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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 74:	
Budget estimates for the financial year 1970 (concluded) Report of the Fifth Committee	1
Agenda item 12:	
Reports of the Economic and Social Council (concluded): (a) Chapters allocated to the Fifth Committee (A/7603, chapters XII and XIII); report of the Fifth Committee (b) Chapters considered directly in plenary meeting (A/7603, chapters XIV and XV)	5
Agenda item 11:	
Report of the Security Council	5
Agenda item 25: Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (concluded)	10
cluded)	10

President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 74

Budget estimates for the financial year 1970 (concluded)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7916)

- 1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 74 concerning the budget estimates for the financial year 1970 [A/7916]. In connexion with draft resolution VI recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 182 of its report, amendments have been submitted by Canada in document A/L.589.
- 2. Mr. ROGERS (Canada): The Canadian delegation has the honour to propose minor amendments [A/L.589] to draft resolution VI, which is contained in the report of the Fifth Committee on the budget estimates for the financial year 1970 [A/7916]. To begin with, I should like to point out a very small error in the draft amendments. In paragraph 3, the word "seventh" should read "sixth". The paragraph should begin with the words "In the sixth line". Draft resolution VI, which is concerned with new construction and major alterations to existing premises at Headquarters, is based on a draft resolution co-sponsored in the Fifth Committee by Colombia, Cyprus, Ghana, Guyana, India, Iran, Kenya, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Republic of Tanzania and Canada. Paragraph 3 of the draft resolution is based largely on an amendment proposed by France and approved by the Fifth Committee.

- 3. The effect of the amendments now being proposed is to change certain words in paragraph 3. If the amendments are adopted, paragraph 3 of draft resolution VI will read as follows:
 - "Notes with interest the Secretary-General's report on space requirements and developments over the next 20 years, and requests the Secretary-General to undertake a further study of the optimum distribution of Secretariat functions between Headquarters in New York, the United Nations Office at Geneva, or any other location which may be appropriate, bearing in mind not only the construction projects in progress or envisaged but all other pertinent factors as well, and requests him to submit the study to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session."
- 4. The proposed amendments are the result of discussions that have been held by the original co-sponsors and the other delegations principally concerned. On their behalf, the Canadian delegation recommends the proposed amendments to the General Assembly.
- 5. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.
- 6. Mr. RODIONOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Soviet Union gave a detailed account of its position on the United Nations budget estimates for 1970 during the general debate and during consideration of the various sections of the budget estimates at meetings of the Fifth Committee. We should now like to confine ourselves to a brief statement in explanation of vote.
- 7. The Soviet delegation is obliged to note with regret that the budget continues to grow from year to year. Eloquent evidence of this is the fact that the United Nations Secretariat has been unable to take effective measures to reduce administrative and management expenditure, to make more rational use of the staff and to implement the useful recommendations made by many delegations during the consideration of budgetary matters at General Assembly sessions on the need for strict economy in spending the funds of States Members of the United Nations and the adoption of effective measures to halt the excessive growth of the budget. The result of all this is that the budget estimate for 1970 has increased to \$169.4 million and exceeds the expenditure for 1969 by \$13.5 million. Such an increase in the budget has never occurred before in the history of the United Nations.
- 8. Consequently, Member States, and especially the major contributors, are faced with an even more serious increase in the financial burden which they bear. This situation is

obviously bound to arouse profound concern in many delegations.

- 9. Our delegation would like to emphasize that this increase in the United Nations budget is not the result of any pressing need, especially in view of the fact that the Organization's efficiency is not increasing in proportion to the increase in its budget. In the present work of the United Nations, a situation is unfortunately emerging in which the Organization's major expenditure is scattered in the most diverse directions, which are not, however, connected with the implementation of its main task—the maintenance of international peace and security, which was, of course, the main reason for its establishment.
- 10. Once again, it must be pointed out and particularly stressed that the bulk of expenditure goes on the maintenance of the Secretariat staff, which has grown to unbelievable proportions.
- 11. At General Assembly sessions and in the Fifth Committee, many delegations have constantly emphasized the need for simplification of the cumbersome structure of the Secretariat, elimination of unnecessary and overlapping units, the rational redistribution of staff among departments, a sharp reduction of staff in departments whose functions are now considerably narrower than they were, and the adoption of other measures which would lead to a substantial reduction in expenditure. Nevertheless, no real progress has unfortunately so far been made in this direction and no effective measures have been taken. On the contrary, in order to carry out any programme, even the smallest one, the Secretariat continues to demand still more new units, and this inevitably involves ever greater expenditure.
- 12. We should like to hope that the Secretary-General and his assistants, taking into account the critical comments of a large number of delegations and the proposals that have been made for improving the work of the Secretariat, as well as the results of the survey on the work load and efficiency of staff in all sections of the United Nations system, will take the necessary steps to secure a substantial reduction in the numbers of staff and the appropriations for their maintenance.
- 13. However, in view of the fact that this has not so far been done, and also that the appropriations provided for in part III and other sections of the 1970 budget estimates are unjustifiably high, the Soviet delegation was obliged to vote against the approval of expenditures under part III and to abstain on a number of other sections.
- 14. The delegation of the Soviet Union notes with regret that, despite categorical objections by many delegations, the 1970 budget estimates again include illegal appropriations for the financing of measures carried out in violation of the Charter, such as interest payments on and amortization of the United Nations loan floated to cover expenditure on the Organization's operations in the Congo and the Middle East and expenditure connected with the financing of the Cemetery in Korea and of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the activities of which run counter to the legitimate interests of the Korean people, since this

- Commission is itself only an instrument of the aggressive policy of the Power occupying South Korea with its troops.
- 15. If the United Nations really wants to put an end to the unjustified division of Korea, it must immediately call a halt to the illegal interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people carried out in its name and take steps to abolish UNCURK and end its financing.
- 16. The Soviet delegation confirms the USSR's basic position on these matters and, naturally, advocates the exclusion from the regular budget of these expenditures, which are made in violation of the Charter. This is the reason for our negative vote on sections 12 and 17 of the budget estimates.
- 17. As in the past, the Soviet Union will make no contributions to the United Nations budget in 1970 to cover the costs of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Memorial Cemetery in Korea, or payment of interest on and amortization of the United Nations loan.
- 18. The Soviet delegation also considers it necessary to explain the position of the USSR on part V of the budget estimates. We consider it necessary once again to point out that the procedure under which technical assistance measures are financed from the regular budget is incorrect.
- 19. It is well known that the Soviet Union has supported and continues to support the efforts of the developing countries to develop their economies. Under existing agreements, the USSR is assisting 39 developing countries in the sphere of economic and technological development. The Soviet Union is building more than 690 industrial enterprises and other units in those countries. Two hundred and eighty-nine industrial units have already been completed and put into operation.
- 20. We object to this section of the budget estimates and have voted against it, not because we deny the importance of technical assistance, but because of our basic position concerning the observance of the Charter, under which the regular budget covers only administrative expenditure. The Soviet delegation considers that the system of financing technical assistance from the regular budget is wrong; expenditure for this purpose is quite different in nature from contributions to the budget. Contributions are compulsory, but expenditure on technical assistance cannot be regarded as compulsory for Member States. We hold the view that technical assistance measures must be financed solely on a voluntary basis. Our delegation strongly believes that technical assistance should not be included in the regular budget at all. It should be incorporated in the United Nations Development Programme.
- 21. The Soviet delegation further considers it necessary to express its opinion on the draft resolutions contained in document A/7916. First, we should like to state that our delegation will vote against draft resolution II on so-called unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for 1970, under which the Secretariat is authorized to spend up to \$10 million on measures for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Secretariat has no right to take decisions independently on the financing of measures for

the maintenance of international peace and security. That right belongs, under the Charter, to the Security Council alone. No other organ of the United Nations can assume such a right without violating the Charter.

- 22. The Soviet delegation will abstain on draft resolution III establishing the Working Capital Fund for the financial year 1970 in the sum of \$40 million. As in the past, we consider that an increase in the Working Capital Fund to \$40 million is unjustified and not dictated by real needs.
- 23. Furthermore, the Soviet delegation would like to state that it also finds no grounds for supporting draft resolution V on a study of the nature of the increases in the level of expenditure in the United Nations regular budget, contained in document A/7916, since this draft suffers from serious shortcomings, about which we spoke in detail when it was discussed in the Fifth Committee.
- 24. Finally, we consider it necessary to state that our delegation will vote against draft resolution VI, which provides for appropriations for new construction and major alterations to existing premises at United Nations Headquarters in New York. We support the proposals of delegations which believe that the way to achieve a lessening of the workload on United Nations Headquarters in New York is not to carry out such comprehensive and expensive construction in New York, but to transfer to Geneva the Department of Economic and Social Affairs or a number of its sections, the UNCTAD section, the secretariat of the International Law Commission and certain other sections. In Geneva, as is well known, there is no need to spend money on the purchase of land, while construction is cheaper and is already being carried out there on a large scale. The cost-of-living index in Geneva is lower than in New York, and the cost of maintaining part of the staff of the United Nations Secretariat there would consequently also be lower.
- 25. Those are our comments on the questions under discussion. They naturally also apply fully to the relevant sections of the supplementary estimates for 1969.
- 26. In view of what has been said, the Soviet delegation will be obliged to vote against the draft resolution to approve the United Nations budget for 1970 as a whole, since the budget is unjustifiably high in relation both to the 1969 budget and to the original estimates of budgetary expenditure for 1970.
- 27. Nor can we agree with the unjustifiably high appropriations in the budget for an excessive increase in the number of secretariat posts, the unjustified increase in the salaries of staff members, the enormous number of conferences, sessions and other meetings scheduled for United Nations bodies, the excessive increase in the documentation issued by the Secretariat, and duplication and overlapping in the work of United Nations bodies.
- 28. Mr. WHALLEY (United States of America): The United States will vote in favour of the proposed United Nations budget for 1970. That is not an easy decision for us to reach. In view of the fact that my country contributes approximately one third of the budget, I wish to make this brief explanation of our vote so that Members will know

why we are voting as we are and why it is a difficult decision.

- 29. I am certain that all of us want the United Nations to operate as efficiently and economically as possible. Our Governments already shoulder heavy responsibilities and the needs of development are urgent. Yet we find that the budget of this Organization is 9 per cent higher this year than it was last year and appears to include many features that, apparently, we could do without.
- 30. The responsibility for that lies far less with the Secretariat itself than with the Members. Too often our parliamentary bodies and committees make decisions which cost money to carry out but which are not properly co-ordinated or evaluated in the light of the total programme and aims of the Organization. Too rapid an expansion of staff has been tolerated and sometimes even sought. Our calendar of conferences is too heavy. Much of the paper work we turn out—at considerable cost—is excessive and a positive hindrance to efficiency. All these faults combined have made the 1970 budget substantially larger than it needed to be to get the job done.
- 31. My delegation, along with our colleagues in the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, has worked hard to combat these tendencies and to promote clarity and efficiency in budget-making and administration. The Secretary-General and his staff have struggled valiantly year in and year out with these same problems. We believe that they deserve better support from the entire membership in all those aspects of our work that cost money—and there are few that do not. I must frankly say to the Assembly that my Government seriously considered a different vote on this budget.
- 32. I speak now in order to make clear that our affirmative vote does not imply satisfaction with the present budgetary situation in the United Nations. On the contrary, it is being cast in spite of our conviction that an effective United Nations, towards which we have all agreed to strive in the coming twenty-fifth anniversary year, must acquire far stronger habits of fiscal responsibility, coordination and a far clearer sense of priorities. We cannot ask our Secretary-General to run an efficient Organization unless he is permitted to do so by the instructions that we give him. We cannot ask the peoples of the world to take the United Nations seriously unless we take our own work here seriously-including the projects on which we spend money, the purposes for which we deploy valuable staff members and the devices by which we seek to clarify our manifold activities to give them coherence and a central reason for being.
- 33. Yet my delegation is voting for this budget for positive and overriding reasons. We believe in the United Nations and in its future. We are convinced that this Organization has uniquely important contributions to make to the "peace, justice and progress" that we hope the United Nations stands for. If the United Nations does not make those contributions to peace, justice and progress, in all probability they will not be made and the crises we neglect will get worse. We dare not let this instrument of the community of nations, imperfect though it is, falter in its career. Our vote for this budget, therefore, is a sign of

American determination to stand by the United Nations. We are convinced, as I pointed out earlier, that the budget level is excessive, in view of the need for consolidation and review of United Nations operations, based upon the survey of the utilization and deployment of Secretariat manpower and the Jackson Study.¹

- 34. Given this fact, our vote for the budget does not constitute an approval of the actual budget levels, but rather is an act of faith based upon our support for major United Nations programmes. Our vote for the budget should be construed in the same sense as our support for expansion of the Headquarters buildings and our recent step towards ratification of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.
- 35. I submit that one of the essential factors for the increased effectiveness of the United Nations which we all seek in the Organization's second quarter century is more effective and more disciplined budget-making and managerial control over this world-wide undertaking. We have made some good beginnings in this direction, but too often we have departed from the path of fiscal virtue.
- 36. We look to our Secretary-General to pursue the problem of work priorities within the Secretariat and to ensure that the talents of the professional staff are being used where they are really needed on important United Nations tasks. Above all, we hope that this same attention to priorities will be shown where it is most necessary, in the decisions of our parliamentary organs and committees.
- 37. The budget of a great organization is not a mere jumble of figures. It is a portrait of the organization itself, of its work, of its self-discipline or the lack of it, and of the weight of effort that its members have agreed to carry. The United States delegation earnestly hopes that the picture of the United Nations, which future budgets will present, will show the Organization growing stronger, more purposeful and more effective.
- 38. I wish to reserve the right of my delegation to speak in explanation of vote after the vote on draft resolution VI.
- 39. The PRESIDENT: May I ask members who wish to explain their votes after the voting to do so after the votes on all the draft resolutions on agenda item 74 have been completed? We shall now turn to the draft resolutions I A, B and C recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 182 of its report [A/7916].

Draft resolution I A was adopted by 103 votes to 6, with 9 abstentions [resolution 2613 A (XXIV)].

• Draft resolution I B was adopted by 1.20 votes to none [resolution 2613 B (XXIV)].

Draft resolution I C was adopted by 108 votes to 4, with 5 abstentions [resolution 2613 C (XXIV)].

40. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 106 votes to 12 [resolution 2614 (XXIV)].

41. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 103 votes to none, with 13 abstentions [resolution 2615 (XXIV)].

42. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution IV. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that draft resolution.

Draft resolution IV was adopted [resolution 2616 (XXIV)].

43. The PRESIDENT: Let us now turn to draft resolution V. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazza ille), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Belgium, Cambodia, China, Cuba, Denmark, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, Spain, Sweden.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 91 votes to 13, with 16 abstentions [resolution 2617 (XXIV)].

- 44. The PRESIDENT: Finally, the Fifth Committee recommends the adoption of draft resolution VI. Amendments to that draft resolution [A/L.589] have been submitted by Canada.
- 45. Mr. DE CURTON (France) (translated from French): The French delegation would like first of all to express its appreciation for the spirit of compromise which prevailed in the Fifth Committee on this important item of our agenda, and particularly for the role played by the Canadian delegation in resolving differences of views and in

¹ A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.70.I.10).

ensuring that the ideas expressed by the various delegations concerned were taken fully into account. In the same spirit, the French delegation, having considered the amendments proposed by the Canadian delegation to paragraph 3 of draft resolution VI, is ready to agree to these changes.

46. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the amendments submitted by Canada [A/L.589].

The amendments were adopted by 101 votes to 1, with 17 abstentions.

47. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution VI, as amended.

Draft resolution VI, as amended, was adopted by 95 votes to 14, with 10 abstentions [resolution 2618 (XXIV)].

- 48. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): The United States delegation wishes to take this opportunity of thanking the Canadian delegation for presenting the amendments to draft resolution VI which have now made its adoption possible with widespread support. We also wish to express appreciation to the co-sponsors and other interested delegations which engaged in extended consultations to bring about that result. In addition, my delegation appreciates the co-operation of France and all those who supported the amendment in document A/C.5/L.1035 in the Fifth Committee and commends them for the co-operative spirit which they have displayed on this item in this plenary meeting.
- 49. With respect to that resolution, which authorizes the Secretary-General to proceed with the project on Headquarters accommodation, we again wish to explain briefly our concern-especially with respect to the studies called for in paragraphs 3 and 4-that nothing should be done which would in fact jeopardize the continued effectiveness of direction, control and co-ordination of the essential elements of the Secretariat. If the Secretary-General is to put together a comprehensive programme for the benefit of all its members it is essential that the Headquarters elements he needs to assist him in that job should not be fragmented. We have been greatly impressed by, and wish to warn against, the increased and unnecessary costs which result for an organization when unnecessary or ill-advised fragmentation takes place. It is clear to us that under paragraph 3 of the resolution, as amended, the study to be made by the Secretary-General will consider not only the optimum distribution of functions between locations but also whether any changes are necessary and desirable as well. In that study, the Secretary-General would be called on to consider all pertinent factors, including the efficiency of the operations of the Secretariat and other key aspects of running and controlling his Organization so that it can function effectively and at reasonable cost. We have been assured by the interested parties to the changes that that businesslike consideration was their intention. It is in that spirit, and with that understanding, that the United States has agreed to paragraph 3 of the resolution, as amended.
- 50. In conclusion, the United States delegation wishes to commend the Secretary-General for the well-considered proposal which he presented to the present Assembly. We believe that the proposed new building, the planned

- alterations to the existing conference building, and other aspects of the plan, will serve important functional purposes and will relieve the crowded conditions of both office space and necessary facilities for representatives and staff. Further, the many ingenious aspects of the design and reallocation of space will solve in large part problems of insufficient areas for parking and for the reproduction, distribution and storage of documents. The latter problem has, at times, during the present General Assembly, nearly brought the business of various committees to a halt.
- 51. We are grateful to the Secretary-General and to those who advised him for this forward-looking plan which integrates so well the total environment of the Head-quarters area. It would transform this area into an even greater international centre of unity and dignity in which the representatives, the Secretariat members and official and public visitors could take satisfaction and pride.
- 52. Since the United Nations first moved into its new buildings on the East River these buildings have become the symbol for all the world of the hope and inspiration of the United Nations. We believe that the proposed addition to the building, together with the other modifications, will make possible the continuation of this theme. As President Harry Truman said on 24 October 1949 during the ceremony in which the corner-stone of the permanent Headquarters of the United Nations was laid:

"The Permanent Headquarters of the United Nations... are the most important buildings in the world for they are the centre of man's hope for peace and a better life. This is the place where the nations of the world will work together to make that hope a reality."

AGENDA ITEM 12

Reports of the Economic and Social Council (concluded):
(a) Chapters allocated to the Fifth Committee (A/7603, chapters XII and XIII); report of the Fifth Committee (A/7860)

- (b) Chapters considered directly in plenary meeting (A/ 7603, chapters XIV and XV)
- 53. The PRESIDENT: The report of the Fifth Committee on this item is to be found in document A/7860. It refers to chapters XII and XIII of the report of the Economic and Social Council, which were referred to the Fifth Committee for consideration. I have been informed that those chapters have been dealt with by the Fifth Committee in its consideration of agenda items allocated to it, in particular items 80 and 81.
- 54. With regard to chapters XIV and XV, which have been referred for consideration in the plenary Assembly, if I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides to take note of those parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 11

Report of the Security Council

55. The PRESIDENT: This item concerns the report of the Security Council for the period from 16 July 1968 to

- 15 July 1969 [A/7602]. In this connexion two draft resolutions have been submitted: one by Finland and Paraguay [A/L.579] and the other by Malta [A/L.580].
- 56. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Draft resolution A/L.580 has been circulated under the name of our delegation. We have noted with regret that the intention of this draft resolution has been misinterpreted in certain quarters. To avoid any possible misunderstanding we wish immediately to assure the Assembly that we will not introduce it but, rather, will speak to the draft resolution sponsored by the delegations of Finland and Paraguay in document A/L.579.
- 57. As we are all well aware, each year the press and public are informed of the items before the General Assembly through the issuance by the United Nations Office of Public Information of a thick volume entitled "Annotated draft agenda". That document contains valuable background material on each item designed to brief the world's press and public on the matters we discuss here and to highlight their importance. Out of the hundred-odd items listed in these publications over the past years two items, closely related, are apparently not considered to deserve any background explanation and merely elicit in that publication the laconic comment that the Assembly normally takes note of the document produced without debate. I refer to item 7, "Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2 of the Charter", and item 11, "Report of the Security Council".
- 58. We are also aware—and so is the public—that the Security Council is the most important organ of the United Nations since it has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Yet we find that among the reports of the various bodies within the United Nations system the report of the Security Council, as is the case this year, is almost invariably the last to be presented—practically at the very end of the session. It would at least appear surprising that the General Assembly is content with an annual ritualistic ceremony whereby it merely "takes note" of these two items. Yet this is precisely what has happened over the past 24 years, at least with regard to the report of the Security Council, as I have found out from the records of past sessions.
- 59. There was however one exception. At its first session the General Assembly recorded not only that it received and discussed the report of the Security Council but also that it resolved to pass to the next item on its agenda. That enlightened approach apparently failed to strike a responsive chord with subsequent sessions. No doubt a similar search would reveal the same treatment being accorded to the notifications by the Secretary-General pursuant to Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter. In other words, despite the effort that goes into their publication and despite the important matters they refer to, these documents from the supreme organ of the United Nations are regularly and with apparent disinterest relegated to the limbo of the archives where they solemnly mature in age and oblivion. This in our opinion is hardly an adequate recognition by the General Assembly of the important work of the Security Council.
- 60. Let us then, this year, pause for a moment to consider those two documents, which are very closely related. It

- appears to my delegation at first glance that the two documents—probably even the two items—could easily be incorporated into one. The reports and notifications are no doubt produced at considerable expenditure of time, effort, human and financial resources. I have not attempted to estimate the financial expenditure, but, given the normal costs of reproducing documents in all official languages, and also because the periodic notifications by the Secretary-General, pursuant to rule 11 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, would on an average be issued about 30 times each year, I am sure that it would be found quite substantial, probably in the region of some thousands of dollars. The General Assembly might wish to have a more precise indication from the Secretariat of the costs involved.
- 61. What do we find when we peruse those documents with the attention that they merit? In the case of the Secretary-General's notification, a quick glance at the periodic documents submitted would reveal that, out of 80 items listed almost half have been completely overtaken by events, and probably the same number have not been discussed by the Security Council at least for a decade, in some cases much longer than 10 years. One example will suffice. Number 11 of the list in Security Council document S/95572 of 15 December 1969 reads "Applications for membership". That item must have been included before 1948. Yet as far as my delegation is aware, there are no outstanding applications dating back 21 years. In addition to one or two items which remain before the Security Council but which are being discussed by the General Assembly, we find some apparently identical items which reappear at irregular intervals under the same unsatisfactory title, "Letter to the Secretary-General", and the only change in the item would be in the month or year in which the letter was sent. We can also find two or more items relating to the same event but included in response to communications addressed to the Secretary-General from different sources.
- 62. In passing we would observe that if any new items need to be introduced, now or later, which relate to past events, they could—indeed they probably would—be included under a new title, even if it were to be the usual unsatisfactory title to which the Security Council seems to have a special addiction, namely, a letter or a cable addressed to the Secretary-General. In that connexion I note that, out of 56 new items introduced since May 1954, 44 of them—almost 80 per cent—are included in that unsatisfactory fashion, so meaningless to the outside world and yet so revealing of the procedural troubles besetting the Security Council.
- 63. A possible basis of those troubles is shown in the opening prase of the Secretary-General's periodic notifications: "Pursuant to rule 11 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council...". Not only has the Security Council, despite its many years of existence, so far failed to adopt permanent rules of procedure—the only organ, we believe, of the United Nations not to have done so—but the provisional rules themselves are consistently ignored. In the interests of brevity, I shall mention only one instance. The very first rule provides the example. It reads

² Mimeographed.

in its last sentence that "the interval between meetings shall not exceed fourteen days". Yet there have been innumerable instances when the Security Council did not meet at such regular intervals. Furthermore, as was so aptly recalled by the delegation of the Soviet Union in connexion with an item considered by the First Committee, the Security Council has not adhered for many years to rule 4 of its provisional rules of procedure to the effect that the periodic meetings called for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter should be held twice a year. The same lack of progress apparently also applies to its voting procedures, which appears as another item on the list with which the Security Council remains seized, but which has still not been concluded.

- 64. Those brief observations should not, of course, be interpreted as suggestions. We fully recognize that the Security Council is master of its procedure and that it has a full right not to adopt definitive rules of procedure and to waive their observance if it so wishes.
- 65. In preparing our circulated but at this session unintroduced draft resolution, my delegation has been tempted to invite the Security Council, in addition to de-seizing itself of matters which have disappeared from the contemporary historical scene, to seize itself, in accordance with its primary function, with those more contemporary matters which have all the appearances of constituting a threat to the peace of the world. We refrained from doing so in the knowledge that useful proposals were made at this session of the General Assembly by one of the major Powers, and also because we cannot doubt that all members of the Council, and particularly the permanent members, are deeply conscious of their responsibilities under the Charter with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.
- 66. I shall comment only briefly on the report of the Security Council itself. We understand that the format of the report is an inherited compromise between the advocates of brevity and those of length. It appears to us that the present format satisfies neither approach and in addition suffers from the disadvantage of causing considerable expense to the United Nations. Of more importance, however, in our view, is that, in accordance with Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter "The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration". That provision is further reinforced by Article 15, paragraph 1, which enjoins the General Assembly to consider annual and special reports from the Security Council. I could, but do not wish to, go into the various reasons and the involved procedures which seem to dictate the late publication of the Security Council's report. I note for instance that, although it is made abundantly clear in the introduction to the report that it is essentially a summary and a guide reflecting the broad lines of the debate and that it is not intended as a substitute for the records of the Security Council, which constitute the only comprehensive and authoritative account of its deliberations, each member of the Security Council apparently scrutinizes in close detail that part of the report which reflects the views of his delegation, and that, I understand, is one of the reasons for the undue delay in the publication of the report. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that the report is the last from any one of the

major organs of the United Nations to see the light of day, that it refers to a period that ended six months ago, that it is submitted to the General Assembly in the closing days of its annual session and that it is usually issued no more than two or three days before it is submitted to the General Assembly.

- 67. That series of circumstances obviously makes it difficult for any delegation outside the charmed circle of the Security Council membership to give consideration to the report, as we are supposed to do in accordance with the Charter provisions that I have just mentioned. It seems to my delegation, therefore, that at the very least a new look into the procedures that are presently applied in the preparation of the report is called for.
- 68. There is at least one other matter in the report of the Security Council [A/7602] which calls for some observation. Appendix IV lists a formidable array of high-ranking national representatives of the permanent Powers on the Military Staff Committee. We have visions of the important matters that that Committee could usefully discuss: of top-secret communications emanating from its meetings, which go in a steady stream of envelopes addressed to the Secretary-General. Yet Chapter 8 of the Security Council's report, paragraph 712, bears quoting in full. It states:

"The Military Staff Committee has been functioning continuously under the draft rules of procedure during the period under review and has held a total of 26 meetings without considering matters of substance."

- 69. That information, with but few variations, has been provided to us for nearly a generation. I hesitate to comment on such an astonishing state of affairs. However, we note that a quarter-master assigned by the Secretary-General to the Military Staff Committee is now serving as a liaison officer to the Special Political Committee. Neither can we fail to note, of course, the same reference to draft rules of procedure with regard also to the Military Staff Committee—one more basic task unaccomplished after almost a generation of meetings.
- 70. It has been suggested to us that the draft resolution prepared by my delegation, was intended to provoke a confrontation between the General Assembly and one of its principal organs, the Security Council. That was far from our intention. In a spirit of conciliation, and to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding, we have not at this session formally introduced our draft resolution, nor have we spoken with any political motives in mind. We are all well aware of the difficulties that have prevented the Security Council from functioning as envisaged under the United Nations Charter, and because of which the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations have been gravely weakened.
- 71. We cannot ourselves alone bridge those differences, but as we approach the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we did wish to draw attention to matters long overlooked, long overtaken by events. Correction of these matters will not by itself improve the practical effectiveness of Security Council action, but it may improve the image of the Council and of the United Nations in public opinion, and will enable the Council,

when the time comes, as it surely will, to move immediately to the consideration of more important matters than questions of procedure.

72. We also had in mind the prestige and dignity of the General Assembly. The annual reports of the Security Council are submitted in accordance with Charter provisions and are addressed to the Assembly. They should be drafted in a way which would facilitate meaningful consideration by the Assembly of the work that the Council has accomplished during the year. In this connexion, I would recall that Article 15, paragraph 1, of the Charter reads in part as follows:

"The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council."

- 73. We do not believe that the spirit of that Charter obligation is fulfilled by considering the report of the principal organ of the United Nations on the very last day—sometimes the last hour—of a long session, which is precisely what has again happened this year, and what we are doing right now.
- 74. In conclusion, I would stress that we have looked into the report of the Security Council from the point of view of an interested public opinion, and made some modest observations as a member of this Organization, whose image in the public eye we all wish to enhance. We did feel that a gentle comment from the General Assembly was called for, and that the coming year offers an appropriate occasion for some action. We respectfully leave it to the members of the Security Council to determine whether these observations call for some action and, if so, how much can be done without any disturbance of the normal routine of the Security Council, and, of course, time permitting.
- 75. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): I intervene at this stage to speak on behalf of all members of the Security Council in my capacity as current President of the Council, concerning the Maltese draft resolution [A/L.580]. May I take this occasion to offer my sincere congratulations to the representative of Malta for the eloquent and able manner in which he has just stated his case?
- 76. I am aware that there are many members of our Organization that feel strongly about certain aspects of the work of the Security Council. Some of those feelings are justified, and some equally are not. It is certainly true that there are few if any human institutions whose functioning cannot be improved through the benefit of objective and balanced outside advice. We are not insensitive to the views of our colleagues on any aspects of our work, and it is with that in mind that we will always study sympathetically and seriously any suggestions made which are motivated by a genuine desire to make the Security Council more effective and efficient, including its relations with other principal organs of our Organization.
- 77. At the same time, an institution's procedures and working methods are naturally designed, first and foremost, to enable it to carry out its own unique responsibilities; that is especially true of the Security Council. The Maltese draft resolution contains essentially three suggestions.

- 78. The first is that the Security Council might elaborate permanent rules of procedure. Notwithstanding Article 10 of the Charter, and taking into account Article 30 of the Charter, it seems to us—and I think many would agree—that the rules of procedure of any principal organ of the United Nations are the exclusive responsibility and concern of that organ alone. It would be quite inappropriate for the Security Council to make suggestions to the General Assembly about the revision of its rules of procedure. It would be similarly inappropriate for the Assembly to address such suggestions to the Security Council. The Council has functioned for 24 years under its provisional rules, which have been amended from time to time; and as long as the Council is able to meet its responsibilities under the Charter, within obvious limitations, the elaboration of permanent rules of procedure for it does not appear to be an urgent requirement at this stage.
- 79. The second suggestion in the draft resolution relates to the annual report of the Security Council. That report is prepared in a particular form because, over the years, that is the form which members of the Security Council have found useful for their work. The annual reports form the only convenient and brief source of reference to the Council's past activities. It has been suggested that the report should merely list the meetings held and the decisions taken by the Council during the year. The present report contains a list of meetings as appendix III. In the body of the report each decision of the Council is marked through the use of heavy type. The modification suggested would therefore add nothing to the present report, and would take away from it a great deal of material which is essential to members of the Council.
- 80. The report of the Security Council may be relegated to the archives of the United Nations, as the representative of Malta has just stated, but there are many historians and many members of the United Nations who have the time to read the report and who find it useful; we do not think they should be denied the opportunity of availing themselves of that valuable information.
- 81. It is also suggested that the Council's report might be submitted to the General Assembly at an earlier date. There is no reason why the report cannot be made available earlier if in fact that is the wish of the General Assembly. Let me point out, however, that the report is drafted in the Secretariat and approved by the Council in formal session, after which it is translated into all the official working languages and reproduced. The translation and reproduction of the report, unfortunately, come at a time when the services of the Secretariat are clearly over-stretched. Much would, therefore, depend upon the relative priority given to it. All things considered, everything has been done and will continue to be done to shorten the period between the time the report is approved by the Security Council and its distribution as an Assembly document.
- 82. Finally, it is urged that the Council should delete some items from the list of matters of which it is seized. I agree that this would be tidy and let me add that the matter has often been considered in the past. However, the difficulties are very well known to all of us. Many of these questions remain dormant only because they have not been disturbed over the years. The document listing items of which the

Council is seized is intended primarily as a working tool for the Council but, as a courtesy, it is also circulated to all Members for their information. So, while it is logical to purge this list—and we have no doubt that the idea is motivated by the best intentions in the world—we are conscious that, if the Council were to de-seize itself of certain items which have not been discussed for a number of years, that would raise grave questions and give rise to controversy, which in turn would produce unacceptable consequences. In any case it is preferable for the Council to deal with pressing problems of the present—and they are not in short supply—rather than dispute the state of problems of the past. This question is also one which the Council is quite competent to determine for itself.

- 83. For the reasons I have just briefly outlined, I have been authorized by all the members of the Security Council to state, politely but firmly, that the Maltese draft resolution cannot and will not receive our support. We are gratified that our friend and colleague, the representative of Malta, whom we all hold in such high esteem, has not found it necessary to press his draft resolution to a vote.
- 84. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): I have taken the floor to propose a minor amendment to the draft resolution presented by Finland and Paraguay on the item under discussion.
- 85. I have listened very carefully to the statement made by the representative of Malta and to that made by the representative of Zambia, who addressed a word of caution to the Assembly in a polite but firm manner. I hope I too shall be granted the privilege of addressing a few words of politeness and firmness to the members of the Security Council, for whom we have the greatest respect and affection and also sympathy, because they work under difficult conditions, as well as to the members of the General Assembly, because of the importance of the item under consideration.
- 86. I think any representative in the Assembly who listened to the very eloquent, very wise and very sensible comments made by the representative of Malta could not but feel that the Assembly was being treated to a procedural management which could only redound to the discredit of the Organization. There is no doubt in anybody's mind that the Security Council is the most important organ of the Organization. It is the organ charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. There is no doubt in anybody's mind that the difficulties confronting the Security Council are real and serious. However, the Security Council, in performing its functions for the maintenance of peace and security, is acting on behalf of the collective Assembly. It is, as it were, the executive arm of the Assembly. There are many of us that are not members of the Security Council. Although we can ask-and sometimes do-to be heard on this or that question before the Security Council, it is not the practice of many members of the Assembly that are not members of the Security Council to go there to state their views. It is in this hall, in this Assembly, that we exercise the right, the constitutional prerogative, which is granted to us by the Cnarter.
- 87. Therefore the Security Council must report to this Assembly in such a way that the Charter obligations are

complied with, so that we not only receive the reports of the Security Council but are enabled to give them consideration. The Security Council must be accountable to the General Assembly. There are many problems with which it deals and to which no solutions have been found. We realize the difficulties but we cannot sympathize with the fact that there have not been results on all the problems with which the Security Council deals. There are African problemsproblems dealing with Rhodesia, problems dealing with Namibia, problems dealing with apartheid and other problems-which have not been dealt with in a manner satisfactory to the African delegations in this Organization. It is here that we can express our viewpoints on how the Security Council has been discharging its obligations. The Security Council cannot be an ivory tower of wisdom. It cannot be a paragon of virtue. It cannot claim to be an oasis of autonomy.

- 88. The procedure, which has been practised for the past 24 years, of introducing this item on the last day of the Assembly session, when everyone is exhausted and harassed and when we are flooded with so much paper that we cannot give serious consideration to the report, is not only self-defeating but discourteous. In other main Committees of the Assembly we have been treated occasionally to having agreements, proposals or documents pushed into our hands at the last minute, a procedure which makes it difficult and almost impossible for us to give due consideration to the matters in hand.
- 89. Therefore, while I have the greatest respect for the remarks made by the representative of Zambia, I have equal conviction of the rightness of the comments made by the representative of Malta. Therefore I should like to make a proposal, and I hope it will be acceptable, because, while it gives a reflection of what has happened this morning in connexion with this item, it is not in such terms as to be unacceptable to members of the Security Council. The amendment I propose is that we add to the draft resolution proposed by Finland and Paragua the words "and of the comments made thereon", so the the draft resolution would read:

"The General Assembly

"Takes note of the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1968 to 15 July 1969 and of the comments made thereon."

Thus in future when this item is being dealt with those comments will be borne in mind.

- 90. It cannot be argued that we should vote on a draft resolution pertaining to documents which have not yet been issued, as is proposed in the draft resolution submitted by Finland and Paraguay.
- 91. For the reasons already indicated, therefore, I now wish to propose the slight amendment mentioned earlier by me and I hope this will be acceptable to members of the Assembly.
- 92. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed to the vote I should like to ask the sponsors of the draft resolution if

they wish to make any comments, or to accept or reject the amendments proposed by the representative of Ghana.

- 93. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): I have listened very carefully to the remarks made by the representative of Ghana and I take note of his proposed amendments to the draft. resolution submitted by Finland and Paraguay. Speaking now on behalf of the two sponsors of this draft resolution, I should like to state that we would not at this stage wish to accept any further amendment to our text.
- 94. The PRESIDENT: I would inform Members that we are now going to vote on document A/L.579, to which we have an amendment proposed by Ghana [A/L.591]. I shall now put to the vote the amendment which seeks to add at the end of the draft resolution the words "and of the comments made thereon".

The amendment was adopted by 52 votes to 29, with 36 abstentions.

95. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution A/L.579, as amended.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 98 votes to none, with 20 abstentions [resolution 2619 (XXIV)].

AGENDA ITEM 25

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (concluded)*

- 96. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I have been waiting to comment on the speech and the proposal we heard yesterday [1835th meeting] from Ambassador Baroody. He is, as we all know, one of the most energetic and ubiquitous figures amongst us. He comes to us in all places and in all guises. On the United Nations stage he plays many parts. He is equally at ease in tragedy and in comedy. He can play the parts of the royalist and the roundhead with equal fervour. Of his many and varied performances I especially like him when he plays the role of the defender of our international parliament, a sort of Oliver Cromwell, speaking passionately for the rights of the Assembly against all the imaginary forces of the privileged establishment.
- 97. Not for the first time the distinguished Ambassador of Saudi Arabia has sought in this Assembly to find a solution, a settlement, an agreement. He is at his best in the role of the defender of the Charter, the champion of the Assembly, the keeper of the international conscience. We all respect his motives and we are especially interested when he comes to us speaking about saving and making money, instead of spending it.
- 98. I myself have no love of slogans. I had nothing to do with the original proposal to adopt the slogan "Peace and progress", but that was the decision of the Committee. It

was a unanimous decision. That decision having been taken, I certainly considered that it was my responsibility and that of all the members of the Committee to stand by it. Even more certainly I was not prepared to resort to the contemptible device of endeavouring to shuffle off our responsibility from the Committee to the officials of the Secretariat. They were merely doing their best to carry out the wishes and purposes of those of us who had been duly appointed to deal with this matter.

- . 99. I would go on to say that I am not prepared to pursue any philosophical dissertation about justice. It would be ridiculous as well as insulting to suggest that some of us are more in favour of justice than others; nor am I prepared to give place to anyone in my respect for the authority and prestige of the General Assembly. Those are not the questions at issue.
- 100. We had to consider very practical questions. They boiled down to the question whether we were prepared to forgo nearly \$2 million in revenue by cancellation of the whole project or whether we were to lose something like three quarters of a million dollars by cancelling the orders already placed and starting again. I, like many others, was not prepared to contemplate such a senseless waste.
- 101. Yesterday I put forward a short amendment to the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Saudi Arabia. I did so, not to hinder but to help, and to allow his proposal to be properly studied so that a final decision could be given. I was and am perfectly prepared to withdraw my amendment in favour of any proposal which will achieve three purposes: first, to uphold the authority of the Assembly, second, to avoid intolerable expense and third, to preserve the good name of the United Nations in such matters.
- 102. In doing so, Madam President, I wish to express my respect for justice, Ambassador Baroody and the General Assembly. Let that be our slogan and, if you wish, our battle cry. Consequently, I shall be glad to withdraw the amendment which I proposed in favour of another proposal that has since been put forward.
- 103. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): The proposal which I now introduce on behalf of Mauritius, draft resolution A/L.590, actually represents the product of widespread consultations and incorporates the views of many delegations. The role of Mauritius in this case is that not so much of an innovator as of a conciliator.
- 104. First of all, I should like to express my appreciation to the representative of Saudi Arabia who has presented another proposal in document A/L.587/Rev.1. He has obviously worked extremely hard and conscientiously with Secretariat officials in an attempt to bring about a solution of our problem which might be both principled and practical. He has dedicated many years of his life to the United Nations and we hope that he may dedicate many more. Ambassador Baroody has been at the United Nations for 23 years. I have been here for three months. I have much to learn from his philosophical thoughts.
- 105. A comparison of the draft resolution presented by Saudi Arabia with our draft will show that they are very

^{*} Resumed from the 1835th meeting.

similar in purpose. Indeed, the Saudi Arabian draft resolution has just been revised to include paragraph 1 of my own draft resolution. They are both intended to carry out the intent of resolution 2499 A (XXIV) in the best possible manner, that is, what is best for the United Nations.

- 106. What then are the differences between the drafts? First of all, our draft resolution provides that the medals issued to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations will bear the inscription, "Peace, justice and progress". We understand from the Secretariat and from the statement made yesterday by the representative of Ghana [1835th meeting] that this will be feasible. I would also anticipate that the representative of Saudi Arabia would not object to this provision, given the fact that he has already revised his own draft.
- 107. Secondly, our draft is like the Saudi Arabian draft in that both state that stamps bearing the words "Peace and progress" may be issued. However, it differs in that the Saudi Arabian draft would have the Assembly decide here and now that another set of stamps should be issued with the theme "Peace, justice and progress". We do not believe that the Assembly is yet in possession of sufficient information to render an inflexible decision. We understand that arrangements for the issuance of stamps must be planned well ahead.
- 108. The Secretariat has circulated an informal note indicating that serious problems might arise with such an issue. We believe that the Secretariat should make a serious effort to resolve those problems, and that is the intent of paragraph 2 of our draft resolution. Our consultations with delegations from various régimes indicate that paragraph 2 expresses a general sentiment, that is, that the Secretariat must make a serious effort to resolve the problems involved, but that the General Assembly shuld leave to it the necessary flexibility. Further, paragraph 2 would open the way for any national administration which wishes to do so to issue stamps for the twenty-fifth anniversary containing the theme "Peace, justice and progress".
- 109. Finally, our draft represents the views of a large number of delegations which have consulted together. Those consultations involved the most serious consideration of the initiative taken by the representative of Saudi Arabia, who did so much to call our attention to the problem. His was a brilliant individual initiative; ours is a collective effort.
- 110. I sincerely hope that the representative of Saudi Arabia will see fit to join in supporting our text. In suggesting this I have in mind the fact that our text might never have emerged had he not taken the initiative yesterday.
- 111. I hope, further, that the proposal I am now putting forward will command general support so that we can close this session and approach the twenty-fifth session on a note of harmony.
- 112. Mr. VALENZUELA (Chile) (translated from Spanish): The Chilean delegation sincerely regrets that this unwelcome subject, which to our mind involves important questions of principle, should have come up on the last day

- of the General Assembly. We listened carefully to the statement made yesterday by Ambassador Akwei, whose competence and dedication to the work of the Preparatory Committee are beyond question, and also to the other speakers who have taken part in this debate.
- 113. General Assembly resolution 2499 A (XXIV) was adopted on 31 October, and in paragraph 2 of that resolution the General Assembly decided, clearly and directly, that the theme of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be "Peace, justice and progress".
- 114. On 12 December, that is, 42 days after the resolution was approved, the Secretariat informed us officially, in document A/7888, why the resolution could not be complied with as regards the inclusion of the theme on the stamps and commemorative medals. Thus it is not our fault that this subject has come up for debate now, just as the present session is about to end.
- 115. Together with the delegations of Brazil, the United Arab Republic and Venezuela, my delegation proposed $[1796th\ meeting]$ the amendment [A/L.573] that led to the adoption of the theme I have just referred to. It would not be appropriate at this time to repeat the arguments which prompted the General Assembly to adopt this theme. In speaking today, we are not prompted by any personal considerations or considerations of prestige, since in our view it is no longer we who are concerned but the General Assembly, the supreme organ of the United Nations, which adopted resolution 2499 A (XXIV).
- 116. It is stated in the note by the Secretary-General [A/7888] that the stamps could not be altered because a contract for the printing was entered into in October of this year. We shall not ask now under what authority the stamps were ordered or the contract signed, but we have at least a right to know why the General Assembly, which was already in session, was not consulted. And if it was not consulted as it should have been, the Assembly has the right to know what urgent steps were taken, not now, on 17 December, but on 1 November—that is, a few days after the contract was signed—to comply with the General Assembly resolution. No reference whatever is made to this in document A/7888.
- 117. What is more, in the case of the medals the contract, according to the same document, was not signed until November, that is to say, after the adoption of resolution 2499 A (XXIV). In other words, we are being told that a contract was deliberately signed which meant non-compliance with a General Assembly resolution, since under that contract medals bearing the slogan "Peace and progress" were ordered in November, whereas the theme decided upon by the General Assembly on 31 October was "Peace, justice and progress".
- 118. We think this is intolerable. We think this is going too far. To accept this deliberate violation of the explicit will of the General Assembly by some administrative authority—we are not at the moment concerned with which authority—would be to renounce the powers and rights of the Assembly. It would be tantamount to accepting an administrative veto on General Assembly resolutions and to declaring this Assembly legally impotent.

- 119. Together with the overwhelming majority of delegations, which, I am sure, will support us in defence of the principles at stake, we shall therefore call for compliance with what was agreed upon by the General Assembly. Today it is the theme of the twenty-fifth anniversary; tomorrow it may be world security or economic development.
- 120. As for the financial implications—and we shall not comment for the moment on their origin, amount or accuracy—there is every justification for maintaining that they are not attributable to the General Assembly. The Assembly decided in due time and in due form what the theme should be. If transactions were entered into outside the General Assembly, it could rightly be argued that the Assembly cannot be responsible for such transactions or for their possible financial implications.
- 121. If the General Assembly were asked to interpret its own resolution with a view to overcoming some practical difficulty that might seem insurmountable, my delegation would not object, provided that the normal procedures are followed and that a real attempt is made to comply with resolution 2499 A (XXIV).
- 122. I wish to state, in conclusion, that the Chilean delegation, in any event, will request that this resolution should be complied with in the form in which it was adopted a month and a half ago by the General Assembly [1797th meeting]. In so doing, we believe that we are defending a principle of vital importance, namely, that the Assembly has a primary role in the general work of the United Nations and that this role deserves the fullest respect from all administrative authorities.
- 123. Mr. ARAÚJO CASTRO (Brazil): My delegation wishes to express full and unqualified support for what has just been stated by the representative of Chile. He mentioned facts and circumstances which, in my opinion, should be duly pondered and weighed by all Member States. If we are intent, as we should be, on ensuring the normal functioning of the United Nations and its organs, we should register such facts so as to prevent their recurrence in the future.
- 124. My delegation is particularly puzzled and perplexed by the fact, mentioned by the representative of Chile, that a specific contract was entered into on the basis of the "Peace and progress" theme after—I repeat, after—the General Assembly had adopted resolution 2499 A (XXIV).
- 125. On a recent occasion, 4 December 1969 [1820th meeting], the delegation of Brazil had the opportunity of stating its views on the question of the implementation of resolution 2499 A (XXIV). We said then, and we reiterate today, that all of us should adhere to the principle of respect for the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations, and that this duty is still more clear and inescapable on the part of the international Secretariat. On the other hand, we are fully appreciative of the practical difficulties mentioned by Mr. Akwei, representative of Ghana, to whom all of us are indebted for his indefatigable efforts in his leadership of the Preparatory Committee. I know that I speak for the whole General Assembly in expressing our gratitude and full appreciation of all his statesmanlike efforts in this connexion.

- 126. I wish to state that my delegation will not stand in the way of any course the General Assembly will now choose to adopt, provided that course is in keeping with the relevant rules of procedure. We earnestly oppose any circumventing of our rules of procedure and have objected to letting resolution 2499 A (XXIV) just fall into oblivion or disregard. As a matter of principle my delegation maintains that unless resolution 2499 A (XXIV) is formally reconsidered, acted upon or interpreted by the General Assembly, an effort should be made by the Secretariat to comply with its terms and provisions.
- 127. We still think that the principle of respect for the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly is of a higher and more permanent value than the philatelic reputation of the United Nations. I think that we are on the path to finding a practical way out of our present difficulties but I wish to stress that the episode has not been altogether satisfactory or constructive. We shall still respect the normal procedures. Neither we nor the Secretariat can ignore the respective decisions of the General Assembly but it is obvious that the General Assembly itself, and only the General Assembly, has the power to modify its resolution and provide guidance for its implementation.
- 128. Furthermore, my delegation attaches particular significance to the addition of the concept of justice to the symbols of the twenty-fifth anniversary. It means that we are not searching for a peace which is only the result of power or force but a just and îair peace based on the principle of equal sovereignty of nations in a world free from fear, intimidation and naked power, and consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter.
- 129. This session of the General Assembly has proved a splendid opportunity for the affirmation of the rights of the medium-sized and small nations. It may even be called the Assembly of the smaller States. In that context, future historians may even consider it to have been an important turning point in the life of the Organization. Let us make a common pledge to make every effort possible to replace the balance of power and the balance of terror by the balance of the scales of justice. We should be willing to pay a certain price for justice. It is in that light that my delegation will consider the attitudes shown by many delegations who are working for a solution to the present difficulties.
- 130. By a welcome course of events I am speaking after Lord Caradon has spoken about the self-appointed defenders of the General Assembly. I sincerely hope he will forgo his right of reply and will forgo his right of accusing those selfsame self-appointed defenders.
- 131. Mr. JIMENEZ (Philippines): After hearing yesterday the statement of Mr. Akwei of Ghana, Chairman of the twenty-fifth anniversary Committee [1835th meeting], my delegation was prepared to support his compromise solution that the General Assembly should accept the present arrangements, which are so far advanced, regarding the commemorative stamps, on the understanding that Member States which have not yet printed their stamps are at liberty to use the general theme of "Peace, justice and progress" if they wish to do so. The covering sheets accompanying the stamps would state that the general theme would be

"Peace, justice and progress". However, regarding the commemorative medals, there would be a change in the design with the incorporation of the additional word "justice".

- 132. That compromise solution would, in our view, ensure that commemorative stamps and medals could be issued for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations with the financial loss to our Organization very much reduced and, at the same time, avoid the embarrassment and possible adverse effect on the stature and reputation of the United Nations Postal Administration if the stamp issues were scrapped or new designs called for. The Secretary-General pointed to the embarrassment and adverse effect in his note of 12 December 1969 [A/7888].
- 133. My delegation would wish to emphasize that it voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2449 A (XXIV) which decided that the general theme of the twenty-fifth anniversary would be "Peace, justice and progress". There is no room for equivocation on this point as the decision of the General Assembly is clear. Nevertheless, under the circumstances we cannot completely ignore the practical considerations as outlined by the Secretary-General in his note of 12 December 1969. As pointed out by Mr. Akwei, the stamps and medals are doubtless important, but there are equally important issues facing the Preparatory Committee.
- 134. The delegation of Mauritius has this morning formally tabled draft resolution A/L.590 which, in our view, is a happy compromise. The draft resolution was the result of intensive consultations among delegations and, to our mind, meets the desire of those who wish to have the decision of the General Assembly implemented. Paragraph 2 does not close the door to the future issue of stamps containing the theme "Peace, justice and progress". My delegation, therefore, commends it to the Assembly for its widest support.
- 135. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Although English happens to be my working language in the United Nations, far be it from me to vie with Lord Caradon in expressions of praise interspersed with subtle humour which, no doubt, create an amicable atmosphere even in the midst of dissent.
- 136. Lord Caradon is a past master not only in the language of Shakespeare but also in the idiom of the roundheads. If anyone fought on behalf of colonial peoples for justice—and I repeat, justice—it was Hugh Foot, and no title can more ennoble him than his endeavours for the liberation of many erstwhile colonies. I do thank him for graciously withdrawing his amendment.
- 137. I wish I could accede to the appeal made by one of my newest colleagues in this Organization, none other than the representative of Mauritius. I thought that his draft resolution had an advantage over mine since he mentioned the matter, and although I never wore medals—and I was given several of them in my life—I thought that I would pin his medal on my draft resolution so as to assure him that I have not forgotten the medal although we had been given the assurance that the word "justice" was being worked out in the designs. I can hardly duplicate what my colleagues from Brazil and Chile have just mentioned. The time is late and justice cannot be treated wantonly, no matter what

- interpretation some people may put on it in the context of our work in the United Nations. Justice is not philosophical. The antonym of justice is tyranny and there is a lot of tyranny in the world today—and we should reaffirm it.
- 138. From the financial point of view let me assure my colleagues that in having another issue of stamps with the emblem "Peace, justice and progress", there are, strictly speaking, no financial implications. I must draw the attention of my colleagues to the fact that the second issue is self-financing and I can assure them too that it is revenue-generating. I have no right to say exactly what the United Nations will glean from the second issue, but I must draw their attention to the fact that if the number of the second set is less than that of the first, the philatelists—and I was assured of this by three of them-would welcome it and more so the collectors since, after all, the philatelists depend for their livelihood on what the collectors purchase. Therefore, Madam President, with all due respect to my good friend and brother, Ambassador Akwei, and my younger brother from Mauritius, may I ask you forthwith to put to the vote my draft resolution which has precedence? And I hope that all of us will be around next year so that we may remind each other that Baroody's suggestion was lucrative and was not at all calculated to put the United Nations "in the red".
- 139. Mr. IDZUMBUIR Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): My delegation had asked to speak in explanation of vote before the voting. I take it, therefore, that the list of speakers in the general debate is closed. Otherwise, my delegation was ready to request, Madam President, that you should take the decision to close the debate on this item.
- 140. My delegation understands and shares the feeling of most delegations concerning the irregularity of the procedure followed by the Preparatory Committee in authorizing, without the prior consent of the General Assembly, the carrying out of its recommendation on the issue of stamps and medals on a specific theme, particularly as the General Assembly had already adopted a specific resolution on this subject, mentioning a specific theme [General Assembly resolution 2499 A (XXIV)]. If, for practical reasons, this resolution needed to be revised, those reasons should have been submitted to the General Assembly for its consideration at that time.
- 141. This reaction on the part of my delegation and on the part of most members is all the more understandable in the light of the fact that another Committee—namely, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament—has, on the initiative of its Co-Chairmen, taken it upon itself to admit a number of new members without referring this decision to the General Assembly.
- 142. While my delegation agrees that, in the case of the celebration we are discussing, the time factor invoked by the Preparatory Committee to justify its action is relevant, it believes that it would have been more appropriate for the Secretariat to undertake prior consultations, and not simply to inform Member States, before it proceeded to carry out the recommendations of the Committee, as has been done in the past. The technical committees of this Assembly should not be allowed to acquire the habit of exceeding

their terms of reference on the basis of these two unfortunate examples.

- 143. My delegation has carefully studied document A/7888, however, and in particular the paragraphs describing the implications of the various alternatives proposed, and has come to the conclusion that the theme "Peace and progress" is perfectly satisfactory. In my delegation's view, peace cannot exist where there is injustice. However, since many delegations insist on the addition of the word "justice" and since this word is contained in the resolution adopted on the subject by the General Assembly, my delegation would have no objection to considering the possibility of issuing a stamp with the theme "Peace, justice and progress" to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).
- 144. My delegation will examine the draft resolutions before the General Assembly in the light of these considerations.
- 145. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): Madam President, I wish to make a few comments and also a proposal on a point of order, with your permission, after I have made my comments.
- 146. I think members of the Assembly would agree with me that this is not a time for recrimination, for accusation or for the prolongation of the Eusiness of the Assembly. As has been properly said by the Ambassador of Brazil, this has been a session of, as it were, the small Powers, and you, Madam President, have conducted yourself as a distinguished representative of a small Power. I would hope that the conclusion of the item under consideration would be such that you would not be embarrassed nor be made unhappy.
- 147. I should like to pay a special tribute here to my elder friend and brother, the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, with whom I have been in almost constant consultation since this matter came before the General Assembly. I should also like to extend my appreciation to the representative of Chile with whose delegation, and with whom personally, I have been in very close and constant contact since this crisis emerged. I would say that as well as these delegations, those other delegations with which I have been conducting negotiations and consultations have shown a remarkable spirit of accommodation and compromise which should make it easy for the Assembly to take the right decision in the problem with which we are now confronted.
- 148. I would say that the remarks made by the representative of Chile have caused some misgivings which I should like to do my best to remove from the minds of some of my colleagues. As I said yesterday, there is only one question of principle which probably has not been completely observed in this whole operation, and that was the expeditious administrative action taken by the Secretariat on the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee with regard to the stamps and the medals in anticipation of what the General Assembly would decide on that recommendation. As I said yesterday, that was action which was taken in all good faith and with the best of motives, without any desire on the part of the Secretariat to impose any will other than what the General Assembly would wish to decide for itself.

- 149. That action which was taken by the Secretariat was taken not out of the blue but as a result of precedents which had been followed on two other occasions in the past when similar action had been called for. The action that was called for was because of technical reasons, since, as I have been given to understand, in the philatelic world one needs sometimes as much lee time as one year to issue these commemorative stamps. That point has been made and I think it has been well taken, as I said yesterday. There is a point beyond which we cannot maintain our position within the limits of magnanimity. I do not think that it is the desire of anybody here to provoke a confrontation between the General Assembly and the Secretariat or the Secretary-General for that matter, especially when they act in good faith on behalf of the Assembly.
- 150. We should take into consideration what repercussions this could have for the future when perhaps we might need expeditious action on their part on an occasion which perhaps could later be ratified by the General Assembly. Therefore, this is the time to maintain a spirit of magnanimity, a spirit of conciliation, as has always been preached and promoted by our friend, the Ambassador of Chile, Mr. Piñera, whose absence through sickness we all deplore and regret. I am sure that the delegation of Chile can rise to the same level of statesmanship on this occasion.
- 151. With regard to the financial implications referred to by the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, I would beg to disagree with him on a slight matter. It is not that there will be no financial implications. There will be financial implications if his proposal is adopted. What he is saying is that perhaps there will not be a loss in the sense that there will be no cost to the budget of the United Nations. What we have been trying to explain all along is that there will be a reduction in the sale of the stamps as a result of the action which he recommends we should take. There will be a reduction in the sale of the stamps and, consequently, in the revenue which will accrue to the General Assembly by the sale of the stamps.
- 152. As was pointed out in a note which was circulated yesterday, we have contemplated issuing as many as 18 stamps for 1970. That is far in excess of the usual United Nations issue. I am given to understand that normally we issue probably between 10 and 12 stamps. Therefore, with as many as 18 different stamps being issued because of the special nature of 1970, including stamps for the peace bell, the Mekong basin, the Geneva issues, the cancer issue, the issue for peace and progress and the peaceful uses of the sea-bed issue, the United Nations is committed to issuing about 18 different stamps—more than usual.
- 153. If we issue an additional set of stamps, as recommended by the representative of Saudi Arabia, three results might follow. first, as I have described already, the reduction in the sale and therefore the consequent reduction in the revenue which would accrue to this Organization; secondly, a suspicion on the part of collectors all over the world that we wanted to exploit them, that we wanted them to dig further into their pockets so that we could make more money, which could generate the opposite effect of reducing the sale of the stamps; thirdly, it would stroy the credibility of the United Nations Postal Administration to such an extent that any future issues

might not be quite as successful financially as we would hope. These, therefore, are the results which might emanate from an acceptance of the recommendation made by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

- 154. All day yesterday we were in consultation. We were in consultation right up to a late hour in the evening, trying to find a compromise to meet his point of view. It was made clear that if we were to issue just one more stamp instead of another set of stamps, that might perhaps be coped with by the United Nations Postal Administration.
- 155. Therefore, I would appeal to my colleagues to see the matter in a practical light, to see the matter in perspective, so that we may take the right decision.
- 156. I am grateful for the draft resolution which the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia introduced. I have also studied the draft resolution submitted by the Ambassador of Mauritius. I can say that while the draft submitted by the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia bears in mind some of the compromises which emerged, it does not take into account all the compromise possibilities, particularly from the point of view of the United Nations—the credibility of the United Nations Postal Administration—which we have tried so hard to convey to him.
- 157. My delegation has been involved in the extensive negotiations concerning the draft resolutions submitted by both parties. We have consulted delegations from Latin America, from Africa, from Asia and from Europe. Based on these consultations, it is our belief that the draft resolution submitted by Mauritius represents a sound compromise. It is also in line with the original proposal I made in my intervention yesterday, for which, in my consultations, I have found a wide measure of support as a reasonable, practical way out of a difficult problem.
- 158. As I have indicated, the Saudi Arabian draft resolution, while it represents a sort of compromise on the medals, still leaves the question of stamps in a state which will harm the financial revenues of the United Nations and the future philatelic credibility of the Organization. The Mauritius draft resolution, on the other hand, takes care of the compromise on the medals and provides a flexible compromise on the stamps which will recognize what is practicable as well as what is financially good for the United Nations.
- 159. I would therefore propose, in accordance with rule 93 of the rules of procedure, that the General Assembly decide to give priority in the voting to the draft resolution submitted by Mauritius and I hope that many delegations will support it.
- 160. Mr. THOMPSON (Guyana): I realize that the hour is late and I have no wish to prolong this session unduly. However, my delegation did want to say a few words on the issue under consideration before it is put to a vote.
- 161. My delegation, which includes a Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, has noted with regret the unfortunate dispute which has arisen over the wording of the official theme for the anniversary celebrations. My

delegation does not wish to become involved in questions of personality or in issues of prestige.

- 162. In all the circumstances and bearing the sovereign power of the General Assembly in mind, my delegation wishes to support the Ambassador of Ghana in proposing that the draft resolution contained in document A/L.590 submitted by the delegation of Mauritius represents a sensible and constructive compromise and allows a way out of this problem which will respect the honour and principles of all the parties concerned, and which will uphold the principles as well as the dignity of the General Assembly itself. In these circumstances, my delegation wishes to suggest that all delegations in this hall might agree to give precedence to the draft resolution introduced by the Ambassador of Mauritius. For its part, my own delegation will support that draft resolution.
- 163. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Madam President, I have learned a lesson I shall never forget and I shall follow in your footsteps in tolerance. My good brother and colleague from Ghana raised a point of order as you started to put the draft resolutions to the vote. Then he said that he had not asked to speak on a point of order since he had registered his name on the list of speakers. It was not so; he may have had the intention to register his name on the list of speakers, but he did not. That is why he asked for a point of order and then he changed from a point of order to making a statement. But, never mind, we all make mistakes and we all change our minds. I checked whether his name was on the list of speakers. It was not. I cannot be fooled. I do not go by premonition. I have been here long enough to know what goes on.
- 164. It was then my right to make a point of order—but I have learned tolerance from you, Madam President—because he was speaking extraneously, stretching the imagination to refer to other issues which are not under consideration. He put them under the umbrella of financial implications. I mentioned time and again that there are no financial implications at stake here—the more so because he contradicted himself in saying there would be no loss. He could have said, "Perhaps the profits may be negligible". But I should then, if I follow that line, be trapped by the extraneous factor which he introduced. But all the same he is still my brother and my colleague and I love him.
- 165. Our colleague from Ghana appears to be a past master in procedure. But we all make mistakes. I make mistakes. He and I can stand to be corrected.
- 166. I sensed the intention of the draft resolution by Mauritius with which I am familiar as a "white paper" being circulated and I debated it with those who showed it to me. A big Power showed it to me; I am not going to mention what big Power. Finally it percolated down into one of our small Powers—Guyana, Mauritius, myself.
- 167. I am not the client of anyone in the United Nations. I shall leave the delegation of Saudi Arabia if we ever become clients to Tom, Dick or Harry, whether they are big or small.
- 168. Having taken into account the fact that the medal was mentioned in the draft resolution submitted by

Mauritius perhaps in order to give that draft precedence, I borrowed the idea of the medal and incorporated it into my draft resolution. Therefore, my colleague from Mauritius cannot say that his draft resolution is more comprehensive or more inclusive. There are specifics in my draft resolution, whereas in his draft there are prejudices and all kinds of confusing elements in order to put it back into the lap of the Preparatory Committee, which we thank for all the work that it has done.

169. I do not want it to be misunderstood that my draft resolution stands as a criticism of either the Preparatory Committee or the Secretariat. We never mentioned the Secretariat; we never cast aspersions on the Secretariat or the Secretary-General, for that matter, and I stand to be vindicated-the record is there. My colleague from Brazil and my colleague from Chile made their points very clear. We never criticized the Secretary-General or the Secretariat, for that matter. In order to gain some sympathy for the Secretariat—the Secretariat has our sympathy—the message was for some of you here to dissociate yourselves from my draft resolution because my friend from Ghana and my friend from Guyana both incorrectly read into it criticism of the Secretary-General or the Secretariat. Far be it from us; we never implied that. The whole thing was bungled somewhere and we are not going to open old wounds. The wounds have already healed. There are no wounds-it is just a figure of speech.

170. Now the single six-cent issue which was recommended by my good friend from Ghana will bring justice only to the United States. The six-cent denomination is one which is used only in the United States. I asked one of my friends in the United States delegation, "Do you have justice?" and he said, "We have plenty of it". So they do not need justice. Why should we put "justice" on the six-cent issue which is used only in the United States? They have all the justice they want. It is we, the smaller countries, as my colleagues from Brazil and Chile stated, that need to remind the United Nations that justice is of the essence; and justice is non-negotiable.

171. The hour is late, Madam President, and I must say that you have been an exemplary President to us all, showing kindness, tolerance and patience; but we should not tax your patience. May I ask you forthwith to look at the number of my draft resolution and at the number of the draft resolution submitted by Mauritius and to judge for yourself whether there is any need to vote on which draft has precedence? The number of my draft is lower and the number of his draft is higher, and my draft comes before his. There is no contesting the fact that my draft is more inclusive because it gives directives. The other draft deals with prejudices and confusion.

172. The PRESIDENT: There is a motion calling for a priority vote on draft resolution A/L.590. That motion falls under rule 93 of the rules of procedure, which states in part:

"If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted." 173. I now put that motion to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Swaziland, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Maldives, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Zambia.

Abstaining: Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Togo, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

The motion was rejected by 42 votes to 35, with 42 abstentions.

174. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.587/Rev.1, submitted by the representative of Saudi Arabia. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Belgium, Canada, Israel, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Botswana, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania,

Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 74 votes to 9, with 34 abstentions [resolution 2499 B (XXIV)].

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.