ultimate success of global negotiations will require the full commitment of all participants to careful and thorough preparations, including efficient procedures for the negotiations. Furthermore, it is left to the special session in 1980 to make an effective and prompt beginning to the global negotiations in the light of the arrangements relating to the procedures, the time-frame and the detailed agenda for the global negotiations to be proposed by the Committee of the Whole in its capacity as the preparatory committee for the special session. These two important interrelated aspects are reflected in operative paragraphs 4 and 5 of the draft resolution.

179. It has also been agreed that these negotiations should be action-oriented and should proceed in a

\* Resumed from the 74th meeting.

simultaneous manner to ensure a coherent and integrated approach and that they should take place within the United Nations system, with the participation, in accordance with the procedures of relevant bodies, of all States and within a specified time-frame. In this context the central role of the General Assembly has been emphasized. These points have been reflected in operative paragraphs 1 and 2, as well as in the eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs of draft resolution A/34/L.55.

180. The draft also spells out in broad terms the scope and framework of these negotiations, as well as their main purposes and goals. Thus, the negotiations would be expected to deal with major issues in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, development and money and finance. The framework and the context within which global negotiations would take place have been outlined in the first two preambular paragraphs, which recall the relevant General Assembly resolutions containing the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) anc. 3202 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], which lay down the foundations for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

181. The draft resolution also provides the setting for these negotiations in its second preambular paragraph, which expresses the deep concern of the international community that, despite the great efforts made by many countries—especially the developing countries—in various international forums and conferences, only limited progress has been achieved towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

182. The broad purposes and goals of these negotiations would be to contribute to the implementation of the international development strategy for the next Development Decade and to the solution of international economic problems, within the framework of the restructuring of international economic relations, and to study global economic development, in particular the development of the developing countries. The achievement of these ends is sought through emphasizing the imperative need to establish a new system of international economic relations based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, and also to promote the common interest of all countries. To this end, the draft resolution stresses the need for bold initiatives to seek concrete, comprehensive and global solutions going beyond limited measures aimed at resolving only the current economic difficulties. It urges effective commitments by all countries to achieve the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of the principles of justice and equality in order to provide for steady economic development, with due regard to the development potential of developing countries.

183. These themes emerge from operative paragraph 2, and the fifth, sixth and seventh preambular paragraphs of draft resolution A/34/L.55.

184. As for the relationship and interaction of global negotiations with other negotiations under way in various United Nations forums, there was general

agreement that the global round should not involve any interruption or have any adverse effects upon the negotiations in these forums, but should reinforce and draw upon them. This is reflected in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution.

185. I should now like to refer to the other draft resolution, contained in document A/34/L.15. The Group of 77 submitted this draft to complement the main paragraphs of draft resolution A/34/L.14. Since draft resolution A/34/L.15 is essentially of a procedural nature and supplements the main draft resolution, now contained in document A/34/L.55, a consensus was readily reached on it with only one minor modification. I should like to indicate the modification that should be made in the text of draft resolution A/34/L.15. In the fourth preambular paragraph the words "the implementation of" should be replaced by the words "in this context, recalling". Thus, the revised fourth preambular paragraph should read as follows:

*"Convinced of the urgent need for the establishment of the new international economic order and, in this context, recalling the relevant resolutions"*.

I was authorized by the Chairman of the Group of 77, the Ambassador of India, to present this revised version of the fourth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/34/L.15 to the Assembly and to note that the revision has the consent and concurrence of all the groups and individual delegations which participated in the informal consultations.

186. I should also like to submit for the consideration of the General Assembly the possibility that the Assembly might agree to take up first for adoption by consensus draft resolution A/34/L.55, which is the main resolution, and then take up, also for adoption by consensus, the slightly modified draft resolution A/34/L.15.

187. As can be seen from the very brief résumé that I have given, we have been able to achieve constructive and balanced results, and the draft resolutions before us reflect a consensus which encompasses the main concerns of all sides in the global negotiations. It is indeed significant that a round of negotiations which is intended to comprehend the critical global economic issues confronting mankind today has met with universal agreement and concord in this Assembly.

188. In responding positively to the proposal of the developing countries, the international community has recognized the important and far-reaching nature of the initiative taken by the Group of 77. Let the historic consensus that has emerged in this Assembly be the harbinger of a new and concordant era of true international economic co-operation and understanding for the common benefit of all mankind.

189. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Pakistan has proposed that, as draft resolution A/34/L.15 contains a reference to draft resolution A/34/L.55, which replaces A/34/L.14, the Assembly should take a decision first on draft resolution A/34/L.55 and then on draft resolution A/34/L.15. Unless there is any objection we shall proceed accordingly.

190. I now put before the General Assembly draft resolution A/34/L.55, entitled "Global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/34/833. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution A/34/L.55?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/138).*

191. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution A/34/L.15, entitled "Proposals for global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution A/34/L.15?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/139).*

192. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Secretary-General.

193. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The resolution which has just been adopted is one of the most important decisions made by the General Assembly during the course of its current session. The world economic situation is a source of grave concern. The present difficulties—the acceleration of inflation, slower rates of growth, the tensions on the oil market, the disequilibria of balances of payment—are to a large extent due to structural causes. These problems manifest themselves in series of disorders and a climate of general uncertainty, the impact of which is felt by all countries and more severely by the countries of the third world.

194. As emphasized in the preamble of the resolution, the response of the international community so far has not been commensurate with the magnitude of those difficulties. Negotiations on international economic co-operation, and especially those between the developed and the developing countries, have led to limited progress. Too often discussions in global conferences or forums have been characterized by indecisiveness and time-consuming debates. Too often sectoral negotiations have floundered on technical obstacles because they have remained the exclusive concern of specialists who do not always take into consideration the over-all picture and do not see the political imperatives for forward movement.

195. Something had to be done in order to overcome that situation. I therefore find it most encouraging that all Member States have responded favourably to the idea of launching a new round of global negotiations, as was initially proposed by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last September at Havana [A/34/542, annex, sect. VI B, resolution No. 9] and taken up by the Group of 77 within the United Nations during that same month [see A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex].

196. The fact that energy is included in a list of areas for negotiations which will also deal with raw materials, trade, development, monetary and financial questions is very important. As I have said on several occasions, energy is one of the major factors contributing to the present difficulties and uncertainties of the world eco-

nomy. Moreover, as emphasized by several speakers in this session the solution to this problem calls for an extended transition period of international action because consumption and production structures will have to be adapted to a new situation in which energy will be costlier and the role of oil more limited, and that process will take time.

197. At the same time, as is acknowledged by the resolution, the energy question is organically linked to other equally important and pressing problems and cannot be treated in isolation. This resolution therefore creates a new opportunity for restructuring international economic relations and strengthening the economic development of all countries through negotiations and concerted action.

198. In the coming months everything must be done to create the conditions for ensuring success. The difficulties ahead should not be underestimated. The problems to be dealt with in the various areas to be covered by the global round are numerous. In drawing up the agenda it will be necessary to take into account the linkages between different questions—for example linkages between measures to be adopted in the energy field and those with regard to monetary and financial issues. At the same time, the success of global, time-bound negotiations will require selectivity. I am convinced that in order to ensure the effectiveness of these negotiations, and in doing so to create what I might call a dynamic of success, it is essential to identify clearly priorities in organizing and conducting the discussions.

199. The success of the negotiations will be determined in large measure by the quality of the preparatory process. Clarity and selectivity in the formulation of the issues to be negotiated and the absence of ambiguity in the methods and modalities will quicken the pace of negotiation. As the resolution says, the ongoing negotiations in different forums must not be interrupted. We must make the best use of those forums and the technical expertise associated with them. At the same time it is imperative that a mechanism be evolved to enable the General Assembly to play its central role. This central role of the Assembly is essential to make it possible to find consistent solutions to problems which are interrelated and to secure political commitments to those solutions.

200. For my part I have initiated action, with the assistance of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation and other senior officials, to intensify contacts and consultations with the heads of the different parts of the United Nations system to ensure concerted action and support for the preparatory process.

201. I need hardly say that my own services are available to assist the Member States whenever they deem it necessary.

202. Towards that end I propose to intensify my contacts with Governments at the highest level to promote consensus on the basic elements on which priority attention should be focused in the global round. In that context, I also intend to explore ways and means of how direct contacts can best be established and

strengthened at the level of heads of State or Government, in view of the fact that only through a political approach can we hope to achieve progress.

203. In conclusion, I reiterate that we must not allow these negotiations to get bogged down in agenda and procedural tangles. We cannot afford it. The current state of the world economy and its prospects demand immediate attention. The United Nations must respond in a constructive and substantive way to this historic challenge.

204. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

205. Mr. B. C. MISHRA (India): I should like to express the feeling of satisfaction of the Group of 77 at the adoption of draft resolutions A/34/L.55 and A/34/L.15 on global negotiations. The decisions that the General Assembly has just taken represent a most important stage in the evolution of this significant initiative by the developing countries. We recall the initial adoption of the concept at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, and its subsequent adoption by the Group of 77 in New York. We introduced in the Committee of the Whole the draft resolution which was remitted to the General Assembly [A/34/34, part three, annex I] and which now, after considerable negotiation and with the necessary adjustments, has emerged as a consensus decision of the General Assembly.

206. If I repeat these well-known facts about the origin of this initiative, it is only in order to emphasize that it is the developing countries that have promoted the concept of global negotiations and also that the decision to pursue this initiative at the United Nations has been taken at the highest level. We have laid stress on this matter at the current session of the General Assembly, and elevated it in our consideration above all others relating to international economic relations, as a reflection of the clearly expressed wishes of our highest political leadership.

207. Naturally, of their very nature, negotiations cannot be a one-sided affair. Without the active participation and co-operation of all countries, global negotiations cannot take place. Hence there was a need for us to be sure while considering the issue that we were not merely taking a formal decision but were expressing genuine will among Member States to engage themselves in a meaningful process of negotiations. The fact that all parties have been able to agree on the resolution is an encouraging sign. The consultations which yielded the final consensus on draft resolution A/34/L.55 were prolonged, but they were carried out in a spirit of co-operation and understanding. On behalf of the Group of 77, I should like to express my appreciation to those who were involved in the consultations with us for their contribution to the final outcome. We particularly wish to thank Ambassador Naik of Pakistan for his tireless efforts, wisdom, skill and tact in conducting the informal consultations. His success is also a tribute to you, Mr. President, for choosing him to lead the informal negotiations. We hope that the readiness to compromise, the flexibility and the

earnestness with which serious issues have been approached will be repeated when we come to the next phase of the exercise.

208. Regarding the final compromise text which has been adopted today, the Group of 77 lays stress on operative paragraph 1, which is an unequivocal decision by the General Assembly to launch at the special session next year a round of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. We fully realize that these negotiations will not be successful unless there is careful and thorough planning and preparation. The Group of 77 is determined to take its full share in this preparatory process. We shall be meeting among ourselves, at high level, and we shall be participating in the meeting of the Committee of the Whole in a spirit of constructive endeavour. The task is formidable and complex. But we believe that it is within our power to reach a positive conclusion.

209. In the course of the last few months, and notably during this current session of the General Assembly, the contribution of developing countries to the process of international economic co-operation has been greatly enriched by important and challenging proposals made by some far-sighted statesmen from among our Group. We believe that the proposals from these high sources constitute indispensable inputs for the work of the Preparatory Committee. Our draft resolution A/34/L.15, which is no less significant in our eyes than draft resolution A/34/L.55, is intended to ensure that the preparatory process for the global negotiations takes full account of important proposals of this nature.

210. In conclusion, let me stress once again the importance that we attach to the global negotiations. The deteriorating economic situation in the world, which has been particularly hard on developing countries and has worsened their already difficult situations, demands an effective response. Regrettably, the series of world conferences devoted to international economic issues has yielded little from which the developing countries can take comfort. Yet, the dangers in the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor, and from accentuation of poverty and deprivation throughout the world, are so well known that they do not need to be reiterated. We would be blind if we did not seek effective remedies. It is our belief that the round of global negotiations towards which we are now heading will be a means of enhancing international co-operation for the benefit of all, especially the developing countries. There is need for urgency because our problems are only getting worse. The global negotiations will be a step towards establishing the New International Economic Order based on justice and equity, which is a goal to which we are deeply committed.

211. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico cannot refrain from underscoring on this occasion the historical importance of the resolutions just adopted by the General Assembly, first of all because of the far-reaching commitment that our country has entered into in respect of the definition and establishment of the new international economic order, and also because of the obvious interest which the presence of our head of

State at this rostrum and our active participation in the negotiating process have contributed towards the adoption of these agreements.

212. Whatever the obstacles encountered by the Assembly and the reluctance that might still persist, the decision to initiate in 1980 a round of global economic negotiations represents an irreversible step forward. It would be very difficult to take a step backwards in the future. We would expose ourselves to the risk of a break-off in the dialogue, the collapse of the world economy and a loss of confidence in the United Nations.

213. It appears fitting to my delegation to highlight the point we have now reached. First of all, we have recognized the limited capacity that we have had in achieving significant progress in international economic co-operation. Similarly, we have accepted a dual dimension in our purpose: on the one hand, to ensure the sustained growth of the world economy and, on the other hand, to attack the structural aspects of the existing order.

214. In the background of the interplay and struggle of positions we experienced in the past, we find two different concepts, that is, two different concepts of international economic co-operation. One conceives only of a series of marginal concessions which do not basically affect the links of domination, dependency and inequality. The concern of the other is with the rational and equitable distribution of resources and the radical transformation of the existing order.

215. The resolutions which we have adopted reflect the compromise that is possible at this time between the two positions.

216. We are convinced that the most disquieting phenomena of our time, such as generalized inflation, unemployment, protectionism, the inadequacy of the financial and monetary systems, the continuing deterioration in the balance of payments and the disorder in trade in raw materials and energy, are signs of other far more deep-rooted problems that we cannot simply solve to the benefit of the few and to the detriment of the great majority. The measures will have to be structural and planned, otherwise they will solve nothing.

217. To guide our actions many things are necessary. Of course, as has already been indicated, we shall need methods of work that will enable us to deal specifically with each subject without losing sight of the global nature of the negotiations. There must be simultaneous but also dynamic progress in the various sectors so that one part does not hinder another, but also so that some are not abandoned for the sake of others.

218. It will also be necessary to have close co-operation between the agencies and the other bodies in the system, not in order to slow down the negotiations, but quite to the contrary, to promote them.

219. Finally, it will be necessary to have the full commitment of States and the peoples, representing a

universal public awareness of the urgency of finding solutions to the major challenges of our time.

220. We thank all those who have co-operated with our delegation in this task for the consideration that they have given to the Mexican proposal, which is to draw up a world energy plan that will prepare an orderly and just transition to the twenty-first century, as an essential part of the economic negotiations and of the new international economic order [*ibid.*, paras. 66-69].

221. In adopting draft resolutions A/34/L.15 and A/34/L.55, the General Assembly is really fulfilling its mandate. It is assuming its responsibility towards the future; it has tried the paths to conciliation. Tomorrow it will be necessary to explore those of decision and political action. The prestige and future of our Organization are committed to this.

222. Mr. KINSMAN (Canada): It is the intention of the Canadian authorities that we should participate in a most positive spirit in the process inaugurated by draft resolution A/34/L.55. We must all make it work—work on behalf of the poorest countries, the poorest peoples, the development ethic and process and the world as a whole.

223. The next phases are the more important and difficult ones. The spirit of compromise and consensus which governed our consultations and the sense of commitment and realism which are in the resolution itself will contribute to the preparatory discussion and arrangements. Those arrangements should be the basis for success in these global negotiations, the success we need to achieve.

224. Mr. VANDEN HEUVEL (United States of America): We are pleased to join the consensus on this resolution on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. Together we have taken a significant step in a process, the duration and scope of which have yet to be finally determined. We are committed to positive and constructive participation in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 in a concerted effort to agree on mutually satisfactory arrangements that will permit the special session on development to decide on an "effective and prompt beginning" for the negotiations.

225. If properly prepared, these negotiations can make an important contribution to a system of international economic relations that is just, equitable and mutually beneficial. For our impending preparatory work to succeed, we must clearly understand and take into account the substantive interest and concerns of all.

226. My delegation made our substantive views known during the negotiations on the draft resolution. But to facilitate progress in the work of the Committee of the Whole, I wish to reiterate formally our understanding of certain provisions contained in resolution 34/138 which we have adopted by consensus.

227. In our view, and I think in the view of many others, paragraphs 1 and 5 commit us all to the principle of global negotiations; however, the beginning of



these negotiations is subject to the satisfactory and mutually acceptable completion of the preparatory process. As Ambassador McHenry indicated to the General Assembly [43rd meeting], the Committee of the Whole will begin a process for launching a ship called global negotiations, but unless our work in the Committee of the Whole successfully constructs this ship, it cannot begin its voyage. All of us therefore must recognize the hard work before us and the need for the necessary will to find the accommodations that advance our common interests and permit the global negotiations to get under way.

228. The negotiations on this resolution have demonstrated not only a sense of commitment but also a willingness on the part of all to seek common agreement. In this connexion, I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation first of all to you, Mr. President, and then, especially, to Ambassador Naik, whose creative skills and generous personality are directly responsible for the success of the negotiations, and to our colleague, Ambassador Mishra, the spokesman for the Group of 77, whose remarkable combination of wisdom, strength and patience was obviously an important contribution to the success of these negotiations. It is this spirit of commitment, of realism and of diligence that will be required during the preparatory process if we are to achieve a real and meaningful basis for the global negotiations.

229. Regarding paragraph 2, we appreciate the strong desire of many nations to ensure that the global negotiations take place in the United Nations system and that they cover many categories of subjects. We support this general concept. But we want to make unambiguously clear that there are certain subjects that can be, and in fact must be, negotiated in their appropriate forums. International monetary issues must be negotiated in IMF; matters related to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade must be negotiated in GATT. We can certainly conceive of a structure that would permit the work in these forums and other active specialized forums to be part of the entire process.

230. In this connexion, we emphasize that the final phrase of paragraph 2 (a), "without prejudice to the central role of the General Assembly", does not alter the respective roles and powers of the various organizations of the United Nations system that are spelled out in their relationship agreements with the United Nations, nor does it change the recommendatory nature of United Nations General Assembly resolutions and decisions as established in the Charter.

231. We are pleased that paragraph 3 states that global negotiations should neither interrupt nor adversely affect ongoing negotiations. It is our view, for example, that the duplication of active negotiations being held in other forums would represent such an adverse impact.

232. In saying this, let me make it clear that it is not our intention to suggest that the global negotiations be restricted to any single topic. It is simply to recognize a reality: the international community does not have the time, the resources or the public support for negotiating the same issue in two or more places at the same time. On the other hand, we fully share the view that

the global negotiations should reinforce and draw upon the work going on in existing forums.

233. Finally, I should like to comment on two of the preambular paragraphs. The construction of the second paragraph of the preamble does not fully meet our desires. While we share the view that not enough progress has been made to achieve the international economic system which would best serve the interests of all nations including our own, we are convinced that considerable progress has, in fact, been made in the last several years. Consequently, we do not believe the words "limited progress" accurately convey what has been done.

234. Preambular paragraph 7 calls for all countries to commit themselves to achieving a restructuring of international economic relations through negotiation and other concerted action. We accept this commitment. But we wish to indicate that we do not interpret this language to suggest that negotiations and concerted action are the exclusive ways for achieving this objective. There are indeed many actions in the private sector and in the public sector, on the national and international levels, that can bring about changes in the international economic system but do not necessarily involve international negotiations among Governments.

235. My Government is committed to making strong efforts to find mutually acceptable modalities and arrangements for global negotiations and to ensure that these negotiations will make a positive and constructive contribution to the international economic system and deal collectively with global economic problems.

236. To achieve these objectives, however, it is imperative that my nation and all nations together seek to identify those areas that are ripe for international negotiations, that will produce arrangements, agreements and understanding that serve the interests of all. It is also important that the process lead to increased understanding of each other's concerns and interests in areas where we now have fundamental differences in the essential first step leading, we hope, to subsequent accommodation.

237. With regard to draft resolution A/34/L.15, relating to proposals for global negotiations, my delegation, in the informal negotiations, expressed its concerns about the wording proposed by the fourth preambular paragraph. We therefore wish to express our appreciation to the co-sponsors of this resolution for accommodating these concerns.

238. The records of the General Assembly make explicit our reservations on specific elements in resolutions relating to the New International Economic Order. Those reservations still stand.

239. I should like to quote from a speech by Ambassador Young before the Economic and Social Council at its sixty-third session, which expresses our approach to the New International Economic Order and, it seems to me, provides a sound basis from which we can all approach global negotiations. Ambassador Young said:

"We are involved in a rolling, never-ending process toward objectives which must constantly be



readjusted, a process that involves perseverance in pursuing valid concepts but at the same time permits the incorporation of new ideas and the abandonment or revision of those that prove unworkable or unattainable. The only unchangeable element in this process is its fundamental purpose: the achievement of economic justice for nations and for people."<sup>8</sup>

We commit ourselves to realistic, pragmatic processes. We bring to it goodwill and good faith. We are convinced that if others do likewise—and we know they will—the special session on development can decide to begin a new round of global negotiations that will advance the economic and political interests of all of our nations and that will contribute to the stability, security and economic health of the international system.

240. Mr. KEATING (Ireland): The European Community and its member States, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, were particularly pleased to join in the consensus on draft resolution A/34/L.55 which has just been adopted. We regard it as perhaps the most important resolution adopted at this session of the General Assembly. Certainly it is so as far as our economic work is concerned.

241. In the course of the informal consultations which took place on this topic, the member States of the Community indicated at all times their positive and constructive approach to the whole question of global negotiations. In particular, we stressed the need to build on those areas of agreement which all members of the international community hold in common. It is a tribute to all the participants in the consultations that the present text does indeed reflect those areas of agreement.

242. The importance of the present text is twofold. First, it contains the critical political decisions we have made regarding the launching of global negotiations at the special session of the General Assembly in 1980.

243. Secondly, it provides us with the necessary framework for carrying out the preparatory work for the special session. That framework is, of course, the Committee for the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. The procedure established by the Committee, of arriving at its conclusions through consensus, is one to which the member States of the Community attach much importance. We are satisfied to see that this procedure will apply also for the preparatory phase, which will, it is to be hoped, be concluded with an agreement on procedures, time-frame and detailed agenda of the global negotiations.

244. We are convinced that in order to achieve this result, and thus to allow the special session to decide on a prompt and positive beginning of the global negotiations, this preparatory phase should be conducted in the most careful way, the objective being to provide a balanced and constructive basis for our future deliberation.

245. Because of the importance of global negotiations and the crucial impact they can have on international economic relations in the future, the member States of the Community are especially pleased to see that the text of the resolution defines the purposes and objectives of the negotiations. This view was, we noted, shared by all other participants and led to a most constructive discussion, the outcome of which is reflected in the text, especially in paragraph 2 of the resolution. We in the Community were also pleased to participate in the discussion on paragraph 3, and to join in the agreement that the global negotiations should not interrupt or have any adverse effect on negotiations in other United Nations forums.

246. In this regard it is, we believe, important to envisage carefully, in full respect of the competence of all bodies, the appropriate ways in which the global negotiations will reinforce and draw upon negotiations taking place in other United Nations forums. The member States have also joined in the consensus on draft resolution A/34/L.15, and I would recall their position on the relevant resolutions.

247. Finally, I should like to say how much the member States of the Community appreciate the efforts of all the participants in the informal consultations in helping to achieve the consensus on the draft resolution. I should like, in particular, to thank the Ambassador of Pakistan, who, acting as Chairman, brought his wealth of experience and expertise in economic negotiations to bear on our work and helped bring it to an early and successful conclusion. I would also like especially to thank the spokesman of the Group of 77, Ambassador Mishra of India, for his appreciation of many of our points of view and his willingness to see them accommodated in the final text. On the threshold of the 80s we have achieved a most important consensus which augurs well for the future. Let that same spirit now guide us in preparing the report of the Committee of the Whole and in the launching of global negotiations.

248. Mrs. ZHANG Zong-an (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation is very pleased by the smoothness with which the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly has adopted the draft resolution on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. We consider this resolution to be an important political decision adopted by this session of the General Assembly on economic matters. It is of great importance for breaking the impasse in the North-South dialogue and for giving an impetus to the establishment of the new international economic order.

249. The draft resolution was proposed by the Group of 77 and submitted to this session of the General Assembly through the Committee of the Whole. In the course of the consultations, despite the divergence of views on certain issues, including issues concerning principles, after three weeks of serious negotiations a consensus was finally reached. This fully reflects the developing countries' firm conviction and their willingness for consultations in relation to promoting the North-South dialogue and establishing a new international economic order. It also reflects the co-operative

<sup>8</sup> For the summary record of this statement, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-third Session, 2063rd meeting, para. 39.*

spirit and reasonable attitude manifested by some developed countries.

250. Here we also wish to thank the Vice-President of the General Assembly, Ambassador Naik of Pakistan, for the patience and the serious attitude he displayed during the consultations. The decision to launch a new round of global negotiations at the special session of the General Assembly in 1980 was a political decision, but the achievement of real results still requires the consistent efforts of all sides.

251. The Chinese delegation will continue to participate actively in the work of the Committee of the Whole and make its contribution to the preparations for a new round of global negotiations.

252. Mr. KOLEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, it is my honour to make the following statement.

253. The socialist countries have set forth their position on the question of global negotiations in their joint statement made at this session of the General Assembly on 18 October [40th meeting] and also during the consultations held on the draft resolutions contained in documents A/34/L.55 and A/34/L.15. Our position on these questions remains unchanged. We did not object to the adoption without a vote of draft resolutions A/34/L.55 and A/34/L.15, taking into account the opinion of the developing countries to the effect that the holding of a new round of "global negotiations" within the framework of the United Nations would be useful and that their purpose was the advancement of the restructuring of international economic relations on a just, equitable and democratic basis.

254. However, we wish to emphasize again that the issue is not one of the title of the negotiations which have, in fact, already been going on in various economic bodies of the United Nations. The main significance here lies in the substance of the problem—the political position of the principal participants, particularly among the developed capitalist countries. We share the opinion of the participants in the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, to the effect that the main obstacle to the restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order is the policy of the monopolistic circles of the developed capitalist countries, which is a neo-colonialist policy of continued and aggravated exploitation of the developing countries and opposition to the removal from economic relations between States of inequity, discrimination and *diktat* [see A/34/542, annex, sect. IV, para. 92].

255. A genuine restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable basis can be achieved only if all States Members of the United Nations embark upon a course of implementation of the pro-

gressive provisions of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], a course which the socialist countries have long been following in their relations with the developing countries.

256. We are deeply convinced that the success of any negotiations having to do with the establishment of a new system of international economic relations can be assured only if they are conducted in a way that takes fully into account also global factors that have a decisive influence on international relations, including economic relations, such as the need for further relaxation of international tensions, the strengthening of international peace and security, the limitation of the arms race and the adoption of effective measures in the sphere of real disarmament which would make it possible to release additional resources for development purposes, including the development of developing countries. Progress towards a solution of all these questions would have an immense impact on the solution of other global problems.

257. We wish to emphasize yet again that the holding of a new round of "global negotiations" must not be accompanied by the formation of new organs. Such negotiations must be carried out within the framework of the already existing United Nations organs, which have sufficient experience and appropriate terms of reference for the consideration and solution of all the major problems involved in the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis. Global negotiations require thorough preparation. In this respect we wish to note that the proposals on the various questions relating to the global negotiations are complex and many-sided and need further thorough study and clarification.

258. The socialist countries intend to play a constructive role in the work of the General Assembly's Committee of the Whole on economic questions, which has been entrusted with the "global negotiations", and we intend, in that Committee and in other bodies, to provide political support for the progressive provisions of the programme advanced by the developing countries, that is, the programme for the restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order. Our countries are already doing a great deal to ensure the putting into effect of the progressive provisions of that programme and their translation into specific agreements and arrangements with the interested developing countries on a multilateral and bilateral basis.

259. We are prepared, in the measure of our capacity, to continue to assist interested developing countries in their efforts to resolve problems of economic and social development in the achievement of economic independence. We intend to continue to develop with them trade and technical relations in those forms that are in keeping with their socio-economic structure, that have proved their merits in practice and that have been recognized as valid by the developing countries themselves.

260. Mr. TANIGUCHI (Japan): My delegation is pleased to see that the draft resolutions on global

negotiations have just been adopted by consensus. However, my delegation wishes to emphasize that various views and opinions which were expressed by various groups at the informal consultations should be fully reflected in the process of preparations for global negotiations in the Committee of the Whole.

261. My delegation also believes that realistic, substantial and full-fledged preparations should be made before we finally launch the global negotiations. We believe that this is the only way to make the global negotiations really meaningful.

262. In this respect, my delegation would like to commend the Secretary-General for the well-balanced statement which he has just delivered to us on the global negotiations. In particular, the Secretary-General emphasized the importance of co-ordinating the activities of the various related bodies of the United Nations system in implementing the global negotiations. My delegation was very much encouraged by his point of view. For our part, I can assure the Assembly that my delegation will participate actively in the preparations for global negotiations in the Committee of the Whole, scheduled for next year.

263. In concluding my brief remarks, I wish to express our appreciation to Ambassador Naik, the chairman of the informal consultations. I am sure that without his impartial and excellent guidance we could not have reached agreement on this very important issue.

#### AGENDA ITEM 128

##### Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council (*concluded*)

264. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw attention to an amendment to draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 issued as document A/34/L.63 and Add.1. May I remind members that the list of speakers for the debate on this item was closed at 4 p.m. this afternoon.

265. Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia): A few days ago, an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council" was included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. My delegation, together with many others, opposed that decision.

266. The main reason for our opposition to the inclusion of the item and for our serious reservations concerning the proposals it contains is one of principle. In our understanding, it is not merely the representation on or membership of the Security Council that is questioned. First, and above all, it implies a revision of the Charter of the United Nations. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which is one of the founding Members of the United Nations, has more than once stressed its opinion with regard to this question, and our position is therefore well known. We consider the provisions of the Charter to be fully adequate for the fulfilment of the principal task of the United Nations, which is the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. They are as adequate today as they were 34 years ago when they were adopted. If

anything should be revised or increased, it should be in the first place the political will of all States to comply with these provisions.

267. Apart from this position of principle, we do not find it possible to agree with the view that the proposed revision of the membership of the Security Council or of its representation will automatically bring about the strengthening of the main role of the Council and thus promote the maintaining of international peace and security. In fact, we have not witnessed one single case or situation where the provisions of the Charter, which determine the membership of the Security Council, would hamper its fulfilling the important tasks assigned to it by the Charter. We realize that a number of regions of the world remain focal points of tension and that the remnants of colonialism and racism have still not been done away with. And we realize, as well, that the Security Council has not always been in a position to adopt the necessary effective decisions aimed at overcoming these problems. But we are convinced that it is hardly possible to hold the numerical membership of the Security Council as such responsible for this, because only the strict compliance with the principles and purposes of the Charter and the carrying out of Security Council decisions by Member States can really ensure the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

268. Czechoslovakia welcomes the growth of the membership of the United Nations which ensures that our Organization is becoming more and more universal. But at the same time we do not believe that this growth should find its mechanical reflection in the increase of the membership of the Security Council. This is quite apparent in Article 23 of the Charter, which clearly stipulates that non-permanent members of the Security Council should be elected, first of all, on the basis of their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

269. Moreover, the Charter requires the Security Council to carry out rapid and effective action to maintain international peace and security. We continue to hold that inordinate enlargement of the membership of the Council, which is the most important organ of the United Nations, could not but have a negative influence on its capability to do so.

270. It is also claimed that non-aligned and developing countries are not adequately represented in the Security Council. Taking into consideration the fact that, without the agreement and active contribution of those countries among them which are represented in the Council, that body is in practice unable to take any decision at all, we do not share that view.

271. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has been taking part in the Security Council's proceedings in the course of the last two years in its capacity as one of the non-permanent members. During that time we have done our utmost to contribute constructively to the work of this important international body as it strives to achieve the goals assigned to it by the Charter. We can say with full responsibility that the experience obtained in that process fully supports the

considerations we have adduced regarding membership of and representation on the Security Council.

272. In proceeding from these considerations, the Czechoslovak delegation will have to oppose draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 if it is put to the vote.

*Mr. Sharif (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

273. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question before us on the agenda today is not simply a matter of the composition of one of the organs of the United Nations; far from it. What is at stake here, as all delegations should recognize, is a question of immense significance. When the United Nations was founded "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", certain principles were formulated in its Charter deriving from the need for peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems. This universally recognized fact of the existence of States with differing social systems generally afforded the opportunity for founding the United Nations. This was also taken into account in deciding on the composition of the United Nations organs as well as their rights and duties. The decisive significance here lay not in figures, but rather in political considerations. This matter was particularly relevant to questions relating to the Security Council, the organ entrusted with the maintenance of universal peace and international security.

274. The creation of the Security Council was an important outcome of the failure of the League of Nations. The history of the period before the foundation of the United Nations clearly shows that the provisions of its Charter that pertained to the Security Council constituted a cardinal issue in the creation of our Organization. The solution found at that time proved to be a well-balanced and acceptable compromise. Since then, the Charter has withstood all tests and it would not make sense to alter this fundamental instrument in a manner contrary to the political facts of life and the demands of today's world.

275. It is in the light of these questions of principle that we consider the proposals now before the Assembly. We are firmly convinced that it is only on this basis, and not on that of arithmetical calculations, that it is possible to adopt a responsible approach to these proposals.

276. Moreover, our serious misgivings are not dispelled by references to the revision of the Charter in 1963, as a result of which the membership of the Security Council rose from 11 to 15. The desire to alter the composition of the Security Council, in our opinion, entails more far-reaching considerations. They are being examined in the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. These considerations, with the tendencies they imply, represent a serious threat to the functioning of the United Nations.

277. Changing the composition of the Security Council would stimulate a trend towards altering also that of other United Nations organs, thus leading to a confrontation which would not be conducive to constructive-co-operation within the Organization.

278. Bearing in mind the consequences which could arise as a result of tampering with the United Nations Charter, and particularly with the provisions relating to the Security Council, we reject any revision of the Charter. Accordingly, we also reject the proposals now presented to us for our consideration. The enhancement of the role and the effectiveness of the United Nations is not an organization problem, but a political one.

279. In the light of these considerations, my delegation cannot agree to draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 and appeals to the sponsors not to insist on a decision being taken on this question.

280. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): My delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1. Our belief in the necessity of enlarging the Security Council is based primarily on paragraph 1 of Article 23 of the United Nations Charter. If we consider the fact that the new Member States of the United Nations are from Africa, Asia and Latin America, we have to conclude that the present composition of the Security Council deviates from the principle of equitable geographical distribution as stipulated in Article 23.

281. Since the Security Council is the central organ of the United Nations, whose primary task is the maintenance of international peace and security, it is essential that deliberations be conducted with the utmost care and thoroughness as we consider a change in its composition.

282. Draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 provides for an increase of four in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council. In view of the importance of this point, it is expected that a range of opinions will be heard. In fact the representative of Ecuador proposed at the preceding meeting that the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council be increased by six rather than by four. My delegation, which regards this point as open to deliberation, believes it necessary that thorough discussions be conducted in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution and taking into account the various views that may be submitted.

283. Therefore this draft resolution should be regarded as one of the bases for continued discussions on this important topic. I should like to reaffirm my delegation's readiness to participate actively and with an open mind in such discussions.

284. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): The proposal to increase the size of the Security Council is not justified by the facts and is not in the interests of the United Nations. Moreover, we believe that the manner in which it has been raised is contrary to the best interests of the United Nations.

285. There are few more profound issues than questions relating to the Charter of the United Nations. Any question which raises even the possibility of an amendment to the Charter should be the subject of the most careful consultation and the most detailed consideration. We were concerned that a brief, hurried debate at the end of this session would not permit the consideration this matter requires. I am happy to learn,

therefore, that it is not intended that action should be taken on this question at this session of the Assembly.

286. The issues that must be considered include the need for the Security Council to remain a small body capable of efficient decision-making. As those who have served on the Security Council ought to know, 15 is already a large number in terms of rapid decision-making. Any increase in that number is bound to be at the cost of efficiency and hence of effectiveness. For this reason alone we should be inclined to take a dim view of the suggested enlargement.

287. I would also note in passing that the comment by the representative of India on the prospect of convening the Security Council next year is without any legal foundation.

288. Not only do the proponents of enlargement fail to take into account the question of efficiency and effectiveness; they also fail to make a convincing case in terms of positive reasons why an enlargement would be desirable if it could be accomplished without an unacceptable decrease in the effectiveness of the Security Council.

289. The fact is that the Council, as at present composed, is effective precisely because it represents the balance of interests in today's world relevant to questions of peace and security. Questions which ultimately may require economic and even military action of the gravest nature cannot reasonably be examined in terms of mathematical ratios drawn from the General Assembly, which is a body of a fundamentally different character.

290. The Security Council, as at present composed, can act only when it has the support of members of all geographical regions. It is simply not credible to imagine the Council acting effectively without affirmative votes from all areas and, at a minimum, the concurrence of the permanent members. As at present composed, the Council cannot act unless it has the support or concurrence of Western Europe and Eastern Europe and the affirmative votes of States of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Any alteration of the composition or decision-making requirements of the Council that would alter the requirement of global support from all, including those whose economic and military support is essential, would be unrealistic. To imagine a situation in which effective decisions could be imposed on those States with special responsibilities is to ignore the economic, political and military realities of the world in which we live. Such unrealistic imaginings, if pursued, could only lead to the termination of the United Nations as a potentially effective institution in crisis situations.

291. The changes in membership of the United Nations since 1965, when the Security Council was expanded, do not affect the realities relating to the Security Council, for a wide variety of reasons, including the fact to which we have already referred, namely, that no decision can be taken in the Security Council without the support of the States members from Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as Western Europe and Eastern Europe.

292. If there have been changes in the dynamics of the Organization in the past 14 years, they relate not to Article 23 but to Article 18 of the Charter. There has been no change to ensure that the requirement of a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly would continue to have the intended effect of providing the recommendations and decisions of the General Assembly in certain key areas with a sufficiently broad base to maximize the likelihood of their effectiveness.

293. For all these reasons, including the manner in which the matter has been raised before the Assembly and the need to maintain the effectiveness of the Security Council, we cannot support any affirmative action on this matter.

294. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): Let me state at the outset that we are deeply disturbed at the ill-timed endeavours, however well orchestrated, to review the Charter of the United Nations, with far-reaching implications. Proceeding from its position of principle, the Hungarian Government has consistently expressed its firm conviction that a review of the Charter, especially for review's sake, is not at all an appropriate way of enhancing the effectiveness and role of the Organization. This position of ours remains unchanged, and we have acted and shall act accordingly. We have strongly advocated that the determination and the political will of the Member States to carry out their obligations under the Charter continue to provide the only possible means of strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization and that the role of the United Nations in world affairs can be enhanced if all Member States show full respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter.

295. With regard to the proposal of the 10 States, contained in document A/34/246 of 14 November, my delegation wishes to state the following: in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council continues to play a primary role in the maintenance of international peace and security, regardless of any further change in the size and composition of its membership.

296. After having given the most serious consideration to the proposal of the 10 States, we do not find it advisable or desirable to deal with the question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council. Since a decision on an increase in the membership would require an amendment to the Charter of the United Nations, we believe that this proposal deserved a more serious approach and a better-timed presentation to allow us to create a more favourable climate for substantive discussion. We cannot but regret that such an approach and presentation were not employed.

297. As concerns the so-called global average number of countries represented by one non-permanent seat in the Security Council, with corresponding figures for the different regional groups, a mere game of numbers cannot, in our view, be realistically used as an argument in the context of the primary role played, and to be played, by the Security Council.

298. In an entirely different set of circumstances, however, we recognized the timeliness of a previous increase in the membership of the Security Council, at



a time when the process of decolonization was rapidly increasing the membership of the United Nations. Nevertheless, we indicated on that occasion that permanent pressure for a constant growth in the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations would not work in the long run.

299. The Hungarian delegation firmly believes that, while a numerical argument can be wholly justified in advocating and supporting the principle of universality, it can hardly be justified in terms of enhancing the effectiveness of the role and work of the principal organs of this Organization. In the view of my delegation, the efficiency of such an important organ as the Security Council cannot be increased by a constant enlargement of its membership. There are times when we have to draw the line, and in this case we do so emphatically.

300. In our well-considered judgement, the larger an organ like the Security Council, the less efficient its decision-making can be. When international peace and security have been at stake, we have witnessed that, in the circumstances and with its current number of members, the Security Council has in most cases been able to respond swiftly in carrying out its functions as the primary organ of the United Nations.

301. Moreover, we firmly believe that the different political interests of the main groups of Member States are adequately reflected and represented in the membership of the Security Council.

302. In expressing our formal and substantive objections to the idea reflected in the 10-nation proposal, we wish to place on record our strongest reservations regarding the advisability and desirability of any measures that may be taken by the General Assembly pursuant to that proposal.

303. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): My delegation voted against the inscription of this item when it was considered in the General Committee [6th meeting] and in the plenary Assembly [80th meeting]. For the United Kingdom delegation this was a very rare decision. I stated at the time that we were most concerned that a subject of such fundamental importance to the functioning of this Organization should have been put before us at such a very late stage of the session.

304. Nevertheless, we now have before us a proposal to amend a very important element in the Charter, with inadequate time to discuss it properly in the dying days of the General Assembly session. We are not happy with these tactics, but our understanding, which we hope is accurate, is that the sponsors of the draft resolution do not intend to press it to a vote in the time now available. The issue is so important that it requires the fullest and most careful consideration.

305. It will come as no surprise to other delegations that we are opposed to the proposed amendments to the Charter. We believe that any further increase in the membership of the Council will affect, the speed and efficiency with which that body can reach decisions. There are often complaints, not always unjustified, that the Council already fails to reach ef-

fective and timely decisions. But it is still possible for the Council, through the highly developed process of formal and informal consultation, to reach decisions on issues which really are difficult. For example, its two most recent debates, both on very sensitive issues, have resulted in consensus resolutions. The more the members, the more difficult it would be to achieve this. This is not a question, as some have suggested, of the permanent members trying in some way to facilitate manipulation of the Council; no delegation which has served on the Council could possibly believe that. It is a question of common sense and practical, operational necessity. Enlargement means more statements, more complex consultations and slower and less positive decisions.

306. Nor can we accept the argument that the increase in the number of members of the General Assembly necessitates an increase in the membership of the Security Council. We think that the present balance of the membership ensures that the views of the various regions are reflected properly and with due weight. There has been in recent years an increasing dialogue between members of the Council and their own regional groups. We are not suggesting that members of the Council are mere spokesmen for their groups, nor indeed that it would be right for them to be so. However, it is clear that, with only one or two exceptions, all delegations from all regions have the opportunity to ensure that their views are properly taken into account by members of the Council. In addition, the Charter also makes ample provision, which is reflected in the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, for States which are not members of the Council to express their views in Council meetings and to submit proposals and draft resolutions.

307. To sum up, we believe that the present composition and balance of the Council is right, and that any enlargement will undermine its effectiveness. And I emphasize again our hope and belief that the issue will not be put to the vote at this stage.

308. Mr. GYAWALI (Nepal): The United Nations is an important institution for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has been playing an equally important role in the establishment of a more just and equitable economic relationship among nations and in other questions affecting various aspects of human life. We have always believed that in all the areas of United Nations activities, all countries should be able to participate to the maximum possible extent.

309. Therefore, it is a matter of satisfaction to us that since the establishment of the United Nations an increasing number of dependent peoples have gained their freedom and are now Members of the United Nations as sovereign States. The progress made towards the goal of universality of membership in the United Nations has made the Organization more responsive to the needs of today's world.

310. The threefold increase in the membership of the United Nations since its beginning should be reflected in the constitution of the important organs of the United Nations. As nearly all new Members belong to the developing third world and are politically and economically weak, their need of the United Nations as an



effective instrument in maintaining peace and security and equitable economic relations among States is all the greater. The need to create greater opportunities for them to participate in the vital decision-making process is clear. That fact was recognized in the past when the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council was increased in view of the increase in membership of the United Nations. More countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America have become Members of the United Nations since its Charter was last amended to increase the number of seats in the Security Council. This present situation should also be reflected in the increase in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council. We believe that better representation of the third-world developing countries will make a positive contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the primary responsibility of the Security Council.

311. As one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1, we earnestly hope that the General Assembly will take a realistic step and contribute to enhancing the representative character of the Security Council.

312. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The problem facing us is both important and complex. All of us, first, should have the courage to tackle it, bring it down to earth, reduce it to a manageable size and then examine it calmly.

313. The normal fear of change for which we are not prepared, the fear of sudden shocks which make us shiver and give us the impression of going out into the unknown, must be calmed and tempered, on the one hand by the noble nature of an undertaking the aim of which is the safeguarding of the highest values of our civilization, including the principles and spirit of democracy, and on the other hand by the fact that we all espouse a responsible vision of the future of the world. In order for the solutions put forward to be acceptable to all, they should take into account the diverse realities of the present world. They should also accord with the general view, while correcting certain mistakes made in the past or certain judgements belied by subsequent events, and should not serve selfish and opportunist interests.

314. At the same time, it seems to us that it should be understood that the Charter of all the States of the world, that of the United Nations, which is like the constitution or the basic law of a State, should be a flexible and living thing, while maintaining the idea of what is right, the idea that inspires all activities and all functions of the social body or the international community. Just as the constitution of a State should be able to adapt to the evolution of the social substratum at the national level, so should the Charter of the United Nations be able to adapt at the international level. This said, the problem gives rise to a series of questions and all the speeches we have heard so far confirm that.

315. In the conduct of world affairs, does the present composition of the Security Council judiciously and equitably reflect all the determining elements of inter-

national politics—the balance of forces or the power relationship in the world of today? Since the end of the Second World War, have there been basic changes in the world that might really justify a redefinition of the balance of forces, of the international balance set up at that time? Does the present composition of the Security Council allow all the main components of the international community to participate effectively and efficiently in the taking of decisions concerning international affairs and in expressing their deepest aspirations through those decisions?

316. What are the elements that should weigh in the definition of an international balance reflecting the real state of the power relationship? Is it the nuclear or atomic development achieved by States? Is it their economic, commercial or technological level? Is it the demographic level, the cultural level, the moral level or is it the independence of political judgement as far as a body charged with peace-keeping and international security is concerned? Is it the level of commitment to peace and the capacity to face up to the obligations and responsibilities that result from that commitment to peace? Is it finally the judicious combination of all those factors or of some of them?

317. The answers to all these extremely complex questions are different, as we have heard. Some believe that the real state of the balance of power in the present world is faithfully reflected in the composition, powers, machinery and working methods of the Security Council. Others believe the opposite. Evidently there exists a problem.

318. It is within that context that we judge the proposal to enlarge the Security Council as an attempt to resolve a delicate problem. Does that proposal offer the final solution, one that is satisfactory for all sides and in all connexions? I do not believe so and I think even the authors of the proposal do not believe so either. But it is a contribution that should be calmly debated and recorded so that it can be examined with the necessary calm and patience. It is a contribution that may be supplemented and enriched, if necessary.

319. We have therefore followed with the interest they deserve the information and explanations given by the Ambassador of India and the other sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 on the increase in the membership of the Security Council, and I should like to say that the group of African States, seized of the initial proposals, has not yet been able to agree to reach a consensus on this important and complex problem. Here, in this plenary meeting, we have learned that the initial proposals that were submitted to us have been amended and considerably modified. As a result we request that the consideration of this important, complex and delicate question should be put off until the next session of the General Assembly, so that we can closely examine all aspects of the proposals. We hope that the representative of India and the other sponsors will understand the merits of our request and will accede to it.

320. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union, both in the General Committee [5th meeting] and in the plenary meeting of

the General Assembly on 28 November [80th meeting], had an opportunity to state its position on the question of the increase in the membership of the Security Council.

321. The Soviet delegation would like once again to express its regret at the submission of this proposal, since it is one which can only lead to unnecessary complications and discord in relations between States Members of the United Nations. The delegation of the Soviet Union would like to observe that the proposal for enlarging the membership of the Security Council cannot be considered in isolation from other proposals introduced during this session of the General Assembly and designed to bring about a revision of the United Nations Charter and, indeed, undermine the very foundations of the existence of the United Nations.

322. The proposal in document A/34/L.57 and Add.1 now before us is designed to revise one of the most important provisions of the Charter. The position of principle of the Soviet Union on this question is well known. It remains unchanged. Put briefly, it is that the Soviet Union consistently and firmly opposes attempts to revise the Charter. We proceed from the premise that the United Nations Charter, which has stood the test of time, has demonstrated its viability in the conditions of a changing world, is wholly adapted to the central task of the United Nations, the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, and does not need to be changed.

323. Acting in accordance with the Charter, the United Nations has made and is making a useful contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and the solution of current international problems. It is playing a positive role in the development of the process of the relaxation of international tensions.

324. In these circumstances, attempts to change the Charter can only undermine the foundations of the work of the Organization, without enhancing its effectiveness. The Soviet delegation cannot agree with the claim that the increase in the membership of the United Nations entails a need to enlarge the membership of the Security Council in order to enhance the effectiveness of that organ.

325. In our opinion, quite the contrary is true. The enlargement of the membership of the Security Council would have a negative effect on the ability of that very important United Nations organ to act, and the Charter requires from that body the adoption of rapid and effective action to maintain international peace and security. As is well known, according to the Charter, the composition of the non-permanent membership of the Security Council is not determined by arithmetical proportions but by paying special regard, as specified by Article 23, "in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security".

326. Clearly, purely arithmetical calculations are inapplicable in the determination of the membership of the Security Council and are not in keeping with the requirements of the United Nations Charter. The current membership of the Security Council, whereby States of Asia, Africa and Latin America have 70 per

cent of the seats reserved for non-permanent members of the Security Council, is adequately balanced and generally correctly reflects the true state of affairs in the world. Moreover, the representation of those countries in the Council at the present time is such that, without the agreement of that group of non-permanent members of the Security Council, the Council cannot take a single decision. That is well known to all delegations in this hall.

327. It is also well known that each State Member of the United Nations can take part in the discussion of any question in the Security Council in all instances in which the interests of that State are especially affected. As the practice of the work of the Council has shown, the developing countries are making extensive use of this opportunity.

328. My delegation is convinced that it is not in the provisions of the Charter determining the membership of the Security Council that one should look for the reason why the Council is not always in a position to adopt the necessary and effective decisions and why in a number of regions of the world focal points of tension still remain. The Charter provides numerous unused opportunities and potential for enhancing the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. For their full utilization, there is only one reliable course, that is, the strict and unswerving compliance by all Member States with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

329. The delegation of the Soviet Union expresses the hope that the Member States of the United Nations will ponder with all due seriousness the negative consequences for relations between States and for the Organization itself which could ensue from attempts to foist on the General Assembly a proposal for increasing the membership of the Security Council that is unacceptable to many States Members of the United Nations.

330. My delegation has appealed to the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 not to press for their proposal. However, if their proposal is put to the vote, the delegation of the USSR, proceeding from its position of principle, will vote against it.

331. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): On 28 November [80th meeting] our Assembly decided, pursuant to rule 15 of its rules of procedure, to place on the agenda an additional item, entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council". The delegation of France, amongst others, voted against the inclusion of that item.

332. First of all, it seems to us that the deliberations of the Assembly on a question with such serious implications should call for a greater effort on our part at analysis and consultation and for less haste.

333. As a number of delegations have indicated when the item was placed on the agenda, the urgency of this question has not been demonstrated.

334. Moreover, I should like to point out that rule 15 of the rules of procedure provides that, unless the

General Assembly decides otherwise by a two-thirds majority, no additional item can be considered "until a committee has reported upon the question concerned".

335. Similarly, rule 65 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly "shall not, unless it decides otherwise, make a final decision upon any item on the agenda until it has received the report of a committee on that item". Moreover, I think it would be appropriate to take this rule 65 together with rule 97, which provides that "items relating to the same category of subjects shall be referred to the committee or committees dealing with that category of subjects."

336. I am aware that the rules of procedure of the General Assembly were established by this body in conformity with Article 21 of the Charter and that the Assembly may change them if it deems fit. But what is the point of having the rules of procedure if we take no account of them? I note that the principles established in rules 15, 65 and 97 of the rules of procedure should, normally speaking, lead us to refer to the competent committee, in this case the Sixth Committee, the study of the proposal now before us.

337. Rule 15 of the rules of procedure provides that an additional question may be included in the agenda when it is urgent, but also on condition that it is important. In this case, the urgency is not evident; the conditions for the application of the Charter have not markedly changed in the months that have just elapsed, and nothing would indicate that they will change in the forthcoming months. On the other hand, it is clear to my delegation that the question is important. In fact, it is so important that we cannot see how it could be settled at the end of a few hours of discussion. It is indeed so important that we can hardly see how it can be settled when the conditions provided for by the Charter to allow consent do not seem to be met.

338. I would note, moreover, that discussions on the revision of the Charter that was adopted in 1963 and that entered into force in 1965 had begun in 1956, that is to say, seven years before a vote was taken in the General Assembly. I note that the text of the draft resolution we are considering today reached the French mission on 13 December, that is to say, precisely 24 hours ago, and that some amendments were submitted this very morning.

339. It is for these various reasons that I should like the sponsors of the proposal concerning the membership of the Security Council to be kind enough to withdraw that proposal or, in any event, to defer its consideration to a later session. Having said this, any possible decision to defer it would not in any way imply that the French delegation would be prepared to accept the proposal before us concerning the membership of the Security Council. I venture to recall, in this connexion, the difference between the situation in 1979 and the situation that existed in 1963.

340. In 1963, four of the five permanent member States of the Security Council viewed a reasonable increase of the Council favourably, and the fifth member, whose temporary objection was due to other considerations, came around to that view at the end

of the discussions. Thus, we had practically total unanimity in favour of a revision and no State had declared that it was opposed to it for reasons of principle.

341. In 1979, the situation is different because a certain number of States, whose consent is certainly necessary, have informed the Assembly of their objections to the proposed revision. Why, then, does this difference exist between the attitudes of 1963 and those of 1979?

342. For our part, our objections are supported by extremely serious substantive reasons. As we have already set forth our reasons in the General Assembly, I shall confine myself today to presenting a brief summary of them; they are four in number.

343. First, in our quest for effectiveness, we should preserve the executive role that the Security Council is called upon to play on certain occasions: such a responsibility can only be assumed by a restricted organ.

344. The founding Members of the United Nations intended from the very beginning, as can be seen in the various provisions of the Charter, to give the United Nations a universal character. Obviously they envisaged and hoped that our Organization, which at the time was made up of some 50 Members, would indeed grow. It was in full awareness of these possibilities that the authors of the Charter nevertheless limited the number of members of the Security Council because, in view of the functions and powers which they attributed to it, it seemed necessary that the Council should remain a restricted organ, capable of deliberating and, whenever necessary, acting with speed.

345. Our second reason is one of realism. The Council, being the sole body of the Organization empowered to take decisions that are binding on all States Members of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security, should therefore be mindful of the balance that exists in the world, particularly from the economic and the military point of view. The decisions that are taken should, if they are not to remain unimplemented and thus to weaken the authority of the Council and the United Nations as a whole, and if they are not to be prejudicial to peace in the world, be accepted by the States which have special responsibilities under the Charter. It would be illusory to think that they could be imposed on them against their will.

346. The third argument concerns respect for the balances found in the Charter. The Security Council, if I may say so, stems from a philosophy different from that of the General Assembly. It is not at all the guiding or directing organ of the United Nations. The suggestion that is made to us is based on the idea that the membership of the Council is not equitable and it is not broad enough. It is based on the idea that the Council should reflect "on a smaller scale" the composition of the General Assembly, in the light of the distribution of the States Members of the United Nations by geographical groupings. That is neglecting a very important aspect of the question.

347. We believe it is necessary to differentiate between the two organs. The Security Council, in

which sit only a limited number of Member States with special responsibilities, may take decisions ranging even to the imposition of sanctions and the use of force. Members of the United Nations, in signing the Charter, undertook the obligation to respect and implement the decisions of the Council. That is not the case for the General Assembly, in which all the Members of the United Nations are represented.

348. A fourth argument relates to the legitimate views of African, Latin American and Asian States concerning respect for their interests. In this connexion, we should indicate that under Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter and rules 37 and 38 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, and also in the light of the liberal manner in which the Council applies those provisions, all States—I repeat, all States—may be heard by that body. Moreover, no decision can be taken by the Security Council if the countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia, which are represented on the Council, oppose it. Is it necessary to recall here the constructive and sometimes decisive role which has been played in the Council, particularly during the last few years, by the representatives of the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia?

349. In conclusion, I should like once again to emphasize the realism that should inspire our action. I am convinced that the authors of the proposal now before us will take this into account. The United Nations Charter is a balanced entity. We should therefore ask ourselves whether the proposal which is being made to us does not carry the serious risk of jeopardizing that balance.

350. My delegation would be glad, therefore, if the Assembly might be given the latitude and time to think about this at greater length. To try and rush things would be perhaps undermining the authority of our Organization, whereas it would seem that the intentions of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 are quite different. Indeed, it would appear that they intend to increase this authority, thereby strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations.

351. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The Polish delegation has asked to be allowed to speak to put on record the fact that the proposal now before the Assembly is unacceptable to us. In the existing circumstances, it is politically wrong, legally dubious and counter-productive on its merits.

352. The exchange of views which took place when the inclusion of the item under discussion was considered in both the General Committee and the General Assembly is clear proof of the validity of our opinion.

353. We cannot agree that the United Nations should be treated as a mere exercise in arithmetic, for an arithmetical approach utterly neglects the existence and the role of different socio-political systems in the world. In general terms, the issue before us, that of equitable representation on the Security Council, is not so much one of geography, as of the need for the Council's composition to be of a representative character. Such a representative character, in our view, can be assured first of all by an adequate and unimpaired reflection of the role the main political groups

of States play in the United Nations and in the world at large. One of those groups is the group of Eastern European States. Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations applies in this instance, *mutatis mutandis*, to those groups and to what has to be fully taken into consideration, as has been pointed out by numerous speakers before me, namely, their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. Incidentally, the present numerical representation of States of the regional groups of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the Security Council is such that without their assent the Council is in practice unable to take any decision. Moreover, as has been confirmed in the case of numerous other organs, an increase in their membership has in no way enhanced the effectiveness of their work.

354. Nor can we agree with the proposal before us for another very important reason of principle, namely, because it is against our firm belief in the full validity and effectiveness of the Charter of the United Nations in its present form. Any attempt at altering the Charter, be it even by piecemeal tactics, can only weaken this Organization, undermine its authority and usefulness and bring incalculable consequences.

355. These are the main considerations determining my delegation's negative position vis-à-vis the proposal in document A/34/L.57 and Add.1. Should the proposal be put to a vote, we would vote against it. For the same reasons of principle, as stated above, it follows logically that we also cannot give a favourable consideration to the proposals in the amendments, contained in document A/34/L.63 and Add.1, to the draft resolution.

356. Mr. de PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Item 128, "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council", is an item, in the opinion of my delegation, which deserves the most thorough consideration.

357. In 1963 when the Assembly adopted resolution 1991 (XVIII), it acted in response to a state of affairs which had become quite evident: namely, that the membership of the Security Council was extremely limited in the light of the enlargement of the membership of the United Nations. Sixteen years have elapsed since the Assembly came to that decision, although it took a few more years to achieve the ratification required by the Charter, namely, ratification by two thirds of the members, including the permanent members, so that the amendments to the Charter could become effective.

358. It should be recalled that a small group of countries at that time opposed such an enlargement. However, events proved that it was a wise measure and the Security Council has functioned in a stable manner over the past 16 years. For that reason, my delegation believes that if we were to study thoroughly the implications of the enlargement proposed in draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1, having considered all its aspects and all opinions, and having received instructions from our Governments—which would certainly not be able to let us have them in so short a time as we have left before the end of the session—we would doubtless be on the right path to reaching an agree-

ment that we believe would deserve the support of an overwhelming majority and that would allow us to restructure the Security Council in such a way as to guarantee the effectiveness of its action.

359. Over the years its functioning and stability will be essential, considering that the Security Council is the organ entrusted with the prime responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and one that must be structured in such a way as "to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations" in the words of Article 24 of the Charter. Let us not therefore take such action as would leave us with a Council which is incapable of acting. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that when the Security Council acts, it does so on behalf of all the Member States of the United Nations. Hence the importance which we attach to the need for the support of the immense majority of the Members, if not all the Members, for such an enlargement. That is why my delegation, speaking also on behalf of the majority of Western European and other States, agrees with the request made by other speakers, calling for a postponement of this item to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

360. Mr. Reaz RAHMAN (Bangladesh): Bangladesh has sponsored draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 seeking an increase in the non-permanent membership of the Security Council by four seats. We have done so because we believe that the rationale behind this move is practical and logical. The explanatory memorandum [A/34/246], submitted by the Permanent Representative of India at the preceding meeting, in seeking inscription of this item on our agenda clearly established the major premise governing this objective, namely, the need for a more equitable and balanced representation that would reflect the increase in the membership of the United Nations over the past 16 years, all of which is due to States from the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

361. However, the need for increased representation of the non-permanent membership goes beyond the mere logic of numbers. It touches on substantive factors governing the effective functioning of the Security Council as the primary organ charged with maintaining peace and security.

362. In the historical perspective, not only has membership increased threefold but the entire setting of contemporary international relations has undergone a radical change. It is undeniable that there have been profound shifts in power and that new structures of power have emerged. It need hardly be stressed that issues affecting peace and security are increasingly being focused in the territories of newly emergent countries. The very purposes of the Charter—the promotion of peace, better standards of living, human rights and the rule of law, all of which are inextricably intertwined and interrelated—must be seen in the context of nations which have not participated until very recently in the process of determining the rules that govern our global society. We speak increasingly of an interdependent world, but the decision-making process, which only a short while ago was concentrated in a very few capitals, continues to remain unbalanced and relegated to narrower interests. It is no wonder

that a recurrent theme in the non-aligned declarations has been that of democratizing international relations, or in other words seeking greater participation in the making of decisions.

363. A cardinal factor governing membership of the Security Council is the contribution of a Member State in the maintenance of peace and security. Given the increase in international conflict and situations that affect peace and security, it can reasonably be asked whether the present composition of the Council truly reflects the ability of the Council to deal adequately with given situations. It has been emphasized, moreover, that the present initiative does not enter into the question of Charter prerogatives assigned to permanent members.

364. It is our belief that the rationale for an increase in the number of non-permanent seats is realistic and just and that the relative advantages that accrue from more concerned and more relevant representation in the Council overrides predictions of potential loss of efficiency by a larger body. We recognize, however, that there can be reasonable contention regarding the allocation and distribution of the increased number of seats in the context of equity and balance. It is obvious, however, that the pattern of distribution cannot possibly conform to the maximum interests of all regions. Somewhere a line has to be drawn. While we feel that the recommendations put forward in the draft resolution strive to be objective, we consider that this matter is still open and can be pursued through further consultations and pragmatic negotiations.

365. Mr. RICARDES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina, as is well known, is among those delegations that requested the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda of this session referring to the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of non-permanent members in the Security Council.

366. There is absolutely no doubt that in the present circumstances, in which this Organization is attaining true universality, there is an imperious need that equitable representation be attained in all its principal organs. Since its creation in 1945, and after prolonged and at times painful processes of decolonization and the attainment of national independence, a great number of new States in Asia, Africa and Latin America have emerged as important protagonists in the field of international relations and have joined the United Nations as full Members, thereby giving this Organization a new dimension for its increased activities and for the extension of its influence to all regions of the world, without exception.

367. If what I have said is an irrefutable fact, and if we also recognize that this new reality leads us to a new interdependence in which the participation in the decision-making process arises as a fundamental right of all nations, then there is no doubt that our claim for equitable representation in the Security Council, which would recognize the rights of the non-aligned and the developing countries, has justification based on a real and proved consensus.

368. The Charter of the United Nations mentions as the first of its purposes that of maintaining interna-



tional peace and security and also indicates that this Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. That purpose, that principle and an historical evolution that may not have been envisaged in its full breadth and speed at the end of the Second World War provide further support and grounds for our request that the Security Council, the organ with the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, be given a membership and representation that will enable the voice of the representatives of two thirds of mankind to be heard.

369. We cannot refrain from pointing out that, in addition to all the historical and political reasons supporting our request, it is also necessary to recognize in the sphere of practical reality that insufficient representation in the main organs of our Organization would put increased pressures on all the Member States that are struggling for the few vacancies, thereby possibly impeding the work of the United Nations and also running the risk of giving rise to institutional disadvantages and undesirable drawbacks which nobody who seeks the attainment of the objectives of peace and development for all peoples and nations can possibly desire.

370. In conclusion, my delegation does not wish on this occasion to express its opinion with regard to draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1, or the amendments contained in document A/34/L.63 and Add.1 submitted by the representative of Ecuador at the preceding meeting, because we recognize that this subject is of a particularly delicate nature politically, in that it requires a broad base of consensus, and believe that the final decision must be arrived at with great rationality and balance, which can only be achieved through a long and thoughtful process of consultations within each regional group. We therefore consider that consideration of this subject should be continued at the next session of the General Assembly.

371. Mr. MUJEZINOVIĆ (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation has carefully studied the proposal contained in draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1, so ably introduced by the Ambassador of India on behalf of a number of sponsoring countries, to increase the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council, under the item "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council". We consider this proposal to be important, timely and justified. I wish to quote the spokesman of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry who spoke on this subject the other day. He said:

"Yugoslavia has always supported the democratization of the United Nations system based on equal rights and duties for all. The proposal of the 10 Asian, African and Latin American countries for expanding the United Nations Security Council is in accord with the Yugoslav stand. The idea of expanding the Security Council's membership with non-aligned and developing countries is also in accordance with the stance presented in documents adopted at the non-aligned meetings "

372. The current session of the General Assembly has reflected and confirmed once again the interest

of non-aligned and other developing countries in strengthening the role of the United Nations and in further democratizing the whole United Nations system. A number of proposals have been submitted by those very non-aligned countries. In addition to the important Indian initiative, the delegations of Jamaica and Argentina have submitted a proposal [A/C.2/34/L.125] to increase the membership of the Economic and Social Council. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has proposed the preparation of a study on the rule requiring the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council for the adoption of decisions on all non-procedural matters.

373. Other proposals also reflect the feelings of developing and non-aligned countries that it is necessary to adapt the entire United Nations system to new realities. As is well known, Yugoslavia has always advocated the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the solving of the most important problems of the contemporary world, and considers unjustified tendencies to bypass the world Organization, which provides the most appropriate forum for the consideration of outstanding problems. In order further to enhance the effectiveness and ensure better utilization of the United Nations system in the interest of peace, security and the independence of all States, Yugoslavia is acting in two ways. First, it is promoting the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly of the United Nations as the only principal organ in the United Nations system in which all States are represented on an equal footing. The General Assembly has made an invaluable contribution to the solving of the most complex problems. It has contributed to their objective and comprehensive study, to the overcoming of differences and to the creation of the conditions for the attainment of lasting solutions. This has also been borne out at the current session of the Assembly.

374. Our second course of action is through our efforts to secure the democratization of those organs in the United Nations system which have a limited membership. Along these lines, Yugoslavia advocates equitable representation of all States and regions in order, *inter alia*, to achieve just representation of developing and non-aligned countries in different organs of the United Nations system. This problem is of even greater significance in view of the fact that, since the founding of the world Organization, approximately 100 States of Asia, Africa and Latin America have achieved their independence in the wake of the anticolonial revolution. Yugoslavia firmly believes that it is not only justified but also indispensable to effect changes in the composition of organs with a limited membership so that this will better reflect and be in accordance with the principle of the sovereign equality of States, their duties and their will to contribute to the solution of the outstanding problems of the world.

375. At the same time, we do not wish to see the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security diminished. We believe that an increase in the membership of the Security Council can only create better conditions for the more adequate fulfilment of the role that the Charter has entrusted to them and to the Security Council as a whole.



376. The Yugoslav delegation considers that it is important to examine the view mentioned by the Ambassador of India and further elaborated by the Ambassador of Ecuador, who made a formal proposal on behalf of another group of non-aligned and developing countries to increase the membership of the Security Council to 21. This proposal, which has been distributed in document A/34/L.63 and Add.1, seeks to ensure, within the framework of expanded membership of the Security Council, better and more adequate representation of all regions and countries, including within this context representation of the non-aligned and neutral European States. It certainly deserves the full attention of and favourable consideration by the General Assembly.
377. Finally, I wish to assure the sponsors of the proposals in question, our non-aligned friends, that Yugoslavia will devote the greatest attention to these and will co-operate closely in the further examination of this important question.
378. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): I was, I suppose, inevitable that there would be different approaches to the question of expansion of the membership of the Security Council raised in draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 introduced by the representative of India.
379. For many Member States, including my own, the importance of the question lies in the desirability of a modest expansion in the non-permanent membership of the Security Council. The reasons for such an increase are clear: it would permit better representation of the Member States which have joined the Organization since 1963 or can be expected to join in the future. It would, at the same time, ensure a more equitable geographical distribution of those seats. I emphasize the term "geographical distribution" because there is nothing in the Charter that says anything about the representation of States on the basis of their political outlook.
380. At the same time, there are many Member States which consider that an especially careful and thorough examination of the implications of expansion must be undertaken before any final decision is made.
381. We do not see those two approaches as mutually exclusive.
382. New Zealand supports the objectives of the draft resolution, not least because of the improved opportunities it would offer for the island States of the Pacific, members of the Asian Group, to serve on the Council. The debate has convinced us, however, that all Member States do need extra time to examine the draft and the issues raised by it, especially in view of the importance and sensitivity of the matter, and the late stage of the session. The proposal introduced by the representative of Ecuador [A/34/L.63 and Add.1] for a further increase in the strength of the Council membership only reinforces the need for such a deferment.
383. In conclusion, I wish to say that the New Zealand delegation will be prepared to participate in a constructive way in the consultations on draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 which will clearly be necessary if this matter is to be brought to a successful conclusion by the next session of the General Assembly.
384. Mr. BENKHAYAL (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On 28 November 1979 the General Assembly decided to include in the agenda of this session the item we are discussing today, namely, the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. My delegation supported the inscription of this item, for we are convinced that it is important and legitimate and that the time has come to review the question of representation in the Security Council.
385. The last time the Assembly reviewed the question of representation in the Security Council was in 1963, when the number of Members of the United Nations was only 113, whereas today it is 152. That large increase in the membership of the United Nations requires a review of the question of representation in the various organs of the Organization, particularly the Security Council, which is one of the most important bodies of this Organization.
386. My delegation bases its support for equitable representation in the membership of the Security Council on the following factors.
387. First, the safeguarding of international peace and security is the collective responsibility of the Member States; it is not confined to one group to the exclusion of another. Since this responsibility has been entrusted in the first place to the Security Council, it is only right and fair that there should be an equitable representation of the various groups in that important body.
388. Secondly, the Security Council with its present composition does not reflect in an equitable and just way the geographical blocs recognized in the United Nations. Thus, the representation in the Council should be reviewed so as to ensure that it reflects accurately the increase in the membership of the Organization.
389. Thirdly, all countries, large or small, are equal under the Charter. Hence, all the countries that do not yet enjoy the right to participate in the consideration of international issues should be given that right and should be able to express their points of view through their membership of such important bodies as the Security Council. The participation of small States should not arouse any fears, because they have proved their sense of international responsibility and have played, in many instances, an important role in safeguarding international peace and security.
390. Fourthly, we view the question of equitable representation in and an increase in the membership of the Security Council as consolidating and strengthening the Council's basic role rather than weakening or diminishing its competence. We are convinced that the Security Council plays an important role in regard to international issues, and we desire to see it continue to play a strong and effective role.
391. Fifthly, we are also convinced that the Charter is one of the most important international documents. We recognize that it must be reviewed to adapt it to the current international situation. It is out of that

conviction that we support any amendments that would strengthen the Charter. The prerogatives now granted to certain countries are contrary to the principle of equality. The time has come to review those prerogatives. To insist on keeping them is not in the interest of the international community or of those who have such prerogatives.

392. On 28 November, my delegation heard representatives setting forth objections to the mere inclusion of this item on the agenda. Regrettably, among those speakers were most of the permanent members of the Security Council. They based their objections on the pretext that it was too late to inscribe this item, that it was neither urgent nor important, that the Charter should not be amended to increase the number of members of the Security Council. Other pretexts were invoked, but we know that the aim is to leave the Charter as it is, even if that is neither just nor equitable. The fear is that amendments could infringe the prerogatives enjoyed by those members. Such prerogatives, including the right of veto, are contrary to the principle of equality, as was foreseen by the small countries that participated in the drafting of the Charter. They expressed their fears in that regard, but the large Powers gave assurances that they would not misuse the right of veto. However, the contrary proved to be true. The fears of the small countries have proved to be justified. All we can do now is review the Charter, in a serious, democratic and innovative spirit, to ensure that it guarantees the principle of equality and is in accordance with the current international situation.

393. The proposal before the Assembly to increase the membership of the Security Council from 15 to 19, with the additional seats being allocated to the African, Asian and Latin American geographical groups, is a just and logical request. If we look at the African group of States, for example, we find that it represents one third of the membership of the United Nations; yet its representation on the Security Council is only one fifth of the membership of that body. The proportions for the other two groups are similar. This is neither just nor equitable.

394. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): The current session of the United Nations General Assembly is drawing to a close. Therefore it is quite surprising that we are being asked to consider a matter which can in no way be regarded as being of small importance or a routine one. On the contrary, the issue raised in draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 concerns the membership and to a certain extent also the functioning of one of the world Organization's principal bodies, that is, the Security Council, upon which, pursuant to Article 24 of the United Nations Charter, the Member States confer "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace". Indeed, the sponsors of this draft resolution correctly emphasize that this question pertains to the category of especially important matters and that, in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter, its solution requires a two-thirds majority. However, this is not to be construed as a mere formality required by the Charter. Furthermore, although the United Nations membership is increasing, it is obvious that a matter of such magnitude, dealing with such an important aspect of the world Organization's activities,

cannot be subject to discussion and solution in a hurry, and during the last days of the session at that.

395. Those are some of the preliminary reflections I wished to make known before stating the position of my country on the matter under consideration.

396. The Bulgarian Government, along with others, has never accepted the thesis that revision of the Charter is necessary for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international relations. The three-decade-old practice has unambiguously confirmed that the United Nations Charter is the most significant international legal instrument adopted since the Second World War and that it is recognized by practically all States and most legal authorities to be a constitutional foundation for the contemporary legal order.

397. The activities of the United Nations are, quite naturally, accompanied by some drawbacks, and it is hardly necessary to dwell on them here, as they are well known. However, as has been stated many times, these drawbacks are not due to the provisions of the Charter or to the composition of the United Nations organs.

398. The Bulgarian delegation cannot accept the underlying formulation promoted in document A/34/L.57 and Add.1 to the effect that the composition of the Security Council is inequitable and unbalanced and that it should be based on the numerical principle. The United Nations is a political organization, and its main body, the Security Council, should be built on political criteria. The Security Council is representative of the basic political trends in the present-day world. For these reasons, we do not believe that an increase in the non-permanent membership could enhance the efficiency of the Security Council. On the contrary, such a move could prejudice its efficiency in complex situations.

399. The Bulgarian delegation is hopeful that the sponsors of the draft resolution will withdraw it—which it would be most sensible to do in the present circumstances—otherwise my delegation will be compelled to vote against it.

400. Mr. B. C. MISHRA (India): The delegations of Zaire and Spain have requested, on behalf of their respective groups, the postponement of the consideration of the enlargement of the membership of the Security Council until the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly. They have put forward reasonable arguments in favour of their request. The sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 are willing to respond favourably to the request, and not press for a vote on the draft resolution at this session of the General Assembly.

401. Therefore we propose that the Assembly decide now to inscribe the item in question on the provisional agenda of the thirty-fifth regular session and, further, to transmit the draft resolution and other connected documents to that session. If the Assembly agrees to this procedure, we will not press for a vote on our draft resolution at the current session.

402. Mr. von WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): The debate today has confirmed that there

remain basic differences of opinion among Member States on the important subject to which draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 is addressed. Further consideration of its consequences and thorough examination of the draft and the proposed amendment are obviously necessary. Therefore my delegation welcomes the reasonable proposal made by the sponsors of the draft resolution to defer a vote on it until the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

*Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.*

403. The PRESIDENT: The representative of India has proposed, pursuant to the proposals and appeals made earlier, that the General Assembly decide to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fifth regular session the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council" and to transmit draft resolution A/34/L.57 and Add.1 and other related documents to that session. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that proposal?

*It was so decided (decision 34/431).*

#### AGENDA ITEM 129

##### Drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries

404. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Nigeria, who will introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/34/L.58 and Add.1.

405. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): First of all, I wish to apologize to you, Mr. President, and through you to my other friends and colleagues, for the lateness of the request for the inscription on the agenda of this new item [A/34/247]. I must recall, however, that I indicated earlier, during the general debate [30th meeting, para. 94], that my delegation would be joining with others to request the inscription of an appropriate item to deal with the major menace which the activities of mercenaries constitute to the peace and stability of African and other developing countries. I am most grateful to you and to the other members of the General Committee for agreeing to the inscription of the item at this late stage of the work of the General Assembly.

406. During the sessions of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, held at Geneva in 1977, several delegations, including that of Nigeria, sponsored a proposal on mercenaries the object of which was to deprive a mercenary of the status of combatant or prisoner of war. Consequently, on 8 June 1977 the Conference adopted the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), including its article 47, "Mercenaries". The references to that article, as well as an account of the proceedings and results of the 1977 session of the Conference, are contained in document A/32/144 of 15 August 1977.

407. In order to allay the fears of some representatives, who may think that innocent foreigners engaged in armed conflicts could come within the ambit of the item under consideration, and to secure consensus agreement on draft resolution A/34/L.58 and Add.1, which I shall introduce shortly, I wish to quote the entire article 47 of that Additional Protocol (Protocol I):

##### "Article 47—Mercenaries

"1. A mercenary shall not have the right to be a combatant or a prisoner of war.

"2. A mercenary is any person who:

"(a) is especially recruited locally or abroad in order to fight in an armed conflict;

"(b) does, in fact, take a direct part in the hostilities;

"(c) is motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain and, in fact, is promised, by or on behalf of a Party to the conflict, material compensation substantially in excess of that promised or paid to combatants of similar ranks and functions in the armed forces of that Party;

"(d) is neither a national of a Party to the conflict nor a resident of territory controlled by a Party to the conflict;

"(e) is not a member of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict; and

"(f) has not been sent by a State which is not a Party to the conflict on official duty as a member of its armed forces."

408. There is a long history of United Nations concern at the diabolical activities of mercenaries. During the tragic days of rampant, but futile, colonial wars in Africa, the General Assembly on numerous occasions reiterated its declaration on mercenaries—for instance, in its resolutions 2548 (XXIV) of 11 December 1969 and 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970—that

"... the practice of using mercenaries against national liberation movements in the colonial Territories constitutes a criminal act . . ."

and called upon

"... all States to take the necessary measures to prevent the recruitment, financing and training of mercenaries in their territory and to prohibit their nationals from serving as mercenaries".

409. The despicable practice of employing mercenaries to impose colonial power, to strengthen the position of foreign economic or other interests or to support non-representative régimes and constitutions has continued to this day. Several resolutions relating to the question of decolonization, *apartheid*, the strengthening of international security, and so on, adopted

<sup>9</sup> See document A/32/144, annex I.

during the current session of the General Assembly, contain ringing references to the vexing menace represented by mercenaries. Last year, when the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia was about to collapse under sustained attack by the nationalist forces of the Patriotic Front, Ian Smith and his friends resorted to massive recruitment of white mercenaries to defer the day of reckoning. Because they were outlaws, criminal bandits and soldiers of fortune, those mercenaries went about massacring innocent men, women and children, both inside Zimbabwe and in the neighbouring States of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. Their wanton vandalism and insensate rampage reached grotesque heights when they proceeded to raid refugee camps at will and to attack non-military targets, in arrogant violation of all the laws of war and the Geneva Conventions. The situation was so serious that the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] had to adopt resolution CM/Res.681 (XXXII) at its thirty-second session, held at Nairobi from 23 February to 4 March 1979, condemning mercenaries and threatening to punish them without mercy if caught.

410. It is therefore little wonder that the issue of mercenaries has become pivotal in the current Lancaster House talks in London concerning the future of Zimbabwe. The nationalist delegation, the Patriotic Front, is demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African military forces and mercenaries from Zimbabwe. Deeply conscious of South Africa's repeated threats and actual interventions in Zimbabwe and the countries neighbouring South Africa, a primary objective in this item is to arrest and forestall the grave threat to the peace and stability of the whole region of southern Africa which South Africa's use of mercenaries constitutes.

411. In annexes I and II of document A/34/247 of 5 December 1979 with which my delegation, on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, asked for the inscription of this additional question on the agenda, we referred to several resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly arising from complaints by Member States, particularly African ones, concerning attempts by mercenaries to subvert their political independence, immobilize their properly constituted institutions and paralyse their economies. Confronted by the dangers which mercenaries pose to the newly independent countries and the national liberation movements of Africa, the Council of Ministers of the OAU, meeting at Lagos in 1970, roundly condemned the role and activities of mercenaries in Africa. After repeated calls to outlaw mercenarism in Africa, the OAU adopted a convention to that end at Port Louis in 1976. Because the convention was applied only in Africa, its provisions have not prevented the scourge and activities of mercenaries in Africa and in other developing regions of the world where mercenaries go to loot and kill at random.

412. Some recent adventures by mercenaries are too outrageous to disregard. In 1967 alone the Security Council met several times to condemn mercenary activities and plunder in the then Congo (Leopoldville), now Zaire. Only last February a group of white mercenaries disguised as tourists gathered in Rwanda with the intention of destabilizing Zaire. Thanks to the

vigilance of the Rwandese authorities and the fraternal co-operation between Zaire and Rwanda, those brigands were arrested and their evil designs foiled. That odious threat to the peace and sovereignty of a sister African State led the OAU to adopt a resolution, the second on mercenaries in a single year, at its thirty-second ordinary session, at Nairobi last February, launching an urgent appeal to all African countries to co-ordinate their efforts with a view to thwarting the evil designs of those barbarian adventurers.

413. Some two years before, on 16 January 1977, the sister State of Benin was the victim of a wicked attack and plot by a band of mercenary desperadoes. The widespread damage to life and property committed by that scum of international society has been the subject of debate and condemnation at every important international conference, including the sessions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Today the sister State of Seychelles is being molested by mercenaries. Within this year alone, mercenaries have attacked Seychelles on more than one occasion. The past attacks by mercenaries on the Republic of Guinea and the threats to the sister State of Sao Tome and Principe have been matters of deep concern to my country.

414. The item on international terrorism has often been discussed in councils of the United Nations in relation mainly to the hijacking of planes, kidnapping, the taking of hostages, urban guerrillas and so on. Mercenarism is undoubtedly a glaring example of international terrorism. The heinous crimes frequently committed against our people and territories by mercenaries are meant not only to rob and intimidate our societies, but also to destroy our hard-won freedom and independence. The Bob Denards, the Rolf Steiners, the Jan Schramms, the Geoffrey Hoares and their ilk are as much enemies of peace and humanity as are common criminals. They break into our banks and homes in order to enrich themselves through pillage and looting. Those marauders or bounty hunters, without claim to chivalry or moral courage, return home with their ill-gotten booty to lead lives of ease back in their countries in Europe. As if to add insult to injury those mean men are often welcomed as experts by Hollywood film-makers capitalizing on the blood of our children, women and old men.

415. Recently the *Denver Catholic Register*, published in Colorado in the United States of America, has been carrying reports about a magazine called *Soldier of Fortune*. According to the issue of 7 November 1979 of the *Denver Catholic Register*, the *Soldier of Fortune* magazine is published at Boulder, Colorado. It frequently "carries numerous advertisements for the recruitment of mercenaries to fight for pay in such areas as Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Latin America". According to Mr. Robert Schware, a Denver economist and co-ordinator of the Committee of Concerned Citizens on Mercenary Activities, who has been in touch with the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the matter, it is more than money that motivates those mercenary recruits. Noting that many mercenaries have "racist attitudes" and are adventurers who are in the game for "the thrill of killing", Mr. Schware has advised that the activities of the white mercenaries pose grave dangers to interna-

tional race relations. Those are serious allegations and I call on the United States Government to investigate them.

416. The Assembly must forgive me for having focused particularly on the dangers to the African States arising from the activities of mercenaries. I am well aware of their equally reprehensible exploits in other parts of the developing world. The inglorious memoirs of those sordid soldiers of fortune abound in proof of their contempt for and robberies in several countries. The only thing we can do in recognition of our common feelings of outrage and indignation is to draw up without delay an international convention banning the recruitment, assembly, financing, training and transit of mercenaries anywhere in the world.

417. Obviously, mercenarism is a threat to international peace and security. Like murder, piracy and genocide, mercenarism is a crime against humanity. Just as there are international instruments or conventions to deal with other manifestations of crimes against humanity, so there is a crying need for an international convention to ban the activities of mercenaries. The draft of the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages has just been agreed upon during the consideration of agenda item 113, thus crowning the Organization's achievements in the 1970s. It would be timely and fitting for it to take up the question of a convention against the activities of mercenaries at the beginning of the 1980s, to continue to demonstrate its concern at crimes against humanity, so as to secure full and effective enjoyment by all States and all mankind of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

418. Draft resolution A/34/L.58 and Add.1, which I have the honour to introduce on behalf of its sponsors, needs to elaborate presentation. The explanatory memorandum in annex I of document A/34/247 is self-evident. I should like to add a few words by way of conclusion.

419. First, the sponsors would like the subject-matter to be taken under advisement. Consequently, the draft resolution should be adopted by consensus in order to enable the question to be addressed in a more substantive manner at the next session of the General Assembly. In sum, the essential object of the draft resolution is to inscribe in the provisional agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries". Member States would then have a whole year to consider the matter and, if they so desired, to communicate their views and comments on it to the Secretary-General. Both the long notice now being given and the reaction of Member States would facilitate subsequent concrete discussions of the subject-matter. Those ideas are expressed in operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft resolution.

420. Secondly, I wish to draw attention to the last two preambular paragraphs. Those of us who live day by day under the threat of subversion and international terrorism, which feed on the growing pains of our newly reborn nations, know the true meaning of the term "national liberation movement". It is not another term for undermining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States of maximizing the centrifugal

forces in our societies. It is a definition valid only in the context of national unity, national survival, national sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity. It is a term defined and enshrined by the impeccable construction put on the words "self-determination" in the Charter of the United Nations as well as in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

421. Mr. KAMBIA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): The need for concerted international action to combat the activities of mercenaries is, to my delegation, of special importance. Modern history, particularly that of the young nations that have emerged from the night of colonialism, is replete with episodes of subversive activities of mercenaries. An ancient but odious practice that is inadmissible today, mercenarism takes pride of place in the panoply of methods of interference in the internal affairs of States and seems to have chosen the African continent as its preferred sphere of operations.

422. After the experiences of its brothers of the Congo, Guinea, Zaire, Nigeria, Benin, and so on, the Togolese people in its turn has recently gone through a period of anguish and anxiety as the result of attempts at aggression prepared by hordes of hired killers and criminal outlaws in the pay of outside forces.

423. It is obvious that such enterprises, for the purpose of opposing the struggle of young States for their economic and social development free from any dependence whatever, are contrary to the right of peoples to self-determination and threaten international peace and security.

424. Therefore, it is important that all Governments should heed the repeated appeals of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the OAU and adopt administrative and legislative measures to prevent in their territories the recruitment, financing, training and transit of mercenaries and forbid their nationals to hire themselves out as mercenaries. The Togolese delegation welcomes the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the item entitled "Drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries". We view this as a task with high priority, the fulfilment of which will contribute to the strengthening of international security. From the point of view of the progressive development of international law, the proposed convention will have to include binding force to the principles embodied in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Definition of Aggression, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. It must lay the foundations for international co-operation in preventing and eliminating the scourge of mercenarism.

425. The time has come for the international community to make the requirements of the security of States, the principle of the free self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of



States prevail over the old-fashioned theories of the freedom of the individual and of States not being responsible for their nationals' engaging in sordid mercenary activities.

426. Mr. MAPP (Barbados): In his statement before the Assembly on 10 October 1979 [28th meeting], the Minister for External Affairs of Barbados said:

“Nations cannot fulfil the aspirations of their peoples in an atmosphere of violence. Barbados has in the past year experienced threats from mercenaries. It is for this reason that we will continue resolutely to support action to eliminate terrorism and the use of mercenaries. These growing evils must be deplored as unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of other countries, calculated to create world tension and instability. At this session my country will seek the support of all States for a strong resolution against the recruitment, training or harbouring of mercenaries and will work towards agreement on an international convention to eradicate this evil.”

427. In pursuit of that policy, the Barbados delegation has collaborated with the Nigerian and other delegations in the request for the inclusion of this item on the agenda and in the presentation of draft resolution A/34/L.58 and Add.1 on the drafting of a convention.

428. The draft resolution makes it clear that Africa is not alone in respect of exposure to this form of international blackmail, piracy and terrorism. Other States, small island States such as ours, have also been menaced and subjected to extreme pressures from these twentieth-century pirates and the marauding international criminal element.

429. These newly independent small States, after the withdrawal of the previous colonizing Power from the area, in this case the United Kingdom Government, have had to fall back on their own resources in so far as defence and external affairs are concerned. These resources are extremely limited, and to that extent a defence capability has of necessity to be very minimal.

430. In addition to limited financial means, popular attitudes associated with colonialist history and the exercise of protective authority by external Powers have made it difficult to shake off the lethargy and complacency in such matters that have been so prevalent for so long. These factors have left these islands as easy prey for groups of unscrupulous adventurers and pirates. However, recent events have shown that even those who were reluctant to abandon the role of the ostrich and remove their heads from the sand have been made to realize the folly of such an attitude. The people of small island States are no longer living in a fool's paradise, and realize that the activities of ambitious international gangsters are not confined to big States alone.

431. This has been vividly brought home to them recently by concrete and irrefutable evidence of attempts by well-known international mercenaries to invade Barbados, on at least two occasions. The first was balked with the co-operative, co-ordinated and

firm assistance of friendly big Powers in the area. The second, which was planned on a larger scale and originated in London, was nipped in the bud when the plot leaked and was exposed publicly by certain sections of the media. That planned invasion involved certain experienced and universally infamous mercenaries, and included a network of financial interest groups. These groups had established contacts with the racist régime in Pretoria, which was to be supplied with oil from a refinery that was to be constructed in a neighbouring island on a portion of land that was to be leased to one of the companies by the then Government. This sordid act of treachery was exposed in the nick of time. I am happy to be able to report that the people of the island State involved put an end to such evil endeavours by overthrowing those political leaders who had been involved in the plot.

432. These despicable, twentieth-century pirates will stop at nothing in their attempts to earn filthy lucre. It is the view of the Barbados delegation that they deserve no consideration whatsoever from the international community. We take much pleasure in asking the Assembly whole-heartedly to support draft resolution A/34/L.58 and Add.1.

433. Mr. EL-BANHAWI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): After the excellent exposé of the delegation of Nigeria, and the explanatory memorandum which accompanied the request for inclusion of this item, published in annex I of document A/34/247, we now have a clearer understanding of the question. The delegation of Nigeria has explained the development of the question, especially as concerns the African continent, and has referred to the resolutions of the OAU. My delegation thanks the Nigerian Government for this commendable initiative, which serves the principles and goals of the Organization, of human rights and of international law.

434. The Charter clearly defines the goals and principles of the United Nations and the commitment of the Member States to respect them on the basis of equality, justice and international law. The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which was adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], emphasized the importance of respecting and implementing these fundamental principles, particularly those related to self-determination, sovereignty and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, and of considering them as the mainstay of international peace and security.

435. Moreover, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reaffirms in every line of its preamble and in many of its articles the necessity to respect human rights and essential freedoms, including the right to self-determination of all countries and peoples.

436. Then, in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), we have the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which reaffirms the legal bases of the principle of self-determination. Furthermore, in resolution 2200 (XXI), the General Assembly has adopted two international

covenants which are of the greatest importance: the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, together with an Optional Protocol to the latter Covenant. These instruments have been in effect since 1976 and fill a gap in the existing juridical system.

437. The acts of the mercenaries are contrary to morality and to the aforementioned declarations and covenants, since they hurt the dignity of the individual who fights in defence of his legitimate rights, whereas mercenaries are motivated only by the goal of obtaining financial gain, ignoring all responsibility. Throughout history the goals of mercenaries have always been illegitimate ones because they were aimed at either bringing down governments or disturbing the political stability of States or fighting national liberation movements waging their struggles within the framework of international legitimacy in order to attain self-determination, national sovereignty and independence, which are provided for by the United Nations Charter and by the resolutions of our Organization, foremost among them the Declaration on decolonization, as I have said.

438. The use of mercenaries in itself is an illegal act. Without doubt it involves international responsibility and must be prohibited, like any crime which is in contravention of law and the principles of justice.

439. This has been reaffirmed by several resolutions of the OAU, which has requested the drafting of a convention to achieve that purpose. We emphasize this goal, and request its attainment at the world level through the United Nations.

440. Nigeria took an important part in the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts. That Conference concluded its work in 1977, and clearly stated in article 47 of the Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions that mercenaries were denied the status of belligerents. Accordingly, they have neither the status nor the rights of prisoners of war because, in fact, they are criminals acting against humanity and have no right to enjoy any international status, whether in time of peace or of war.

441. We support the draft resolution and would request that Egypt be added to the list of sponsors of draft A/34/L.58 and Add.1. I have explained the basis on which we have decided to endorse it, as undoubtedly do all peace-loving countries and peoples who believe in the United Nations and its goals.

442. Mr. BUKETI BUKAYI (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has before it an item entitled "Drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries". This important issue is very closely connected with the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the principal task given to our Organization by the Charter.

443. The adverse effect of mercenarism on international peace and security no longer needs to be proved. Our country, the Republic of Zaire, has throughout its post-colonial history had the bitter experience of being

subjected to acts of aggression of all kinds and from all sides perpetrated with the aid of mercenaries by forces hostile to Zaire.

444. We have known mercenaries of all colours and of all races who have shaken our incipient State institutions, thus jeopardizing the stability and integrity of the country, destroying our economic structures and, finally, handicapping our progress.

445. As well as in the Republic of Zaire, the destructive activity of mercenaries has, since the 1960s, been especially deplorable in a number of African countries, its object being to destabilize the régimes legally established there.

446. All this has left us with a very bitter aftertaste from the passage of those individuals who defer to no law and to no moral code. We know that there are forces in the world which, for deplorable motives, are using marginal elements and mercenaries to achieve their aims against certain States. This practice is in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations and is a serious threat to international peace and security and to co-operation in conditions of mutual confidence. For all these reasons, Zaire has supported the inclusion of the question of mercenaries in the agenda of this session in the hope that during the thirty-fifth session our Organization will be able to give it all the attention it deserves, and above all, after a thorough debate, to achieve positive results in order to eliminate this scourge which pollutes international relations.

447. For its part, the Republic of Zaire is prepared to make its modest contribution to the elaboration of an international convention against activities of mercenaries and, moreover, will take the opportunity to explain its views at length.

448. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate. Since there are no delegations which wish to explain their votes before the vote, the Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/34/L.58 and Add.1. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt the draft resolution without a vote?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/140).*

449. The PRESIDENT: I shall now give the floor to those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

450. Ms. COOPERSMITH (United States of America): I have asked to be allowed to speak in order to explain the position of the United States with regard to the resolution proposed by Nigeria and other Member States concerning the drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries. The United States has been able to join in the adoption of this resolution in the General Assembly because we have no objection to an objective study of the feasibility of a multilateral treaty in this field. At the same time, the United States does not agree with all of the expressions of the resolution or in particular the description in the sixth and seventh preambular paragraphs, of the relationship between mercenaries and

national liberation movements. Nor have we supported all of the resolutions cited in the preamble.

451. We also have problems with the specific wording of operative paragraph 2, which urges Member States to consider measures to prohibit transit of persons. Despite these reservations, the United States would not oppose consideration of the eventual negotiation and drafting of an appropriate and mutually acceptable treaty on this very difficult subject.

452. We believe that the first task to be undertaken pursuant to this resolution is to examine existing international law and treaties to determine the extent to which the concerns which prompted this resolution are already being met.

453. Mr. HUSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has considered carefully draft resolution A/34/L.58 and Add.1 presented by Nigeria and other States on 12 December. The intention of the sponsors, as I understand it, is, on the one hand, to recall the prohibition and condemnation of mercenarism, and, on the other hand, to invite Member States to convey to the Secretary-General their views and observations on the need to elaborate an international convention against activities of mercenaries.

454. If such consultations were to produce results, the General Assembly could consider entrusting the Sixth Committee with the elaboration of such a convention. The French delegation associated itself with the consensus by which the General Assembly has just adopted this text. Nevertheless, it wishes to express its reservations on the introduction, in the preamble of the resolution, of affirmations which give rise to strong legal reservations on our part. This is particularly true of the second paragraph of the preamble.

455. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote. We have thus concluded consideration of agenda item 129, thanks to the splendid co-operation of members in working late this evening, and, given the amount of work we have accomplished, I am happy to advise the Assembly that it will not be necessary to hold a plenary meeting tomorrow. The programme for our next meeting, on Monday morning, remains as listed in today's *Journal*. Before adjourning, I wish to pay a special tribute to our interpreters for their outstanding co-operation, which has enabled the Assembly to work until this late hour and so complete our programme for the day.

*The meeting rose at 9.30 p.m.*