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**CONTENTS**

Agenda item 91: Financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors; (a) United Nations; (b) United Nations Development Programme; (c) United Nations Children's Fund; (d) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; (e) United Nations Institute for Training and Research; (f) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; (g) Fund of the United Nations Environment Programme; (h) United Nations Fund for Population Activities Report of the Fifth Committee .....	
Agenda item 101: Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly: (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions Report of the Fifth Committee .....	1239
(c) Board of Auditors Report of the Fifth Committee .....	
(e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal Report of the Fifth Committee .....	
Agenda item 102: Personnel questions: (a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General; (b) Other personnel questions: report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fifth Committee .....	
Agenda item 110: Report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the strengthening of the role of the Organization Report of the Sixth Committee .....	1240

**President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE**  
(Sri Lanka).

**AGENDA ITEM 91**

**Financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors:**

- (a) United Nations;
- (b) United Nations Development Programme;
- (c) United Nations Children's Fund;
- (d) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- (e) United Nations Institute for Training and Research;
- (f) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;
- (g) Fund of the United Nations Environment Programme;
- (h) United Nations Fund for Population Activities

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/351)

**AGENDA ITEM 101**

**Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly:**

- (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/311)

- (c) Board of Auditors

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/313)

- (e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/315)

**AGENDA ITEM 102**

**Personnel questions:**

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

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/358)

1. Mr. NASON (Ireland), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to present five reports containing the Committee's recommendations for the consideration and approval of the General Assembly.

2. The report on agenda item 91 is contained in document A/31/351. Paragraph 8 of the report contains the 10 draft resolutions adopted by the Committee without objection on the various reports and accounts.

3. The report on agenda item 101 (a), dealing with elections to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions conducted on 3 November, is contained in document A/31/311. In paragraph 3 of that report it is indicated that the Committee decided without objection to dispense with the secret ballot in view of the fact that there was no contest, there being four candidates for four vacancies. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee proposing the appointment of four unopposed candidates for a three-year term, beginning on 1 January 1977, is contained in paragraph 5.

4. The report of the Fifth Committee on item 101 (c) is contained in document A/31/313. Paragraph 4 indicates that the Committee decided by acclamation on 12 November to appoint the Auditor-General of Canada for a further

three-year term commencing on 1 July 1977. As there was no contest for that vacancy, the Committee again decided to dispense with the secret ballot. The draft resolution recommended by the Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of its report.

5. The report of the Fifth Committee on item 101 (e) is to be found in document A/31/315. An account of the voting by secret ballot conducted on 29 October is given in paragraph 3, and the draft resolution recommended by the Committee concerning the appointment of three persons for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1977 is set forth in paragraph 5.

6. Under item 102, I have the honour to present the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/31/358. The Committee made one recommendation under item 102 (a)—draft resolution I in paragraph 52—and two recommendations under item 102 (b)—draft resolution II in paragraph 52 and the draft decision set forth in paragraph 53.

7. It is my hope that the recommendations contained in these five reports will meet with the approval of the General Assembly.

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

8. The PRESIDENT: May I now invite members to turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 91 [A/31/351]. Since the Fifth Committee adopted the draft resolutions without objection, may I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt without objection draft resolutions A through J contained in paragraph 8 of its report?

*Draft resolutions A-J were adopted (resolutions 31/22 A-J).*

9. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to the reports of the Fifth Committee on agenda items 101 (a), (c) and (e), regarding appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly.

10. The first report under agenda item 101 (a) relates to the vacancies in the membership of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 5 of document A/31/311. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to approve that draft resolution, which recommends the appointment of the following persons as members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1977: Mr. Andrzej Abraszewski, Mr. C. S. M. Mselle, Mr. Tiéba Ouattara and Mr. Christopher R. Thomas.

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/23).*

11. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft resolution dealing with a vacancy in the Board of Auditors, which appears in paragraph 5 of the Committee's report [A/31/313]. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to approve that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/24).*

12. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the draft resolution relating to vacancies in the United Nations Administrative Tribunal, which is contained in paragraph 5 of the Committee's report [A/31/315]. The Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution appointing the following persons as members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal for a three-year term beginning 1 January 1977: Mrs. Paul Bastid, Mr. Mutuale Tshikankie and Mr. R. Venkataraman. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/25).*

13. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 102 [A/31/358]. The Assembly will proceed to take a decision on draft resolutions I and II recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 52 and the draft decision in paragraph 53 of its report.

14. Draft resolution I is entitled "Composition of the Secretariat". A separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

*Operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution I was adopted by 85 votes to 5, with 16 abstentions.*

15. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put draft resolution I, as a whole, to the vote.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 5 abstentions (resolution 31/26).*

16. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution II, entitled "Implementation of personnel policy reforms". Since this draft resolution was adopted by consensus in the Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it by consensus?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 31/27).*

17. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 53 of its report [A/31/358], the Fifth Committee recommends the adoption of a draft decision recommending that the Assembly take note of the amendments made by the Secretary-General to the Staff Rules of the United Nations during the period from 1 July 1975 to 30 June 1976. I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft decision without objection.

*The draft decision was adopted (decision 31/405).*

## AGENDA ITEM 110

**Report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization**

### REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/31/347)

18. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 110 [A/31/347].

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

19. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/31/350. Since the Sixth Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus, may I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/28).*

20. The PRESIDENT: The Personal Representative of the Head of State of the Republic of the Philippines, Her Excellency Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, has requested to make a statement. I invite Her Excellency to come to the rostrum.

21. Mrs. MARCOS (Philippines): At this moment of tragedy and sorrow for the people of Turkey, permit me, as the Personal Representative of the President of the Philippines, to express the profound sympathy of the Government and people of the Philippines for the victims of the disastrous earthquakes that have struck their country. Our grief springs not only from our friendship with the Turkish people but also from our deep sense of solidarity with all mankind.

22. Mr. President, I am sincerely grateful to you, and to the Secretary-General, for having made it possible for me to address the General Assembly at this plenary meeting on the report of the Sixth Committee, which has just been adopted.

23. My Government desired to emphasize in this manner its profound and enduring interest in the review of the Charter and in improving the workings of the United Nations, an undertaking which it initiated with other like-minded Governments and with which it has pressed forward despite many objections, doubts and misgivings.

24. I am happy to note that the work of the Special Committee has proceeded at an accelerating pace and that Governments have been making constructive suggestions and proposals. These are no doubt valuable and, if eventually implemented, should improve the machinery of the Organization and make it more responsive to the needs of its Members. My delegation will in due course respond to the invitation in the resolution just adopted "to submit, or to bring up to date, their observations and proposals" in accordance with the pertinent resolution.

25. But I do not intend now to discuss structural changes or procedural reform, important as they may be. Instead, I should like to recall and reaffirm the basic principles of our collectivity, the ethics of our humanity.

26. Last year, when I had the privilege of addressing the thirtieth session of this Assembly in the name and on behalf of the President of the Republic of the Philippines, President Marcos,<sup>1</sup> I said that the problems facing us today had moral roots and that international relations should be

based on ethical principles accepted by all mankind. I went on to propose that these universal principles should guide the entire range of the behaviour of nations towards one another.

27. If I have sought to speak at this late stage of the Assembly's deliberations it is because I feel that that proposal has gained in urgency and pertinence, for a storm is gathering over our heads, whichever of the three so-called worlds we belong to, a storm that threatens to destroy us all, whatever our present condition, if we do not return and hold fast to the essentials of this Organization, which was founded in all faith and hope on the oneness of man.

28. There was a generosity of spirit in the Charter when it was written in 1945 that now seems beyond our reach. Somehow, in the past 31 years, we seem to have lost our way, to have lost sight of our original objectives.

29. It is already a commonplace to say that we are more and more divided—divided into military alliances, divided into ideological, economic, racial and cultural blocs, each and every bloc begetting a rival bloc, until we have reached the extremity of a bloc against any bloc, intensifying and magnifying confrontation.

30. Even the very principle of the equality and self-determination of peoples has raised winds of fear and hatred, for the liquidation of the colonial empires, a process that is now coming to a close, has had unforeseen consequences.

31. Many of the new nations that have emerged into international life eager to fulfil the expectations of emancipation and to exploit for their own benefit the natural resources recovered from alien dominion have been thwarted in these legitimate aspirations by forces beyond their control and, in their anger and frustration, have pitted the strength of numbers against the arrogance of wealth.

32. On the other hand, the very magnitude of their destitution has made the rich and powerful among us fear the loss of their possessions and advantages and has driven them to a subtle but none the less resolute defence of the old economic order.

33. Must it be so, and why is this so?

34. It seems to me that, in the pursuit of our separate national goals, we have all too often ignored the fundamental ethical principles to which we all subscribe, even if only subconsciously, at the back of our minds. We have too often fallen back on the old selfish concept of "reasons of State" to justify whatever ends we seek and have forgotten the simple human being, the common man, for whom the State exists and in whose interests all States must, in the last and most valid analysis, interact with one another.

35. We shall be told that the United Nations, this Organization, deals with political questions, with national interests and with the balance of forces, that the powerful cannot be expected meekly to surrender their privileged positions, and that the weak must resign themselves to the fate of the weak. And we shall be told that it is simply a question of economics; that the inefficient must pay the price of their inefficiency; that the improvident must suffer

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2359th meeting.*

for the uncontrolled expansion of their populations and for their inability to compete successfully in the free markets of the world.

36. But I submit to the Assembly in all earnestness that these are not simply questions of politics and economics: these are moral questions; that is to say, they have to do, not with the intelligence or the will alone, but with the conscience of humanity itself. Human beings alone have the faculty of feeling that it is unethical for the powerful to exploit the weak. A pride of lions would never arrive at such an awareness. These examinations and conclusions of conscience are what distinguish man; they are what raise human beings to their noble category; indeed, they constitute the essence of humanity.

37. It is in the very nature of human beings to be aware of the rightness or wrongness of their actions, to pass judgement on their own acts and those of others, and to make the decisions we call ethical. For, indeed, what we know as, or have learned to call, ethics is nothing more than our consciousness of human values; it is nothing more than a sense of our *humanitas*, our own humanity, for to be human is to be moral.

38. It is in the light of these reflections that I express the hope that, in the review of the Charter, and in particular in considering its provisions on the purposes and principles of this Organization, and in the Chapter on international economic and social co-operation, the following principles will be constantly borne in mind.

39. The first principle is that every human being has a right to life and therefore to the means to sustain life: food, shelter, clothing and work; and that the obligation to satisfy this right rests primarily with national Governments, but that it is shared by the whole world community, particularly by the countries enjoying economic advantages.

40. The second principle is that in extending assistance in the fulfilment of that obligation Governments shall refrain from seeking in exchange political, economic or any other concessions against the will of the beneficiaries or to the detriment of their sovereignty and independence.

41. The third principle is that economic aggression is as much a breach of the peace and is as much in contravention of the Charter as any other form of aggression, and that there is a consequent need for effective collective measures for its prevention and removal.

42. The fourth principle is that any form of racism or racial discrimination is a denial of fundamental human rights and freedoms and a threat to international peace.

43. The fifth principle is that the original purpose of religion as a unifying force in the service of mankind should be recovered, restored and reinforced.

44. The sixth principle is that all peoples and communities in their search for identity have a prior right to the cultural treasures inherited from their own past.

45. The seventh principle is that this earth—its lands, its seas, its skies—is the common heritage of mankind and that,

while each sovereign nation has the exclusive right to the enjoyment of its natural patrimony, there should be international co-operation in preventing pollution of the environment and in protecting the ecology.

46. The eighth principle is that science and technology should benefit all mankind and that its transfer on just terms to developing countries should be facilitated.

47. The ninth principle is that mass communication media should be used to disseminate the truth, to educate and to promote understanding and constructive co-operation among nations.

48. The tenth principle is that outer space—indeed, the cosmos—is beyond the dominion and jurisdiction of any State or group of States.

49. The eleventh and last principle is that all States pledge to promote and achieve general and complete disarmament as the best security against the holocaust of war, and that the financial and economic resources thus saved should be used in great measure to provide assistance to disadvantaged nations.

50. I trust that the Members of this Organization will find it possible to achieve unity in the service of the ideal standards of conduct enunciated in those principles. For too long we have been divided by selfish materialist drives, pursuing advantage without regard for the legitimate rights of others, brewing the storm of greed, anger, fear, hatred and improvidence that now hangs over all of us.

51. Indeed, we must often stop short and ask ourselves in wonder. Why do we call ourselves the United Nations? On what and for what were we united when this Organization was born 31 years ago? Were we united then or afterwards in the service of this or that ideology or economic system? Granted that the origins of this Organization may be found in a political coalition to wage global war, was it our true purpose to perpetuate a system of mutually hostile military alliances? Did we unite to ensure the predominance of one race—be it black or white or yellow or brown—over all others? Has our union been dedicated to the propagation of any one faith or religion or culture? Is this our Organization to be devoted to the advancement of the impoverished at the expense of the wealthy among us, or of the industrialized States to the detriment of the developing countries? Surely not. But, then, what were we united for at the time of the foundation, and what are we united for now?

52. We are united—or, better still, we united ourselves—for humankind, for all humankind; for the Charter, in that bring spring of 1945, was written for man, for the human being. And what a wondrous thing that human being is! Compounded of good and evil, capable of committing the most grievous atrocities, but also of making sublime sacrifices and of reaching up to the stars.

53. In my travels all over the world in the service of my country and people, I have seen what human beings are capable of and what they are worth. I have seen them turning liabilities into assets, problems into solutions, even tragedies into triumphs. From this wondrous power of the

human breed we can recycle weapons of destruction into means of redemption and transform dividing blocs into integrating groups, until finally we liberate ourselves from what divides us to what, in truth and by necessity, should unite us all.

54. Let us come together then—States, Governments, peoples, blocs—in a great movement for *humanitas*, for humankind, for the promotion of the common welfare through the promulgation and practice of those principles in the relations between States and Governments and—even more important and fundamental—between man and his fellow man. This can dispel the storm that, as I have said, is gathering all over the world.

55. Beyond all the isms that divide and plague us, let us go forward to the ultimate ism, which is humanism. There is the ultimate universality of man which demands from all of

us, from all nations big and small, from all peoples powerful and weak, a consistent commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has hitherto been honoured in the breach rather than in the observance.

56. There is no condition in life, whether political, economic or cultural, which makes a nation or a people less human or less deserving of human rights than another. Let us, therefore, pledge to fulfil our common obligations to one another, to the whole of humankind, and to posterity, so that the Charter shall in time be the solemn declaration, not of us “the peoples”—separate peoples pursuing individual interests without regard for others—but of us “the people of the world”, united in one world, one and indivisible.

*The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.*