

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



**1933rd
PLENARY MEETING**

(Closing meeting)
Thursday, 17 December 1970,
at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 80:	
Implementation of the recommendations of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (concluded):	
(a) Report of the Secretary-General;	
(b) Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions	
Report of the Fifth Committee	1
Agenda item 82:	
Personnel questions (concluded):	
(a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General;	
(b) Other personnel questions	
Report of the Fifth Committee	1
Agenda item 73:	
Budget estimates for the financial year 1971 (concluded)	
Report of the Fifth Committee	5
Pending appointments:	
(a) Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly;	
(b) Special Committee on <i>Apartheid</i> ;	
(c) Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples ...	5
Agenda item 25:	
(a) Question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction;	
(b) Marine pollution and other hazardous and harmful effects which might arise from the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction: report of the Secretary-General;	
(c) Views of Member States on the desirability of convening at an early date a conference on the law of the sea: report of the Secretary-General;	
(d) Question of the breadth of the territorial sea and related matters	
Report of the First Committee	7
Agenda item 22:	
The situation in the Middle East (concluded)	24
Statement by the Secretary-General	24
Completion of the work of the twenty-fifth session	25
Agenda item 2:	
Minute of silent prayer or meditation	32
Closing of the session	32

President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 80

Implementation of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (concluded):

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/8266)

AGENDA ITEM 82

Personnel questions (concluded):

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/8098)

AGENDA ITEM 73

Budget estimates for the financial year 1971 (concluded)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE

1. The PRESIDENT: Yesterday the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee presented the reports on the items now before us and, the General Assembly decided not to discuss them.

2. I invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 80 [A/8266]. The General Assembly will now take decisions on the two draft resolutions recommended in paragraph 38 of the report.

3. I shall first put to the vote draft resolution A. It was adopted unanimously by the Committee. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously (resolution 2735 A (XXV)).

4. We shall now turn to draft resolution B. It also was adopted without objection in the Committee.

5. If I hear no objection, shall I take it that the Assembly also adopts draft resolution B?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 2735 B (XXV)).

6. One decision taken under this item requires action by the General Assembly. I ask representatives to turn

to paragraph 18 of document A/8266.. May I take it that the General Assembly approves the Fifth Committee's recommendations?

It was so decided.

7. We now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 82 [A/8098].

8. May I draw the attention of members to the decision adopted in paragraph 31 of the report. In the Committee the decision was adopted without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that decision?

It was so decided.

9. We shall now vote on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee. They are set forth in paragraph 32 of the report.

10. I first put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 81 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 2736 A, B and C (XXV)).

11. Draft resolution II relates to the amendments to the Staff Rules of the United Nations made by the Secretary-General in the year ending 31 August 1970. It was adopted without objection in the Committee.

12. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly also adopts it.

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 2737 (XXV)).

13. We turn next to the report of the Fifth Committee on item 73 [A/8099].

14. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote.

15. Mr. TARASOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In connexion with the forthcoming vote, the Soviet delegation wishes to explain briefly to this plenary meeting of the General Assembly its position on the budget estimates for 1971.

16. The commemorative session of the Assembly that is now ending has provided a good opportunity for a thorough study of ways and means of achieving a radical rationalization of the administrative and budgetary activities of the United Nations with a view to further improving the Organization's efficiency in the economical use of the resources of Member States. We must regretfully state, however, that these hopes have not been fulfilled and that the work on the budget estimates for 1971 has been a source of further disappointment to many delegations, including my own. The budget now being considered shows an unprecedented growth in both absolute and relative terms. Never before in the history of the United Nations has the budget of the Organization increased in one year by almost \$25 million, or more than 14 per cent. As a

result, all States Members of the United Nations and particularly the largest contributors are faced with an even more serious increase in the financial burden which they must bear.

17. The Soviet delegation feels obliged to state that there is absolutely no need for such a rapid increase in the United Nations budget. These many millions of dollars which have been added and which represent wealth created by the peoples of Member States will be spent not on activities for the maintenance of international peace and security or on useful programmes that serve the interests of all peoples but on maintaining the constantly expanding staff of the United Nations Secretariat, on paying for the superfluous and overlapping units which still exist in the Secretariat, on financing the unjustified increase in the number of meetings and in documentation and, lastly, on meeting inflationary pressures.

18. The Soviet delegation cannot for reasons of principle support such an improper course of action. The money of the people of Member States must be used to finance measures which are of real interests to all the people and not to pay for measures of any kind which are unjustified, dubious and sometimes actually contrary to the Charter.

19. The Soviet delegation is forced to note with regret that, despite the categorical objections of numerous delegations, the budget estimates for 1971 again include illegal appropriations for the financing of measures undertaken in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, such as payment of the interest and principal on the United Nations bonds issued to cover the expenses of the United Nations operations in the Congo and in the Middle East, and those connected with the financing of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, whose activities run counter to the real interests of the Korean people, and of the Memorial Cemetery in Korea. The Soviet delegation reaffirms its position of principle on this question and insists on the removal from the regular United Nations budget of the items for the financing of these illegal measures which violate the Charter. This explains our unfavourable attitude towards sections 12 and 17 of the budget estimates.

20. We should also like to reaffirm our position on sections 13 and 14 of the budget estimates. We regard it as illegal to finance technical assistance activities from the regular budget. As delegations are aware, the Soviet Union favours today, as it has in the past, the provision of technical assistance to developing countries both on a bilateral basis and through the United Nations. Under the agreements in force, the Soviet Union is providing assistance in the field of economic and technical development to more than 40 developing countries on different continents and makes sizable voluntary contributions to the United Nations technical assistance programmes. Consequently, we object to sections 13 and 14 of the budget estimates and voted against them not because we deny the importance of technical assistance but because of our basic approach to the observance of the United Nations

Charter—namely that the regular United Nations budget is a budget for administrative expenses. We believe that technical assistance should be financed exclusively on a voluntary basis.

21. As in the past, the Soviet Union will pay its share of these expenses in national currency.

22. The Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution on salary scales for the professional and higher categories. Since the material position of United Nations staff in these categories is already better than that of civil servants anywhere in the world and since United Nations staff receive other sizable material benefits, we feel that there is no justification at all for deciding to grant another salary increase.

23. In addition, we shall be unable to support the draft resolution on the nature of the growth in the volume of expenditure under the United Nations budget, because it gives an inadequate and one-sided account of the reasons for the growth of the Organization's budget.

24. The Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution on appropriations for new construction in New York. At the present time, the problem of new construction is closely interwoven with the question of the rational distribution of Secretariat units among the cities where the construction of new premises is already under way. In addition, the question of new construction is closely linked with real staff requirements and should be considered in the light of the additional long-range financial implications for Member States of the spiralling inflation in the United States. Unless all aspects of this problem are studied, no new construction should be started or the Organization will find itself in a dangerous financial impasse.

25. The Soviet delegation did not oppose the adoption in the Fifth Committee of the resolution on the establishment of an electronic data-processing centre at Geneva, on the understanding that a number of essential pre-conditions for the establishment of such a centre will be met and, in particular, that all the specialized agencies of the United Nations will agree to participate in the work of the centre and not rent their own electronic data-processing equipment.

26. On the subject of the draft resolution on the unforeseen and extraordinary expenses of the United Nations for 1971, the Soviet delegation wishes to state that, under the Charter, the Security Council has the exclusive right to decide matters relating to the financing of measures taken by the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is a violation of the Charter to give the United Nations Secretariat the right to spend up to \$10 million for this purpose, and the Soviet delegation will therefore vote against this draft resolution.

27. In view of all these factors, the Soviet delegation will vote against approval of the budget estimates for 1971 as a whole.

28. The budget for 1971 is not being unanimously adopted inasmuch as a good many delegations have already voted against it or abstained in the Fifth Committee. This is a clear indication that there are serious differences on this question among States Members of the United Nations, including those States which bear the main burden in financing the Organization's activities. If this serious divergence of views on so important a question develops further, the Organization may run into considerable difficulties. This will be very sad for all of us—both for those who favour further restraint in budgetary matters and for those who are unjustifiably calling for unlimited expansion of the budget.

29. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation would like to express the hope that, both in implementing the budget for 1971 and in preparing the budget estimates for 1972, the Secretary-General will do everything in his power to effect the greatest possible savings and to avoid incurring in the future enormous expenses which may ultimately place the Organization in a very difficult financial situation, to say the least.

30. Mr. MSELLE (United Republic of Tanzania): I do not have a long statement to make. I should simply like to bring to the attention of the General Assembly two points with regard to draft resolution V and draft resolution VI in paragraph 170 of the report [A/8099].

31. These two draft resolutions deal with the revision of the base salary scales of the professional and higher categories as well as the provision of a special committee for the review of the United Nations salary system. It has occurred to my delegation as well as to a number of other delegations that a few things have been omitted from these two draft resolutions—points which were incorporated in the draft resolution adopted in the Fifth Committee.

32. I should like to deal with draft resolution V first. This draft resolution was adopted on the basis of the recommendation of the Advisory Committee as contained in paragraph 58 (b) of document A/8008/Add.3. It will be realized that that paragraph of the Advisory Committee's report, apart from recommending that the base salary scales for professional and higher categories should be increased by 8 per cent including two post adjustments effective from July 1971 also contains the following phrase:

“it being understood that no further adjustment of the said scales would be made until such time as the aforesaid review has been completed and its results approved by the General Assembly”.

This recommendation, which was adopted by the Advisory Committee, does not appear in the Fifth Committee's report in either draft resolution V or draft resolution VI.

33. There is no unanimity on where the phrase I have quoted from the report of the Advisory Committee should be in those two draft resolutions. When I say “no unanimity” I do not mean in regard to the content

but in regard to where it should be. In other words, many of us believe that it can be incorporated in either draft resolution V or draft resolution VI. My delegation—and I am speaking also on behalf of the delegation of Argentina—would recommend that the decision of the Fifth Committee, based upon the proposal in paragraph 58 (b) of the Advisory Committee's report, should be included as paragraph 2 of draft resolution V. The representative of Argentina and I suggest the following wording:

“decides that no further adjustment of the base salary scales for the professional and higher categories shall be made until such time as the review called for in General Assembly resolution. . . has been completed and its result approved by the General Assembly”.

34. The second point I wish to raise is, as I have said, in connexion with draft resolution VI. It pertains to paragraph 1. I raised a similar point in the Fifth Committee because there are certain omissions. I think this was due to the rush in the preparation of this document. Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that I had pointed it out in the Fifth Committee, this appears to have been omitted from the paragraph before us. Paragraph 1 reads:

“Decides to establish a Special Committee for the Review of the United Nations Salary System, consisting of government experts from eleven Member States to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly”

We would like to insert the words “of the United Nations” after the words “government experts from eleven Member States”. The phrase would then read, “government experts from eleven Member States of the United Nations”.

35. The second addition would be inserted after the words “the President of the General Assembly”. We should like to insert here the words “with due regard to geographical balance”. That phrase is extremely important not only for my delegation but for a large number of other delegations, particularly the sponsors of this draft resolution. As amended it would read: “to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly with due regard to geographical balance, it being understood” and so on.

36. These are not amendments but simply a restatement of the true facts of what took place in the Fifth Committee.

37. The PRESIDENT: I will ask the Secretariat to get in touch with the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to be sure we understand the amendments correctly so that we can vote on them in due time.

38. That exhausts the list of speakers who expressed a wish to explain their votes before the vote. May I ask those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the voting to do so after the votes on all

the draft resolutions on agenda item 73 have been completed?

39. The General Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the eleven draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 170 of its report [A/8099]

40. First, I put to the vote draft resolution I A.

Draft resolution I A was adopted by 97 votes to 10, with 7 abstentions (resolution 2738 A (XXV)).

41. Since draft resolution I B was unanimously adopted by the Fifth Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution I B was adopted unanimously (resolution 2738 B (XXV)).

42. We shall vote now on draft resolution I C.

Draft resolution I C was adopted by 101 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 2738 C (XXV)).

43. We shall now vote on draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 107 votes to 10 (resolution 2739 (XXV)).

44. We shall vote now on draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 105 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 2740 (XXV)).

45. I believe there has been no objection to draft resolution IV. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution IV?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 2741 (XXV)).

46. I call on the Under-Secretary-General to make an announcement concerning a correction handed in by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.

47. Mr. STAVROPOULOS (Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs): I wish to announce that the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania suggested corrigenda in draft resolutions V and VI. These corrigenda have already been circulated in document A/8099/Corr.1.

48. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution V.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 89 votes to 11, with 15 abstentions (resolution 2742 (XXV)).

49. We shall now vote on draft resolution VI.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 104 votes to 4, with 12 abstentions (resolution 2743 (XXV)).

50. In paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted the General Assembly decides to establish a Special Committee for the Review of the United Nations Salary System, consisting of government experts from eleven Member States to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly, it being understood that these States will nominate individuals of recognized standing and experience to serve on the Committee. In making this announcement I want it to be understood that I have exactly the same reservations and regrets about this Committee as about the other Committees it has been my sad duty to appoint. I hereby nominate the following States to participate in the Special Committee: Argentina, France, India, Japan, Niger, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. If I hear no objections I shall take it that the Assembly agrees with those nominations.

It was so decided.

51. We shall now vote on draft resolution VII.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 2744 (XXV)).

52. We shall now vote on draft resolution VIII.

Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2745 (XXV)).

53. We shall now vote on draft resolution IX.

Draft resolution IX was adopted by 109 votes to none, with 8 abstentions (resolution 2746 (XXV)).

54. We shall now vote on draft resolution X.

Draft resolution X was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 2747 (XXV)).

55. Finally we shall vote on draft resolution XI.

Draft resolution XI was adopted by 107 votes to 10, with 3 abstentions (resolution 2748 (XXV)).

56. May I invite members to turn their attention to the decision of the Fifth Committee set forth at the end of paragraph 88 of the report [A/8099]? May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of that decision?

It was so decided.

Pending appointments:

- (a) *Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedure and Organization of the General Assembly;*
- (b) *Special Committee on Apartheid;*
- (c) *Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the*

Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

57. The PRESIDENT: We shall deal first with the appointment of members to the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly.

58. Representatives will recall that by paragraph 1 of its resolution 2632 (XXV) of 9 November 1970, the General Assembly requested me to establish during the present session a Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly, consisting of 31 Member States, on the basis of equitable geographical distribution.

59. Following upon the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2632 (XXV), I addressed myself to the regional groups, informing them of my intentions regarding the distribution of seats on, and the membership of, the Special Committee. I had the benefit of the views of the regional groups on these matters. As far as possible, I took those views into account. However, as the number of Member States interested in serving on the Special Committee was larger than the number of seats available, I had to make a selection, as the General Assembly had vested in me the final responsibility for establishing the Special Committee. I realize that many delegations will be disappointed at and regret my decision. I should like to state that I fully share their regrets and disappointment. Perhaps representatives would permit me to remind them of a sign that was always posted in the old days in the saloons of the Wild West. It read: "Please don't shoot the piano player. He's doing his best."

60. I should like to add that I am particularly grateful to one delegation which had expressed a desire to be a member of the Special Committee but obligingly withdrew to make my task easier—though still far from easy.

61. I now wish to inform the Assembly of the decision I have taken regarding the membership of the Special Committee. It is constituted as follows: Afghanistan, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Greece, India, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Tunisia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

62. Apart from the problem of the selection of members of the Special Committee I should like to mention that I encountered considerable difficulties regarding the distribution of seats among the various regional groups. I feel that, as a general question, this matter of distribution of seats between groups on subsidiary organs should be carefully studied, in the light both of past precedents and of recent changes in the numerical strength of various groups resulting from the admission of new Members in the last few years. When I say that, I want to make it quite clear that in my opinion,

the distribution made in the Committee of Thirty-One should in no way be used as a precedent for similar committees in the future. I believe that this might be a matter which could be appropriately studied by the Special Committee which I have just established.

63. I should also like to mention that several delegations have suggested that, in view of the general interest shown in the work of the Special Committee that Committee might, if it so decides, establish a practice of permitting the representatives of States Members of the United Nations but not of the Special Committee, to make statements before the Committee at the specific request of the representatives concerned. I personally feel that such a practice would benefit the work of the Special Committee.

64. I should also like to inform the General Assembly that the view has been expressed to me, on behalf of one regional group, that if the Special Committee is prolonged for more than one year, some rotation in the membership after appropriate consultations, would be useful. This is a matter which naturally I must leave to the Committee itself and to my successor as President.

65. This should terminate this question, and I would ask representatives to turn to the question of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. I refer to resolution 2671 A (XXV) of 8 December 1970. In paragraphs 3 and 4 of that resolution the General Assembly decided to expand the membership of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* by not more than seven additional members and requested me to appoint them, taking into account the principle of equitable geographical distribution.

66. After appropriate consultations, I hereby appoint the following additional four members of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* with immediate effect: India, Sudan, Syria and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

67. I have decided not to proceed at present with the filling of the remaining three seats on the enlarged Committee. I believe that two of these seats should be allocated to the group of Western European and other States, and one to the Latin American group. These groups have informed me that they have no nominations to make at this time.

68. I should also like to draw attention to document A/8094, in which Costa Rica states that it is withdrawing from the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. I am happy to announce that Trinidad and Tobago has agreed to serve on the Committee to fill the vacancy so caused.

69. I understand that the representative of Costa Rica would like to address the Assembly at the present moment, and I now call on her.

70. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, as you and the members of the General Assembly know, my delegation, acting on specific instructions from the Government of Costa

Rica, has expressed its decision to cease participating in the activities of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, as can be seen in the note which is contained in document A/8094. The reason that led us to take this decision is Costa Rica's interest in participating actively in other tasks in the United Nations in which we have not been able to participate heretofore owing to the limited number of representatives available to our delegation.

71. Costa Rica has been a member of the Special Committee ever since it was created by virtue of resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962. Two of our representatives served as Vice-Chairmen from 1963 to 1968—and we have been a member of the Subcommittee on Information and, recently, of the Subcommittee on Petitions.

72. As is known, Costa Rica is now a member of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, and in 1971 we will begin our participation in the Commission for Social Development, where we will be represented for the first time.

73. It is a physical impossibility to fulfil such obligations with a due sense of responsibility, and that is why we are withdrawing from our participation in the Special Committee on *Apartheid* as of 31 December 1970. None the less, we will follow the work of that body with the same interest as always, because we consider the Committee to be such an important body.

74. Before concluding, may I express the gratitude of my delegation, and my personal gratitude, to all the members of the Special Committee for the cordial and friendly co-operation that they have given us in carrying out our functions. I should like to make particular reference to the Members of the Bureau, the Chairman, Ambassador Farah of Somalia, the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Jimenez of the Philippines and the Rapporteur, Ambassador Bhatt of Nepal. I should also like to state for the record my delegation's gratitude to the members of the Secretariat that make up the division in charge of the matters dealt with by the Special Committee. We should like to express our appreciation and our friendship to all of them.

75. The PRESIDENT: May I now invite the representatives to turn their attention to the letters concerning the vacancies in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

76. As a result of the withdrawal of Australia, Honduras, Norway and Italy from membership of the Special Committee, the President has nominated, with immediate effect, Fiji, Sweden and Trinidad and Tobago as members of the Special Committee to fill three of the vacancies. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees with these nominations?

It was so decided.

77. Before we terminate our discussion of this item, may I first address the warm thanks of the General Assembly to the members who are now withdrawing for the contributions that they made, and once more express our tribute to the distinguished Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Nicol, of Sierra Leone.

AGENDA ITEM 25

- (a) Question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction;
- (b) Marine pollution and other hazardous and harmful effects which might arise from the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Views of Member States on the desirability of convening at an early date a conference on the law of the sea: report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) Question of the breadth of the territorial sea and related matters.

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/8097)

78. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly in plenary meeting the report of the First Committee on item 25 [A/8097].

79. Sub-items (a), (b), (c) and (d) of item 25 were discussed in the First Committee at its 1773rd to 1789th meetings, from 25 November to 8 December 1970, at its 1794th to 1796th meetings, from 11 to 14 December 1970, and at its 1798th to 1801st meetings, on 15 and 16 December 1970.

80. In connexion with item 25 a number of draft resolutions expressing the positions of the individual groups of Member States were submitted. After a series of informal consultations the First Committee adopted four draft resolutions on 15 and 16 December 1970.

81. I should like to draw attention to paragraph 35 of the report, which contains the texts of the four draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. In the absence of any short title for this agenda item 25, with its four sub-items (a), (b), (c) and (d), and in order to facilitate future reference to these four draft resolutions, they have been set forth under the headings of draft resolution I and draft resolution II. The title of draft resolution I is the actual title covering the draft resolution itself. The title of draft resolution II has been drafted to cover the subject matter of draft resolutions A, B and C as set forth thereunder. The wording of this title is drawn from the titles of sub-items of agenda item 25.

82. The Committee recommends the adoption of draft resolutions I and II.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.

83. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have asked to be allowed to speak on the amendments. Since the First Committee had a rather exhaustive debate on this item, may I suggest that the representatives who speak on the amendments try to be as concise as possible?

84. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegations of Australia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Turkey and my own delegation together with the delegation of Belgium which joined us at the last minute, this morning I have the honour to submit to the Assembly and amendment [A/L.625 and Add.1] to draft resolution II, C, recommended by the First Committee on paragraph 35 of document A/8097. As will be observed, the proposed amendment is very brief and limited to suggesting that operative paragraph 5 should be replaced by the following:

"Decides to enlarge the membership of the Committee so as to include all States Members of the United Nations."

Of course, if, as we hope, that amendment is adopted by the Assembly it will mean that operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution that we are amending would have to be deleted because it would be unnecessary inasmuch as all the States Members of the United Nations would be represented in the Committee.

85. My delegation is aware that the text the First Committee has submitted to the Assembly for approval resulted from lengthy and difficult negotiations. What might be termed the substance or the core of the draft resolution was subscribed to by my delegation, and we certainly do not wish to break the balance it represents. However, there is a purely functional aspect that affects the membership of the Committee, and that is the point to which we wish to address ourselves in proposing the amendment I have just read out.

86. My delegation wishes to explain to the Assembly why we have been prompted to propose this enlargement of the Committee. Past experience has shown that if Committees are to operate with due speed and—why not say it?—even with efficiency, they should be reduced in number. Perhaps that is what the so-called founders of the United Nations Charter had in mind when they decided to keep the principal organs such as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to a limited number. The entry into the United Nations of States that had been excluded at the outset, and the subsequent process of decolonization, which also led to the entry of a considerable number of new countries that had acceded to independence, made necessary the subsequent expansion of those bodies.

87. At first there was considerable opposition, particularly on the part of those countries whose participation in those organs was assured. Later, pressure from the great majority finally prevailed and the Members with special privileges finally recognized the need to increase the membership of those bodies. In the end, the criterion of expansion prevailed. The officers of the Assembly, the functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council: all have been expanded. To what extent? How many seats will there be? What will the limit be? We do not know. The magic of numbers can lead to the most unexpected results. We do not know why a Committee that had consisted of 42 countries is now going to be enlarged by just 39 members. Why? Based on what principles? Does not Article 2, paragraph 1 of the Charter provide for the Organization to be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all of its Members? Why, then, should anyone wish to discriminate against one third of the Members of this Organization—the third composed precisely of developing countries? Are we not saying that the wealth of the seas belongs to us all? Are we not asking that an international régime be established to govern the sea-bed and ocean floor for the benefit of all mankind, taking special account of the needs of the developing countries, as provided for in the declaration of principles adopted by the First Committee?

88. The task entrusted to the sea-bed Committee is as essential as it is arduous. For that reason, in our opinion, no State can arrogate to itself the representation of another State when such important and complex interests are at stake. My country could not consider itself represented by any other State in the Committee; nor would it claim to represent any other State there. In dealing with the problems that may arise, the policies that will have to be enunciated and the declarations that may be made should be expressed and defended by each sovereign State in terms of its own interests.

89. Since the draft resolution now before us would enlarge the Committee to 81 members and, according to paragraph 10, would at the same time "invite other Member States which are not appointed to the Committee to participate as observers and to be heard on specific points", we are, in fact, already talking about a plenary committee, but discrimination is being exercised against that one third since some do not wish to recognize their full rights. That third, as we said earlier, is composed in large measure of the developing countries.

90. Why are they being excluded? One of the reasons given is that considerable expense may be involved. My delegation does not share that reasoning. If a committee is to meet at the United Nations and seating has to be provided for more than 100 countries, including observers, the cost of its operation will remain the same.

91. It may be said that some countries do not wish to participate in the Committee. That is true. The same phenomenon sometimes occurs in the General Assembly. But when items of specific and primary

interest are discussed in the Assembly it is very rare for any member to be absent and we hope the same will be true of the Committee. In any event what we are trying to do is provide an opportunity for all who have something to say to do so—and, of course, as full members, not as second-class invitees.

92. If the Committee is to be expanded, let it be done in terms of the interests of States and with an awareness of the importance of the mandate entrusted to it. For that matter, precedents already exist in United Nations practice. In that connexion, we would recall that when the Assembly recognized that the problem of disarmament was of vital importance to all States it decided to enlarge the Disarmament Commission [*resolution 1252 D (XIII)*] so as to include all Members of the United Nations, and in which all could defend their interests on an equal footing.

93. Another argument adduced by some of the sponsors of the draft resolution was that they could not break the commitment that had led them to accept expansion of the Committee by only 39 seats. In that connexion my delegation would, with all due respect for those who adhere to that position, point out that it is well known that a draft resolution submitted to a committee ceases to belong to its original sponsors as soon as the committee adopts it; it automatically becomes a draft resolution which the Committee forwards to the Assembly for consideration and possible amendment and adoption. Therefore, any commitments that may have been entered into by the sponsors of the draft resolution have already served the purpose for which they were entered into. The First Committee alone bears responsibility of sponsorship of the draft it has recommended to the Assembly.

94. We should also like to say that the very fact that the enlargement of the sea-bed Committee should have aroused so much interest clearly points to this Organization's vitality and provides manifest evidence that countries are very seriously interested in items of such overriding importance as those submitted to the Assembly under agenda item 25.

95. In the circumstances, my country, which has the honour of co-sponsoring this amendment, believes there is no reason to exclude from the Committee and entire group of States. There is no reason either because of its important functions, its enlarged composition, reasons of principle based on the equality of States, the interest this subject has aroused on the costs that may be involved to exclude one third of the Members of the United Nations while the other two thirds can enjoy the benefits of membership.

96. This plenary committee that we are proposing would never breach the principle of a fair balance in the geographical representation of the various regional groups. There is no more fair distribution than participation by everyone. For that reason we have ventured to make an appeal, at this twenty-fifth anniversary session, to all delegations to support this amendment which is designed to ensure that all States Members of the United Nations can be present in this very impor-

tant Committee and personally defend their own interests in the Committee.

97. When we come to the vote my delegation would like to request a roll-call vote on the amendment that we have just submitted.

98. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation considers it very unfortunate that for the first time in 10 years we must come to the rostrum to differ from the views expressed by the representative of Spain.

99. My delegation considers it unfortunate first, because of the personal esteem that we have for him and I hope that he will be able to listen to me, but even if he is not listening because I see that he is engaged in conversation with someone else, and I assume he is not listening to me, the other members—and it is to them that I am addressing these words—will have to listen to me.

100. I was saying that it is unfortunate that we are compelled to differ with Spain because my delegation has always stood with Spain through difficult times, because we have regarded their interest as our own, because we feel, we have felt in the past, and we will always feel ourselves linked to traditional Spain. But at this moment, the representative of Spain is not representing Spain alone. Yesterday he told us that he represented the European group, with the exception of Norway. Today he has come forward on behalf of a group of sponsors for, as he rightly stated, the sponsorship of the draft resolution ended yesterday and today this is an item which emanates from the First Committee and not from the sponsors.

101. Now, what have been the arguments adduced by the representative of Spain? That it is interested—Spain is interested. Of course, we recognize the right—not to say, the duty—of every State to express its interests. Spain has fishing fleets in the Bay of Biscay; it fishes off the coasts of Africa; and possibly there are vast deposits of gas or petroleum in the Spanish Sahara which some day may be exploited, explored and developed. I respect Spain's interest in being a member of the sea-bed Committee. But I cannot accept the arguments that the representative of Spain has advanced today in this Assembly, precisely to destroy the work we have built up so patiently. He has advanced a number of reasons, and in the first instance he referred to past experience: Mr. de Pinies, the Ambassador of Spain, is one of the representatives with most experience of the work of the United Nations. As a diplomat he knows full well the history of the United Nations and what is more he lives that history day-by-day in the corridors, the conversations and the negotiations, where he is really a master.

102. What does history teach us? The historical experience that we have is simply an experience of disaster. He made particular reference to the Disarmament Commission. The Disarmament Commission should be functioning now, but it is not, because there were manoeuvres engaged in which reduced the whole

framework of disarmament to a small negotiating group which later was expanded in more or less arbitrary fashion, and today, it is not this Disarmament Commission which he has talked about that decides in matters of disarmament, but rather the small Geneva group, the small group known as the Conference of the Disarmament Commission.

103. What other historical experiences can he cite to us as being fruitful? The small Assembly that operated before Spain joined the United Nations, when it was still in the waiting room and when, before it entered the Organization we, with our enthusiasm and love, helped to ensure that it could honour us with its presence here? Is he referring to the little Assembly? From the political standpoint it was a disaster. Which is the plenary committee that has been successful? I do not know of any.

104. The representative of Spain has also asked us: why is there a desire to do without that one third which remains? But it is not a question of doing without one third; it is and has been a question of creating a committee where those who have expressed their interest in this item would be represented. In creating a plenary committee of all of the Member States, we would compel those who have not expressed any interest to become members of this committee.

105. What would be the practical result? Those developed countries, those States which have fishing fleets, and those States which want to proceed to exploit the wealth of the sea even before the precise limits are defined, would be the favoured ones and not the large majority of less-favoured States, the developing States that are still hoping that the wealth of the sea will not be exploited for the benefit of the few.

106. May I recall that this draft resolution, adopted yesterday in the First Committee was negotiated at great length. It was discussed in the regional groups and I can assure members that it was discussed at least in my regional group, very carefully. When we discussed the possibility of a plenary committee the majority—I repeat, the majority—of the Latin American representatives expressed serious doubts, hesitations and even opposition.

107. Today I should like to express my great respect for the representative of Guatemala who has received instructions to join the committee and must do so in this fashion; I repeat that I have great respect for him and his country, but I should like to say that this expression of a wish was made yesterday and not during the many months when we were discussing these problems of the sea.

108. I cannot speak on behalf of all of the sponsors, because they no longer exist, as was pointed out in almost legal fashion by Ambassador de Pinies. But I can state that the majority of them have asked me to come to this rostrum to oppose a proposal, the sole purpose and sole result of which are to promote the interests of the developed countries. It is very touching

that those who have always opposed large committees as Ambassador de Pinies has just pointed out and preferred small select groups should come forward today to propose a committee of 127 members which would be the most unfunctional that could be created. The only sure result that this would produce would be the total destruction of the work which the previous Committee has been doing so well.

109. Mr. PADMADISASTRA (Indonesia) : My delegation has asked to be allowed to speak in order to explain its comments on the proposed amendments of nine delegations of West Europe and other States and Guatemala, contained in document A/L.625 and Add.1, proposing the replacement of paragraph 5 of draft resolution II C, by deciding to enlarge the membership of the Committee so as to include all States Members of the United Nations.

110. In this matter my delegation would like, first, to recall the present composition of the 42 members of the sea-bed Committee: 41 States of Africa are represented now by 11; 28 States of Asia by 7; and 24 Latin American States also by 7 representatives on that Committee and, therefore, these three groups are proportionately under-represented in comparison with the 21 West European and other States which have eleven representatives on that Committee. This inequitable regional representation should, in our opinion, first be redressed.

111. For that reason my delegation believes that the increase of 39 States—as proposed in paragraph 5 of the draft resolution under reference—to be allocated to the respective groups as announced yesterday by the Chairman of the First Committee after consultations with regional groups is completely in order and meets with the desire of the under-represented regions to come closer to the much-respected principle of our Organization, that of equitable geographical representation. With 6 more members to be added to the present 11—that is 17 members in all—to represent the 21 West European and other States on a committee of 81, my delegation believes that there is no reason for discontent.

112. My delegation, together with the other 24 sponsors of draft resolution II C and the 100 members who voted in favour of it yesterday in the First Committee, believes there is no reason to retract our decision and ask instead for a committee consisting of all of the United Nations. Not only would the expenses of the Committee thus be tripled, but the large number of absentees—which usually amounts to about 20 per cent of the membership—would greatly harm the smooth proceedings of the committee. Where we can function with a smaller number my delegation believes that unnecessary expansion would be costly and even most harmful.

113. In the light of the foregoing and in a spirit of co-operation and compromise which has been demonstrated so much during our present session, my delegation would, in conclusion, appeal strongly to the sponsors not to insist on pressing their amendments to a

vote. We have taken note of them and they are on record. By heeding this request the sponsors would not only assist us in strengthening the balance achieved in our compromise draft resolution, which is a basis for our further preparatory work in the Committee, save much of our public finances and make unnecessary further debates, but would also help to accelerate the smooth proceedings towards an early conclusion of our current session.

114. Mr. SEN (India): I shall restrict my comments entirely to the proposal for the expansion of the present sea-bed Committee by 39 members and the Spanish amendment [A/L.625 and Add.1] to convert that Committee into a committee of the whole.

115. The draft resolution adopted by the First Committee is the result of a long, difficult and delicate process of negotiations spread over a number of days, if not weeks. Why, then, are we reopening a matter on which the Chairman of the First Committee has already announced his nominations for four of the five regional groups? Two arguments have been advanced by the group which finds the proposed membership—a total of 81—inadequate to accommodate all the claims of that group. I have no doubt that each country of that group considers its claim to membership as unassailable. But similar situations have arisen in the past and the Assembly has followed a straightforward procedure of electing the required number of members from all the candidates who have shown interest. If we had time we would have suggested this solution.

116. The second argument is that the subject-matter of the Committee is such that a very large number of members should participate in its work. Here, again, there have been many instances of important committees being established, but we have never accepted that because of that consideration a very large committee should be established. In fact, never in the history of the United Nations has a committee of the whole been established. I shall mention two examples: the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade in which all Member States were interested and the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations in which, again, a large number of Members were interested—but neither Committee was expanded for that consideration.

117. Why has this problem arisen? Simply because Europe insists. Yet in all the Committees Europe is always over-represented and the other groups have put up with that situation, however reluctantly. Now, simply because the Europeans cannot agree amongst themselves, we have to change the whole system, reopen a draft resolution which has been adopted in the First Committee by an overwhelming majority, and continue to waste time on the last day of the twenty-fifth session. Even as it is, Europe is over-represented in the present sea-bed Committee and will be in the proposed expanded committee; yet they are not satisfied. There seems to be no limit to their wishes which they would like to have imposed. I doubt if others would

willingly agree to this kind of pressure from one group out of five. I am quite sure they may have to succumb to pressure, but they would not willingly agree to it.

118. We all admire the Ambassador of Spain and his great skill in United Nations affairs. However, the acceptance of his suggestion would mean that a large number of unwilling States would be made members of the proposed committee. As a result the work of the Committee would, we fear, be made ineffective in several ways. I shall not elaborate.

119. We must be practical and recognize the failure of the Europeans to agree amongst themselves. We would move a sub-amendment if necessary—in fact I have already circulated a draft of it—that is, if the Spanish delegation presses its amendment. We reserve our right to do so and we make this gesture as a political concession to the European Group; and we hope that in future they will remember this concession which other groups are making to them.

120. My sub-amendment¹ to the Spanish amendment contained in document A/L.625 and Add.1 would read: after the word "Committee" replace the words "so as to include all States Members of the United Nations" by the words "by forty members, appointed in consultation with the regional groups". I shall elaborate a little.

121. We are proposing to increase from 39 to 40 the number by which the Committee is to be expanded. As I have said, I shall not make the proposal if the Spanish amendment is withdrawn and not pressed to a vote. But this is a formula we have deliberately devised as a concession to the European Group, and I hope that, if the Spanish delegation wishes to co-operate with all of us, there may be a chance of this amendment being adopted. In other words, we are giving an extra seat to the Europeans, making no alterations in the regional distribution already announced by the Chairman of the First Committee. We hope in this way to be able to solve this matter amicably, without having to introduce new principles and procedures.

122. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): New Zealand is a sponsor of the amendment just presented by the representative of Spain [A/L.625 and Add.1], dealing with the composition of the enlarged Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and we are joined in sponsorship by the following States: Australia, Belgium, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Turkey.

123. Questions of the law of the sea, including that of the deep sea-bed régime, are of global scope. There can be few States which will not be affected by future work in this area and fewer still whose interests can be adequately represented by any other State. That is true whether the State in question is developed or developing, land-locked or coastal. For most countries—but especially for island nations like New Zealand which are dependent upon seaborne transport for

all their overseas trade and much of their tourist trade and for the increasingly important development of marine resources—the question of the use and control of the marine environment is at once of critical, strategic, economic and commercial importance.

124. We share the view already stated by a number of delegations in the First Committee that the sea-bed Committee should be large enough in membership to include all those countries which have important national interests at stake in connexion with the preparatory work for the 1973 Conference on the Law of the Sea. It has already become manifest that the figure of 39 additional members does not meet this criterion.

125. There are further Members of the United Nations which cannot be included within the enlarged sea-bed Committee of 81. It is an interesting commentary that the speakers who have preceded me and who are opposed to our amendment are already members of the original or the enlarged sea-bed Committee. They have nothing to lose.

126. On a number of occasions the 1958 Geneva Conventions on the Law of the Sea have been criticized on the ground that they were prepared and adopted by a restricted group of States. In the view of my delegation there is no good reason for us now to follow a procedure which would permit exactly the same criticism to be levelled at any convention or conventions emerging from the 1973 conference. It is true, of course, that all Members will be represented at the conference itself, but there can, I believe, be no doubt whatever that the preparatory work, which will occupy two years before 1973, will definitively determine the shape of the product of the 1973 conference. And the involvement of all countries in the preparation for that conference will help to bring about a greater understanding at an earlier stage of the issues concerned.

127. It is for those reasons that we have joined other delegations and the delegation of Spain in proposing that the sea-bed Committee should be simply a committee of the whole. Our proposal is an eminently fair and equitable one. It is in conformity with the Charter principle that our Organization should be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of their common ends; and it fully satisfies another important principle that has been spoken of today, that of equitable geographical distribution.

128. We warmly commend this proposal to the Assembly.

129. Mr. FACK (Netherlands): May I be permitted to add a few brief remarks to the eloquent presentation by the representatives of Spain and New Zealand of the ten-Power amendment contained in document A/L.625 and Add.1.

130. Few items have engendered such keen and general interest in the General Assembly this year as the question of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the next conference on the law of the sea. Such widespread

¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/L.626.

interest is entirely justified and understandable because the question is of direct importance to all mankind, as has been stated by representatives from all geographical areas in the First Committee.

131. We are dealing with the question of resources in an area of the world well exceeding half of the total area of our planet. It is therefore no wonder that the smaller remaining part of the globe, the land mass in its totality, is immediately and directly concerned. It seems right and proper to us that the General Assembly should take this circumstance into account when considering the composition of the sea-bed Committee.

132. In similar circumstances the General Assembly has in fact taken account of such factors on previous occasions. It is our considered opinion that all Member States which feel, firstly, that their national interests are directly concerned, and secondly, that they are in a position to make a positive and constructive contribution should be represented on the sea-bed Committee. Consequently, we suggest that the General Assembly should adopt the ten-Power amendment and we cannot help feeling that this amendment should commend itself to all delegations present in this hall, because, if adopted, it would avoid any further feelings of bitterness and frustration on the part of those Member States which might otherwise be excluded from participation on an equal basis, against their will and against the dictates of their national interests.

133. At the same time, we are convinced that the preparatory work before us would benefit greatly by the co-operation and participation of all Member States, to whichever geographic area they may belong, able and willing—even anxious—to contribute constructively. In our view, the preparatory work would thus assume a more comprehensive character, and we therefore confidently hope that the amendment now before the Assembly will enjoy general support.

134. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to say just a few words to explain why the delegation of Brazil is against the amendment submitted by the delegation of Spain, regarding the composition of the Committee. I am referring to document A/L.625 and Add.1

135. We believe that it is really too late to raise this problem on a question which has already been debated for a month and in regard to which relative agreement has been reached concerning a contingent of 39 members. In informal contacts with the various Chairmen of regional groups I personally stated to the Ambassador of Spain the reasons why the Latin American group could not as a group accept in principle the idea of a committee of the whole. We are convinced that the membership of a committee must be decided by all the regional groups, in consultation with the members of the Assembly. The decision of the First Committee is the result of such informal consultations. We are, furthermore, convinced that this idea is cumbersome and inconvenient and therefore it should be rejected by the General Assembly.

136. I wish to recall that, on the basis of the decision to increase the membership of the sea-bed Committee to 39 members the Chairman of the First Committee, Ambassador Aguilar, has already made the necessary nominations.

137. I must add one point. The representative of Spain cited the example of the Disarmament Commission, which became a committee of the whole for the simple reason that all States were interested in the question. Here I should like to say that this might be precisely the reason why the Commission has actually hardly ever met.

138. It also seems to me most unusual for the European nations, which, adducing arguments of practical considerations and efficiency, have always been against the enlargement of General Assembly committees, now to become the advocates of committees of the whole, when these can be accommodated to their interests.

139. I feel bound to say that the Committee has a mandate: preparing the conference. It is not in itself the conference, to which obviously all States will be invited.

140. For all these reasons my delegation fully supports the arguments advanced here by the delegation of Ecuador, and we shall vote against the amendment introduced today by the delegation of Spain.

141. Mr. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): When the *Ad Hoc* Committee which dealt with this very important matter reported to the General Assembly², we had great difficulty even in agreeing on the number of members which the new committee should have. I remember that quite a number of delegations urged that because of the importance of the work the committee would have to do and the number of States which naturally would be interested in a personal way, there should be an open-ended committee, or a committee of the whole.

142. There was strenuous objection to that idea, and many States of the developing world which wanted to be represented had to settle for a committee of only 42 members, with Latin America allowed seven seats.

143. The result of that was that a number of us who wanted to be members and who were keenly interested, for geographical and economic reasons, would not have been able to participate in the work of the Committee.

144. Because Latin America was allowed only seven seats, Ecuador had to be sacrificed. Ecuador, which was a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, was pushed aside because we could not get a large enough representation.

145. Now it is proposed that the Committee be increased by 39 members, and in the negotiations that took place over the past weeks there was a suggestion

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session*, agenda item 26, document A/7230.

made by many of us that the increase should be only 29. It was some Western European States that, to suit their own purposes, asked that the increase should be 39, not 29. Therefore, in the amendment contained in document A/C.1/L.554, submitted by Australia, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, it was proposed that the Committee be increased by 39 members. Therefore, when we are now asked by the Western European States and others to change that figure, it is not because they are dissatisfied with the figure of 39, but because they have not got the representation they had hoped to get as a result of having 39 additional members.

146. What is the present position? Others before me have mentioned it, but I think it would bear repetition. Out of a total membership of 41 States, Africa, with the increased representation, will now have 24; Asia, with 29 States, will have 16 seats on the Committee; Latin America, with 24 States, will have 15 seats; Western Europe and others, with 21 States, will have 17 and Eastern Europe, with 11 States, will have 9 seats. Therefore, Western Europe and Eastern Europe will have the largest proportional representation of all the groups, 17 out of 21 and 9 out of 11; in each case, more than 80 per cent of the membership will participate in the sea-bed Committee.

147. Latin America, which comprises 24 States, will have only 15 seats, and Western Europe, with 21 States, will have two more than that: 17.

148. Why is there this rush to enlarge the Committee, when at the very outset we were told by those very members that it was impossible, inadvisable and impractical to have an open-ended committee? They are doing this simply because they cannot solve their own internal problems. They need a seat for one more member and in order to achieve that purpose they are prepared to throw the whole thing wide open once more and inject confusion into a matter which we hoped had been settled after weeks of patient negotiations.

149. There is no reason why the developing countries should be called upon to solve the problems of the developed countries. History is replete with examples of the big Powers unwarrantably interfering in the affairs of the small Powers. We have resented it, but have not been able to prevent it. Now we are being asked to reverse this role. We do not relish such a role, and we reject it. I think that by our vote we should show quite clearly that we do not want it, that we refuse it.

150. We have heard statements this morning about the sovereign equality of States. Well, let us accept that fact and start with the Security Council, and have a membership of the whole. Let us have a membership of the whole in the Economic and Social Council. Let us have a membership of the whole in all the important agencies of the United Nations, and reduce the whole thing to the kind of chaos which obviously would result if we enlarged the sea-bed Committee to a committee of the whole.

151. We had long and patient negotiations, and after weeks and even months we arrived at what we thought was an acceptable compromise. Those representatives who wanted a membership of only 29 agreed to expand it to 39, and now there is a request to expand the Committee to include the whole membership of the Assembly. We cannot see any reason—other than a personal domestic reason—for this change, and, as I indicated, we are not prepared to accept the work that should be performed by the members of the Western European group. They have not yet managed to settle their internal problems; they do not have to settle them today. Surely between now and March 1971 they can settle such a simple matter without coming to us for assistance.

152. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the remaining speakers I should like to make one small announcement, and a suggestion.

153. My attention had been drawn by certain delegations to the need for certain corrigenda in connexion with paragraphs 25, 26 and 27 of the First Committee's report contained in document A/8097. The necessary corrigenda³ will be issued by the Secretariat on the basis of the verbatim record of the 1800th meeting of the First Committee, which has not yet been issued in all languages.

154. We have now heard rather full statements on the amendment contained in document A/L.625 and Add.1. Two other representatives wish to speak on it. I would suggest that after we have heard them we should proceed to the explanations of vote before the voting. Of course it is understood that the representative of Spain may wish to announce whether he has accepted the Indian sub-amendment [A/L.626].

155. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that procedure.

It was so decided.

156. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes to indicate at the outset that we will be unable to support the draft amendment which has just been submitted by Spain and which is supported by a number of other delegations from Western Europe, or others. The reasons are as follows.

157. It is an open secret what the problem before us is. The truth is that the Western countries are unable to reach agreement, not so much on the number of members—which has been the subject of consultations and an agreement, as indicated in paragraph 34 of the report—but on their own candidates, that is to say, on the six candidates which their group has to provide.

158. True, we are told, and the problem is presented to us rather skilfully, "Why exclude one third of the United Nations membership from that Committee?" We might reverse the question and ask why only one

³ Subsequently circulated as document A/8097/Corr.2.

group should impose its solution on the other four groups.

159. The agreement reached was the subject of lengthy and serious negotiations. If however, the Western European group is not now able to reach agreement on its six candidates, we would propose to it that its members submit their candidacies and that the Assembly vote by secret ballot on the six candidates. This is a procedure which has been adopted by the General Assembly in other circumstances, for other organs.

160. As for the sub-amendment of India, my delegation is unable to support it, because we do not believe it would be fair to give an additional seat to the Western European group merely to try to accommodate it, as it had already agreed to six candidates in that case four other groups would also be entitled to ask for additional seats to accommodate some of their members who also wish to be on the Committee.

161. These, then, are the reasons why my delegation is unable to accept the amendment proposed by Spain.

162. Mr. CASTILLO VALDES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to start this brief statement by expressing highly deserved congratulations to all the representatives who participated for so many nights and days, and so actively, in the preparation of draft resolution II C recommended by the First Committee. In expressing the satisfaction of my delegation, in principle, with what was achieved in the text of that draft resolution, we wish to inform this Assembly that our delegation considers it necessary for all Member States of the United Nations to be represented in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed. In this connexion we should like to make some remarks.

163. Under operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution II C the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed would be composed of 81 Members of the United Nations as members entitled to speak and vote. In accordance with what is stated in operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution, there would also be 46 other Member States of the United Nations which would be invited to participate as observers. Accordingly, all Members of this lofty General Assembly would, if they so desired, be represented in the Committee. However, we wish to mention expressly the great difference which would exist between the 81 members which would have full parliamentary rights of speaking and voting, and the 46 other members which would only be allowed to speak.

164. We should like to draw the attention of this Assembly to the contents of the sixth paragraph of the preamble, which reads:

"Having regard to the fact that many of the present States Members of the United Nations did not take part in previous United Nations conferences on the law of the sea".

We should like to point out that, out of the then 126 Members of the United Nations, 42 participated in the

Committee, and the description of "many" Members undoubtedly applies to the 84 who were not participating; so that in accordance with operative paragraph 5 of the present draft resolution, which calls for the enlargement of the sea-bed Committee by 39 members, we would have to consider that there would still be 46 Members who would not be participating. In the opinion of my delegation, those 46 members can also be described as "many" of the present States Members.

165. As our third remark, we should like to express our concern over the consequences that would flow from a situation in which resolutions, observations, proposals, etc., were agreed to by the Committee—by being composed of 81 members, they would be proposals, observations or agreements on which this lofty Assembly would have no choice but to adopt everything previously agreed upon by the Committee, since 81 members is not only a large majority, but is almost two thirds of our Assembly.

166. On express instructions of our Government, and with the clear intention of co-operating with mankind in the development of the vast abundance of wealth which will no doubt solve the larger problems of the world, we categorically support the draft amendment which we have sponsored, together with Australia, Finland, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain and Turkey. We appeal to all Members of this exalted Assembly, to the former members of the Committee, to the probable new members and to the representatives of those countries which do not consider that their Governments wholeheartedly intend to participate, to support the proposal of Spain, to the effect that all United Nations Members should be able to participate in such an important Committee.

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

168. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): My delegation wishes to take the floor in explanation of vote in respect of draft resolution II B contained in partly to express its solidarity with the land-locked countries among the developing countries with whom we share many identical concerns, mutual interests, common problems and unity of mind on aspirations, and partly to express a regret that it has not been possible to reflect in the present draft resolution that fullness of mutuality.

169. My delegation's position on the land-locked countries, on the international community as a whole and, in particular, on the arrangements that have been worked out with regard to the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor are well known. In very forum we have joined in the advocacy of their full and equal participation in these endeavours and in the benefits to be derived from them.

170. We consider the question of the uniform development and realistic co-operation in achieving it to be indispensable as an element of peace. We would make it clear that our position on this has neither faltered nor changed. It is in that frame of mind that

we welcome any study of the peculiar problems of the land-locked countries in general and those of the developing world in particular.

171. Our regret comes, however, from an act of omission rather than one of commission. We would have preferred to see a draft resolution calling for a comprehensive study of the interests, needs and problems which are undoubtedly going to be relevant, or for example, in the process of establishing the equitable criteria for sharing benefits emerging from the exploitation and exploration of the sea-bed and ocean floor. Such a comprehensive study would inevitably cover not only problems inherent in the state of underdevelopment but also those positively relating to the capacity of young States to participate effectively in the fullness of international activities in the area under consideration. Among these, and of no inconsiderable importance, are problems rendered peculiar by States being land-locked, a fact caused by accidents of history which have resulted in the present boundaries of States.

172. We wish merely to communicate to some of our friends, whose statements in the First Committee reveal some misunderstanding, the message of our thoughts in this matter. If there are any who still doubt the faith of my nation in anything that I have said or that our delegation has stated in the past, I invite them to come to Central Africa and there to observe the finest demonstration of co-operation among coastal and land-locked States.

173. As evidence of our solidarity we shall vote for draft resolution II B to demonstrate our support for a study on the peculiar problems of the land-locked countries. We hope, however, that our vote will be read in the light of the comments which I have made with regard to the problems of the developing world as a whole.

174. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): During the consideration in the First Committee of draft resolution II B, by delegation explained briefly its reservation on certain formulations contained in that draft resolution. Lest there be any misunderstanding I should like to make the following remarks.

175. My delegation is in full sympathy with the concern being shown by land-locked countries to ensure that their interests are adequately protected in consideration of the whole question of the law of the sea. Our sympathy has been adequately shown both by the free access to the sea which we have given and will always give to our land-locked neighbours, and by our support for draft resolution I, the draft Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and the Subsoil thereof beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. Paragraph 7 of the draft declaration stipulates:

“The exploration of the area and the exploitation of its resources shall be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, irrespective of the geographical location of States, whether land-locked or coastal, and taking into particular consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries”.

Further, paragraph 9 provides for “the equitable sharing by States in the benefits derived therefrom, taking into particular consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries, whether land-locked or coastal”.

176. Bearing in mind these provisions, my delegation felt that the last paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 1 of draft resolution II B sought to convey the impression that countries that are land-locked should for that reason alone be earmarked for special favours whenever we consider matters relating to the sea-bed and the ocean floor. However, my delegation has since been reassured by some of the original sponsors of the draft resolution that no such special favours are intended and, with that understanding, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

177. Mr. BEESLEY (Canada): I wish to speak in explanation of vote on draft resolution II C. I should make clear, however, that I am speaking not merely for the Canadian delegation in this explanation of vote, but also for all the countries that sponsored that draft resolution in the First Committee, namely, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, the United States of America, Yugoslavia, the Philippines and the United Republic of Tanzania, with respect to certain understandings that I shall read into the record.

178. The positions and votes of a number of delegations which supported that draft resolution in the First Committee were based on a number of understandings placed on record by the sponsors, in explanation of their vote. I have been asked to repeat those understandings in explanation of vote of the sponsors prior to our vote today. I will confine my comments to those issues on which those understandings have been reached.

179. First, it will be noted that paragraph 2 decides to convene a conference on the law of the sea in 1973. It decides that that conference shall be convened in accordance with the provisions of the succeeding paragraph, namely, paragraph 3, and it sets out the range of the questions to be dealt with at the proposed conference. I might say that in reaching the agreed text on this draft resolution the sponsors of three different draft resolutions met together in lengthy negotiations in order to reach a common text. Two points in particular should be noted. First, the draft resolution proposes a conference which is broad in scope, and it also draws attention to particular issues requiring consideration. It was the view of the sponsors that those questions to which significant numbers of delegations attach importance should be included in the agenda and that a more restrictive approach to the agenda could give rise to serious difficulties for many delegations. I shall return to this point in a minute.

180. Secondly, paragraph 2 attempts to take a balanced approach to the questions set out for consideration at a conference, in adopting a neutral formulation on the relationship of the various issues, without

attempting to prejudice the relationship between issues. The draft resolution does not attempt to predetermine, for example, which issues shall be considered together at the conference or in the preparatory committee. I might say that this formulation was also the result of long and extensive negotiation and it reflects a genuine spirit of compromise on the part of the supporters of all of the three draft resolutions in question.

181. I should now like to state on behalf of the sponsors that the general formulations used in paragraphs 2 and 6 of this draft resolution in no way prejudice the position of any delegation as regards any proposal for the inclusion of any particular topic on the law of the sea in the preparatory work of the sea-bed Committee, bearing in mind that paragraph 2 does not determine the precise agenda of the conference on the law of the sea, which remains to be determined by the General Assembly in future sessions, in accordance with paragraph 3.

182. I should like to draw attention to the seventh paragraph of the preamble and paragraphs 2 and 6 with respect to the question of priorities. Those paragraphs taken together imply a certain priority for the régime in the sense in which the term is used by the International Law Commission. I wish to make clear, however, on behalf of the sponsors, that the intention behind paragraph 6 was not to imply that detailed preparatory work would not commence on other topics, such as the precise delimitation of the sea-bed area or other law-of-the-sea subjects, until work had been completed on the drafting of the sea-bed régime. With respect to other law-of-the-sea subjects, it is the clear intention of the sponsors that all urgent questions on the law of the sea should receive attention commensurate with their urgency in the preparatory work undertaken by the Committee, and the votes of the co-sponsors should be understood in this sense.

183. On another matter, the draft resolution is also intended to make clear—and in the view of the co-sponsors it so does—that with respect to all subjects listed for consideration at the conference, the draft resolution does not prejudice the substance on any issue. Certain drafting changes were introduced in paragraph 2 in order to make that intention abundantly clear.

184. One final point: I should like to draw attention to paragraph 6 of draft resolution II C, recommended by the First Committee, on the two sessions to be held in Geneva by the sea-bed Committee. The text as it stands refers to sessions in March-April and August 1971. It is our understanding that there is no fixed position on this question on the part of delegations, but, after consulting with other sponsors of this proposal, which was then recommended to the General Assembly in this draft resolution, I did indicate in the First Committee [1799th meeting] on behalf of the sponsors that we envisaged a four-week session in March 1971 and six-week session in July and August. It should be noted that it was on that basis that the financial implications of the First Committee's decision in this respect were brought to that Committee's attention

by the Secretariat. Since this approach appears to be generally satisfactory, the General Assembly may now wish to formalize this point in the draft resolution by having it refer to March instead of March-April, and to July-August instead of August alone.

185. Mr. ZEGERS (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to explain the vote of the delegation of Chile in connexion with the draft resolutions on the sea-bed items, as they appear in paragraph 35 of the report of the First Committee.

186. Draft resolution II A, which corresponds to an initiative taken by Kuwait, Chile and other delegations, requests the Secretary-General to prepare an indispensable study. In fact, with the onset of production of minerals from the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction, the nodules of manganese which contain copper, cobalt and nickel, and the new oil deposits, the world market in those commodities will inevitably be upset.

187. This alteration could affect the prices of raw materials on which the developing countries depend for their livelihood. As the Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, Mr. Philippe de Seynes, has eloquently explained the effect might be that many developing countries would lose more than they would gain from the onset of production of these resources which are the common heritage of mankind.

188. Therefore, regulation of these markets is essential, and the study requested of the Secretary-General is urgent. We hope that this draft resolution will command unanimous approval in this General Assembly.

189. With regard to draft resolution II B, Chile will in general vote in favour of it, of the understanding we expressed at the appropriate time in the First Committee [*ibid.*] when this draft resolution was voted on, and we consider that the statement we made is reproduced herein full.

190. Now I should like to go on to draft resolution II C. This draft resolution, starting with the main points of agreement stated in the replies to the Secretary-General [A/7925 and Add.1-3], has endeavoured to seek general acceptance, ideally a consensus, which would represent the best possible point of departure for the preparatory work of the conference. These points of general acceptance, expressed in General Assembly resolutions, at meetings such as those held in Lusaka and Lima, in the replies to the inquiries of the Secretary-General and in our debates, have been the following and, we believe, are stated in the draft resolution.

191. First, there must be a single committee enlarging the one on the sea-bed, to draft an international régime for the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and to prepare a conference.

192. Second, that conference should be broad and open to the consideration of all the closely interrelated problems of the law of the sea, as were the conferences of 1958 and 1960. Operative paragraph 2 adequately states that mandate. Clearly, this does not mean that

all the imaginable problems should be considered. Nor do we think that anyone had in mind opening up a kind of Pandora's box, or ignoring the value of international and regional practice in matters connected with the law of the sea. Operative paragraph 6 clearly states that the Committee should prepare a list of the issues to be taken up at the conference.

193. Third, a certain priority must be given to the new item, of the international régime for the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, as is stated in the seventh preambular paragraph and in operative paragraphs 2 and 6, among others.

194. Fourth, the Conference is scheduled for 1973, subject to the progress and results in the preparatory work, which it is hoped will have come to a satisfactory conclusion by that year.

195. General acceptance of this draft resolution would mean a happy start for the important process on which the international community will embark in regard to a new conference on the law of the sea.

196. Mr. DE SOTO (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru has stated fully in the First Committee [1777th meeting] the views of its Government on the questions of the law of the sea, to be dealt with at a forthcoming international conference, and has given its determined support to the adoption of a draft resolution which would establish the conditions under which the preparatory work is to be started. Accordingly, we do not believe it necessary to dwell here on the considerations which have already been the subject of a lengthy debate.

197. We now wish to place on record that, in co-sponsoring draft resolution II C, it was our purpose to facilitate the adoption of a consensus text, it being understood that the latter explicitly or implicitly reaffirms the three following fundamental ideas, among others: first, that the problems of the law of the sea must be dealt with as a whole, because of their close interrelationship; second, that the agenda of the next conference must be a broad one, for the reason indicated and because many States did not participate in the previous conferences; and, third, that, while it is desirable that the conference be held in 1973—the date set in principle in the draft resolution—what is more important than setting the date is ensuring the success of the conference, and therefore this is subject to a decision by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions, depending on the progress reached in the preparatory work of the committee, that is to say, subject to its achieving closeness of views and sufficient studies to warrant confidence of success, but above all, to prevent another failure.

198. As we see it, the consideration of the international régime for the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction must precede the preparation of articles covering the other questions concerning the law of the sea, in accordance with past decisions of the General Assembly and particularly resolution 2574

A (XXIV). But at the present stage—in accordance with the recommendation of the First Committee, which was adopted by 100 votes in favour—we must adopt draft resolution II C, which is neutral, encourages a consensus and is not detrimental to the position of any delegation.

199. It is our understanding that the question of priorities has not in any way been prejudged in the draft resolution before us, and that the definition has been held in abeyance for the enlarged Committee on the sea-bed itself, which is to serve as the preparatory committee for the conference.

200. Nor does the draft resolution expressly resolve another point which my delegation has consistently maintained. That is, we consider that the limits of the international area of the sea-bed must be established in relation to the limits of the other sea areas, such as the continental shelf, the territorial seas, the contiguous zone and so on, taking into account the rights of coastal States.

201. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The Tunisian delegation will vote against the draft amendment contained in document A/L.625 and Add.1.

202. We think it is impossible to consider such an amendment at this stage. Expanding the Committee's membership to include all members of the Assembly would be like drowning a fish in too much water—to use an apposite simile. The European group has problems. We understand them, but we do not share its view of how to solve them.

203. A suggestion has been made by the representative of the Congo. My delegation is prepared to agree to that suggestion if other proposals are not adopted.

204. I want to speak especially of the draft sub-amendment proposed by India [A/L.626] which would increase the number of European members by one. That is not a very delicate way of solving the problem, but if it were adopted I think it should apply to all groups. The Committee of 81 members would become a committee of 86. I think that is a possible compromise. If so, we could reach an agreement among all groups, and adopt draft resolution II C of which Tunisia is a sponsor.

205. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) (*interpretation from French*): At this meeting, at the eleventh hour, my delegation would like very briefly to explain its position on the documents before us, in particular the amendment presented this morning by the representative of Spain [A/L.625 and Add.1] on behalf of a number of delegations and the sub-amendment presented by the representative of India, as also the draft resolutions contained in the report of the First Committee.

206. My delegation has from the very beginning had some reservations on the expansion of the sea-bed Committee. However, in a spirit of solidarity with other Members of the United Nations, we agreed to the solutions proposed in draft resolution II C.

207. After the amendments, and in view of my delegation's desire and hope to see this problem solved in the interests of all, and to see the draft resolution adopted unanimously, my delegation would like to address and appeal to the sponsors of the amendment to accept the proposal just made by the representative of India. If another solution based on a membership enlarged by five—which would, in fact, not satisfy my delegation, but which we would accept—could facilitate a solution I would appeal to all the parties concerned to do everything possible to accept it.

208. I hope that the geographical groups will take advantage of the luncheon recess—if there is one—to come to an agreement and settle their respective problems within each group.

209. My nature is such that I never fall prey to pessimism. I continue to believe that common sense and the desire to find a solution will prevail in the end.

210. I now turn to draft resolution II B. My delegation voted in favour of that draft resolution in the First Committee and we shall unreservedly support it in the Assembly.

211. Finally, I come to draft resolution II A and I should like to make a few remarks concerning its last preambular paragraph, which reads:

"Reaffirming that the development of the area and its resources shall be undertaken in such a manner as to foster healthy development of the world economy and balanced growth of international trade, and to minimize any adverse economic effects caused by the fluctuation of prices of raw materials resulting from such activities".

212. When we submitted that draft resolution on behalf of many delegations we had the substance of that paragraph in mind. We did not improvise it. We took it verbatim from the Declaration that has been adopted. It may be found in the final preambular paragraph of the Declaration contained in draft resolution I, in the same document, which contains exactly the same text as the one we adopted in our draft resolution which has become the draft of the First Committee and is now recommended to the Assembly for adoption.

213. Twice—in two resolutions—the General Assembly has recognized the validity of that concept, and we hope that when the régime is established that concept will be considered as basic and will be duly taken into consideration so that justice may be done to all countries whose economies are to a very great extent predicated upon the rational or extreme exploitation of the sea-bed.

214. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate and the last speaker in explanation of vote. We shall now hear the explanation of Pakistan regarding his sub-amendment and I hope that immediately after that we can proceed to the vote.

215. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): We have had further consultations, and pursuant to them I now wish to make the following statement on behalf of the Pakistan delegation.

216. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution II C in the First Committee because we were under the impression that its paragraph 5, deciding to enlarge the sea-bed Committee by 39 members, was based on an inter-group consensus. We now find that this is not so, and the group of Western European and other countries and Guatemala have submitted amendment A/L.625 and Add. 1 to paragraph 5 which would enlarge the membership so as to include all States Members of the United Nations.

217. The representative of India has proposed a sub-amendment [A/L.626] to this amendment to enlarge the sea-bed Committee and this sub-amendment is that it should consist of 40 members, that is, adding one more to the 39 laid down in the resolution adopted by the First Committee. The representative of India also stated that the additional seats should be allocated to the Western European and others group to help it to overcome its internal difficulties.

218. My delegation believes that an additional seat to the Western European and others group, which would increase the representation of that group to 17 out of a total of 21 Member States, would accentuate the already existing disproportionate representation of the Western European and others group as compared with that of the other regional groups. We do not believe this to be justified. If the Western European group is to be given one more seat, there is no reason why an additional seat should not be given to each of the other four regional groups.

219. Accordingly, my delegation would like to amend further the Indian sub-amendment in document A/L.626 to the amendment in document A/L.625 and Add.1 so that, the Indian sub-amendment would read in its relevant part: "...by forty-four members appointed in consultation with the regional groups". Our intent behind this sub-amendment is that each of the geographical groups should gain one additional seat.

220. At the 1801st meeting of the First Committee on 16 December, the Chairman of the First Committee announced the number of seats that were to be allocated to the various regional groups under the authority given to him. The Chairman, Ambassador Aguilar, also announced the names of 13 African countries, 8 Latin American countries, 9 Asian countries and 3 eastern European countries as members of the enlarged sea-bed Committee. Nothing in the Pakistan sub-amendment would affect in any way the composition of the enlarged sea-bed Committee as already announced by the Chairman of the First Committee.

221. The Chairman also stated at that meeting that he was not able to announce the six new members from West European and other countries, and added

that there seemed to be no legal obstacle to the designation taking place after the Committee has concluded its consideration of agenda item 25, or even after the adjournment of the present session of the General Assembly.

222. Happily, we do not have to wait until after the adjournment of the present session of the Assembly and I would hope that the remaining members, that is 33, have already been designated, and there remain 11 more to be appointed by you, Mr. President, in consultation with the Chairman of the First Committee, Ambassador Aguilar, and in consultation with the regional groups.

223. The PRESIDENT: Does the representative of Spain accept this amendment?

224. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the sponsors of the amendment which we have submitted and which I had the honour to introduce, with an explanation of the reasons that led us to introduce it in the General Assembly, I am happy to accept the sub-amendment of the representative of Pakistan to the amendment introduced by the representative of India.

225. My delegation has been pleased with the debate we have had in this Assembly, which in my opinion has made perfectly clear many aspects which I think should be in its records. At times perhaps one's friends have gone a little further than one might have expected, but in any case, my delegation understands that in the heat of debate some minor clash is to be expected. But we do not wish to attach any importance to this. In my opinion what is of great importance to us all is that we reach an agreement, and in accepting the sub-amendment of Pakistan, on behalf of the sponsors of our amendment, my delegation hopes that the entire Assembly will accept this amendment and that, accordingly, we shall finally adopt the draft resolution with the distribution provided in the sub-amendment of Pakistan. On this understanding I accept that sub-amendment.

226. As for the designation of the members, as soon as the General Assembly decides it, our group will meet tomorrow when this will have been approved, and we shall immediately get in touch with the Chairman of the First Committee so that in the discharge of the duties entrusted to him yesterday by the First Committee [*see draft resolution II C, para. 5*], will be able to complete the list of the members of the Western European and other States group and include the additional names which will have to be added because of this enlargement of the Committee.

227. The PRESIDENT: Does the representative of India accept the sub-amendment?

228. Mr. SEN (India): Of course we accept it. The amendment to sub-amendment A/L.626 introduced by the representative of Pakistan is the result of negotiations, and when I first took the floor my intention was that this problem on the last day should be settled

as quickly as possible. We did not for a moment say that an additional seat should be allocated to Europe as a proper geographical distribution. I made it quite clear the the Europeans are already over-represented, but as a concession—a concession to be kept in mind for future use not only by them, but by us as well—we shall agree to one more seat for the Europeans.

229. However, even if there is no demand or no difficulty from other groups over the increased representation, if the extra seat for other groups will solve this problem, then I on my part will certainly accept this sub-amendment.

230. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution appearing in paragraph 35 of the report of the First Committee [*A/8097 and Corr.2*]. I put to the vote first draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 14 abstentions (resolution 2749 (XXV))

231. We shall now vote on draft resolution II A.

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 104 votes to none, with 16 abstentions (resolution 2750 A (XXV)).

232. We shall now vote on draft resolution II B.

Draft resolution II B was adopted by 111 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 2750 B (XXV)).

233. We turn now to the last draft resolution recommended by the First Committee—draft resolution II C—and the amendment.

234. In this connexion the Secretary-General has estimated the cost of the Fifth Committee's recommendation at \$272,900. As the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee were not able at this stage to review these requirements, I have been advised that it has been agreed to deal with any requirements arising in this regard under the provisions of the resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1971. In accordance with the provisions of the latter resolution, the Secretary-General would seek the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions before entering into commitments to meet the necessary expenditure, and would submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session supplementary estimates to the extent necessary.

235. I understand from the Secretariat that the period indicated in paragraph 6 of draft resolution II C should read "in March and in July-August 1971".

236. There remains only one draft amendment, that is, the common amendment of the various sponsors whose effect would be to have paragraph 5 read:

"Decides to enlarge the Committee by forty-four members,"—the change is 44 instead of 39—"ap-

pointed by the Chairman of the First Committee in consultation with regional groups and taking into account equitable geographical representation thereon”.

237. A recorded vote has been requested on the amendment to substitute “forty-four” for “thirty-nine” in paragraph 5.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Kenya.

Abstaining: Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mongolia, Poland, South Africa, Swaziland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania.

The amendment was adopted by 102 votes to 1, with 17 abstentions.

238. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on draft resolution II C, as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico,

Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Burma, Cuba, Mongolia, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela.

Draft resolution II C, as amended, was adopted by 108 votes to 7, with 6 abstentions (resolution 2750 C (XXV)).⁴

239. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on those delegations which wish to explain their votes and with the Assembly's permission, I should like to call on the Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, who wishes to make a statement. I think that, in view of his particular position in this respect, the Assembly will not refuse me the privilege of calling on Ambassador Amerasinghe.

240. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the limits of National Jurisdiction: The General Assembly has just adopted, on the First Committee's recommendation, the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, appearing as draft resolution I in its report.

241. You, Mr. President, with the concurrence of the Assembly, have very kindly extended to me the indulgence of permitting me, in my capacity as Chairman of the sea-bed Committee, to make a short statement on this very memorable occasion. I appreciate that in doing so you have relaxed the Assembly's rules of procedure and risked your justifiably high reputation for impeccable adherence to those rules. I shall take advantage of your indulgence to repeat in substance the thoughts to which I gave expression in the First Committee on 15 December [1799th meeting] after the Declaration of principles was adopted.

242. The decision we have taken today is one of the greatest significance and moment. We have created the framework and foundation of the régime that will some day, we hope in the not too distant future and by the common consent of the peoples of the world,

⁴ The representative of Pakistan subsequently stated that he wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution (see para. 285 below).

be applicable to the greater part of the earth's surface and the immeasurable wealth that it shelters.

243. With the caution that is customarily reserved for official pronouncements by sovereign States on anything that rises above the level of the mundane, we may assign varying degrees of significance and validity to the Declaration, but we can all agree that its conspicuous merit is its daring originality and that its real virtue is its moral force.

244. Special attention must be drawn to the concept of the common heritage of mankind which has, for the first time to my knowledge, been enunciated in an international document. The cause of world peace and security and the aspiration of mankind towards a genuine realization of the brotherhood of man could best be promoted and advanced if we agreed to the principle of treating this major portion of the earth's surface and its resources as the property of the entire human family, and if we resolved to protect it from the threat of competitive exploitation and expropriation. Not so long ago such a concept and such an objective would have been a chimerical dream, but the Declaration has brought it within reach of attainment.

245. The Declaration cannot claim the binding force of a treaty internationally negotiated and accepted, but it is a definite step in that direction and, no less than the other two Declarations that have been adopted at this session, it has—if I may adapt the words of Walt Whitman—that fervent element of moral authority that is more binding than treaties.

246. Encouraged by the response of the Members of the Organization to the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, the seabed committee, as enlarged can confidently face the even more responsible task that the General Assembly has assigned to it under resolution II C, recommended by the First Committee in its report and adopted here today [resolution 1750 C (XXV)].

247. The trinity of Declarations adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, namely, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)] and the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil thereof beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [resolution 2749 (XXV)] are an inestimable contribution to international co-operation. They are a fitting finale to the first 25 years of the United Nations existence and a grand overture to the next.

248. In your pinnacled position, Mr. President, you can, I am sure, feel a strong sense of exhilaration at the great measure of success which has attended our efforts at this session and which has been largely due to your firm, benevolent and skilful leadership. You

have earned our gratitude, and, as we are about to disperse, we salute you.

249. The PRESIDENT: I think that the General Assembly will agree to express thanks with me to the distinguished representative of Ceylon for the excellent work he has done as the Chairman of a very important and very difficult Committee. Thank you, Ambassador Amerasinghe.

250. May I be permitted also to have included in the verbatim record the name of the distinguished Ambassador of Tunisia, as co-sponsor of the oral amendment submitted by Pakistan to change "thirty-nine" to "forty-four" because he really made that suggestion immediately before the delegation of Pakistan did so formally.

251. If there is no objection, Tunisia will appear as a sponsor of that amendment.

It was so decided.

252. Five delegations have expressed the wish to explain their votes after the voting, and I shall call on them in turn.

253. Mr. EGUINO (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my duty to explain the vote of the delegation of Bolivia in connexion with draft resolution I and II C.

254. My delegation voted in favour of those two resolutions, both in the First Committee and in the plenary Assembly. Nevertheless, my delegation wishes to state for the record the interpretation given by Bolivia to those two resolutions.

255. In both cases, in the declaration of principles as well as in the resolution on the conference on the law of the sea, the delegation of Bolivia considers that the treatment given to the problems of the land-locked countries is inadequate. Indeed, any attempt to place the land-locked and all the other developing countries on an equal footing or to make them seem to be alike, as is done in operative paragraphs 5, 7 and 9 of the Declaration of Principles, ignores an evident reality. The same applies to the eighth preambular paragraph and to operative paragraph 6 of the resolution on the conference on the law of the sea.

256. We reiterate once more, as we have maintained in the First Committee, that it is not in accord with geographic, economic or political reality to place the land-locked countries on an equal footing with the developing countries. These are two distinct realities which must be dealt with differently, and we have no doubt that this will be recognized by the international community in due course.

257. Mr. PARDO (Malta): In adopting draft resolution I, recommended by the First Committee, the General Assembly has adopted an important document which opens the way to serious work on the elaboration of an international institutional régime for the sea-bed beyond a precisely defined area of national jurisdiction.

258. For the last three years the elaboration of a set of balanced principles has been the subject of study, first by the *Ad Hoc* Committee created by the General Assembly in 1967 and later by the permanent Committee established in 1968. The obstacles to the adoption by mere consensus of a balanced set of principles appeared at times insuperable. Yet, they have been overcome thanks to the general willingness to co-operate in a great endeavour.

259. My delegation, and all others I think, have not so much compromised as we have listened to others, learned from others and weighed the consequences of the inexorable advance of science and technology which is making the elaboration of an international institutional régime for the sea-bed beyond precisely defined national jurisdiction objectively necessary and historically inevitable. Indeed, a broad but orderly revision of international law applicable to the other parts of ocean space is also becoming inevitable.

260. But the desire of all of us to co-operate to move consciously towards the construction of a new equitable legal order would have been unavailing had the distinguished and deeply respected Chairman of the sea-bed Committee not given direction and focus to our efforts, and had he not been assisted by the distinguished Chairmen of the two Sub-Committees, Ambassador Galindo Pohl of El Salvador, and Ambassador Roger Denorme of Belgium, whose absence today we regret.

261. We have also been singularly fortunate in having had all officers of both the main sea-bed Committee and its sub-committees of unusual high quality and dedication.

262. To all I would express the sincere gratitude of my delegation for their valuable work and for the many apparently unrewarding hours they put in patiently and constructively assisting the development of negotiations which at times appeared to have reached a hopeless impasse. The world, I hope, will one day recognize their efforts.

263. With regard to draft resolution II, we were happy to vote in favour of draft resolution II B. We are engaged in a world-wide co-operative effort, and the particular problems of land-locked and self-locked countries, whether developed or developing, must, we believe, receive adequate consideration on the same basis as the problems of other groups of countries.

264. My delegation also voted in favour of draft resolution II A, because we agreed with its purpose. I must stress, however, that we have considerable doubt whether the Secretariat can reach useful conclusions until we have some idea of the area of the sea-bed which is likely to remain beyond national jurisdiction. Thus, we would have preferred it had the study requested of the Secretariat been postponed until we had not necessarily a definition of but at least some idea of the area which is likely to be subject to resource exploitation under international auspices.

265. Finally, we voted in favour of draft resolution II C, because we are anxious to see convened a comprehensive conference on the law of the sea at the earliest possible date, and because most of our doubts were, if not dispelled, at least attenuated by the statement of the representative of Canada, in the name of all the sponsors, at this meeting this morning.

266. As may be known, we agreed not to present an amendment to draft resolution II C, on the basis of the understandings enunciated so precisely by the representative of Canada again, I say understandings expressly made on behalf of all the sponsors. Accordingly, we do not accord authoritative status to nuances added thereto by two delegations. In any case, in the enlarged Committee we shall if necessary recall the statement made by the representative of Canada.

267. We hope to participate actively and constructively in the work of the enlarged committee with goodwill towards all and malice towards none.

268. The PRESIDENT: I should like to congratulate the representative of Malta on this enormously important step in the work which was started by his very interesting and important initiative some time ago. He deserves our congratulations.

269. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): I wish to record that the United Kingdom delegation's vote in favour of draft resolution I, which we were very happy to cast, is subject to the statement of reservation and interpretation made by my delegation during the 1799th meeting of the First Committee.

270. I wish also to record that the United Kingdom delegation's vote in favour of resolution II C, which again we were very happy to cast, is subject to the statement of interpretation made by the Canadian delegation on behalf of all the sponsors of the draft resolution during the 1800th meeting of the First Committee and during the present plenary meeting of the General Assembly, and to the statement of interpretation made by my delegation at the 1801st meeting of the First Committee.

271. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): The basic position of my delegation on the item now under consideration has been made clear on several occasions when we have discussed the item in the First Committee. I wish to reiterate that this basic position of ours remains essentially the same. When examined in the light of the basic position of my delegation, it is clear that resolution II C, which was recommended by the First Committee and has now been adopted by the General Assembly, contains elements which could still be improved upon and leaves much to be desired.

272. Nevertheless, my delegation has now voted in favour of this resolution, in a spirit of co-operation and as a token of the determination of my delegation to work together constructively with all the members of this Assembly in our common effort for the stabilization of the law of the sea.

273. At the same time, my delegation wishes to place on record that it voted in favour of this draft resolution on the understanding that the contents of the statement made here by the representative of Canada on behalf of all the sponsors of the original draft resolution before the First Committee represents the common position of the members of this Assembly with regard to the points covered by the statement.

274. My delegation takes note in particular of the following:

“... the general formulations used in paragraphs 2 and 6 of this draft resolution in no way prejudice the position of any delegation as regards any proposal for the inclusion of any particular topic on the law of the sea in the preparatory work of the sea-bed Committee, bearing in mind that paragraph 2 does not determine the precise agenda of the conference on the law of the sea, which remains to be determined by the General Assembly in future sessions, in accordance with paragraph 3.” [See para. 181 above.]

Again, the representative of Canada said:

“... the draft resolution is also intended to make clear... that with respect to all subjects listed for consideration at the conference, the draft resolution does not prejudice the substance on any issue. Certain drafting changes were introduced in paragraph 2 in order to make that intention abundantly clear.” [See para. 183 above].

275. Thus, my delegation understands, that, although the resolution contains language which is controversial, the joint statement made on behalf of the sponsors has made it clear that nothing in the present draft resolution will prejudice the position of any delegation with regard to the substance to be discussed in the preparatory body.

276. Also, my delegation wishes to state its position that it is highly desirable, from the practical point of view, for the success of the conference that the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea should limit the scope of the problems to be dealt with to the minimum necessary.

277. Mr. DEBERGH (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): In adopting the declaration of principles governing the exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, the Members of the Assembly have agreed as a commitment under the Charter to negotiate a treaty on a régime dealing with this public international domain.

278. By a majority in the First Committee, and now by a majority in this plenary meeting of the General Assembly, we have suggested that these should be comprehensive negotiations, involving all matters of traditional law.

279. My delegation feels that this approach might well lead to a total revision of traditional law, especially

of the Geneva Conventions of 1958, particularly if we make the solution of certain items depend upon the solution of other items to which they do not relate.

280. However, the text of paragraph 2 of draft resolution II C somewhat reassures us and we recognize—as we already had occasion to do in the First Committee—that in the present wording, priority is no longer given to any particular question to be dealt with in the conference. Therefore, we concede that this paragraph now uses more neutral language in this respect.

281. Furthermore, we take note of the statement of the representative of Canada, who spoke categorically and unambiguously on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution II C. We take note of that part of his statement dealing with paragraph 6 of the draft. We note particularly that that paragraph does not prevent the preparatory committee from examining and negotiating any urgent item concerning the law of the sea which may arise, including those related to defining the limits of the extra-jurisdictional area, which is an integral part of the sea-bed régime itself, as we see it.

282. In the light of the statement made by the representative of Canada—who, as I said, spoke unambiguously on behalf of the sponsors—I can say that my delegation, which abstained in that vote in the First Committee, is now in a position to vote in favour of draft resolution II C. We feel that that interesting statement made by the representative of Canada is simply a more precise amplification of a similar statement made in the First Committee and, at the same time, of statements made by several sponsors. For example, I can quote a single extract from it:

“It is not simply a matter of studying the régime to be adopted, because this necessarily includes all of the provisions of the treaty, including the limits of the zone.”

283. My delegation would like to make the following observation: in adopting draft resolution II C we have decided to undertake comprehensive negotiations on all matters dealing with the law of the sea. This means that we agree to settle all these problems by means of international negotiation and international agreement. In the view of my delegation this means that we all accept as a social obligation for all countries having signed the Charter the submission of unilateral claims to multilateral negotiations, the only procedure in harmony with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

284. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan, who, I understand, wants to make a remark about the actual voting.

285. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): I should like to point out that the electronic system of voting seems to have deprived my delegation of its sovereign right to vote. According to the recorded vote as distributed to us, my delegation is shown not to have voted on draft resolution II C as amended, and I have come to this

rostrum to state solemnly that I did press the green button, and voted affirmatively. I would therefore request that my vote be counted among the affirmative votes.

286. The PRESIDENT: Since the machine is far too polite to contradict the representative of Pakistan, his statement will be put on record.

AGENDA ITEM 22

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

287. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): It may be recalled that on 4 November 1970 this Assembly adopted resolution 2628 (XXV) on this item. That resolution requested the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council within a period of two months, and to the Assembly as appropriate, on the efforts of the Special Representative and on the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

288. Since this item has not been concluded, we request that the same practice adopted on this matter last year and the year before be followed: namely, that the item be included in the provisional agenda of the twenty-sixth session and that, as in the past, it be given priority. This request was made earlier, and, on behalf of the United Arab Republic and Jordan, I now make it formally.

289. The PRESIDENT: If there is no objection to that request, which is usually made, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that formal proposal.

It was so decided.

Statement by the Secretary-General

290. The PRESIDENT: We have thus exhausted all the items on our agenda for the twenty-fifth session, and I now have the honour to call upon the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

291. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Now that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly is about to conclude, I wish to make a brief statement on a matter which I believe is relevant to the business transacted by this Assembly in the past three months.

292. Members of the Assembly will be aware of the concern I have repeatedly expressed since assuming office nine years ago, over the Organization's mounting financial difficulties. It is not my intention to review these difficulties at this late hour. The facts are already on record—most recently in the introduction to my report on the work of the Organization and in my statement of 5 October to the First Committee [1357th meeting]. I expressed the hope on the latter occasion that arrangements could be agreed upon with a view to resolving these difficulties in this twenty-fifth anniversary year or immediately following it. I said that I had specifically in mind the circumstances that

have resulted in the withholding of contributions to the regular budget; the unfunded arrears which remain on the books of the Organization; the problem of the appropriate handling and disposition of certain so-called surplus accounts; and, not least, the obligation owed to Governments for which no source of funding is currently available, with the result that the Organization's credit, or even more importantly its integrity, is in danger of being seriously compromised.

293. As I see the situation, the first essential step is to secure additional voluntary contributions in an amount sufficient to restore the solvency of the United Nations, and, that task having been accomplished, to then work out such accommodation as will ensure a sound financial basis for the Organization thereafter. I must admit, in all frankness, that the experience of the past provides little ground for optimism. Yet I see no reason for despair, and still less for resigning ourselves to a policy of drift and deterioration. I am convinced, on the contrary, that there is a common interest in liquidating the past so that a new and generally acceptable course—if one can be found—may be charted for the future. In that connexion and in the absence of other initiatives, I therefore intend, with the technical help of my principal aides on budgetary and financial matters, to give special attention as a matter of priority during coming months to the Organization's financial situation and the means by which the difficulties that have plagued us for so long might best be overcome. Since such an endeavour, if it is to yield positive results, will call for much quiet diplomacy through contacts and consultations with Member Governments—in particular, prospective contributors—I have also sought the assistance and advice of the President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Hambro, who has graciously consented to join his good offices with those of the Secretary-General.

294. I hope that as a result of the joint efforts of the President and the Secretary-General a more hopeful and encouraging report on United Nations finances will be presented to the twenty-sixth session.

295. Let me conclude my statement, Mr. President, with a reference to your outstanding qualities which are widely recognized and appreciated by the entire Assembly. Your competence, your skill and your keen sensitivity to the wish of representatives and above all your objectivity, have deservedly won universal appreciation and gratitude. On behalf of the Secretariat allow me to extend best wishes to the President, to the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of all the Committees formed in the course of this session and all the Committees formed for the purposes of this session, and of course to all the representatives at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, for a merry holiday season and a very happy Christmas.

296. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for his kind words addressed to me personally, and I ask the Assembly to take note of the other parts of his statement.

* Resumed from the 1897th meeting.

Completion of the work of the twenty-fifth session

297. The PRESIDENT: I now call on representatives who have expressed a wish to address the Assembly at this stage, and I warn you that, in accordance with past practice, the President will make a statement afterwards.

298. Mr. NKUNDABAGENZI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegations of the African States and on behalf of my delegation I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our high esteem and our inestimable appreciation for the outstanding manner in which you have acquitted yourself of the heavy responsibilities entrusted to you by the General Assembly on unanimously electing you President.

299. To the scrupulous respect for the rules of law which is typical of a jurist, you have added the qualities of discerning diplomat, your sense of decorum and compromise, your respect for diverse opinions, your courtesy, your tact and your dynamism, which together with your thorough knowledge of the rules of procedure of the Assembly, have made of this twenty-fifth session a complete success. We are grateful to you, and through you to your country, Norway, which we wish to salute, a country whose determined adherence to the objectives of the Charter is so well known to us.

300. Those who would wish to explain the personality of individuals by the influence of the environment in which they were born, would be tempted to force the analogy of the Nordic position of your country in relation to the rest of the world and your far-reaching views on the realities of our times and your just assessment of their significance, but by the same token they would have to accord the greatest importance to your family, whose name is already registered in the annals of the history of international organizations, since your father, who was President of the Norwegian Parliament for many years, presided over the last session of the League of Nations.

301. Mr. President, we are very happy because our Organization, during this session which coincides with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence, has been able to benefit from your talents and your outstanding qualities.

302. But the occasion of an anniversary such as this it is fitting to draw up a sincere balance sheet of this quarter of a century, the better to establish a programme for the future, while nevertheless not allowing the pomp and circumstance of outward appearances from correctly establishing the just measure of the distance which separates the definition of noble objectives, which often remain as pious hopes and no more from the anguishing realities of the world we live in today.

303. Under your enlightened guidance all the major questions which concern the fate of mankind have been discussed and numerous resolutions have been adopted, particularly within the framework of the

Second United Nations Development Decade, in the field of decolonization and still many more.

304. Although manifest progress has been achieved in the field of decolonization, Africa nevertheless regrets that in the twentieth century a part of its people is still bound by the chains of colonialism and *apartheid*. Mankind must bear the shame, and future generations which, according to the provisions of the Preamble of the Charter, we should preserve from the scourge of war, will not forgive us when they learn of the situation which prevails in southern Africa which constitutes a constant threat to world peace and security.

305. It is fitting to say, as did Meng-tzu, a disciple of Tzu Ssu, who himself was a grandson of Confucius, that to wage war against the territories of others on the pretext of deriving some benefit therefrom "is like climbing a tree to find a fish", because, as is written in the Holy Scriptures, "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword".

306. The United Nations knows full well that the Africans who are still under the yoke of colonialism and the law of *apartheid* do not want war for its own sake. They but claim their just rights instead of the rights of the strongest. According to the teachings of the great apostle Gandhi, they know that "strength does not come from physical means but from an indomitable will, and that non-violence opposes all the force of the soul to the will of the tyrant".

307. We could not end without associating with the tribute you deserve, Mr. President, all the officers of the Assembly in whom you have found such valuable support. Furthermore, we are pleased to express our most heartfelt gratitude to the Secretary-General, U Thant, indefatigable apostle of peace, and to all his assistants in the Secretariat, at whatever level they may be, among whom we have at all times found unflagging devotion and complete co-operation. We should like also to thank very particularly all the interpreters, those discreet and patient witnesses of our determined efforts to seek peace, international security and the well-being of nations.

308. And since the year 1970 is coming to an end, on this occasion the group of African States wishes to express its best wishes to you, Mr. President, as well as to all members of this world Organization.

309. Mr. ALATTAR (Yemen) (*interpretation from French*): It is my very pleasant task and an honour for me to express to you, Mr. President, as well as to the Vice-Presidents, the Secretary-General and the members of the Secretariat, on behalf of the Asian delegations, including my own, our gratitude and our most friendly greetings and wishes.

310. We are about to conclude the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly. It is premature to express an opinion on all the work that has been done here or even to draw up a balance-sheet of the results of this historic session.

311. However, we can say at this time that this session has been different from preceding sessions. Indeed, there have been two sessions. First, there was the solemn session celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, during which a number of Heads of State and Governments and many Prime Ministers have participated and we made statements concerning the policies of their respective governments. It is a pleasure for us to note in this connexion that all those statesmen have expressed their faith in our Organization. Secondly, there was the session which began on 15 September, and was conducted concurrently with the first one, and which is still continuing its remarkable work. We consider it useful to stress particularly the resolutions dealing with the Second United Nations Development Decade and with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the resolution concerning the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination the Declaration on the strengthening of international security; and, finally, the Declaration on the principles governing the sea-bed and the ocean floor, as well as all resolutions related to this promising subject.

312. It is, therefore, by no means presumptuous to say that this session, thanks to your wise and active guidance and your competent leadership, Sir—as well as to your punctuality, which could be described as chronometric—has made great progress in international co-operation and has been a truly fruitful one.

313. You have certainly left your imprint on the session. You have proved that the humanism, wisdom, spirit of realism and dynamism, so typical of the Scandinavian people—are not mere empty words. As we see it, you have fulfilled your task in a remarkable manner, with tact, intelligence and efficiency—and patience, which has now become a criterion in the selection of a President. Exhibiting all these attributes you have directed our debates in the Assembly, and organized the negotiations with various regional groups. I can bear witness to this since, when I consulted you in December your door was always open to me, and every time I wished to express the views of our group to you, you were receptive, courteous and kind. For this I wish to thank you publicly.

314. I also wish to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, for whom we have the highest esteem.

315. Finally, may I extend to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General, to the members of the Secretariat and to all delegations my best wishes for the New Year and the holiday season.

316. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): Sir, your taste for brevity and conciseness is so well known that to please you entirely, this statement might well read as follows: "Mr. President, I thank you, Sir." As it is, it will not be that short, but I hope that it will not sound much longer when registered on your chronometer.

317. On behalf of the 23 delegations of the Latin American group, it is incumbent upon me to convey

to you, Sir, our highest appreciation and gratitude for the way you have guided us and conducted the proceedings of the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly. Your impartiality, your dedication and, above all, your faithfulness to the cause of peace among nations, have contributed in a most significant manner to the happy conclusion of this regular session. You deserve all this praise, Sir, in spite of your reluctance to let us be either too late or too talkative. I hope that, to reassure you, we shall close our proceedings in time—although not in time for lunch—and in silence; I mean with the traditional minute of silence, which is always welcome to you.

318. It has been in many ways a very important session, a landmark and a milestone in the life of our Organization. It has been a time of rededication to the purposes and principles of the Charter and a plea for the survival of the United Nations as an Organization dedicated to the pursuance of the great themes of peace, development and security, and not only to the new, ancillary tasks of science and technology. This General Assembly reasserted its competence and its constitutional role in matters of international peace and security; in other words, it reasserted its will to be alive as a political body, something more than a foundation which holds a yearly seminar on international matters in the autumn days in Manhattan. Any trend towards depoliticizing the United Nations is a blow to its very existence and its relevance in the world of today. Our efforts should be aimed at preserving the peace of the world not the peace of the United Nations.

319. Some significant progress had already been achieved at the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly, which we ventured to characterize as the Assembly of the smaller nations, inasmuch as it reasserted the political will of nations which share a common purpose of strengthening their security, preserving their sovereignty and promoting their economic development. It is gratifying to see that this year we have not regressed; rather, we have been able to advance in many fields and in many areas—mostly in the field of international security. Yesterday, in this very hall, a new right was recognized and proclaimed by the United Nations, the right to security. And a new law is being established, the law of international security.

320. Furthermore, we have been able to pose the inescapable question of the revision of the Charter of the United Nations. Although political realities make this revision doubtful in the immediate future, this problem of revision can no longer be eluded; and this year, we have at least no longer eluded it. We have said on many occasions that we cannot live forever in the year 1945, and we are convinced that an irreversible trend has at long last been established.

321. We hope that this session will mark the beginning of a diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations. We hope that action will be no longer delayed and that there will no longer be procrastination on the vital and crucial issues of economic development, which should be aimed at eliminating the gap between the developing

ntions and the developed countries, and not directed only at securing a state of tolerable poverty. We hope that through the establishment of subsidiary organs under the authority of the Security Council, a process will be initiated whereby matters which are now discussed and settled—or rather, discussed and not settled—in the ever dwindling circles of the major Powers will be directed to the framework of our Organization.

322. In any case, the decisions taken during this session of the General Assembly give us some hope for the future. Much has been achieved at this twenty-fifth anniversary session and we are happy to have seen you, Sir, associated with this noble endeavour towards peace, justice and progress. Let us disperse today with hope and, above all, with determination. As we read in Ecclesiastes:

“To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven. . . a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together”

and this is clearly the time to gather stones, the stones of our house, together.

323. Mr. MESSIA (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): If silence is golden—according to a Spanish proverb—particularly at three o'clock in the afternoon, I shall do my best to be extremely brief.

324. On behalf of the group of Western European and other States, I have the signal honour to express to you, Mr. President, our feelings of admiration and gratitude in these closing minutes of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which has been guided by your fine hand. The hopes which we all placed in you when we elected you our President have been amply fulfilled. As President you have at all times been able to reconcile authority with the most engaging charm. Our work here was not always easy, but you, Mr. President, managed to guide us throughout with both tact and clairvoyance.

325. Today, we are actually ending two sessions: the commemorative session of the twenty-fifth anniversary and the twenty-fifth session itself, leaving us an important balance sheet of achievements and endeavours. Both events required an exceptional President, and we must say to your honour, Mr. President, that we have found him in you. Your Presidency will remain in the annals of our Organization as a model of great erudition, masterful guidance and irreproachable courtesy—which some delegations, such as mine, have had the satisfaction of being able to savour in their own mother tongue.

326. Mr. President, to the solid Nordic virtues of punctuality, we find added today—I do not dare to call it the virtue, but rather the Spanish habit of ending this session of the Assembly when, in Spain, it is time for lunch. I hope no one will reproach me for this.

327. I would also wish to pay a tribute of respect, friendship and gratitude to the officers of the General

Assembly, to our illustrious Secretary-General, U Thant, and to all the personnel of the Secretariat for the effectiveness and indefatigable dedication with which they have at all times assisted us.

328. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Spain referred to the Spanish lunch-hour. Earlier, I myself referred to the lunch-hour. But you, Mr. President, in your lofty wisdom, asked us to continue our labours under your aegis until the work of this session had been completed. Naturally, we bowed to your wish since you have so far been an infallible guide for us and you have always shown us the right road.

329. On behalf of the group of Arab countries, I wish to express our thanks, our gratitude and our admiration for the remarkable manner in which you have presided over the work of the General Assembly during this session of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

330. Even at the risk of imposing on your discretion and modesty, allow me to say how very impressed we have been with your personal, intellectual and professional qualities as a diplomat, but above all by your human qualities. The name of Ambassador Hambro is known to everyone, both near and far, who has had anything to do with the United Nations. To mention some of the many constructive contributions to the life of this Organization, suffice it, Sir, for me to refer to your work, which remains unique, on the explanation and interpretation of the United Nations Charter. This is a family tradition for you, because you come from a long line of great diplomats and particularly of great internationalists. As such, you have carried the torch and you have the right, Mr. President, to be proud of what you have accomplished.

331. Under your Presidency the General Assembly has adopted, during this twenty-fifth anniversary session, three Declarations, each representing a landmark not only in the history of the Organization but above all in the history of international relations. The first is the Declaration on friendly relations among States. Your contribution in that field was outstanding even though silent. It is true that you did not participate in the work of the Sixth Committee this year, but everybody knows that your presence, at least spiritual and intellectual, was always felt and appreciated by all the members of that Committee and by all those who participated in the preparation of that document, which, in accordance with the hopes and aspirations of all mankind, and above all that humanity which has so far been oppressed, could open up to everyone a better future in which all States, all peoples could live together, coexist in peace, justice and friendly relations.

332. The second declaration was the one we adopted yesterday, on the strengthening of international security.

333. Lastly, the third declaration was the one we adopted this morning on the principles governing the

sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

334. These three documents are all intended to bring about the well-being of mankind. Mr. President, circumstances have willed that these declarations be adopted under your presidency, therefore I believe that fate has done well, because no one would have better deserved the honour of presiding over the adoption of these declarations, which are for mankind a treasure chest of hope of aspirations for a better life in peace and justice.

335. Mr. President, in reiterating my gratitude, I could not fail to express the appreciation of the group of Arab States and of my own delegation to the Secretary-General. We also wish to express our gratitude to all the members of the Secretariat for the remarkable work they have done and the invaluable assistance they have given us at all times in the discharge of our tasks.

336. Mr. SMIRNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like first of all, on behalf of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, to express gratitude to you for the manner in which you have discharged your duties. You presided over the very momentous and important commemorative session of the United Nations General Assembly with great skill and tact. I might add that it was most gracious of you to use the Russian language when you invited me to speak. It is not easy to be President of the Assembly. One must find the golden mean—not be too weak, so as not to allow speakers to overstep the bounds of established procedure and practice at times of heated argument, but at the same time not be too strict, so as to stimulate the participation of delegations. In our view, you succeeded in adopting this golden mean and finding a way out of difficult situations.

337. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, whose experience and knowledge pervaded, visibly and invisibly, all the Committees and the plenary meetings and were exceptionally helpful in achieving the aims and purposes of the Assembly.

338. We are also grateful to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Stavropoulos, his assistants, the interpreters and all the Secretariat staff, who helped to ensure the success of the work of the Committees, the plenary meetings and the General Assembly as a whole.

339. The twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly was exceptional not only because it was a commemorative session but also because of the importance of the questions considered and the decisions adopted.

340. One of the most important Assembly items proved to be the consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security, which was proposed by the Soviet Union. The Declaration

adopted on this subject reflects great concern for the preservation of peace, optimistic confidence in the victory of the just cause of the peoples and determination to do everything possible to strengthen peace on earth.

341. The desire of the peoples to strengthen peace and international security was reflected in the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, which reaffirms the most important purposes and principles of the Organization embodied in its Charter.

342. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations coincided with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization. For that reason, it is very important that the commemorative session of the General Assembly approved a programme of action in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

343. During the session, strong solidarity was displayed in the Security Council with the anti-imperialist struggle of the African peoples in connexion with the aggression by the Portuguese colonialists against the Republic of Guinea.

344. By adopting the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly made an important contribution to the codification of those principles.

345. An exceptionally important document was adopted—the Treaty of the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.

346. Many other important decisions relating to various areas of United Nations activity were discussed and adopted.

347. An active role in the preparation and approval of these documents was played by the socialist countries, which displayed a sincere desire to co-operate with the delegations of all other States and to enhance the authority and role of the United Nations in the strengthening of international peace and security.

348. We realize, however, that the adoption of declarations and resolutions is only a first step towards the solution of international problems. The important thing is for Member States to adopt the necessary measures to implement these decisions and thus help the international community to move steadily in the direction of peace, progress and democracy.

349. A better tomorrow for all mankind is emerging from the bitter struggle between the forces of peace and progress and the forces of reaction, oppression and aggression. This struggle is being waged on an extraordinarily wide front.

350. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which was adopted is of special significance for the lessening of tension in the world in general and in Europe in particular. In this connexion, encouraging events have recently been taking place here.

351. The convening of an all-European conference on questions of security and co-operation will be another milestone in the effort to strengthen peace in Europe.

352. Many documents adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly strongly emphasize the need to respect the principle of the universality of the United Nations. In this context, the establishment of relations of equality between the German Democratic Republic and other States, the start of the process of normalizing relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the universally recognized rules of international law and the admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations and other international organizations are particularly important and necessary. Such action by the United Nations would make a substantial contribution to the cause of European and international security.

353. Peace is indivisible. Any "local" war can develop into a military threat to all mankind. That is why united action by freedom-loving, anti-imperialist forces to repel aggression is essential.

354. In that connexion, we must note the encouraging fact that an absolutely overwhelming number of delegations devoted very considerable attention, both in the general debates and during the commemorative part of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, to the question of the strengthening of international peace and security and vigorously condemned the continuing aggression in Viet-Nam and the Middle East.

355. The substance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and of the resolution on the Middle East adopted by the General Assembly is the demand for an immediate end to the aggression in those two regions where peace is threatened and for a just settlement without delay. For that reason, one must condemn in the most vigorous manner the escalation of the war on the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the deliberate procrastination in achieving a settlement of the Middle East question.

356. Much remains to be done to accelerate the rate of economic growth of the developing countries. In that connexion, we attach great importance to the documents adopted on the subject of the Second Development Decade and believe that, unless peace and international security are strengthened, it will be impossible to deal successfully with many other problems, including those of economic development.

357. The delegations of the socialist countries will continue to work in the United Nations to promote lasting security throughout the world. With that aim,

we shall continue to pursue a policy of peace, relaxation of tension and broad international co-operation.

358. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): Allow me first to express my compliments and thanks to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Stavropoulos, and to our Secretary-General, U Thant, and, through them, to all the members of the staff, seen and unseen, heard and unheard, for their indefatigable labours in this session of the General Assembly. We wish to thank them all for their courtesy, for all they have done for us during the Assembly and throughout the year.

359. Mr. President, the session over which you have presided, which is now drawing to a close, marks an important milestone in the evolution of the United Nations, in the creation of which you played so important a role.

360. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations has brought it somewhat nearer to realities and removed it one step further away from the illusions—many of them self-willed—with which so many persons who should be better informed regard our Organization. That does not mean there is not a very long road to be travelled before the United Nations, an instrument created by Governments for the use of Governments of nations, if I may be permitted a quotation that will be familiar to you, Mr. President, becomes better adapted to discharge the high burdens which humanity has placed upon it and continues to place upon it.

361. One may hope that before the first full jubilee—a Hebrew term which signifies the release of slaves from serfdom—of the United Nations is reached it will become accepted by the enlightened world that the mere pushing through of resolutions by automatic majorities without due regard for other points of view, in lieu of the patient and time-consuming process of the search after unanimity and consensus is not democratic and is hardly the best way to achieve the high diplomatic aims which the founders of the United Nations have set for us.

362. Some 3,000 years ago a wise king of Israel, whose brooding spirit contrasts markedly with your own ebullient Nordic idealism, Mr. President, wrote a book that appears in the Bible under the name Ecclesiastes, which has already been cited in part by the representative of Brazil. King Solomon had this to say:

"What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun? One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever."

And the wise king ended his soliloquy:

"The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun."

363. Sometimes when debates become excessively repetitious those sentences run through my head, and

I have during this session been wondering whether they might not also have been running through yours. When I think of King Solomon's conclusion—

"And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh"

sitting long hours in conference rooms and in this General Assembly hall, should not one also cry out for the wise king—and President—to say, "Of making many speeches there is no end, and much sitting is a weariness of the flesh"? But perhaps I am adding to the weariness, without the sublimity of Ecclesiastes, and for that I crave indulgence.

364. Mr. President, you have guided our deliberations—at time delicate and momentous—with a firm touch, exceptional punctuality, exemplary modesty, all the learning and scholarship we have come to respect and to expect, and your inimitable good humour and self-possession. It is my privilege, and that of all my colleagues to have been members of a delegation that has served here under your presidency, which has added new lustre to an already lustrous name.

365. Your presence on the presidential seat reminded us of your beautiful Scandinavia, and of Norway, the land of freedom, poetry, music and art, of the dignity of man—the land of heroes.

366. May I end with words spoken at Geneva some twenty-five years ago:

"We part as we have met, delegates of governments, servants of a great idea."

367. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): Mr. President, I think the greatest tribute I could pay to you at this late hour would be to offer you that golden moment of silence the representative of Spain indicated was desirable. I am afraid, however, that you may be doomed to drown in a sea of praise because of the very distinguished service you have rendered as President of this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

368. It is my privilege to express on behalf of the United States—very briefly, I assure you—the sentiments of appreciation my delegation feels as this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly draws to a close. I refrain from calling it a historic session since that word is somewhat overworked and it is better to let history decide what is historic. But there can be no question that this session has produced some documents and some decisions which promise to be of substantial value to the common interest of the family of nations.

369. Last September on your election to be our President, you called upon us to "work, honestly and with humility to concentrate our efforts on all that we have in common, and all that unites us" [1839th meeting, para. 59]. If during this session we have at times come somewhere near that high standard which you set for

us, the praise is due in so small measure to your own splendid leadership. By your skill both as a parliamentarian and as a conciliator, you have helped us again and again to find a path through difficulty to agreement. By the example of your own deep concern for the purposes of the United Nations, you have taught us to subordinate lesser concerns and to be conscious of the needs of the human family of which we are all the representatives. Your Presidency has added another chapter to your remarkable lifetime of service to the United Nations and to the international community.

370. Our thanks and admiration go also at this time to a great international servant, our illustrious friend and Secretary-General, U Thant; to his very able lieutenants, in particular our good friend the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Stavropoulos; and to all those loyal international servants of the Secretariat, seen and unseen, heard and unheard, without whom our work could not be done.

371. Let me also record our gratitude to the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and to the Chairmen of our Committees, all of whom have rendered distinguished and indispensable service.

372. Finally, as representative of the host country let me extend cordial good wishes to all the representatives and other officials who have come to our shores for this session. We wish them a very happy holiday season and a safe journey home.

373. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): When one has an empty stomach one is hungry more for food than for words. But hunger or no hunger I wish to say a few words.

374. Mr. President, you were just wonderful throughout the twenty-fifth session. We thank you for a job well done. My fervent prayer is that you may still be around to celebrate with the youth of the world the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, when, let us hope, universal peace will prevail.

375. And to you, our beloved Secretary-General, and our good friend Mr. Stavropoulos, as well as to all the members of the Secretariat, I wish to express our gratitude for your devotion and excellent performance.

376. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I had hesitated before coming to the rostrum because I am aware that this tribute—which will perhaps be the last tribute paid to you at this session—is the most modest one since it comes merely from one delegation.

377. Nevertheless, I was inspired by the precept of the father of our independence José Martí, who told us that in paying tribute no voice is weak. Mr. President, I have come to this rostrum to express to you on behalf of my delegation our gratitude for the effective manner in which you have conducted the debates of this important session of the General Assembly.

Your sense of fairness, your objectivity and your cordiality which is always with you, compel us to join our voice to those of other delegations which have come here. And then, too, Mr. President, your zeal for precision and accuracy has inspired us to come to this rostrum to pay tribute to you, and to do so as briefly as possible, perhaps with the effect of an amendment: to place on record that the twenty-fourth and historically most ancient of the Latin American States also pays its most sincere tribute to you.

378. The PRESIDENT: Let me first thank those of you who have spoken kind words—far too kind words—about me. I should like to say that I am especially grateful for the charming and eloquent way in which these thoughts were expressed. Indeed they were expressed with such eloquence and charm that I am sorely tempted to believe that some of you at least might have meant what you said. I am not going to yield to that temptation because it would be a great danger to my modesty in the future.

379. Before we leave here I must say that our gratitude goes to our Secretary-General, U Thant, whose steadfastness, courage and devotion to world peace and to the world Organization are beyond praise.

380. Our thanks also go to the Chairman and the other officers of the Committees, to the Vice-Presidents and, I may add, to every single member of every single delegation for their loyalty and collaboration. And I want to say here how much all of us—and particularly I personally—owe to my old friend and colleague for more than 25 years, Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos, and to his excellent staff. I should like to say that they worked not only with intelligence, skill and devotion, but also with a never-failing courtesy and friendliness which made every day a pleasure. These thanks go also to all the members of the Secretariat, along with all our greetings and good wishes.

381. We have celebrated the silver jubilee of our Organization. Leading statesmen have tried to sum up the achievements of the past 25 years. We have looked ahead and tried to discern what the next quarter of a century may hold in store for our Organization and for our troubled world, where men and women watch what we do and listen to what we say, always with hope and sometimes with confidence. When the rhetoric has been discounted and the echoes of our debates have died away, I think we will still be able to say that the commemorative session brought a message of hope and of commitment to the ideals of the United Nations from all geographical groups, across political, philosophical and ideological boundaries.

382. Documents of great importance have been painstakingly elaborated and solemnly adopted. And I think that we all agree that the most important of them for the future is the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. We know that hunger, misery and despair are the lot of hundreds of millions of persons in Asia, Africa and Latin America. By adopting this Strategy, Governments have pledged greater efforts to help them.

Specific political commitments have been set down in concrete terms. The international development strategy is a mile-stone on the road to a more integrated community based on human solidarity, and its execution during the 1970s will most certainly make for a better world. But let us remember that the decisions Governments will take day by day and year by year in their legislatures and other organs is a matter of crucial importance.

383. The commemorative session was also able to agree on an anniversary statement and on a declaration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations, and—only this last week—an additional Declaration on the strengthening of international security was adopted. Let us remember that such documents may be much more important than we realize today, because they cast a light forward along the road which we must follow towards a peaceful and well-organized community of nations, and they provide a source of inspiration and guidance for the United Nations and for the international community as a whole.

384. Let us also mention that a large number of Member States will regard the anniversary programme for completing the process of decolonization as a major result of our efforts, even though it was not possible to reach full agreement because of the controversial nature of some of its provisions.

385. I think it is also right to say that it is widely accepted that the simple majority that was achieved for the first time on the proposal to seat Peking is of major importance. The principle of universality involved applies to other countries as well. For the United Nations—I think we will all agree on this—must be a truly universal Organization in order to deal adequately with the great issues of war and peace and if we are to save the human environment and make our planet a home fit for human beings to live in.

386. Today we adopted a very important declaration on the sea-bed and the ocean floor. The sea-bed is being decolonized before it is colonized. We have also agreed that its benefits shall go to all mankind, that its riches shall be the common heritage of mankind.

387. I think you will agree with me that that Declaration is a most happy corollary to the treaty banning weapons of mass destruction from the ocean floor, which we have just agreed is an important step to get away from the crushing burden of armaments.

388. The importance of these decisions which we have taken on what we might call the sixth continent will be increasingly evident in the years to come. Some feel they are the major achievement of this session, and there is much to be said for such an idea.

389. In the course of this session, the Assembly departed from the practice of the last two years and held a full-fledged debate on the Middle East. Some delegations, we know, had serious misgivings about this. But I think that we were wise to uphold the principle of free discussion of great international issues.

390. In any event, we can all join in hoping for an early resumption of talks under Ambassador Jarring. Certainly no season could be more appropriate than the present one to rise above tangled enmities and injustices and seek peace afresh for that ancient region so dear to many of us.

391. But of course, when we talk about our achievements we realize that we have also had our disappointments. A number of Members regret that the Assembly was not able to decide that the United Nations should hold a more effective watching brief on human rights throughout the world. But let us remember that the Assembly was at least able to launch new efforts to safeguard the rights of non-combatants in times of armed conflict and to lessen the horrors of war.

392. I do not want to draw up a full list of the debit side of our ledger; but let us note that no progress has been registered on the important issue of peace-keeping operations, that the United Nations finances, as stated by our Secretary-General, are still most unsatisfactory, and also that the humanitarian work of UNWRA is threatened by the critical shortage of funds with which we are all familiar.

393. Our greatest sorrow, however, is that no progress has been recorded in the effort to lift the burden of repression and intolerance from southern Africa. It is easily understood by all of us that this leads to frustration for our African colleagues.

394. Lastly, let us say that the Assembly has made clear its resolve to improve our procedures and to put our house in order in all ways. More than mere procedure is at stake. A tighter, self-imposed discipline will improve the whole quality of our work. And let me mention, even in brackets, that this may also be very important for all the ladies and gentlemen of the Press and the mass media, because without their help what happens here might not be heard or read about except in our Foreign Offices and among ourselves.

395. In the United Nations, as in any human endeavour, achievements do not measure up to aims.

If we strive to work too hard, the gap between words and action will be too apparent, but if we do not always seek more than we can achieve at the moment, we shall make no progress at all. So-called realism must never be allowed to be the last refuge of a barren mind.

396. We must arm ourselves with boundless patience and deep humility to face our great tasks. But courage must always outweigh caution. Cruelty and intolerance in the world must be met with angry impatience, for the General Assembly must not only take practical action but also set standards for the international community.

397. We who have the honour to share the great responsibilities of the United Nations and to take part in its work must realize that we do not represent solely the often short-sighted and selfish interests of Governments. We are also acting on behalf of men, women and children everywhere, who deserve a better future and who cherish hopes for a peaceful world.

398. If we act in that spirit, the United Nations has a great future. It is in that spirit, fellow representatives, and with that hope that I wish you, one and all, health, good cheer and happiness for the holidays, and a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

399. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to stand and observe one minute's silence.

The representatives observed a minute of silence.

Closing of the session

400. The PRESIDENT: I thank you all and declare closed the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 3.20 p.m.