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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 76

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (*continued*)*

(f) United Nations Staff Pension Committee

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6896)

AGENDA ITEM 21

United Nations Emergency Force:

(a) Report on the Force;

(b) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6967)

Mr. Lynch (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. LYNCH (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, to introduce two reports, under agenda items 76 and 21 respectively.

2. In its report on item 76 (f) the Committee has submitted for approval by the General Assembly a draft resolution [A/6896, para. 4] recommending the appointment for three-year terms beginning on 1 January 1968 of three members and three alternate members to fill vacancies that will occur on the United Nations Staff Pension Committee.

3. In its report on item 21 (b), the Fifth Committee has recommended for adoption a draft resolution [A/6967, para. 4] concerning the expenses of the United Nations Emergency Force.

4. I trust that these two draft resolutions will meet with the approval of the General Assembly.

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

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly first to consider agenda item 76 (f), in connexion with which the Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution contained in its report [A/6896, para. 4]. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2303 (XXII)].

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now consider agenda item 21. In connexion with agenda item 21 (a), the General Assembly has before it a report by the Secretary-General

*Resumed from the 1598th meeting.

[A/6672 and Add.1]. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly takes note of the Secretary-General's report.

It was so decided.

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now turn to agenda item 21 (b). The Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution on that item, contained in its report [A/6967, para. 4]. I shall now put that draft resolution to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted by 73 votes to 10, with 8 abstentions [draft resolution 2304 (XXII)].

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who has asked to speak in explanation of his vote.

9. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In today's plenary meeting of the General Assembly, as in the Fifth Committee, the Soviet delegation voted against the draft resolution on the question of the United Nations Emergency Force, the text of which is contained in document A/6967. In so doing, the Soviet delegation based itself on the position of principle taken by the Soviet Union on the question of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. That position has been stated in the General Assembly on many occasions, including the previous session, as well as in other bodies of the United Nations, and it remains unchanged.

AGENDA ITEM 41

United Nations Development Decade: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6975)

Mr. Chadha (India), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented the report of the Committee and then spoke as follows:

10. Mr. CHADHA (India), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: Under item 41, the Committee considered the Secretary-General's progress report in response to General Assembly resolution 2218 (XXI) on the preparation of guidelines and proposals for the next Decade. It adopted two draft resolutions which it recommends to the General Assembly for adoption [A/6975, para. 24]; draft resolution I entitled "United Nations Development Decade" and draft resolution II entitled "International Education Year".

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

11. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes, it being understood that they may refer to draft resolutions I and II in the same statement.

12. Mr. AGIUS-CESAREO (Malta): My delegation abstained from voting on draft resolution I [A/6975, para. 24] in the Second Committee. We did so because we had expressed strong reservations regarding the reference in that draft resolution to the setting of specific goals and targets for economic and social

development for attainment by the international community.

13. Although we should like to make it clear that we still maintain those reservations, we are prompted by a desire not to spoil the chance of unanimity and we shall therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution in question, since we do support its general spirit and objectives.

14. Mr. ASLAM (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation attaches great importance to the question dealt with in draft resolution I contained in the report of the Second Committee [A/6975, para. 24].

15. The draft resolution is both timely and appropriate. After witnessing the lack of progress in the achievement of targets in the First Development Decade, it is only proper that the General Assembly should initiate action at an early stage for the preparatory work to be undertaken for the next decade.

16. One of the principal causes of the failure of the present Decade has been the absence of an international development strategy. That was recognized in resolution 2218 (XXI) adopted by the Assembly last year. Draft resolution I would take us a step further, when it asks the Secretary-General:

"to incorporate suggestions on the appropriate means of harmonizing measures that could be considered by international organizations, on the one hand, and by developing and developed countries, on the other, in the preliminary framework of an international development strategy". [Ibid.]

We welcome that development.

17. The second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will, no doubt, have an immense influence on the preparatory work for the next development decade. The draft resolution, therefore, rightly stresses the need for the Secretary-General to take into account the results of the second session of UNCTAD while carrying out the new tasks entrusted to him.

18. One of the banes of the present Development Decade has been the apathy shown by world public opinion to the objectives to be attained. If the next decade is to be a success, then it is imperative that public opinion in all countries should be involved from the very beginning in favour of the policies and targets to be pursued during the 1970s. The draft resolution therefore properly emphasizes the desirability for national and international public information media to take the necessary steps which would ensure the active co-operation and support of the general public in fulfilment of the objectives of the next decade.

19. In order that the roles and the targets of the next development decade may be widely disseminated and appreciated, imagination and advance planning is essential. An initial impact on the procedures to be followed could be obtained by proclaiming the 1970s as the second United Nations Development Decade. The draft resolution leaves the decision on this matter to be taken at the next session. It is the hope of my delegation, which has already put forward a concrete suggestion with regard to the forum in which the proclamation should take place, that other

delegations will give serious thought to the possible ways and means which could be used for the proclamation so that we may next year take a decision which would lead to the successful launching of the next development decade.

20. For all those reasons, the delegation of Pakistan will vote in favour of draft resolution I.

21. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to vote on the two draft resolutions submitted by the Second Committee [A/6975, para. 24].

22. I shall put draft resolution I to the vote.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 102 votes to none [resolution 2305 (XXII)].

23. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall put draft resolution II to the vote.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 1 abstention [resolution 2306 (XXII)].

AGENDA ITEM 46

Operational activities for development* (concluded)

- (a) Activities of the United Nations Development Programme: reports of the Administrative Board;
- (b) Activities undertaken by the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6916)

24. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): With regard to agenda item 46, I would remind the Assembly that it has already adopted [1618th meeting] three resolutions dealing with that item [resolutions 2278 (XXII), 2279 (XXII) and 2280 (XXII)], which were submitted by the Second Committee in its report [A/6916, para. 18]. At the same meeting, the Assembly took note of paragraph 17 of that report, which stated that while the Second Committee had concluded its consideration of the matters before it relating to agenda item 46, that did not preclude the possibility of reopening the discussion of the item at a later stage. I should like to inform the Assembly that I have been advised by the Chairman of the Second Committee that when that Committee concluded its consideration of all the items before it yesterday, 12 December, there had still been no proposal to reopen discussion on agenda item 46. The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 46.

AGENDA ITEM 35

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa:

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/6914)

AGENDA ITEM 37

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/6959)

Mr. Kamil (Indonesia), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

25. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia) (Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee): Item 35, of which the Assembly has been seized for almost two decades, concerns the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, an important question which the Special Political Committee discussed during the course of eighteen meetings. During its debate, the Committee heard statements on the item by representatives of more than half of the Member States of this Organization.

26. The revised draft resolution which the Committee adopted on 22 November was co-sponsored by fifty-one delegations from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Before proceeding to vote on the text, the Committee received a statement on its financial implications from the Secretary-General as well as a communication from the Chairman of the Committee on Conferences with regard to facilities for servicing the proposed meetings, abroad, of the Special Committee on the policies of apartheid. The Special Political Committee recommends this draft resolution [A/6914, para. 16] for adoption by the General Assembly.

27. No less important is item 37, which concerns the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects. The Special Political Committee devoted fourteen meetings to the consideration of this item and again engaged in a wide-ranging discussion which included over fifty speakers. Four different draft resolutions were submitted to the Committee but, thanks to the intensive efforts at conciliation and compromise which several delegations engaged in, one of the draft resolutions was modified by the incorporation of a number of draft amendments and the other three were not pressed to a vote.

28. Before the Committee proceeded to vote, it received information from the Chairman of the Committee on Conferences with regard to the facilities that would be available to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. It also agreed without objection to grant priority in voting to the draft resolution which had been modified by several amendments and adopted it by 75 votes to 1 with 8 abstentions. The Committee recommends this draft resolution [A/6959, para. 21] for adoption by the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Special Political Committee.

29. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to consider agenda item 35. The draft resolution submitted by the Special Political Committee in connexion with that item will be found in its report [A/6914, para. 16].

30. I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote.

31. Mrs. MYRDAL (Sweden): On behalf of the Swedish Government I should like to explain in a few words our voting on the draft resolution on apartheid [A/6914, para. 16], thereby emphasizing the cardinal

*Continuation of the discussion at the 1618th meeting.

importance we attach to United Nations action in regard to racial policies in general and to those of apartheid, as practiced in the Republic of South Africa, in particular.

32. Pursuing a policy firmly laid down by my Government and backed by the overwhelming public opinion in my country against all forms of racial discrimination and segregation, we intend to vote in the affirmative for the resolution as a whole. It should not be concealed, however, that this entails some difficulties in relation to specific formulations in some of the operative paragraphs of the resolution on which, consequently, we have had to express our reservations during the voting in the Special Political Committee.

33. Today, however, I do not want to dwell on these matters. I can pass over them all the more quickly since the views we hold, both of the incompatibility of some recommendations with the constitutional role of the Assembly and of the incorrectness of some of the assertions made, are well known. Some are shared by others, as was made clear in masterly and measured terms by the delegate of Ceylon during the debate in the Special Political Committee.

34. Today the message must ring out strongly that we, the United Nations, cannot acquiesce in the situation of shameful suppression reigning in South Africa. The policy of apartheid goes against the fundamental principles upon which our Organization is built and its continuance in spite of repeated appeals and exhortations has become an effrontery to mankind.

35. The effects inside South Africa itself are tragic, and are becoming more frightening with every year. Also, outside that country, the repercussions of the misguided policy of the South African Government are fraught with additional dangers. Not only does the oppression by that régime of the majority of its own population heighten the feelings of frustration and resentment among the peoples of the neighbouring countries, but also, more generally, there seems to be a new dimension in the bitterness, born out of decades of thwarted expectations and unfulfilled hopes, of large non-white masses everywhere.

36. Until now, suppressed ethnic groups have, in spite of provocations, adhered to the idea of a multi-racial society based on equality for all. Is there not a risk now that they are turning away from the concept of a world of peaceful co-existence for all races and seeking salvation in a policy of force, in a policy of desperation, in a reverse form of racialism? The consequences would be incalculable but truly frightening. This is what those who favour apartheid—that is, segregation—must realize is but the evil logic of their own stand.

37. Our vote today must be so unmistakably clear that enough pressure is at last exerted on the minority Government of South Africa to change its ways. As I was once charged with the great honour of presenting the report^{1/} by the Group of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General, pursuant to Security Council resolution 182 (1963) of 4 December 1963, I want today to

re-emphasize that the action we urge the South African Government to undertake—and to undertake urgently—is to give clear signs of a change of course, a new direction of policies, to correct wrongs and to release all those pent-up forces for co-operation. We want the road opened up at last towards that "peaceful and orderly transformation" which the Security Council enjoined upon the Government of the Republic of South Africa, practically four years ago today.

38. That was the pivotal message contained in our report and submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on 20 April 1964. So far, it has not been the subject of deliberations either in the Special Political Committee or in the General Assembly, while in the Security Council it has only been partially acted upon. As the report indicated that the United Nations might have to have recourse to economic sanctions as an ultimate resort, the Security Council, by its resolution 191 (1964) of 18 June 1964, followed the advice to set up an Expert Committee to:

"undertake a technical and practical study and report to the Security Council as to the feasibility, effectiveness, and implications of measures which could as appropriate, be taken by the Council under the Charter of the United Nations."

But no action has followed in the wake of the report of that Expert Committee, submitted on 27 February 1965.^{2/} Thus we want to endorse and emphasize most wholeheartedly paragraph 4 of the draft resolution at present before us which draws the attention of the Security Council once again:

"to the grave situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, and requests the Council to resume consideration of the question of apartheid" [A/6914, para. 16].

That includes, of course, the question of sanctions.

39. In contemplating what further practical steps can be undertaken now, to begin with, we have to focus attention on some measures enumerated in various paragraphs of the draft resolution, notably paragraphs 11 and 13 referring to the worthwhile activities of the International Seminar on Apartheid and of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid, and also paragraph 8—our understanding being that the assistance is to be given in accordance with the Charter and general international law.

40. My Government has also come to the conclusion—as evidently several other Governments have, to judge from the statements made during the debate in the Committee—that considerable pressure might be exercised if stronger action were taken in regard to some interconnected issues.

41. Today we have come to realize that the whole of southern Africa is caught in the same ugly dogma, dominated by the same problem of apartheid as South Africa itself. It is a fact that the situation inside South Africa is a determining factor for developments in the areas adjoining that country; I am thinking particularly of Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration and, of course, South West Africa. None of those other situations

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5658 and Add.1-3.

^{2/} Ibid., Twentieth Year, Special Supplement No. 2, document S/6210 and Add.1.

defying United Nations decisions could persist, were it not for the stake that South Africa places in them; were it not for the support South Africa gives to uphold them.

42. But if this is so, then surely any action against the efforts to transplant the apartheid creed into new regions should be met immediately, not only in order to free those new regions from the threatening contamination, but also because thereby we have a chance to weaken the concept of apartheid inside South Africa itself. What single actions cannot accomplish might well be accomplished by a two-pronged approach.

43. We must therefore strive for a successful outcome of the United Nations action decided upon and undertaken against Southern Rhodesia. Means must be found to correct the illegal situation in South West Africa.

44. These measures could be, and should be, utilized to test methods which the international community can effectively use, as well as to indicate how strong the united front of nations is, or is not, in implementing action against some things which they recognize are untenable wrongs in the international situation of today.

45. The representative of Guinea emphasized during the debate in the Special Political Committee [569th meeting] that the fight against apartheid is first and foremost the concern of the South African people themselves. We acknowledge and respect that point of view, but we acknowledge and accept as equally valid our duty as Members of the United Nations, as members of the international community of nations, to support the South African people in their struggle.

Mr. Rutabanzibwa (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

46. We cannot allow the tragic and wrongful situation in South Africa just to drift, and thus in fact get worse from year to year. It would become a most menacing legacy to leave to another generation. The human misery involved and the caricature of a civilized society being demonstrated, calls not only for an affirmative vote today on this draft resolution, with its strong condemnation of prevailing racial policies, but it also calls for concerted action on the part of all of us to obtain a definite change of direction towards a new course for South Africa, a course of hope.

47. Mr. BEAULIEU (Canada) (translated from French): During the discussions in the Special Political Committee on Apartheid, my delegation several times expressed its support of measures for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa. However, there is no need to repeat here in detail our doubts as to whether the Charter provisions concerning threats to international peace and security apply in the present circumstances. On the other hand, Canada has always declared its willingness to support all measures that might assist those citizens of South Africa who are victims of apartheid. It is in that spirit that my delegation is pleased to announce that, subject to approval by Parliament, Canada will make a contribution of 10,000 Canadian dollars, in 1968, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, a fund set up in 1965 pursuant to resolution 2054 (XX) for

the purpose of assisting victims of apartheid and their families.

48. We have listened carefully to the report submitted to the Special Political Committee [563rd meeting] by Mr. Aström, Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, concerning the activities of the Fund. He pointed out that, thanks to the efforts of the international community, the assistance provided to victims of apartheid was serving as a moral support to all those who endorse social equality and justice. That is a purpose in which Canada is happy to join.

49. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in its report [A/6914, para. 16]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications which would result from the adoption of the draft resolution is contained in document A/6957.

The draft resolution was adopted by 89 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions [resolution 2307 (XXII)].

50. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

51. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): As Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, I should like to comment briefly on the resolution that has just been adopted by the General Assembly. That resolution, as we know, was drafted following the recommendations made in the report of the Special Committee [A/6864 and Add.1] which was submitted for approval to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council.

52. I must first of all say that the Special Committee's report to the current session of the Assembly has scarcely been encouraging owing to the constant worsening of the situation in South Africa. During the current year, the Pretoria régime has not confined itself to pursuing its racist and inhumane policy; it has been so bold as to throw down new and alarming challenges before the conscience of the world. I am referring first of all to the so-called Terrorism Act, a legal parody promulgated by the white racists of South Africa in order to enable them to execute any person struggling for the inalienable right to freedom and dignity, a right proclaimed by the United Nations Charter and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

53. While I am speaking here, a sham trial is being held at Pretoria. In point of fact, thirty-five South West Africans are facing a fascist disguised as a judge, who has nothing of the jurist about him save his dress. Those persons are a thousand miles from their own country, in a seething courtroom surrounded by a police force armed to the teeth. I would recall that there were thirty-seven accused: one was acquitted and another died in his cell. Mr. Vorster's régime, it would appear, intends to execute those persons in 1968, that is, during the International Year for Human Rights, for the purpose of teaching a lesson to any Africans who might dare to demand their freedom. Furthermore, that tyrannical régime intends to execute under the provisions of the Terrorism Act anyone who

cherishes freedom and who is at this moment rotting in the ill-famed dungeons of South Africa, subjected to intolerable terror and torture.

54. In addition, the South African régime a few weeks ago deliberately sent its armed forces to Zimbabwe to help the racist clique of Ian Smith in its evil business of massacring African patriots.

55. Furthermore, that régime sent troops to the border of the Republic of Zambia and stated to anyone who cared to listen that it would fight against the African drive for freedom not only in South Africa, but also in Angola, in Mozambique, and in Zimbabwe. The partisans of apartheid even dared to threaten the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania, two independent African States situated on the borders of the bastions of racism and colonialism.

56. As for the United Nations, it is today faced with a challenge which it must take up if it is not to risk losing its already severely impaired prestige. The United Nations must do so now if it wishes to remain the effective instrument for the realization of the principles and purposes set forth in the Charter. We are forced to acknowledge that because of the ineffectiveness of its action in the matter of apartheid, the United Nations is today principally responsible for the South African crisis that is threatening at any moment to deteriorate into a violent racial conflict. That is why we venture to state that the United Nations and the whole of the international community have the imperative duty to meet their responsibilities to the full by taking effective steps to find a permanent solution to that dangerous situation.

57. Of course, we have just adopted a further resolution, but it cannot bring about a permanent solution. Even though it is no more than a compromise that, unfortunately, reflects the limitations of the General Assembly, that resolution represents progress over the adoption last year of resolution 2202 (XXI). It will certainly have a positive effect if it is implemented by every State in all good faith.

58. I should now like to express our satisfaction at seeing the majority of Member States solemnly reaffirm their condemnation of the illegal policy of apartheid. The General Assembly has just requested the Security Council, as the body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take up its responsibilities in that matter, which it has not had to discuss for more than the past three years. We therefore call upon all interested States, including those that have just abstained in the vote—that is, the great Western Powers—to exert their influence so that the Security Council may proceed to the implementation of all the resolutions it has already adopted—for example, the resolution concerning the arms embargo [181 (1963)] whose violation has become a scandal, to say the least—and to undertake new measures designed to resolve that problem.

59. The General Assembly has also called upon all States, the specialized agencies, and regional and other non-governmental organizations, to co-operate in an international campaign against apartheid, a campaign that would thus benefit from the efforts of the whole international community.

60. In that connexion, the General Assembly has entrusted the Special Committee with important responsibilities. I should like to assure the Assembly of the Special Committee's intention to spare no effort in taking up those responsibilities as effectively as possible with, we trust, the indispensable co-operation of the Secretary-General, of Member States and of the various agencies. May I also assure the General Assembly that when it comes to incurring expenses, the Special Committee will act with great prudence, as it has always done, in order that there may be neither fruitless efforts nor wasted funds.

61. We take the greatest satisfaction in the fact that by unequivocally recognizing the legitimacy of the battle being waged by the South African people for the purpose of winning basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, colour or creed, the General Assembly has taken a significant decision which is of the utmost importance. I must admit to you that the Special Committee, for its part, has ever since its creation based its activity on that fundamental principle: recognition of the legitimacy of that struggle. The General Assembly has already stated that all who were opposed to apartheid had its support, but the present declaration, in its clarity, is an historic step, since it was made unanimously—minus, of course, the votes of the two brigands, those who sit behind nameplates bearing the names of South Africa and Portugal. Their very presence here among us is a paradox, if not an insult.

62. The declaration just adopted is also a tribute to the South African people for the heroic struggle it has been waging for decades in order to gain its freedom and dignity; it serves to reward that people for its ideals and for its faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

63. May I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the memory of Chief Albert Luthuli, who died tragically last July and who, by dedicating his entire life to the sacred battle against apartheid, exposed the South African problem to the whole world. The declaration the General Assembly has adopted inscribes on the United Nations banner the true ideals for which that man gave up his life.

64. Today, from this rostrum, we salute all those who are fighting for the eradication of racism in South Africa, a country that is so rich and yet so unhappy.

65. We salute Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, Chief of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, who is being held in indefinite detention on Robben Island for his total opposition to apartheid. We pay tribute to Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the other leaders of the African National Congress, as well as to the thousands of others who are rotting in South African gaols because of the struggle they are waging to build a democratic society. We salute Abram Fischer, that illustrious Afrikaner and eminent jurist, sentenced to perpetual imprisonment for having supported the cause of the oppressed. We salute Mrs. Helen Joseph, who has just been sentenced, without a trial, to a second term of five years' under house arrest because she made known to the world the sufferings of the peoples oppressed by the apartheid régime, and also because of her uncompromising opposition to racism. We salute Dr. Raymond Hoffenberg, former president of

the Defence and Aid Fund, who was expelled from his native country by the racist authorities of apartheid. We salute Alan Paton and his colleagues who have never swerved from their unwavering devotion to the principles of human rights, despite all the pressure put upon them. We pay tribute to Nana Sita, a long-time disciple of Ghandi, who despite his failing health is still in prison for having refused to obey the unjust segregation laws under which he had to be expelled from his home and interned in a district set aside for persons of Indian origin.

66. We salute all the young people affiliated with the National Union of South African Students who have dared to uphold the traditions of a democratic society and who are facing the harshest threats of the Vorster régime. We also greet all the whites who are devoted to democratic principles, whether in the political arena, in universities or in churches, and who speak out in horror against the inhuman practices of apartheid. We salute the many South African refugees who are continuing their battle for the liberation of their country. We salute the Africans who are languishing in death cells in Zimbabwe because of their attempt to return to their country.

67. In that connexion, we address an urgent appeal to all powers and organizations concerned that they may at the very least see to it that these men whose just cause we have acknowledged are treated as prisoners of war. In that regard I would like to quote here a part of a Press release dated 13 December 1967 that has just been published by the International Commission of Jurists which is aware of its moral responsibilities and seems now to be adopting decisions that go beyond the increasingly timid decisions this Assembly is taking, under the negative influence of South Africa's friends, associates and accomplices. Here is the text:

"Freedom fighters are today a general phenomenon in the territories of Southern Africa, and the problems they pose have to be considered in the present-day context of the affirmation by the United Nations, in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that 'it is essential if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the Rule of Law'. This is all the more so in the light of the decisions taken by the United Nations in regard to Southern Africa.

"Governments, like that of Rhodesia, all too easily adopt the 'terrorist' label in dealing with those who have been driven to armed opposition by tyranny and oppression. Is not such a solution a solution of facility, whereby the government avoids the much more difficult task of accepting and applying the standards set by the United Nations?

"In the view of the International Commission of Jurists, justice and humanity demand that the principles embodied in the Geneva Conventions for the treatment of prisoners of war should be extended to African freedom fighters captured under arms who, in so far as they conduct their operations according to the law and customs of war, should be entitled to the protection provided for by those Conventions."

68. That is why we would today call on all Member States, particularly those that have a special influence in Southern Africa, to see to it that freedom-fighters seized in those territories are treated not as criminals, but as persons fighting for freedom, in other words, as prisoners of war.

69. We should like once again to pay tribute to all those men and women of South Africa, irrespective of colour or ideology, for the legitimate battle they are waging. We assure them of our complete solidarity and of our unconditional support. The struggle is long and hard but victory will be theirs. Mahiboué Africa!

70. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark): On behalf of the delegations of Finland and Denmark, I should like to place on record that while we have voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, and thus of retaining the words "as a crime against humanity" in operative paragraph 1 of the resolution, as a justified expression of moral condemnation, we have not thereby taken any position on the question of the specific legal implications of those words.

71. Mr. McGOUGH (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The Argentine delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution approved by the Special Political Committee because fundamentally it shares that Committee's position in regard to the policy of apartheid.

72. We believe that, like all discrimination, this form of discrimination stands for retrogression in the international situation of today. We therefore support all the constructive efforts being made by the United Nations to put an end to this policy of intolerance. Moreover, we believe that the obligations assumed under the Charter are incompatible with discriminatory practices.

73. We must make it clear, however, that the reference to Chapter VII of the Charter raises prospects which do not seem to us appropriate at this stage of the problem and which might, if ineffective, have the undesirable effect of undermining the prestige of the United Nations.

74. Argentina has always taken the view that the adoption of enforcement measures in respect of problems which endanger international peace and security is one of the most dramatic cases provided for by the Charter and the use of such measures can only be the result of a thoroughly definite situation.

75. In conclusion, I should like to state that my delegation will co-operate unremittingly so as to ensure that all forms of discrimination are eradicated in our time. The undertaking is not an easy one, but we believe that the task of co-ordinating the efforts through a progressive development of international order, so as to protect the personality of the individual and the integrity of States, is the major challenge of our time.

76. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Mexico has on many occasions stated its basic reasons for being unable to accept that a policy such as that of apartheid is compatible with the progress of mankind or the purposes of the United Nations. It has also pointed out repeatedly that it regards apartheid as a policy

prejudicial to those who apply it, harmful and dangerous to those who suffer from it, ill-fated and perhaps tragic for the human beings who make up the world of the latter part of the twentieth century. My delegation, however, being aware of the practical difficulties which the United Nations has encountered in condemning this policy time and again, suggested in the Special Political Committee the possibility of studying the policy of apartheid in detail with a view to tackling and perhaps eliminating its reprehensible aspects.

77. The delegation of Mexico does not believe it advisable for the United Nations to confine itself to condemning publicly and repeatedly and in general terms this fallacious policy. On the contrary, it believes it would be much more advisable to examine the various possibilities that exist if all and every one of the measures composing this policy are analysed and, by dividing it up, to weaken it to our advantage. That was why my delegation abstained when the draft resolution, which has now been adopted by the General Assembly, was before the Special Political Committee.

78. However, in the absence of any other draft resolution, my delegation feels that it should state clearly and firmly its condemnation of apartheid in accordance with the line it has always followed. My delegation's vote in favour of the draft resolution is therefore in accordance with convictions and lines which have never changed.

79. Mr. LOURENÇO (Portugal): My delegation has voted against the resolution on item 35 because, among other reasons, as we have so often made clear in the past, we have serious reservations as to the legal basis of the debate on which it was based, inasmuch as it involves clear interference in the internal affairs of a Member State.

80. I wish to say here that no amount of emotional rhetoric or invective will serve to deflect us from our position of principle. On the other hand, certain innuendos and allegations concerning Portugal were also made in the course of the debate and are in part reflected in this resolution. These are totally divorced from reality, and for that reason they are hereby rejected and repudiated by my delegation. In particular, we wish to state with all the emphasis at our command that, contrary to what at least one delegation has alleged here from this rostrum, there has not been in the past, there is none today and there is no likelihood at all either now or in the near or distant future, of the introduction of any discrimination based on the colour of skin or race in the Portuguese social system, and all apprehensions to the contrary are unfounded, given the centuries-old basis of the non-racial society which makes up Portugal.

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

82. The Assembly will now take up agenda item 37, on which the Special Political Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6959, para. 21]. I call upon representatives wishing to explain their votes.

83. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): By the adoption of paragraph 5 of this draft resolution [A/6959, para. 21], the General Assembly will have requested the Com-

mittee of Thirty-Three, for the fourth time, to carry out a comprehensive review of all aspects of peace-keeping operations, taking into account on this occasion the proposals and suggestions made during the last two weeks in the Special Political Committee.

84. The proposals referred to include the proposal to adopt as an interim measure the system of mandatory assessments for peace-keeping adopted last year by the Committee and repeated this year in a draft resolution co-sponsored by Ceylon, Costa Rica, Ghana, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Philippines, Togo and Upper Volta [*Ibid.*, para. 4]. Should the Committee of Thirty-Three fail to agree before 1 July upon some other equally reliable and more acceptable system of mandatory assessments, I would urge them on behalf of the co-sponsors to recommend the adoption by the General Assembly of our suggested system even on an interim basis.

85. I wish also, on behalf of our co-sponsors, to say that while we are not opposing the draft resolution, we have grave doubts as to whether it will produce fruitful results, and we therefore appeal to all Member States to study and weigh carefully, before the twenty-third session, the position in which the United Nations would find itself in relation to the achievement of the purposes of the Charter if the General Assembly abandoned its Charter right, confirmed by the opinion of the International Court, to make mandatory assessments for peace-keeping and all the other expenses incurred by the Organization in the promotion of all its political, social and economic objectives.

86. I would urge the Governments which regard the United Nations, as Dag Hammarskjöld regarded it, as the protector of the rights of the small States—their Organization, as he put it—to instruct their delegates to the twenty-third session to vote in favour of maintaining mandatory assessments for peace-keeping and for the system which we have suggested on an interim basis, if no more acceptable and reliable system is proposed.

87. At San Francisco it was agreed that the permanent members of the Security Council should have enormous power, but by no means all power, over the activities of the Organization. The Charter is hardly the ideal of any Member State but, with its clear system of checks and balances, it has been accepted by all Members. In the manner in which its provisions were interpreted by the International Court and operated until the nineteenth session, the Charter did not of course enable us to liquidate all injustice and armed conflict, but it did help to prevent the ultimate disaster of general war, to bring more than fifty new States to independence, to keep up the pressure for the extension of freedom to all men and all peoples, and to co-operate for the economic and social development of the poorer parts of the world.

88. Let me urge permanent members of the Security Council to ponder well upon the position in which they would find themselves if they succeeded in destroying the Assembly's budgetary rights under Article 17, and arrogating to themselves a second, unconvenanted veto, a financial veto, over all the activities of the United Nations. They would thus, I submit, by monopolizing all power in our Organization, take on them-

selves sole liability for the achievement of all its aims, including the maintenance of peace. They would also, by monopolizing all power, kill the spirit of initiative and co-operation of the smaller States which are willing to accept their fair share of responsibility and are anxious to help in promoting the social and economic aims of the Charter and in keeping the peace. There are, of course, some who would not object to leaving peace-keeping exclusively to the permanent members of the Security Council if, in spite of the present state of tension between them, they could be relied on to set aside all rivalry and act disinterestedly to establish a just peace between small States in a strategically sensitive area. But to give that exclusive role to the permanent-members would not be in conformity with either the spirit or the letter of the Charter.

89. In conclusion, let me appeal to the weaker Members to make up their minds in the coming years to stand as firmly for their Charter rights as they did for the extension of the non-permanent membership of the Security Council to take account of the advent since the San Francisco Conference of seventy-one new Members to the ranks of the United Nations. Acting wisely together, we can exercise a moderating influence on the great Powers and reduce the tension between them. They are in dire need of our co-operation and of our ability, with their assistance, to keep the peace among ourselves so as to reduce the danger of their being drawn into a dangerous confrontation by a conflict between small States. And, if we stand loyally together, I am convinced that before long the permanent members of the Security Council will all come to acknowledge our Charter rights and to recognize that it is in their own interest as well as ours to respect and uphold them.

90. Mr. BEAULIEU (Canada) (translated from French): I have asked to speak in order to explain the considerations that dictated my delegation's attitude with regard to the draft resolution now before the General Assembly [A/6959, para. 21], which deals with a question to which my country attaches the utmost importance.

91. The complex nature of peace-keeping operations, the great differences of opinion on all aspects of the question, the hopes and fears of Member States with regard to this Organization's effectiveness in the pursuit of its primary goal, which is the maintenance of international peace and security, have this year been very fully reflected in the discussions on that subject held in the Special Political Committee. Numerous statements have stressed the at times painfully slow progress we have made in our efforts to arrive at a better understanding of constitutional questions, as well as in drawing up more reliable and equitable methods for financing peace-keeping operations and for improving preparations for such operations.

92. As I pointed out in the Special Political Committee [572nd meeting], our slow rate of progress should, nevertheless, not be surprising. Even now, the United Nations has not completely recovered from the crisis that occurred in 1964-1965 over Article 19 of the Charter. The suspicion created and the stands adopted at that time still persist to some extent, even today.

The consensus the General Assembly arrived at on 1 September 1965 [1331st meeting], an understanding that enabled it to resume its normal activities, has been only partially put into practice. United Nations finances continue to show a deficit—a legacy from that difficult period during which confrontation, and not co-operation, was the dominant theme.

93. Turning now to the current situation, I believe it is true that both a certain willingness to accept a compromise and a certain movement towards the adoption of more flexible positions on the part of the various Member States have been evidenced over the past year. We are of the impression that the consensus on a special scale of financing which the Committee of Thirty-Three came close to reaching last spring, as well as the endorsement of a study on peace-keeping contained in the present draft resolution, are positive—albeit faint—indications of that trend. We earnestly trust that we are right, for in that case the efforts of Canada and the other sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.130/Rev.4^{3/} submitted to the twenty-first session of the Assembly will not have been made in vain. Indeed, we can say that as a result of those efforts, together with those made by the Irish Minister of External Affairs and his supporters, consultations and negotiations are already under way that will in time yield practical results.

94. The Canadian delegation is working on the assumption that there exists within the Committee of Thirty-Three a sincere desire to reach agreed conclusions on the various aspects of peace-keeping operations. For its part, Canada will not hesitate to support and encourage the fulfilment of that desire. In the light of the draft resolution being submitted for our approval today, we are assuming that the Committee of Thirty-Three will lay particular stress on those sections of the proposed study dealing with the facilities, services and personnel that Member States may provide, in accordance with the Charter, for peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations. In that case, Canada would be prepared to furnish information on all those aspects, if of use to the Committee in its work. We are hopeful that other Member States, whether members of the Committee of Thirty-Three or not, would be willing to do likewise, and that we can also profit from the Secretariat's unique experience in that field. Although the precise nature of the study has yet to be decided, the Canadian delegation would especially welcome a study on technical aspects, such as the standardization of equipment and training; however, we would certainly not reject a study having a broader scope. Those questions should be considered in the Committee of Thirty-Three where, under the able guidance of our Chairman, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, we are hopeful that new efforts will be put forth to obtain solid results.

95. While examining the draft resolution before us today in a positive light, the Canadian delegation is nonetheless aware of the scope and nature of the problems remaining for study. Reviewing the recent discussions held in the Special Political Committee,

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, twenty-first session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6003, para. 25, draft resolution B.

my delegation has noted with satisfaction the following trends of opinion.

(a) Member States are in general agreement that the Security Council and the General Assembly have roles and responsibilities which, far from necessarily conflicting, should enable them, each in its different area, to increase the Organization's ability to settle the vital questions that come before it in connexion with the maintenance of peace and security.

(b) There is widespread support in favour of a special scale for the financing of peace-keeping operations that involve heavy expenditures, it being nevertheless understood that in such cases the over-all contribution of developing countries should not exceed 5 per cent of the total cost.

(c) There is a growing awareness of the need to improve preparations for peace-keeping operations in such a way that the Organization will be in a position to act promptly and effectively should the need arise.

(d) There is evidence of increasing concern that peace-keeping operations, valid as they may be, should not become an excuse for inaction by the parties to disputes, but should be accompanied by measures designed to work progressively towards a peaceful and permanent solution.

96. I can hardly mention all the delegations that have constructively taken part in the discussion. I should however like to draw special attention to the pertinent remarks made by the representatives of Ireland, the United States and Pakistan, to name only three, dealing with the vital connexion that exists between peace-keeping and peace-making. That relationship continues to be of concern to my delegation. We are firmly convinced of the need to ensure that peace-keeping operations should be undertaken as a useful, albeit temporary, measure, a measure towards an ultimate goal, that of the peaceful settlement of the disputes that made peace-keeping operations necessary in the first place.

97. Furthermore, I should like to draw attention again to the suggestions put forward to the effect that the Military Staff Committee might again play a useful role in that field. My delegation is of the opinion that the Military Staff Committee has been inactive for too long. For the benefit of the entire Organization, full advantage should be taken of the fund of specialized knowledge of its members and of the experience of those who might co-operate with them in carrying out a specific task. Although the Military Staff Committee was set up under Chapter VII of the Charter, there are no specific Charter provisions that would prevent it from undertaking any task that could be useful both in the area of enforcement action, which clearly comes under the purview of Chapter VII, and in the area of preparations for peace-keeping operations, which are voluntary in nature and not concerned with enforcement.

98. I should not want to conclude this brief statement of our views and our intentions without making mention of the continuing and, indeed, mounting deficit that is detrimental to our Organization. There is a deficit, and voluntary contributions designed to eliminate it

are urgently needed. That is what concerns us, and not the question of fixing responsibility for that situation.

99. We are of course aware of the points of agreement and disagreement that existed prior and apparently after the consensus of 1 September 1965. We have no intention of questioning the arrangements that were worked out, or of assuming that agreements existed when such was not the case. The point we wish to make is the following: our Organization is in financial difficulties because of constitutional and political differences that we are now gradually trying to set aside. Member States should not concern themselves with what other delegations have said or done, or wonder what they may say or do. They should rather ask whether they are prepared to conform to the agreement of 1 September 1965, that is, to respond to the call for voluntary contributions, to act and to be treated in this area as the separate, respected and sovereign States they are. Canada is paying its assessment under the regular budget and is, in addition, making voluntary contributions to a variety of international programmes. Along with twenty-two other States, Canada has also made a voluntary contribution to help to cover the United Nations deficit.

100. In conclusion, we therefore urge Member States that have not already done so to decide what contribution they can make to fill manifest needs and to respond to the consensus reached at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, a consensus that was ratified by resolutions 2053 A (XX) and 2249 (S-V). It has now been more than two years since the Secretary-General made an appeal to Member States to make those needed voluntary contributions in order that the future might be faced with renewed hope and confidence. Let those who have not already done so contribute their share, thus demonstrating their confidence in the United Nations.

101. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In the long debates of the past few years, we have had ample opportunities of stating our views on the whole question of peace-keeping. It is unnecessary to go over the ground again. In explanation of our vote today I wish to say three things.

102. First, we express our gratitude to those who worked so persistently to secure acceptance of the draft resolution we are dealing with today [A/6959, para. 21]. Specially we pay tribute to the Ambassador of Austria who yet again has demonstrated his powers of persuasion and his devotion to the highest purposes and best traditions of our Organization. We also pay our grateful respects to the Ambassador of Mexico who has for long past striven to achieve practical progress. Any advance at all against the negative forces of reaction must be regarded as a remarkable achievement. Indeed the present advance is scarcely perceptible, but in a bad world we must be thankful for small mercies.

103. The Committee of Thirty-Three is an ocean convoy which can travel only at the pace of the slowest vessels. For long the whole convoy has been halted because a few big ships refused to move at all. We must hope that the draft resolution we are considering today will mean that we can at least and at last go forward, even if it be only at a few knots a year.

104. Secondly, however, I should say that while we hope that some future progress may take place, we must at the same time deplore the unfulfilled promises of the past. More than two years ago my Government, associated with a few others, made a voluntary contribution to help our Organization escape from its financial difficulties. Our contribution was \$10,000,000. We did not seek to bargain. Our contribution was spontaneous and unconditional. But even now, more than two years later, the total of other voluntary contributions scarcely more than matches the figure of our own contribution. Repeated appeals have been made to countries well able to pay. In the debate in the Special Political Committee there was very wide support for these appeals. Repeated promises of substantial voluntary contributions have been made. They have not yet been honoured.

105. Mr. President, permit me to say that we should all be ashamed to see the United Nations Organization still labouring under this burden of debt. So the Foreign Minister of Ireland, to his lasting credit, does not fail to remind us. It was very good for us to hear his serious warning repeated here just now.

106. Whatever views we hold on the principles and practices of peace-keeping we can all agree that our protestations of support for the Charter of the Organization should not be empty and should not be vain. We can all agree on the need to rid the United Nations of this continuing burden; and we can all agree that promises should not be forgotten, or evaded.

107. Thirdly, we need no reminder that the dangers of the world do not decrease. The need for peace-keeping and peace-making is greater than ever. This year we have faced conflicts and the danger of other and greater conflicts. We may take some satisfaction from the fact that the United Nations has been able to contribute to stopping and preventing wars. At the same time, we are all acutely aware of the fact that we must not be content with what has been done. We all know that without further persistence and determined and urgent action by the United Nations, there is little hope of removing the causes of conflict and preventing worse and other conflicts to come.

108. I warmly support the vigorous arguments just put to us by the representative of Canada, and no country in the world has the right to speak on this subject more vigorously than Canada, which has contributed to every worthwhile peace-keeping operation of the United Nations so effectively. I join with him in saying that surely it should now be a purpose in which we can all share, first to wipe out the deficits of the past, and then to resolve together to make a new effort to render our Organization a much more effective instrument for keeping the peace and for removing the roots of future conflict.

109. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): In the Special Political Committee the Pakistan delegation proposed an amendment to the six-Power draft resolution which is now before the Assembly to the effect that the suggestions and proposals made during the debate of the Special Political Committee should be taken into account in the Committee of Thirty-Three [A/6959, para. 6]. We are grateful to the sponsors of that draft resolution for having accepted our amendment. It now appears at the end of paragraph 5 of the draft resolution recom-

mended for adoption by the Special Political Committee [*ibid.*, para. 21].

110. Among the suggestions made in the Committee by many delegations there was one of cardinal importance for the maintenance of international peace. It was based on the realization that peace-making is an integral part of peace-keeping, and therefore the relationship between the two should be considered by the Committee of Thirty-Three. This suggestion is not based on a despondent attitude towards the utility of peace-keeping operations. In fact, it is to make these operations more effective and more capable of ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security that we have sought to draw the attention of the Committee of Thirty-Three to the importance of peace-making. Of course this suggestion does not minimize the importance of the will of the parties to a dispute to seek a settlement by peaceful means of their own choice. Wherever such an agreed choice exists, the parties are already on the road to peace. But the problem arises when the parties do not agree on the utilization of one or more methods of pacific settlement. Then the peace-making efforts of the United Nations have to be brought to bear on the situation.

111. Let me give the example of the Tashkent Declaration of 10 January 1966 adopted by Pakistan and India. That Declaration was achieved only with the help of the good offices and statesmanship of Chairman Kosygin of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As a declaration of intent, it was an agreement to settle disputes between India and Pakistan, and did not in itself embody a settlement of those disputes. Subsequent developments, however, have underlined the fact that even after such a declaration, one of the parties may not agree to the full utilization of the methods of pacific settlement enumerated in Article 33 of the Charter. Thus, until a just and final settlement is achieved, the responsibility of the United Nations continues.

112. As a member of the Committee of Thirty-Three and as a host to one of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, Pakistan is deeply and vitally interested in the question of peace-keeping. It is our experience of these operations that has convinced us that the failure of the United Nations in peace-making is a factor of which full cognizance should be taken in a comprehensive review of peace-keeping operations.

113. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Assembly.

114. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in its report [A/6959, para. 21].

The draft resolution was adopted by 96 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions [resolution 2308 (XXII)].

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the Agenda (*continued*)*

FIFTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/6840/Add.4)

115. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 of its report [A/6840/Add.4], the General Committee recommends

*Resumed from the 1592nd meeting.

that the item entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations" should be included in the agenda of the twenty-second session and discussed in plenary meeting.

116. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts this recommendation.

The recommendation was adopted.

117. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Members to turn their attention to paragraph 3 of the report concerning a correction to the French version of rule 15 of the rules of procedure. The General Assembly may wish to take note of that paragraph.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of holding further conferences on the peaceful uses of atomic energy

118. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with this item the Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by Canada and the United States [A/L.537].

119. An amendment to that draft resolution has been submitted by Burundi, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea and Nepal [A/L.538].

120. Mr. FAULKNER (Canada): The Canadian delegation is pleased to note the recommendation of the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee that a fourth international conference be held on the peaceful uses of atomic energy [A/6886, annex].

121. When the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency^{4/} was before the Assembly last week [1619th and 1620th meetings], several delegations, including that of Canada, drew attention to the wide range of peaceful uses to which atomic energy is being applied in industry and in agriculture: for example, in the desalination of sea water, in large-scale chemical processes such as metal reduction, and in tree crop culture. In medicine, nuclear energy is being increasingly used in diagnostic procedures and in radiation therapy and in basic research on diseases. Radioactive tracers are now being widely used in hydrology, meteorology and in studies of the biosphere.

122. The increased and varied use of atomic energy has had increasingly beneficial effects on the way of life of an ever larger proportion of the world's population. The Canadian delegation thus fully agrees with the view of the Scientific Advisory Committee that the peaceful use of atomic energy is a matter of importance not only for scientists and technicians but for public officials, planners, economists and others responsible for policies which are affected both directly and indirectly by the peaceful uses of atomic power.

123. Canada considers that a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy would be useful, in particular if it were to deal with the wide spectrum of activities, social and economic,

as well as scientific, which have occurred as a result of the growing variety of peaceful uses of nuclear power. It is our view that a conference devoted to this theme could be of shorter duration and of less cost than the Third International Conference held in 1964, and still make a valuable contribution to the expansion of man's knowledge of the many benefits to be derived from the peaceful use of atomic energy.

124. Canada, accordingly, is pleased to be a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/L.537 and hopes that it will receive the unanimous support of the General Assembly. The Canadian delegation looks forward to considering at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly the recommendations of the Scientific Advisory Committee in respect of the agenda and other preparations for the Conference.

125. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has carefully studied the draft resolution submitted by Canada and the United States of America in document A/L.537 on the question of holding a further conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

126. In our view, the draft resolution as a whole is satisfactory. It has one serious deficiency, however, which reduces the value of the forthcoming fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The draft submitted suffers from a one-sided approach and contradicts the principle of universality on which, as everyone knows, the Charter of the United Nations is based.

127. Under the terms of the draft resolution submitted by the Canadian and United States delegations, the number of participants is limited in advance—several years before the convening of the Fourth Conference itself; the restriction discriminates against States which, for one reason or another, are not represented in the United Nations, yet are capable of making a positive contribution in regard to the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

128. The contradiction evident in the draft resolution itself convinces us that this procedure would be irregular and unwarranted. Indeed, the fifth pre-ambular paragraph of this draft resolution stresses the importance of ensuring that the peaceful applications of atomic energy be made widely known. How else can such knowledge be effectively publicized than by inviting to the Conference all States desirous of co-operating in the peaceful use of atomic energy?

129. Therefore, the delegations of Burundi, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea and Nepal have submitted a formal joint amendment to the Canadian and the United States draft resolution in order to remove this inconsistency and the discriminatory connotation by replacing paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/L.537 by the following:

"Invites all States to participate in the conference".

130. Our delegation feels sure that the joint amendment submitted by the five delegations would enhance the value of the resolution and would reaffirm the readiness of the United Nations to co-operate widely in the interests of peace.

^{4/} Annual report of the Board of Governors to the General Conference, 1 July 1966–30 June 1967 (Vienna, July 1967), and supplementary report; transmitted to members of the General Assembly by notes of the Secretary-General (A/6679 and Add.1).

131. We appeal to all delegations to support this equitable proposal of ours.

132. Sir Leslie GLASS (United Kingdom): We are here to consider today the recommendation of the Scientific Advisory Committee that a fourth conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy should be held [A/6886, annex]. We have before us also a draft resolution [A/L.537] which seeks to implement that recommendation. My delegation can support the draft resolution, but would like to make the following comments.

133. We think 1971 is the year we should aim for, in view of the other conferences which have already been suggested for 1970. We also consider that the full participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency will be vital to the success of the Conference, and we are glad to note the provision in this sense in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

134. We believe that the provisional agenda needs a good deal of further refinement if the conference is to be of maximum usefulness, particularly to developing countries. My delegation hopes that the Scientific Advisory Committee would give this matter continued study.

135. Finally, my delegation wishes to draw the Assembly's particular attention to the Committee's suggestion that topics other than atomic energy should be considered as subjects for future scientific conferences. That suggestion has our warm support. There is now before mankind a vast range of possibilities of scientific development, many of which could bring direct benefit to the peoples of developing countries. We see much merit in the examination of such subjects as, for example, that of the environment of man. We look forward to playing an active part when the time comes, a few years hence, in choosing the most fruitful subject for a future conference.

136. As regards the amendment proposed by the representative of Byelorussia [A/L.538], the position of my delegation is well known on that matter, as are the reasons for the use of the form of words in operative paragraph 4 of the original draft resolution [A/L.537]. This attempt to introduce contentious political matters is not calculated in our view to contribute to the success of a technical scientific conference, and we shall oppose the amendment.

137. Mr. O'CONOR (United States of America): My delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee for the report it has submitted to this Assembly. We agree with the recommendation of that Committee, endorsed by the Secretary-General, that a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy should be held under the auspices of the United Nations and with the fullest possible co-operation of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

138. My Government shares the view of the Scientific Advisory Committee that the major advances in atomic energy and its applications since the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held in 1964 promise to affect most of the world's population. We also share the Committee's view that the impact of those advances will concern public officials, economists, and planners as much

as it will concern technologists and other scientific specialists.

139. For these reasons my delegation, together with the delegation of Canada, has sponsored the draft resolution [A/L.537], which requests the Secretary-General to prepare plans for a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, to be held in 1970 or 1971. The draft resolution would request the Secretary-General to prepare plans for that conference in co-operation with the International Atomic Energy Agency and in consultation with appropriate specialized agencies.

140. We believe that this conference should be of a broad educational nature. It should be designed to attract the participation of foreign policy planners, public leaders and economic development experts as well as leaders in the field of atomic energy. The conference should not be so specialized as to duplicate the excellent work now being carried out by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

141. In comparison with past conferences on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, we would wish to see this conference have a smaller number of participants, cover a reduced number of subjects, and have fewer technical papers submitted. In this way the meeting could be more responsive to the participants' background and better achieve its goal of informing those who attend about the many peaceful uses to which atomic energy can now be put.

142. Indeed, we view this conference as an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the great progress that has been made in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy, particularly in the field of economic nuclear power. We believe such a conference would provide an opportunity for an effective exchange of views among governmental and scientific leaders on such important advances as the applications of radioisotopes and radiation in medicine, industry, food preservation, insect control, and hydrology, as well as the utilization of nuclear reactors for process heating and for desalting. The conference will also provide a useful forum for discussion of international safeguards to deter the diversion of nuclear materials from peaceful to military applications.

143. We believe that that conference could reasonably be held in five or six working days. In view of the fact that the conference, as we envisage it, would be considerably less specialized than previous conferences, with smaller total participation and fewer papers expected, we anticipate that the cost to the United Nations would be considerably less than the cost of previous conferences.

144. In closing, let me reiterate our belief that atomic energy can be of tremendous benefit to all mankind. We believe the conference we have proposed will help to spread the news of those benefits throughout the world and to relate the new technological advances in this field to actual methods of improving the lot of the world's population. It will also help to improve the further advancement of peaceful nuclear research and development. For these reasons we hope that the conference can be held as the Scientific Advisory Committee has recommended and as we have proposed in draft resolution A/L.537.

145. Having urged action on the substantive draft resolution before us, my delegation can only regret that this Committee must debate and vote on the participation formula for the conference. The United States, together with Canada, has submitted the traditional Vienna formula under which invitations to participate in the fourth peaceful uses of atomic energy conference would be extended to States Members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. That formula for invitations is taken precisely from the unanimous recommendations of the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee. A number of other countries have submitted the so-called all-States formula as an amendment to our draft resolution. I want now to draw the attention of the Assembly to the reasons why we support the Vienna "States-Members" formula and strongly oppose the "all-States" approach.

146. First, the States-Members formula has always been used for United Nations conferences. That has been the case in the previous three United Nations conferences on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The General Assembly has never adopted the "all-States" formula for a United Nations conference.

147. Secondly, the so-called all-States formula is unworkable. It would require the Secretary-General, who is to issue invitations, to determine what entities not States Members of the United Nations family are "States". That is a burden the Secretary-General should not be asked to bear. He and his Legal Counsel have repeatedly told us they cannot do so. We can surely understand why the Secretary-General would not be able to determine the "statehood" of East Germany, Estonia, Oman, Rhodesia, etc.

148. Thirdly, the great majority of the Members of the United Nations do not recognize the statehood of the entities, not States Members, whose participation in the conference would be in question.

149. Fourthly, it is natural that a United Nations conference should be for members of the United Nations family. It is they who pay the bills. We urge that the politically divisive "all-States" formula be rejected by this Assembly. We should promptly get on with plans for the fourth conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

150. Mr. GOTMANOV (Czechoslovakia): Permit me to express the position of the Czechoslovak delegation on the question of convening the fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy [A/6886, annex]. In the period since the Third International Conference, held in Geneva in 1964, this scientific discipline has progressed at an unusually quick rate. Consequently, the Czechoslovak delegation believes that further broad exchange of scientific, technical and economic experience among scientists from all over the world would be very useful. The conference should, for example, make it possible to determine the economic impact of nuclear power production compared with the classical one on the basis of the progress attained in the past years. The conference should, likewise, contribute to the international standardization and normalization in the field of evaluating the safety of construction units as well as nuclear power plants as a whole, their location as well as their respective hygienic and other criteria.

151. At present, parallel with the development of progressive types of thermal reactors, breeder-reactors also opened a new, significant era. One of the tasks of the fourth conference should therefore consist in exchanging experience in these fields, as well as making possible discussions on fuel cycles linking the two above systems.

152. In the time which has elapsed since the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, a number of various international as well as national scientific conferences were held. However, these conferences dealt in detail with certain specific problems. Such conferences, therefore, do not make it possible to gain a general view of the development as a whole in this field.

153. The objective of the fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy should reside not only in the exchange of information and experience but also in a further strengthening and expansion of contacts among scientists from many countries. International co-operation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy is not only of scientific but also of political significance, since it contributes to understanding between nations.

154. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation welcomes the convening of the fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. However, we believe that the idea of broad international co-operation should be reflected also in the text of the draft resolution itself [A/L.537], in the sense that all States, irrespective of whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, International Atomic Energy Agency or another specialized agency, should be invited to participate in the next conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

155. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore fully supports the amendment just introduced by the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [A/L.538] to the draft resolution.

156. There are certain countries, such as the German Democratic Republic, which are not members of the United Nations or of specialized agencies but which have acquired rich experience in the field of atomic energy research and would be able, in consequence, to contribute, in the field of scientific information, to good results of the conference. We also maintain that no political motives should stand in the way of convening the Conference with the participation of all States.

157. Mr. BILLNER (Sweden): In the annex to the note by the Secretary-General now before the General Assembly [A/6886], the recommendations adopted by the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee at its meeting in October this year have been summarized. The Advisory Committee recommends that there should be a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy under the auspices of the United Nations, with the fullest participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

158. It should be noted, however, that the Advisory Committee goes on to say that other United Nations conferences might usefully be held on such topics as the impact of new technologies on human relations

and on society—that is, what has become known as the human environment issue.

159. In the view of my delegation, this is a matter which should be given high priority. The impact of the technological revolution that is taking place around us is felt by all peoples, irrespective of their present technological level. It has far-reaching effects on the environment of man. The human body and the human mind are subjected to serious and ever-increasing inconvenience and dangers. These are caused by air pollution, water pollution, sulphur fall-out waste, etc.—in short by all the secondary effects related to the process of industrialization and urbanization.

160. My delegation is conscious of the efforts that have already been undertaken on the part of various bodies within the United Nations system. WHO has taken a great interest in the question of air pollution, ECE is working on the same problems and UNESCO will arrange a conference on the biosphere in 1968.

161. Clearly, the complexity and vast impact of those problems require a great effort to co-ordinate the work done by specialized agencies. We feel that the United Nations has a leading role to play here as a central co-ordinator of the various fields to which I just referred.

162. My delegation is of the opinion that to facilitate co-ordination and to focus the interest of Member countries on the extremely complex problems related to the human environment, it would be most useful to arrange a conference on this matter under the auspices of the United Nations. Furthermore, we should like such a conference to take place as early as possible in 1970 or 1971, if that should prove feasible.

163. In the meantime, we should very much welcome it if the Secretariat could examine what preparations and background material would be required for such a conference. This would also permit Member Governments to intensify studies and measures already prepared or under way in this field. It is the intention of my delegation to come back to the matter in the near future in another context.

164. I have one further comment on the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Canada [A/L.537]. This comment has a direct bearing on the possibilities of arranging a conference on environment in forthcoming years.

165. In the draft resolution, it has been said that the Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy should be convened under the aegis of the United Nations, with the full participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency. My delegation attaches great importance to the role played by the IAEA in this context. We would even think that it would be possible for the IAEA to arrange a conference under its own auspices, without involving the facilities of the United Nations itself. The IAEA has, in our view, reached such a stage of maturity and effectiveness in recent years that it could well handle a conference of the kind envisaged. It is the understanding of my delegation that the draft resolution now before us does not rule out this possibility.

166. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): We have before us a summary of recommendations adopted by the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee regarding the question of holding the fourth conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which appears as an annex to the note of the Secretary-General [A/6886]. The note of the Secretary-General has been circulated pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2056 (XX), which was co-sponsored by India, along with Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and which decided that the question of holding further conferences be considered at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

167. It would be appropriate at this stage to recall the achievements of the first three Conferences. The first Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held in Geneva in August 1955 under the Presidency of the late Dr. Homi Bhabha of India. That was till then the largest meeting ever convened to discuss this question under the auspices of the United Nations.

168. The second Conference, held at Geneva in 1958, under the Presidency of Professor Perrin of France, was even larger than the first Conference, both in attendance and in the scope of its agenda. An important achievement of the second Conference was that certain subjects which till then had not generally been discussed in open meetings were taken up—for example, the subject of nuclear fusion. However, it was felt that the size of the Conference could have been reduced; and this consideration, to a large extent, led to limiting the scope of the third Conference.

169. The third international Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, also held in Geneva, in 1964, was attended by representatives of seventy-seven countries, besides an estimated 2,000 observers sent by industrial organizations, educational institutions, and scientific bodies. A scientific exhibition, in which many Governments participated, was also organized. At the conclusion of the third Conference, its President, Professor Emelyanov of the Soviet Union, in his presidential address said that although that Conference was smaller than its predecessors of 1955 and 1958, it had shown the way to "revolutionary progress" in many branches of science, technology, economics, public health and culture.^{5/} Professor Seaborg of the United States, at the same Conference, in his summing up, expressed the belief that the Conference marked "the beginning of the age of nuclear power",^{6/} and affirmed that its proceedings suggested that "by the turn of the century our Conference suggests more than half of the world's electricity will be generated by nuclear energy".^{7/}

170. General Assembly resolution 2056 (XX), to which I referred earlier, noted with satisfaction the contribution made by the third international Conference to the free international exchange of scientific and technical information and to expanded inter-

^{5/} Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 65.IX.1), p. 379.

^{6/} Ibid., p. 383.

^{7/} Ibid., p. 394.

national co-operation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy, notably in respect of nuclear power.

171. The United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee has unanimously recommended that there should be a fourth international Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy under the auspices of the United Nations with the fullest participation of the IAEA. It has further stated that the specialized agencies should be invited to participate as observers.

172. The Committee has presented us with guidelines for the holding of the fourth Conference. They state that the fourth international Conference should be of somewhat shortened duration and should be held in 1970 and 1971. Without making any firm recommendation about the content of an agenda for the Conference, the Committee has recommended a list of topics as illustrations of the subjects which have been suggested for discussion and which should be further studied by it at later sessions.

173. My delegation is convinced that the fourth conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy would definitely be useful and worthwhile. We are aware of the benefits that were derived from the three previous international Conferences on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy and also of the fact that major advances in atomic energy and its applications since 1964 promise to affect most of the population of the world. The advances made in the practical applications of atomic energy are such that a conference of this nature would bring immediate benefit to the advancement of science and technology in the developing countries.

174. For instance, India is vitally interested in studies such as food preservation by radiation, and the indirect effects through genetic changes in plants for food. Such a conference would help towards a better understanding and application of the advances made in these fields.

175. My delegation fully endorses the recommendation of the Scientific Advisory Committee that the proposed fourth international Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy should be held under the auspices of the United Nations, with the fullest participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The working relationship between the United Nations and the IAEA, which was established during the third Conference, proved to be eminently satisfactory, and should continue for the fourth Conference also.

176. My delegation will support draft resolution A/L.537, as it takes into account the principal recommendations of the Scientific Advisory Committee. We shall also vote for the amendment [A/L.538] to this draft.

177. We are confident that the fourth Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy will be as great a success as the earlier three Conferences.

178. Mr. ESCHAUZIER (Netherlands): During the discussion of agenda item 14—namely, the annual report of the IAEA [A/6679 and Add.1]—my delegation voiced its doubts about the need for another international conference under the aegis of the United Nations. I feel obliged to state at this juncture that

we have not been convinced by the arguments adduced in favour of the holding of such a Conference.

179. The first scientific Conference in Geneva in 1955 was undoubtedly a success. Its main achievement, as was pointed out by the representative of India, was the declassification of data which hitherto had not generally been available. The Conference may also have been a strong incentive for the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency itself.

180. The second international Conference in Geneva, in 1958, also proved to be useful in many respects—for instance, with regard to research on nuclear fusion.

181. But I think I am correct in saying that since the third conference, which was held in 1964, the possible benefits and the net result of large international gatherings of this kind were viewed, at least by some participants, in a different light and have become questionable. Nuclear science seems to have entered the phase where international meetings of a more limited scope and character promise to be most effective.

182. With your permission, Mr. President, I shall quote from my statement in the plenary meeting on 5 December as follows:

"Consultation of the cumulative list of scientific meetings held under the auspices of the IAEA since 1959 shows that these cover a very broad range of subjects, such as life sciences, health and safety, waste management, physics and electronics, reactor physics and reactors, industrial applications and others. One of the most recent initiatives of the IAEA was the convening of a panel of experts which discussed the possibility of applying various methods and devices aimed at improving and simplifying the Agency's safeguards techniques." [1619th meeting, para. 65.]

183. The agenda proposed by the Scientific Advisory Committee [A/6886, annex] does fall, broadly speaking, within the scope of the Agency's activities I have just mentioned. I feel this is particularly true of subjects such as the techniques of safeguards and the potential peaceful uses of atomic explosions. I doubt whether discussion of these topics of acute interest can be deferred until 1970 or 1971.

184. From the examples I have just quoted, it will be clear that the Agency has gained considerable experience, over a period of almost ten years, in organizing regional and international conferences. My delegation would, therefore, prefer the IAEA to assume such a task directly under its own responsibility as the need for discussion of one or more particular subjects arises. In this respect I fully concur with the views of the representative of Sweden.

185. If, contrary to my delegation's opinion, a majority of the General Assembly would, nevertheless, prefer to endorse the proposal embodied in draft resolution A/L.537, we would strongly urge that the IAEA be given the primary responsibility for organizing a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

186. In conclusion I wish to state that the amendment to the last operative paragraph of the draft resolution

as proposed by the representative of Byelorussia [A/L.538] is unacceptable to my delegation.

187. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): In connexion with this item, we have before us a note by the Secretary-General [A/6886] which presents to us a summary of recommendations adopted by the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee on 13 October 1967. The Advisory Committee recommends that a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy should be held in 1970 or 1971 under the auspices of the United Nations and with the fullest possible participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

188. The views of the Japanese Government on this proposed conference are as follows: Japan has no objection to the convening of the conference. However, in view of the past experience of 1955, 1958 and 1964, we consider that the fourth conference should be made a really meaningful one through focusing its work on a limited number of important problems.

189. We are glad to note that a similar review of past experience is reflected in the recommendations of the Advisory Committee [*ibid.*, annex] and also in the draft resolution introduced by Canada and the United States [A/L.537]. The recommendations said in effect that the duration of the next conference should be somewhat shortened. The fourth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution indicates in effect that it should be more limited in size, cost and duration than the conferences held in 1955, 1958 and 1964. In our view, the scope of the conference should be determined first. If this is done and if the scope is restricted to the consideration of a limited number of really important problems, then the conference will automatically be limited in size, cost and duration.

190. We consider that the primary work of the conference should be focused on such important problems as those concerning atomic reactors. Accordingly, with regard to the suggested topics of the conference as they appear in the above-mentioned recommendations of the Scientific Advisory Committee, we consider it appropriate that items 5, 6 and 7 should be deleted. We hope that the Committee, when studying further the agenda of the conference, will take into consideration this view of our Government.

191. We agree with the substance of draft resolution A/L.537 and will vote in favour of it. On the other hand, we shall vote against the amendment to it [A/L.538].

192. Mr. PROKOFIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly is today considering the question of holding further discussions on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

193. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, including the holding of international conferences; it believes that such co-operation makes for faster economic and scientific development for the benefit of all mankind. The Soviet Union, the first country to use the energy of the atomic nucleus for

constructive purposes, has consistently devoted a great deal of attention to developing all aspects of this important branch of the national economy. Furthermore, the Soviet Government has spared no effort to extend co-operation with other States in the peaceful uses of atomic energy for the sake of human progress.

194. On the basis of this position of principles, the Soviet delegation has no objection to the holding of a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy in 1970 or 1971.

195. The Soviet delegation feels that all States which so desire should be given the opportunity to take part in such a conference and to make their contribution to the further development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

196. The Soviet delegation also wishes to stress the inadmissibility of discrimination against States which are not members of the United Nations or its specialized agencies by excluding them from the conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

197. Although nowadays everyone recognizes the principle of universality of membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, attempts are made to hamper effective international co-operation in the peaceful use of atomic energy. Attempts are made to have our Organization act in violation of its Charter by adopting measures which do not accord with the Charter's aims and purposes. The United Nations and its specialized agencies have not yet become universal in membership, and this greatly affects the authority both of the Organization itself and of its decisions and recommendations.

198. An example of such discrimination is the fact that the German Democratic Republic, although a sovereign State, is not a member of the United Nations or of its specialized agencies. The application of the German Democratic Republic for membership in the United Nations,^{8/} as was pointed out in a statement on the subject by the Soviet Government, was "a logical consequence of the historic post-war changes which took place long ago in Europe". The German Democratic Republic fully meets all the conditions laid down by the Charter of the United Nations for States entering the Organization and is legally entitled to be represented in this international Organization and its specialized agencies.

199. The actions of those circles which are raising obstacles in this manner are typical manifestations of the notorious "cold war" policy.

200. The Soviet Union is in favour of the widest possible participation of States in conferences on atomic energy. Indeed, the wider the circle of participating States, the more useful and interesting information will be presented and the greater the chances of each participant's deriving what is necessary and useful to it from the conference. We adhere firmly to the position that there should be no discrimination whatsoever in issuing invitations to the conference; this should not be dependent either on a State's stage of development or on the extent of its activity and

^{8/} A/6443.

direct participation in atomic research and the use of atomic energy, nor yet on its present membership or non-membership of the United Nations.

201. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation firmly supports the proposal of the delegations of Burundi, the Byelorussian SSR, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea and Nepal to amend paragraph 4 of the Canadian and United States draft resolution, and intends to vote for their amendment [A/L.538].

202. In supporting that amendment, we reject the untenable arguments adduced in this connexion in the statement made by the United States representative. In our view, his reference to the problem of inviting Southern Rhodesia is intended merely to distract the General Assembly's attention from the problem of universal participation by all States in the forthcoming conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The amendment submitted by Burundi, the Byelorussian SSR, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea and Nepal obviously does not envisage issuing an invitation to the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

203. We feel that, as in the case of the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held under the aegis of the United Nations International Atomic Energy Agency, which possesses qualified specialists as well as experience in the organization of such conferences, should participate to the fullest extent in the preparation for the fourth international conference and in the conference itself, under the aegis of the United Nations.

204. Mr. GLEISSNER (Austria): My delegation has studied with great interest the summary of recommendations of the Scientific Advisory Committee on the question of holding further conferences on the peaceful uses of atomic energy [A/6886, annex].

205. With regard to the draft resolution before us [A/L.537] my delegation wishes to draw attention to operative paragraph 2, which states that the conference should be organized "with the fullest possible participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency". This implies, in the view of my delegation, that resources in personnel and technical knowledge already available in the IAEA should be fully utilized in the preparation of the fourth international conference. It is these resources that should primarily be tapped in the context of the specific request formulated in paragraph 3 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

206. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the General Assembly to take a decision on draft resolution A/L.537. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, I shall put to the vote first the amendment [A/L.538] submitted by the delegations of Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea and Nepal. That amendment would replace operative paragraph 4 by the following:

"Invites all States to participate in the conference."

A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Norway, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Singapore, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Mongolia, Nepal.

Against: Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger.

Abstaining: Senegal, Trinidad and Tobago, Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Libya, Madagascar, Maldives Islands, Nigeria.

The amendment was rejected by 46 votes to 31, with 16 abstentions.

207. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution A/L.537.

The draft resolution was adopted by 86 votes to none, with 4 abstentions [resolution 2309 (XXII)].

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.