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with the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency on its work during the past year; it shows that the Agency is continuing effectively to carry out the functions envisaged in its Statute.

2. Special mention must be made of the Agency's efforts in the sphere of technical assistance. Argentina, for its part, is contributing to those efforts at the vocational training level by offering fellowships, sending out experts and holding regional courses.

3. However, my delegation is concerned at the fact that the present inflationary trend is constantly reducing the resources allocated to these purposes, with the result that both the quantity and quality of technical co-operation are gradually declining, as may be clearly seen from the report [A/7175 and Add.1] which we have before us.

4. With regard to the world-wide prospects opened up by electricity produced by nuclear energy, it is most satisfactory to note that the Agency's active participation in the rapid expansion of nuclear power is increasing. This activity takes the form of despatching missions, holding meetings of experts and exchanging basic nuclear data necessary to design power reactors.

5. Attention must also be drawn to the Agency's activities in the sphere of safety, health protection and the treatment and disposal of radioactive waste. We cannot but express our sincere appreciation of these achievements and we hope that the scope of these activities will be enlarged in the very near future. Equally laudable has been the work done during the year on the use of radioisotopes in agriculture, medicine and industry, aspects to which Argentina accords special attention.

6. The Argentine delegation also wishes to emphasize the effective way in which the Director General and the secretariat of the Agency have carried out the programmes I have mentioned, and this moves my country to reiterate once again its firm support for the International Atomic Energy Agency. For those reasons my country will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2 submitted by Canada, Iran and Poland.

7. The draft resolution also refers to the new responsibilities which the Agency will assume with the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. On that question the Argentine delegation wishes to point out that, although Argentina is not a signatory of the Treaty, it agrees that the International Atomic Energy Agency should be the organization responsible for the application of the system of safeguards provided for in the Treaty, as well as of any other system of safeguards which may be agreed upon in

**President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).**

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ghorra (Lebanon), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 15**

**Report of the International  
Atomic Energy Agency (*concluded*)**

1. Mr. RUDA (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina wishes to express its satisfaction

the future. However, my delegation wishes at this point to place on record that this extension of the functions of the International Atomic Energy Agency must be effected without prejudice to the pre-existing rights of Member States. As to the system of safeguards, it is obvious that the provisions of article III of the Treaty will apply only to those States which have ratified the instrument, while in the case of other States Members the system now in force will continue.

8. It is also clear that, in carrying out its new functions, the Agency will be precluded by the express provisions of article III C of its Statute from applying any political, economic or military discrimination.

9. Lastly, the Argentine delegation wishes to state that its vote in favour of this draft resolution in no way affects the position of its Government with respect to General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII).

10. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting begins.

11. Mr. GANESH (India): I should like to say a few words to explain the vote of my delegation on draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2, sponsored by the delegations of Canada, Iran and Poland.

12. In its operative part the draft resolution seeks to take note of the report of IAEA and of two resolutions [GC(XII)/RES/241 and GC(XII)/RES/245] adopted by the General Conference<sup>1</sup> of that body. At the General Conference India supported both resolutions. India supported the resolution [GC(XII)/RES/245] on the understanding that it did nothing more than signify the willingness and the ability of the IAEA to perform certain functions connected with the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Director General of IAEA was asked to study the procedures that the Agency should employ in performing the new role. However, the IAEA resolution does not, and cannot, discriminate between parties to the treaty in question and non-parties which are members of the IAEA. The Statute of IAEA makes it very clear that the Agency is there for the general benefit of all areas of the world, bearing in mind the special needs of the under-developed areas, and that the Agency's assistance cannot be subject to any economic, political, military or any other conditions incompatible with the provisions of its Statute and, finally, that the activities of the Agency shall be carried out with due observance of the sovereignty of States.

13. It was on that understanding that India voted for resolutions 241 and 245 of the General Conference although they make specific reference to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. We will thus support the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

14. However, I should like to make it quite clear that our support for this draft resolution does not in any way signify a change in India's well-known position in regard to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

<sup>1</sup> Twelfth regular session, held in Vienna from 24 to 30 September 1968.

15. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like at this point to explain the reasons for its vote on the draft resolution [A/L.552/Rev.2] relating to the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [A/7175 and Add.1] and to present a few general observations concerning the Agency's activities as well as its views on the agency's future work.

16. Every year the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency is presented for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly. This is normally a comprehensive document containing condensed information on the activities of IAEA in the field of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Behind the dry sentences of the Agency's report the technical phraseology and occasionally even the mathematical formulas, which are sometimes meaningful only to those initiated into the mysteries of nuclear physics, there lie the objective problems of the history of modern civilization, and the future prospects for the development of productive forces.

17. It is this kind of report that has been submitted by the International Atomic Energy Agency for consideration by the General Assembly at its present session. It was officially presented for such consideration not long ago by Mr. Eklund, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency [1720th meeting]. The report covers the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency during the past year, and a supplement brings the information practically up to date. An enumeration of the main chapters of the report alone shows how varied the activities of the Agency have been. Here we find activities in the fields of technical assistance, nuclear reactors, isotopes and radiation sources, health protection, safety measures and waste management.

18. The report discusses the development, within the framework of the Agency, of co-operation between States in research in the physical sciences, the exchange of nuclear information and documentation, and the improvement of a system of safeguards to forestall any attempts to use assistance in the nuclear field not for peaceful but for military purposes.

19. If we add to this the fact that the International Atomic Energy Agency is not a narrow professional organization of nuclear physicists—although of course its work would be inconceivable without the participation of highly trained scientific and technical experts—but an intergovernmental organization in which States are represented at the political level and all decisions, however technical they may be in form, are of a political nature, entailing certain political consequences, if we bear that aspect of the matter in mind also, it becomes even clearer what a responsible role IAEA plays in the system of present-day international relations.

20. The Soviet Union is making a substantial contribution to the work of the Agency as regards both nuclear power development and the expansion and strengthening of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

21. In a message to the twelfth session of the General Conference of IAEA, Mr. A. N. Kosygin, the Chairman of

the Council of Ministers of the USSR, emphasized the following:

“The Soviet Government ascribes particular importance to co-operation with other States in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, including co-operation within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency. We intend in the future also to make our contribution to strengthening this co-operation, and to developing the role and authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency.”<sup>2</sup>

22. Our contribution to the Agency's activities is based on the remarkable achievements of Soviet scientists in the field of nuclear physics, the experience of the engineers and builders of our nuclear power plants, and of experts in other peaceful uses of atomic energy.

23. The Soviet Union is engaged in extensive international co-operation in the field of nuclear power engineering, having concluded co-operation agreements with a number of States for the construction of nuclear power plants. We propose to continue to co-operate in this field, turning to account our considerable experience in the construction and operation of nuclear power plants.

24. In a desire to promote the development of nuclear power engineering to an even greater extent with a view to economic growth and improved standards of living for the peoples of the developing countries, the Soviet delegation at the twelfth session of the General Conference of the Agency announced [*121st meeting*] that the Soviet Union was prepared to enrich the raw uranium of interested non-nuclear countries to 2.5-5 per cent for uranium 235, that is to say, to the degree of enrichment required for nuclear power plants. Of course, such enriched uranium must be used in these countries solely for peaceful purposes.

25. Leading Soviet scientists and experts participate regularly in most of the scientific and technical conferences, symposia and meetings held by the Agency. Our country has offered the Agency the necessary facilities for the successful holding of quite a number of such conferences. For example, in 1968 a group of scientists from fourteen States members of the Agency was given the opportunity to make a three weeks' visit to scientific research centres in Moscow, Leningrad, Obninsk, Melekhov, Novovoronezh and Tbilisi in order to study problems connected with radiation protection. In July and August 1968, medical scientists and doctors from ten States members of the Agency took training courses in Moscow, within the framework of the inter-regional courses, on radioisotope methods in medicine. Following the courses, the participants visited Leningrad, Kiev and Kishinev, where they became acquainted with the work of medical research centres.

26. A highly successful conference of IAEA experts was held in Moscow in July 1968 on problems relating to the transplantation of bone marrow.

27. In August 1968 the Third International Conference on Plasma Physics and Controlled Nuclear Fusion Research, which was convened by the Agency, was held in Novo-

sibirsk, after which the participants were able to visit plasma physics research installations in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Sukhumi, Tbilisi and Novosibirsk.

28. We welcome the co-operation that has been established between IAEA and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance through the exchange of information and scientific and technical documentation and through mutual participation in activities of these two international organizations.

29. Our country has always attached great importance to the activities of the Agency in the sphere of technical assistance to developing countries. The Soviet Union, as a regular contributor to the Agency's General Fund, which was set up to provide technical assistance, is voluntarily placing financial resources and training grants at the Agency's disposal. Desirous of contributing even more to the Agency's technical assistance activities, the Soviet Union announced at the twelfth session of the General Conference of the Agency [*121st meeting*] that it would make a further, larger contribution to the Agency's General Fund in 1969 for the purchase of equipment, apparatus and supplies in the Soviet Union.

30. Other socialist countries are also taking an active part in the Agency's activities. Many States, both industrially developed and developing States, are making a significant contribution to these activities. All this is reflected in the Agency's report for 1967-1968 now under consideration by the General Assembly.

31. Of course, all necessary steps should continue to be taken to increase the effectiveness of IAEA activities and to eliminate shortcomings and some weaknesses in its work. This is particularly important as the Agency is now entering a new stage of more varied activity connected with the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

32. The conclusion of that Treaty represents a major success for the cause of peace, an important and necessary step towards shielding mankind from the threat of nuclear war. It is this approach to the Treaty that is reflected in the well-known resolution on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [*2373 (XXII)*] adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. Up to now the Treaty has been signed by more than eighty States, and many other States are expected to accede to it. Signatory States have now begun the process of ratifying the Treaty. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has become a fact of international life.

33. What are the Agency's tasks in connexion with the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons?

34. First of all there is the highly responsible task of verifying fulfilment by the parties to the Treaty of their obligations. Article III of the Treaty stipulates that supervision for the purpose of verifying the fulfilment of the obligations assumed by non-nuclear States under the Treaty will be exercised by the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is the broadest and most authoritative international organization for co-operation in the peaceful

uses of atomic energy. The non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons have undertaken under this Treaty to conclude special agreements with the Agency concerning verifications, either individually or together with other States, in accordance with the Agency's statute and safeguards system.

35. During the two-year period following the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons the Agency will not only have to enter into and complete negotiations with the non-nuclear States concerned and conclude agreements with them, but will also have to prepare itself fully for the practical supervision of their peaceful nuclear activities.

36. Will IAEA be able to cope with this great task? Certainly, it will. As a result of the painstaking and prolonged labours of highly qualified experts from various countries a safeguards and inspection system has been worked out within the framework of IAEA that has met with general endorsement and has demonstrated its effectiveness in practice. This system covers the entire nuclear fuel cycle with the exception of plants for the isotopic enrichment of uranium. It has been approved by all States members of IAEA. IAEA has already acquired some practical experience in applying safeguards to nearly 120 nuclear installations in twenty-nine countries and is constantly improving its verification techniques. To that end, extensive use has been made of an IAEA research and development programme on control techniques and of similar programmes of member States.

37. The Agency has a staff of highly qualified scientific and technical experts, who are also familiar with the specific problems raised by safeguards. With the assistance of these experts, the IAEA is capable of preparing within a reasonably short period the necessary safeguards and inspection machinery and expand its safeguards activities as required for the purposes of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

38. The Agency's safeguards constitute a reliable form of control and can be depended upon both from the point of view of effectiveness and from that of the stipulation in article III of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that the safeguards must not infringe in any way upon the sovereignty of the States that have placed their peaceful nuclear installations under the Agency's safeguards.

39. It is not only in the field of safeguards that the Agency's tasks and functions are expanding in connexion with the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. As we know, the Treaty, and particularly its articles IV and V, opens up new prospects for the development of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy which will undoubtedly promote a more rapid progress of civilization.

40. This of course creates favourable conditions for the elaboration of new and broader programmes of co-operation between nuclear and non-nuclear States in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons thus becomes a

treaty on the proliferation of the benefits of the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy for the largest possible number of States parties to it. And, in that connexion, the International Atomic Energy Agency is called upon to play a significant role. In particular, the Agency is faced with very important responsibilities relating to co-operation with a view to the peaceful application of nuclear explosions for the needs of non-nuclear countries.

41. In the light of the responsibilities now facing the Agency in connexion with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, consistent observance in the Agency of the principle of universality, the participation of all the countries in the world in the work of the Agency, becomes more important than ever before. In that connexion, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to express emphatically its view that the German Democratic Republic, whose outstanding achievements in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy are well known, should be represented in the International Atomic Energy Agency.

42. The German Democratic Republic was one of the first signatories of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and has announced its willingness to place its activities concerned with the peaceful uses of nuclear energy under the Agency's safeguards. Its participation in the Agency would have a fruitful effect on all the latter's work.

43. The more courageous and determined States become in scaling down and thereafter ending the nuclear arms race, in bringing about nuclear disarmament, the more extensive will be the range of the Agency's activities relative to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Soviet delegation therefore considers it legitimate and necessary, with reference to the General Assembly's consideration of the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, to call upon all States to contribute most actively to the implementation of disarmament measures, to strive to reduce international tension and to strengthen world peace.

44. It is the foregoing considerations which have determined the Soviet delegation's attitude to the draft resolution submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly by the delegations of Iran, Poland and Canada. [A/L.552/Rev.2].

45. The Soviet delegation agrees with the draft resolution and intends to support it.

46. Mr. SCHUURMANS (Belgium) (*translated from French*): My delegation wishes to make a brief statement in explanation of its position with regard to draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2. In this draft resolution the General Assembly takes note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [A/7175 and Add.1] and recognizes that during the last decade the Agency has acquired the experience and competence needed to carry out the new responsibilities which it will assume with the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to establish appropriate international control procedures when all States have access to the benefits to be derived from peaceful uses of nuclear explosions. In addition, the draft cites two important resolutions which were adopted by the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency last September.

47. One of them, resolution GC(XII)RES/241, concerns the changes which should be made in the Agency's Statute. In this connexion, Belgium recognizes that the status it was given by the Agency's statute at the time IAEA was created is out of date inasmuch as my country was classified as one of the main producers of uranium. We are therefore prepared to take part in discussions with a view to the amendment of article VI of the Agency's statute, provided that certain basic principles are observed. Among such principles I would mention the maintenance of the existing over-all equilibrium, the equitable distribution of Board membership, as between countries furnishing technical assistance and those receiving it, a fair distribution of seats between the developed and the developing countries in the nuclear field, and, lastly, adequate representation of States members of the European Atomic Energy Community.

48. The effect of resolution GC(XII)RES/245 is to designate the International Atomic Energy Agency as the international organization best qualified to make the potential benefits of peaceful nuclear explosions available to all. My Government fully endorses that proposal. Subject to the comments just made, the Belgian delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2.

49. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the General Assembly to vote on draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 93 votes to none, with 4 abstentions [resolution 2457 (XXIII)].*

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

51. Mr. DELEAU (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution concerning the International Atomic Energy Agency. It wishes to make it clear that its vote does not imply any change in the French Government's position with regard to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

52. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The views of the delegation of Mexico concerning the procedure followed in the adoption of resolution GC(XII)/RES/245 by the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency on 30 September last—mentioned in draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2 on which we have just voted—continue to be as I stated at the 1643rd meeting of the First Committee and are set out in the verbatim record of that meeting.

53. In brief, we have the most serious reservations with regard to that procedure and hope that in the Agency's own interests such cases will not occur again. Nevertheless, we voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2 for the following three main reasons: because the Assembly has just adopted resolution 2456 C (XXIII); because operative paragraph 3 was amended in the second revision of draft resolution A/L.552 to bring it into line with the provisions of operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2456 A (XXIII), which we have also just adopted; and because of our high esteem—which we have often expressed and demonstrated by deeds—for the effective work which has been done by the International Atomic Energy Agency and which it will doubtless continue to do if the necessary reforms are

introduced and if, as its Director General explained here on 15 November [1720th meeting], it is given the necessary financial resources.

54. In casting our vote in favour of the draft resolution, we nevertheless wish to place on record the Mexican delegation's understanding that the studies referred to in operative paragraph 2(b) will in no way prejudice the identity, structure or operation of the appropriate international body provided for in article V of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, or the substance of the special international agreement referred to in the same article, since in our view, this is a matter to be examined and decided on by the United Nations General Assembly on the basis of the report on the establishment, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency, of an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which this Assembly in a resolution just adopted [resolution 2456 C (XXIII)]—to which I have already referred—has requested the Secretary-General to prepare and transmit to the Governments mentioned in the resolution, and I quote: "... in time to permit its consideration by the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session."

55. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*translated from French*): The purpose of the Algerian delegation in voting for draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.2 was to take note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency. I should like to indicate that its vote does not alter in any way the position of my Government with regard to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

56. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 15.

## AGENDA ITEM 12

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

#### REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/7426)

## AGENDA ITEM 45

### Multilateral food aid: report of the Secretary-General

#### REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/7427)

57. Mr. CHRISTIANSEN (Norway), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the great honour of presenting the last two reports of the Second Committee. The first report [A/7426] is in connexion with agenda item 12. Before I refer to the recommendations of the Second Committee with regard to this item, I should like to point out that the Committee did consider the specific paragraphs of the report of the Economic and Social Council referred to concerning the proposed amendments to the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. Paragraphs 24 and 25 of that report indicate the actions taken by the Second Committee in this regard.

58. In paragraph 39 of this report the Second Committee has recommended four draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly, followed by a further recom-

\* Resumed from the 1748th meeting.



mendation, in paragraph 40, on which the General Assembly has been requested to take a decision.

59. Draft resolution I concerns international co-operation with a view to the use of computers and computation techniques for development; draft resolution II concerns the role of the co-operative movement in economic and social development; draft resolution III relates to human resources for development; and draft resolution IV concerns international monetary reform.

60. With regard to the decision which has been recommended in paragraph 40, I should like to say that the Second Committee had a very fruitful debate on the organization of its work in future years and has made certain suggestions which are reflected in paragraphs 28 to 38 of this report.

61. My next and final report [A/7427] relates to agenda item 45. The Second Committee considered this question and, as a result, adopted a draft resolution, appearing in paragraph 20 of the report, which it recommends for adoption by the General Assembly.

62. I therefore have the honour to commend these two reports for consideration by the General Assembly.

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

63. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first take a decision on the recommendations of the Second Committee relating to agenda item 12. The four draft resolutions adopted by the Committee appear in paragraph 39 of its report [A/7426].

64. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7428] on the administrative and financial implications which would result from the adoption of draft resolution I.

65. I put that draft resolution to the vote.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 108 votes to none [resolution 2458 (XXIII)].*

66. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution II.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 111 votes to none [resolution 2459 (XXIII)].*

67. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution III.

*Draft resolution III was adopted by 109 votes to none [resolution 2460 (XXIII)].*

68. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote draft resolution IV.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted by 78 votes to none, with 27 abstentions [resolution 2461 (XXIII)].*

69. The PRESIDENT: I invite the attention of Members to paragraph 40 of the Second Committee's report [A/7426], concerning the organization of the work of that

Committee. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to take note of this paragraph?

*It was so decided.*

70. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to paragraphs 24 and 25 of the same report, relating to paragraphs 764 to 770 of chapter XVI of the report of the Economic and Social Council on the proposed amendment to the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. At its 1676th meeting, on 27 September 1968, the Assembly decided that after consideration by the Second and Third Committees this matter should be transmitted to the Sixth Committee in accordance with the rules of procedure. Owing to lack of time the Third Committee was unable to discuss this question. The Second Committee reported to the Sixth Committee that it recommended postponement of the matter until the twenty-fourth session. The Assembly may therefore wish to take note of paragraph 25 of the report of the Second Committee [A/7426].

*It was so decided.*

71. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Japan for an explanation of vote.

72. Mr. ABE (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution IV, entitled "International monetary reform", which the Assembly has just adopted. Having done so, my delegation wishes to state that it interprets the latter part of the operative paragraph of the resolution to mean that the activation of the special drawing rights facility, by helping to establish a fully stable monetary system, would improve the functioning of the world economy, which in turn would lead to creating a better environment for the increased flow of resources to developing countries. My delegation believes that a new scheme of special drawing rights should not be linked, as regards either its function or institution, with development financing, including the replenishment of IDA resources. In our view the special drawing rights should rather be maintained as reserve assets with full liquidity, so that confidence in the world monetary system may be strengthened, because without a fully stable monetary system the provision of additional resources to developing countries can hardly be expected.

73. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of the chapters of the report of the Economic and Social Council (agenda item 12) which were considered by the Second Committee.

74. We now turn to the recommendation of the Second Committee relating to agenda item 45. The draft resolution adopted by the Committee appears in paragraph 20 of its report [A/7427].

75. I call on the representative of New Zealand, who wishes to introduce an amendment to the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee.

76. Mr. LYNCH (New Zealand): I have asked for the floor on behalf of a number of delegations to move formally a small amendment to the wording of operative paragraph 6(b) of the draft resolution on "Multilateral food

aid", contained in paragraph 20 of the Second Committee's report [A/7427].

77. The text of this amendment is with the Secretariat and will be circulated shortly. We regret that it has not been made available to delegations in advance of consideration of this item.

78. As now worded, paragraph 6(b) would invite the intergovernmental committee of the World Food Programme

"To submit recommendations, especially with a view to assisting in the preparation of the second United Nations Development Decade, on the priorities and objectives which should guide the activities of Member States and of the competent international organizations in helping to solve the world's food problem."

79. On the basis of wide consultations it seems to be generally agreed that with a minor modification the request addressed to the intergovernmental committee in this sub-paragraph could be placed more properly and more directly within the existing terms of reference of the intergovernmental committee, and more faithfully reflect the views expressed in the Second Committee. Accordingly the change that we would like to submit for the consideration of the Assembly is to delete the words, "on the priorities and objectives which should" and to replace them by the following: "on those aspects of the food aid question which in its view might".

80. Thus the amended sub-paragraph, if this change is approved, would read:

"To submit recommendations, especially with a view to assisting in the preparation of the second United Nations Development Decade, on those aspects of the food aid question which in its view might guide the activities of Member States and of the competent international organizations in helping to solve the world's food problem."

81. As I have indicated, this proposed amendment has been discussed in advance with as many delegations as possible in the time available. There has been unanimous support for it in private, and we trust that the Assembly will be in a position now to endorse it and, as duly revised, to endorse the draft resolution as a whole.

82. Mr. BRADLEY (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): As a co-sponsor of the original draft resolution [A/7427, para. 20], and now of the amendment which has just been introduced by the representative of New Zealand, I wish to express my support for that amendment. For reasons which have already been explained, we were not able to consult all our colleagues on the matter, as we would have liked to do.

83. I wish to assure those Latin American colleagues whom I have not yet had an opportunity to contact that we support that amendment and I ask for their co-operation with a view to its adoption.

84. Mr. VIAUD (France) (*translated from French*): On behalf of the French delegation, I should like, first, to support the amendment proposed by the representative of

New Zealand. I do so because his amendment relates to a text which, during the discussion in Committee, was the object of a proposal by my delegation [*see A/7427, paras. 11 and 14*]. However, the very short, the very limited time which the Second Committee was given to do its work was perhaps insufficient to examine the finer points of the text, and my delegation now regards the amendment proposed by New Zealand as an improvement of the idea which we put forward in Committee, and we are therefore happy to support it.

85. I take this opportunity to say that, in general, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole [*ibid.*, para. 20]. However, in view of the circumstances, it is obliged to reserve the position of the French Government on the recommendation contained in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. That does not mean that the French Government will not consider that recommendation most carefully. But it is not yet able to take a position with regard to the text of this paragraph or to take any decision on the future amount of its contributions to the World Food Programme. This is why I am simply obliged to enter a reservation, which I hope will be mentioned in the verbatim record of this meeting.

86. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): My delegation had some difficulty with regard to sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 6 of the draft resolution submitted by the Second Committee [A/7427, para. 20], and we therefore wish to take this opportunity to thank the representative of New Zealand and the other sponsors of the draft amendment for having laboured to establish a text which my delegation can support and which seems to have won wide support in this Assembly.

87. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 20 of its report [A/7427]. In accordance with the rules of procedure, I shall put to the vote first the amendment [A/L.562] which proposes to replace the words "on the priorities and objectives which should" by the words "on those aspects of the food aid question which in its view might".

*The amendment was adopted by 87 votes to none, with 15 abstentions.*

88. The PRESIDENT: A separate vote has been requested on paragraph 2(d) of the draft resolution. If there is no objection, I shall put that paragraph to the vote.

*Paragraph 2(d) was adopted by 90 votes to 1, with 15 abstentions.*

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

*The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 9 abstentions [resolution 2462 (XXIII)].*

90. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Japan for an explanation of vote.

91. Mr. ABE (Japan): The delegation of Japan voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole on the under-

standing that with regard to the basic view on the role and significance of food aid, the resolution is in full agreement with the provisions of the Declaration on the World Food Problem adopted at the second session of UNCTAD. However, my delegation would like to make its specific reservation on operative paragraph 2 (*d*), which stressed the importance of:

“The role of international arrangements designed . . . to combine the pursuit of objectives of commodity price stabilization . . . with measures to provide food aid for developing countries”.

92. My delegation voted against this sub-paragraph when it was put to a separate vote for the following reason. As we see it, the two different elements, namely, food aid and commodity arrangements, are combined in that sub-paragraph. We agree that both elements are highly important to developing countries. However, we do not believe that food aid should be dealt with under commodity arrangements. The importance of food aid and commodity arrangements should be viewed and tackled in quite a different context. We believe that commodity price stabilization should not be related to food aid. We are therefore opposed to the concept of combining the food-aid problem with international commodity arrangements. For the same reason my delegation would like to reserve its position on operative paragraph 6 (*c*) with respect to the words:

“with due regard to experience gained to date, including allocations to the World Food Programme under the Food Aid Convention of the International Grains Arrangement . . .”

93. My delegation requests that our reservations on these particular sub-paragraphs of the resolution should be duly placed on the records of the General Assembly.

94. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 45.

### AGENDA ITEM 87

**Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/7429)

### AGENDA ITEM 89

**United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/7436)

95. Mr. SECARIN (Romania) [*Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee*] (*translated from French*): I have the honour to submit to this Assembly, on behalf of the Sixth Committee, the reports [A/7429 and A/7436] on the Committee's discussion of agenda items 87 and 89.

96. The United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law, the question with which agenda item 89 is concerned, was discussed by the Sixth Committee on the basis of a report by the Secretary-General [A/7305] on the implementation of the Programme. That report contains the recommendations made to the Secretary-General by the Advisory Committee established at the same time as the Programme itself, by General Assembly resolution 2099 (XX) of 20 December 1965.

97. The discussion which took place at the 1097th and 1098th meetings of the Sixth Committee once again brought out the importance which the teaching, study and adequate knowledge of international law have for the theory and practice of international relations. In examining the efforts made in this field since the inception of the Programme, the Committee was glad to note that the Secretary-General intends to continue those efforts with a view to encouraging and co-ordinating the activities of States and international organizations to further the objectives of the Programme. In this connexion, the Sixth Committee draws attention to the every-growing contribution of UNESCO and UNITAR, particularly as regards seminars and training courses at the regional level, studies on topics of international law, fellowship programmes, etc.

98. The Committee supports the recommendations of the Advisory Committee for the year 1969. Accordingly, it recommends the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolution [A/7436, *para. 9*], which was unanimously approved by the Committee.

99. Since the term of office of the Advisory Committee, whose members were appointed for a period of three years beginning on 1 January 1966, expires on 31 December 1968, the Sixth Committee, acting in accordance with the procedure followed when the Advisory Committee was established, adopted, without objection, a decision to recommend that the General Assembly should confirm the appointment of the following Member States as members of the Advisory Committee for the period 1 January 1969 to 31 December 1971: Belgium, Ecuador, France, Ghana, Hungary, Iraq, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, and United States of America [*ibid.*, *para. 10*].

100. Continuing its consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the subject of agenda item 87, the Sixth Committee once again found itself confronting the great project the United Nations has undertaken, namely the adoption of a declaration on the Charter's principles, a declaration bound to have a decisive influence on the progressive development and codification of those principles. The magnitude of this undertaking is indicated by the simple consideration that what is involved are the principles which enshrine in the text of the United Nations Charter the fundamental postulates that have crystallized in international law, concerning the sovereign equality of States, the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, the duty of States to fulfil their international obligations in good faith, their right and duty to co-operate with one



another, the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations and non-interference in the domestic affairs of States.

101. The Sixth Committee had the task of studying and passing judgement on the work which the Special Committee established to carry out this task done at its fourth session held this year in New York. The discussion in the Sixth Committee emphasized the further progress achieved by the Special Committee during its 1968 session particularly as regards the principle of the prohibition of the threat or use of force.

102. The report of the Sixth Committee [A/7429] on item 87 contains a summary of the legal trends which emerged in the debate. It reflects the currents of opinion which developed in respect of the various aspects of the three principles dealt with by the Special Committee at its last session, namely the principles of non-recourse to force, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and non-intervention.

103. I do not intend to dwell on the details. I should like to emphasize, however, that the Committee was unanimous in considering that scrupulous respect for the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations was of paramount importance for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the improvement of the international situation.

104. The Committee also concluded, again unanimously, that the progressive development and codification of the principles of the Charter would help to ensure their more effective implementation and would promote the attainment of the purposes of the United Nations. To that end, the Committee adopted by acclamation a draft resolution [*ibid.*, para. 73] which provides for the continuation of the Special Committee's work next year and which it recommends the General Assembly to adopt.

105. In conclusion, I should like to explain that the reports on the items of the Sixth Committee's agenda, with the exception of item 85 (Draft Convention on Special Missions) and item 89 (United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law) have been prepared in accordance with the Committee's decisions concerning each of the reports. These decisions provide, *inter alia*, that the reports must contain a summary of the general legal trends which emerged in the discussions. In any case, this is the practice always followed by the Sixth Committee and the only one which satisfies the needs of the progressive development and codification of international law.

106. In this connexion, I would like to express my warmest thanks to the distinguished representatives in the Sixth Committee, and to the eminent experts of the Office of Legal Affairs for the very expert assistance which they have kindly given me in the performance of my task.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Sixth Committee.*

107. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will take a decision on the recommendation of the Sixth Committee relating to

agenda item 87. The draft resolution adopted by the Committee appears in paragraph 73 of its report [A/7429].

108. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7465] on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution, and I now put it to the vote.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 109 votes to none [resolution 2463 (XXIII)].*

109. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 87.

110. We turn to the recommendation of the Sixth Committee concerning agenda item 89, which appears in paragraph 9 of its report [A/7436].

111. I call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

112. Mr. SONAVANE (India): I am aware that this is not an occasion when I should speak at length and take the valuable time of the General Assembly on the penultimate day of its twenty-third session. But permit me to make a few brief remarks on the occasion of the adoption of the Sixth Committee's report on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law.

113. The strengthening of the role of international law for the improvement of international relations is a cause which should be held as second to none in our efforts to promote peace and prosperity through the United Nations Organization.

114. My Government has always considered that it is only through a wider appreciation of international law that the primary purposes of the United Nations, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of friendly relations and co-operation among States, can be achieved. It is for this reason that we have always supported the provision of technical assistance for the promotion of the teaching, study and dissemination of international law, ever since this subject began to engage the attention of the General Assembly. Last year, in spite of our limited resources and the needs of our developing economy, we made a voluntary contribution to the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the field of international law.

115. We are, therefore, very pleased to note that the United Nations Secretariat, with the valuable assistance and co-operation of UNESCO and UNITAR, is actively implementing every year a modest but fruitful programme in the field of international law, which includes, among other things, the provision of some scholarships and fellowships, the conduct of seminars and training courses, the provision of legal publications and the provision of advisory services of experts. While all these forms of direct assistance by the United Nations and the specialized agencies are no doubt important, indirect assistance to Member States and their universities and institutions, by way of aid and encouragement to their own national programmes in the field of international law, are, in our view, equally important and they must engage our attention.

116. The question of dissemination of international law has to be dealt with, like many other questions, both on a national and international level. The establishment of international law bodies must be encouraged, especially in the newly independent and developing countries to promote nation-wide study, research and development of international law and, in particular, to study the international legal problems that concern such countries. We in India, for instance, felt the need for establishing such an institution, as a non-governmental and non-profit-making academic body, after our independence in 1947.

117. A few qualified scholars in international law and allied subjects formed an organizing committee and established the Indian Society of International Law in 1959. Today, the Society has over 600 members and it conducts regular teaching courses in international law, including courses on air law and space law, for those who are interested in those fields. It holds other lectures and seminars for its members on current international law topics, and it publishes also a quarterly journal called the *Indian Journal of International Law*. Apart from this, most of our universities today teach public international law as part of their law degree courses. But such national institutions and universities need encouragement in the form of money and material to establish chairs in international law, to maintain a good teaching staff, and also to maintain good libraries which would all serve the cause of dissemination and wider appreciation of international law.

118. A much bigger effort is therefore needed, both on the part of national societies and on the part of the international community, to foster and disseminate the knowledge of international law in the wider cause of international peace through the rule of law. But, as a step in that direction, we welcome the modest beginning made through the United Nations Programme of Assistance established in 1965, and implemented actively ever since, year after year. We wholeheartedly support the adoption of the Sixth Committee's report.

119. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee and contained in paragraph 9 of its report [A/7436].

120. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7469] on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution, and I now put it to the vote.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 108 votes to none [resolution 2464 (XXIII)].*

121. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Members to turn their attention to paragraph 10 of the report of the Sixth Committee [A/7436], in which the Committee recommends that the General Assembly should confirm certain appointments in pursuance of resolution 2099 (XX) of 20 December 1965. May I take it that the Assembly confirms these appointments?

*It was so decided.*

## AGENDA ITEM 23

### Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*continued*)\*

122. The PRESIDENT: Yesterday, at its 1749th plenary meeting, the General Assembly concluded its debate on the general aspects of this question. A revised draft resolution [A/L.560/Rev.1] has been submitted, as well as an amendment [A/L.561 and Add.1] to that draft resolution.

123. I now call on the representative of Sierra Leone to introduce some amendments to draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1.

124. Mr. COLE (Sierra Leone): On behalf of the delegations of Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Niger, Yugoslavia and Sierra Leone, I should like to move the following amendments to the draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1: first, in paragraph 15, replace the word "nine" by the word "six"; secondly, in paragraph 15, after the words "President of the General Assembly", insert the words "in consultation with the Chairman of the Special Committee".

125. I should like also to request a roll-call vote on the amendments that I have just proposed on behalf of the co-sponsors.

126. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): I wish to speak to the second amendment proposed by the representative of Sierra Leone. It will be recalled that when the Committee of Twenty-Four, as it is now called, was established, power was granted to the President of the General Assembly to appoint members of the Committee. I should think that the representatives here would not like to deprive the President of that particular function. It has become a custom, or tradition, in the United Nations that when the President of the General Assembly names members of a Committee he does so in consultation with representatives of the different geographical regions of the United Nations and not with the specific committee. I shall therefore ask for a separate vote on that particular amendment, in order that I may cast my vote against it.

127. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on the proposals before it on this item.

128. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7459] on the administrative and financial implications which would result from the adoption of draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1.

129. I call on the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs for an explanation of the order of voting on this item.

130. Mr. NARASIMHAN (Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs): Since the Assembly is ready to

\* Resumed from the 1749th meeting.

proceed to the vote on this item, may I explain how the voting will proceed.

131. First of all, a vote will be taken on the amendment A/L.561 and Add.1. Thereafter the General Assembly will take decisions on the two amendments proposed by the representative of Sierra Leone, which will be circulated in document A/L.563. Thereafter the draft resolution [A/L.560/Rev.1] as a whole—and as amended, if it has been amended—will be put to the vote.

132. I hope that procedure will be acceptable to the General Assembly.

133. The PRESIDENT: Since I hear no objection, we shall proceed to the vote accordingly.

134. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure I shall first put to the vote the amendment, A/L.561 and Add.1, namely to add the following new operative paragraph after operative paragraph 7 of draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1:

“8. Declares that the practice of using mercenaries against movements for national liberation and independence is punishable as a criminal act and that the mercenaries themselves are outlaws, and calls upon the Governments of all countries to enact legislation declaring the recruitment, financing and training of mercenaries in their territory to be a punishable offence and prohibiting their nationals from serving as mercenaries.”

*The amendment was adopted by 53 votes to 8, with 43 abstentions.*

135. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on the two amendments [A/L.563] to operative paragraph 15 of draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1.

136. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote the first amendment, to replace the word “nine” by the word “six”.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Swaziland, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Australia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Niger, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone.

*Against:* Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Algeria, Guinea, Somalia, Southern Yemen.

*Abstaining:* Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican

Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, South Africa, Spain.

*The amendment was adopted by 29 votes to 9, with 73 abstentions.*

137. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the second amendment, to insert the words “in consultation with the Chairman of the Special Committee”, after the words “President of the General Assembly”.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Yugoslavia, Australia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Niger, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone.

*Against:* Somalia, Southern Yemen, Upper Volta, Algeria.

*Abstaining:* Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Zambia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Central African Republic, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia.

*The amendment was adopted by 41 votes to 4, with 66 abstentions.*

138. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put operative paragraph 15 as a whole, as amended, to the vote.

*Operative paragraph 15, as amended, was adopted by 84 votes to 3, with 26 abstentions.*

139. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1, as a whole, as amended.

*The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 87 votes to 7, with 17 abstentions [resolution 2465 (XXIII)].*

140. The PRESIDENT: In operative paragraph 15 of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly has decided to establish a Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, consisting of the members of the Special Committee and six other members to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly. The President intends to announce in due course the composition of the Preparatory Committee.

141. I call now on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

142. Mr. BENSID (Algeria) (*translated from French*): I should like to explain the Algerian delegation's vote on the amendments submitted by Sierra Leone [A/L.563].

143. We feel that the number "nine" better reflected the interests of the Members of the Assembly in this question.

144. With regard to the addition of the words "in consultation with the Chairman of the Special Committee", it is our view that the appointment of the members of this new committee is the prerogative of the President of the General Assembly, who has our complete confidence. We should not like to be among those who have established such a precedent.

145. In view of these considerations, the Algerian delegation was unable to endorse the amendments submitted by Sierra Leone.

146. Mr. LAVERDE (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): Colombia voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1, because traditionally it has demonstrated its determination to fight against all forms of colonialism, but it wishes to make it clear that it does not agree with the provisions of operative paragraph 7, which would impair the autonomy of the specialized agencies and international institutions. This provision is not in keeping with the agreements that have been concluded by the United Nations. As an example, it is sufficient to quote article IV of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development:

"3. The United Nations recognizes that the action to be taken by the Bank on any loan is a matter to be determined by the independent exercise of the Bank's own judgement in accordance with the Bank's Articles of Agreement. The United Nations recognizes, therefore, that it would be sound policy to refrain from making recommendations to the Bank with respect to particular loans or with respect to terms or conditions of financing by the Bank. The Bank recognizes that the United Nations and its organs may appropriately make recommendations with respect to the technical aspects of reconstruction or development plans, programmes or projects."<sup>3</sup>

147. Mr. SALGADO (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation would have preferred to have been duly consulted on the wording of this draft resolution, with

which it agrees in substance, in accordance with its unswerving anti-colonialist policy. We share the draft resolution's spirit but we think that the sponsors should change their now regular practice of confronting us—as the Assembly—with a draft resolution on this item.

148. Because of the very importance which we attach to it, we should like to be allowed time to carry out the necessary consultations and to make a more detailed study of its provisions. Apart from that, my delegation feels itself obliged to express a general reservation with regard to the legal consequences of certain formulations which are not as precise as they should be and to state that when acts contrary to the principle of self-determination are condemned, this should be done with respect to all to whom it applies, without exception or distinction.

149. Although we do not object to the spirit of operative paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1, we feel that it touches on a matter which should be discussed and negotiated in the bodies concerned with disarmament. In our view, it is those bodies which should recommend resolutions to the General Assembly on this matter, and not the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, as we have repeatedly stated in that Committee.

150. With regard to amendment A/L.561 and Add.1, my delegation abstained because of the legal implications of its wording, which could be taken to imply a change in the criminal law systems of Member States. Once more, as I made clear in the Sixth Committee, we repeat that we are in agreement with the principle of the amendment.

151. Mr. CASTALDO (Italy): My delegation had the opportunity to see only yesterday evening the amendment [A/L.561 and Add.1] to draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1 submitted by the communist countries [1749th meeting], and therefore did not have the time to consider all its implications or to ask the advice of legal experts in a matter like this, which involves delicate legal questions. My evaluation of the amendment has therefore been a *prima facie* evaluation and I am convinced that the great majority of delegations here were in the same situation.

152. My delegation could not have objections to the substance of the last part of the amendment, namely, to that part which calls upon the Governments of all countries to enact legislation declaring the recruitment, financing and training of mercenaries to be a punishable offence. We know that many countries have already enacted such legislation, and like those countries Italy too has provisions in the penal code which punish with imprisonment the crimes I have mentioned; although I must add that my delegation finds objectionable the inclusion of provisions of such a legal and technical nature in the context of the draft resolution just adopted.

153. But the first part of the proposed amendment appeared very controversial to my delegation. What could it mean to declare the mercenaries as "outlaws"? The meaning of that word is not clear under the principles of the Constitution of my country. Does it mean that such criminals find themselves outside the legal order? If it is so, the concept is utterly contrary to the Italian Constitution and to the Italian legislation; and I am convinced that it is

<sup>3</sup> *Agreements between the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 61.X.1), p. 56.

also contrary to the law of most countries. Nobody in my country can be outside the law. Even the criminal is under the law and must be judged according to the law and through a fair trial. What is the meaning of the term "punishable as criminals"? It is not clear whether those terms are used within the frame of international law. If it is so, in relation to what principles or what practices should such criminals be identified? The first sentence of the amendment speaks of "the practice of using mercenaries", thus clearly referring to Governments, but while condemning this practice of the Governments, it puts the persons who are the instruments of the practice outside the law. What law? What is the logic of this?

154. My delegation cannot but express its deep dismay at seeing such an important question dealt with in such a poor and rudimentary fashion. We had plenty of time to consider this very serious problem which, being essentially a legal one, could have been studied also by the proper committee of the General Assembly. But in spite of the time we had, an incomplete, ineffective and highly controversial proposal has been presented by surprise at the very last moment.

155. One cannot escape the impression that objectives that have nothing to do with mercenaries and with decolonization in general are being pursued and that, thanks to the anti-colonial vote, an attempt is being made at smuggling legal abnormalities that are contrary to the constitution of most countries.

156. For this reason, my delegation could not support the amendment and had to abstain.

157. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): I wish to explain very briefly the vote cast by my delegation on draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1.

158. We recognize that this resolution is concerned with the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV). My delegation welcomed that Declaration and voted for it at the time. I may recall in this connexion what the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of Ireland, Mr. Aiken, stated in this forum at the fifteenth session in 1960: "We stand unequivocally for the swift and orderly ending of colonial rule and other forms of foreign domination." [890th meeting, para. 82.]

159. In recent years, the Irish delegation has not felt able to support the resolutions submitted annually in the Assembly to implement the Declaration. Our abstention has been due to serious reservations about certain paragraphs of those resolutions. We were also dissatisfied with the very short interval between tabling the relevant drafts and their being put to a vote.

160. In its original form, this year's resolution contained a number of paragraphs about which we had similar reservations; and again, we have been confronted with a time-table which we regard as highly unsatisfactory. We think it wrong that in dealing with the vital issues covered by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we should be required to pronounce on any text within little more than twenty-four hours. But the resolution now in question was not available

until lunch time today and the vote has intervened this afternoon.

161. It is all the more wrong, in our view, that such a short interval should have been allowed for consideration of the very substantial text submitted yesterday. My delegation attaches importance to each and every paragraph of resolutions which come before the Assembly, and we have in this case been asked to make up our mind in the briefest time on a text comprising thirteen preambular paragraphs and eighteen operative paragraphs.

162. We have naturally noted the statement of the representative of Somalia in presenting the draft resolution [1749th meeting], that it did not differ in substance from that which we adopted last year. There are nevertheless certain differences between the two texts which do require time for reasonable consideration. Furthermore, the resolution on which the vote has taken place contains a new paragraph which was not in the draft as presented yesterday afternoon. I refer to what has now become operative paragraph 8, as a result of an amendment put forward by the Soviet Union and some other countries. My delegation opposed that amendment. Our doing so naturally does not in any way imply any sympathy with, or approval of, the use of mercenaries against movements for national liberation and independence. Our own experience makes the use of hired foreigners for such purposes particularly abhorrent to the Irish people, and the policy and practice of the Government of Ireland condemn it. However, operative paragraph 8 as formulated raises important issues of a constitutional and legal nature, issues which my Government has not been able to consider in the very brief time available. There could be difficulty in arriving at a definition of the term "mercenaries" of general application, which could lead to lack of uniformity, in the implementation of the provision in national legislation.

163. But in particular, from even a cursory examination of the text of this additional paragraph, we do not see how it would be possible to reconcile a declaration "that the mercenaries themselves are outlaws" with Article VI of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which reads: "Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law".

164. To register in the strongest possible manner our objection to the introduction of operative paragraph 8 into the resolution at the last minute, and without the possibility of adequate consideration either by the Assembly or by Member States, my delegation was constrained to vote against the resolution as a whole.

165. Mr. ARIAS-CALGADO (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1 because it agrees with the philosophy and principles underlying the provisions.

166. Nonetheless, my delegation has some reservations concerning the wording and concepts of certain paragraphs of the preamble and operative part. For example, it would have preferred a different wording for the ninth and tenth preambular paragraphs. As now worded certain statements in operative paragraphs 4 and 7 and the new operative paragraph 8 raise difficult legal problems, and my delega-



tion wishes to place on record its reservations concerning these paragraphs.

167. In particular, my delegation would like to emphasize that, in the Spanish text, the wording of the new paragraph 14 is also somewhat ambiguous, since it seems to overlook the fact that the General Assembly has already decided, in the case of certain small Territories, what constitutes the most suitable method for their decolonization, without operation of the right to self-determination.

168. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): My delegation voted against the resolution contained in document A/L.560/Rev.1. To the extent that it is largely a repetition of previous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, my delegation opposes it on the same grounds as those which we recorded in the Fourth Committee, as well as in the General Assembly, both during the present session and at previous sessions.

169. As on those occasions, we consider that the resolution, in so far as it pertains to South Africa, is politically prejudiced and based on unsubstantiated claims and on distortions both of my Government's domestic policy and of its aims and objectives in respect of the peoples of South West Africa. The policies of the South African Government have been explained by us on many occasions, and there is no need to repeat those explanations now in the context of this politically biased resolution.

170. Mr. SÖYLEMEZ (Turkey): I shall explain the vote of my delegation very briefly. The Turkish delegation has just voted affirmatively on draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1, as amended by documents A/L.561 and Add.1 and A/L.563, because as a matter of principle Turkey supports the General Assembly measures on the implementation of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), of which we were a co-sponsor.

171. However, I should like to reserve the position of my delegation on the seventh, ninth and tenth preambular paragraphs of the resolution, and on operative paragraphs 7 and 8. In other words, had those paragraphs been put to separate votes, my delegation would have abstained on them.

172. Mr. COLE (Sierra Leone): I am intervening in exercise of a brief right of reply. We have just finished voting on resolution A/L.560/Rev.1, to which I had proposed an amendment on behalf of a number of other delegations. The very reason for the proposal I made was that the co-sponsors believe that the Committee of Twenty-Four forms the nucleus of whatever operative paragraph 15 is going to do, and it is because we have absolute confidence in the President of the General Assembly that we made that proposal.

173. Mr. STATHATOS (Greece): The Greek delegation, firmly attached to the anti-colonialist principles of the Charter, has in the past supported, and continues to support, all efforts aiming at the recognition of the right of self-determination and national independence of colonial peoples and countries. Consistent with this long-standing policy, the Greek delegation has just voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, abstaining on operative para-

graph 8, which was introduced with undue haste last evening.

174. Although my delegation has voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1, it cannot accept without reservations some of the provisions of its text. Therefore, if we were to have voted paragraph by paragraph on that resolution, my delegation would have abstained on the seventh, ninth and tenth preambular paragraphs and on operative paragraphs 7 and 9. Furthermore, my delegation would have voted against operative paragraph 8, which is out of context and has nothing to do with granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

175. Mr. NOAMAN (Southern Yemen): My delegation would like to explain its vote with regard to the last-minute oral amendments proposed by Sierra Leone dealing with operative paragraph 15 of the resolution just adopted. My delegation would have had no basic objections if the Sierra Leone amendments had been discussed or forwarded, formally or informally, to the Afro-Asian Group, which was considering the subject till yesterday. It is for these reasons, and for these reasons alone, that my delegation was not in a position to support the two amendments just adopted.

176. Mr. SCHUURMANS (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The Belgian delegation feels it should explain its abstention in the vote on the amendment in document A/L.651 and Add.1.

177. The authorities and public opinion in Belgium unequivocally condemn the use of mercenaries. The recruitment of mercenaries has long been punishable under article 135 of our penal code. That legislation has been supplemented by the introduction of a bill which subjects the activities of the mercenaries themselves to severe penalties. Nevertheless, the Belgian delegation was not able to vote in favour of the paragraph set out in the amendment because of a wording which seems questionable to us, whatever the intentions of the sponsors may have been. I am referring, more particularly, to the use of such expressions as "outlaws". In a system based on law, whatever crimes an individual may commit, he cannot be convicted except in accordance with the legal rules.

178. Mr. DENNY (United States of America): The United States voted against draft resolution A/L.560/Rev.1. This resolution is in effect an omnibus resolution combining many of the observations concerning decolonization which have been advanced during this and other sessions of the General Assembly. The resolution is meant to reaffirm the high purposes of the United Nations with respect to decolonization and its continuing responsibility under the Charter to bring that process to an appropriate conclusion in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Since the passage of peoples from colonial status to self-government through self-determination is one of the most important activities of this Organization, a resolution on this subject must be drawn with great care.

179. The United States cannot support this resolution because, in our view, it ill serves the cause of decolonization and distorts the principles and historical factors upon which such decolonization must rest. Let me give but three examples from the present resolution: first, there is the

implication that military bases and installations interfere with the achievement of self-determination by the people of the Territories in which such installations exist. As far as United States Territories are concerned, there is no evidence whatsoever that the maintenance of military facilities has in any way retarded the political and constitutional progress of the people of its Territories, nor of course is there any provision of the United Nations Charter which could possibly be construed as opposing the establishment of military installations. There was a full discussion of the question of military activities in the Committee of Twenty-Four this year. It was clear from that discussion that this is a very controversial question on which the United Nations has never reached a wide consensus. Moreover, the entire matter of foreign military bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America is only a part of the general problem of disarmament which was recognized by the General Assembly in its resolutions 2165 (XXI) and 2344 (XXII). To bring this subject into a resolution on colonial matters may serve the political objectives of some delegations in this chamber but my delegation seriously doubts if the objective of the majority, which is self-determination for the people of dependent areas, is advanced a single step by this propaganda-motivated digression.

180. A second example of the way in which such a resolution ill serves the cause of decolonization is in the statements that are made concerning "foreign economic interests". Behind the recurring propaganda theme of foreign economic interests which occurs in this and so many resolutions on decolonization are certain patently erroneous assumptions. One of these erroneous assumptions is that foreign private investment *per se* is a bad thing for the countries which receive such investments, or for dependent territories. In this connexion it should be noted that the General Assembly has adopted over the years by overwhelming majorities, a series of resolutions which seek to encourage foreign private investment in the developing countries.

181. A second assumption, equally erroneous, is that foreign private investment thrives best in dependent areas. Even a brief look at the facts shows that such an assumption is absurd as we pointed out in detail in the Committee of Twenty-Four.

182. The third erroneous assumption is that the holding of dependent territories is desirable for the prosperity of the metropolitan Power. This assumption is belied by the experience of the last twenty-five years, during which period about 1 billion people in dependent territories have gained their independence. This period has been a time of unparalleled economic growth for the former metropolitan Powers. Full realization of the aspirations of the people of dependent territories depends importantly on a healthy indigenous economic development. Misstatements about the nature of economic activity and investment, inspired in large part by propaganda purposes and made under the *imprimatur* of the United Nations ill serve both the welfare of these people and the reputation of the United Nations.

183. A third example is a continuation of the effort to involve the specialized agencies and the Bank and the Fund in the punishment of members whose activities in the

colonial field many Members here deplore. Those vital organs of peace and co-operation should of course be urged to participate, as they do, in the high purposes and vital programmes of this Organization aimed at fulfilling the Charter's purposes in decolonization and self-government through self-determination; but this high purpose is not served by calling on these agencies to perform functions prohibited by their statutes or in violation of their commitments.

184. The resolutions already passed with respect to the Bank and, by implication, perpetuated and underlined in the present resolution, have not been carried out for reasons which the supporters surely know. Such resolutions weaken the name of this great Organization.

185. My delegation also has questions concerning the financial aspects for the Preparatory Committee on the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We also question the need for such a Committee.

186. In voting against this resolution the United States wishes to urge all delegations to the United Nations who wish to contribute to the acceleration of the decolonization process, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, to consult more fully in the preparation of resolutions so that they will be in conformity with the principles of the Charter, and present a more realistic and thus potentially effective view of the actual situation. In this connexion we wish to note that in the Fourth Committee this year there was consultation on certain resolutions which resulted in wider support and a greater possibility of effectiveness in particular cases, notably the resolution on Portuguese territories. It is in fact not too much to suggest that the best and potentially most effective work of the Fourth Committee has been where such consultation has taken place, and that the least effective resolutions are likely to be those like the present one where such careful preparation has not been the case.

187. It is important that this great Organization and its Members should emphasize what they are for, and not only what they are against. The world will judge us by what we do, by the effectiveness of our actions and our programmes, not by the vigour of our invective or the number of operative paragraphs in our resolutions.

188. The PRESIDENT: May I now invite representatives to turn their attention to the letter dated 7 November 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Finland [A/7329]? As a result of Finland's withdrawal from the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, the President has nominated Norway as a member of the Special Committee to fill that vacancy from 1 January 1969.

189. May I take it that the Assembly agrees with that nomination?

*It was so decided.*

### *Organization of work*

190. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs to make a brief statement on the progress of our work.

191. Mr. NARASIMHAN (Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs): The last item for today's meeting listed in the *Journal* is item 25, the Korean question. The report of the First Committee on this item [A/7460] will be introduced by the Rapporteur of the First Committee, Mr. Zollner, of Dahomey. I have been in touch with him and also with the Secretary of the First Committee, which is still considering the item relating to the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

192. I have been advised that it might be possible for the Assembly to take up this item at approximately 6.30 this evening if by that time the First Committee has concluded its consideration of that subject. Of course, if by that time the Committee has not concluded its consideration of the item, I am afraid we may have no option but to propose that item 25 should be taken as the first item on the agenda at our meeting tomorrow. In these circumstances I feel that it might be useful for the Assembly to recess until 6.30 p.m. and then review the situation.

193. The PRESIDENT: In the light of that explanation, the Assembly will now recess.

*The meeting was suspended at 6.5 p.m. and resumed at 7.20 p.m.*

194. The PRESIDENT: I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the members of the First Committee for having surfaced from the ocean floor.

## AGENDA ITEM 25

### The Korean Question:

- (a) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea
- (b) Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea
- (c) Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations
- (d) Need to put an end to the discussion in the United Nations on the unification of Korea

### REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/7460)

195. Mr. ZOLLNER (Dahomey) [*Rapporteur of the First Committee*] (*translated from French*): Mr. President, I should like, at your invitation, to introduce the report of agenda item 25 [A/7460].

196. By a decision of the General Assembly [1676th meeting] taken on the recommendation of the General Committee, three items of the provisional agenda were grouped as three sub-items under the general item "The Korean Question". A fourth sub-item was added by a subsequent decision of the General Assembly [1737th meeting]. Thus, item 25 now consists of four sub-divisions under the same title (The Korean Question).

197. The First Committee first discussed the sending of invitations to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion of questions relating to Korea

and in that connexion the three following draft resolutions were presented: draft resolution A/C.1/L.422 and Add.1-3, sponsored by seventeen States, which was submitted under the item "Organization of Work"; draft resolution A/C.1/L.423, sponsored by twelve States; and, lastly, draft resolution A/C.1/L.424, submitted by Saudi Arabia, whose representative did not insist that it should be put to a vote. Draft resolution A/C.1/L.422 and Add.1-3 was rejected by 55 votes to 40, with 28 abstentions. Draft resolution A/C.1/L.423 was adopted by 67 votes to 28, with 28 abstentions, and the Chairman of the Committee accordingly invited the representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion without the right to vote.

198. Four draft resolutions were submitted on the substance of the question. First, draft resolution A/C.1/L.453 and Add.1, sponsored by fifteen States, and relating to sub-item (a) of item 25, was adopted by 72 votes to 23, with 26 abstentions. Secondly, draft resolution A/C.1/L.454 and Add.1, sponsored by fifteen States and relating to sub-item (c) was rejected by 67 votes to 25, with 29 abstentions. Thirdly, draft resolution A/C.1/L.455 and Add.1 and 2, sponsored by fifteen States and relating to sub-item (b) was rejected by 68 votes to 27, with 27 abstentions. Fourthly, and lastly, draft resolution A/C.1/L.461, submitted by thirteen States and relating to sub-item (d) was rejected by 70 votes to 24, with 28 abstentions.

199. Consequently, the First Committee is recommending a single draft resolution [A/7460, para. 24] for adoption by the General Assembly.

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

200. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

201. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation deems it necessary to make the following statements in explanation of its vote on the resolution submitted by the First Committee for consideration by the General Assembly [A/7460, para. 24].

202. The plenary General Assembly at this twenty-third session has before it the report of the First Committee on the results of its discussion of the Korean question. It contains a rather compressed bare summary of the intense debate that went on almost throughout this session of the Assembly on matters which are important not only for the Korean people but for the United Nations itself. It is obvious from the report that, at this session, notwithstanding the unremitting and consistent efforts of the socialist States and a large number of African and Asian countries, a flagrant injustice has once again been done to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—a peace-loving, sovereign socialist State in the northern part of Korea. This State—a directly interested party—was denied an opportunity to send its representative to the General Assembly to participate in the discussion of matters which pertain to Korea and which affect the vital interests of the Korean people.

203. The Soviet delegation, speaking in explanation of its vote, deems it necessary to express once again its strong objection to this illegal and completely unjustified discriminatory action which violates the elementary concepts of justice and objectivity, and is contrary to the principles and basic provisions of the United Nations Charter and to the practice of this Organization. The United States of America and its accomplices in the armed intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people have, again on this occasion, prevented a normal and objective discussion of Korean problems at a session of the United Nations General Assembly and the adoption of decisions which respect the wishes and interests of the Korean people.

204. The efforts of the occupiers of South Korea and their supporters have frustrated the adoption of the urgent measures proposed by the socialist and Afro-Asian countries with a view to creating the necessary conditions for the unification of Korea, for the elimination of the foreign intervention in the affairs of the Korean people, which has gone on for many years, and for the prevention of increased tension in Korea and throughout this part of Asia.

205. Those States which adopted a position in the First Committee in defence of the national interests of the Korean people and of the cause of strengthening peace in the Far East proposed and argued strongly for the adoption by the General Assembly of a decision calling for the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag, the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people, the dissolution of the United Nations Commission on Korea and the termination of discussion of the question of Korean unification in the United Nations.

206. The debate in the First Committee showed in an absolutely convincing manner that the foreign occupation of the southern part of Korea is the main obstacle to the attainment by the Korean people of their cherished dream and principal national objective—the peaceful unification of Korea. The course of the discussion brought out numerous irrefutable facts showing that the foreign occupation forces and the South Korean puppet authorities have recently intensified and are escalating their acts of armed provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

207. These hostile and provocative operations along the armistice line in the region of the 38th parallel are seriously aggravating the situation in the Korean Peninsula and increasing the danger of the occurrence of serious conflicts in the Far East. In its memoranda and statements the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea drew the urgent attention of the United Nations and the States Members of the Organization to this situation in the course of the present session of the General Assembly.

208. To conceal the continued occupation of South Korea, to justify that occupation and the gross interference in the affairs of the Korean people, use continues to be made of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which year after year falsifies the true facts about the situation in Korea, and distorts or ignores important proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed

at achieving the unity and ensure the independence of Korea. The consideration of this item in the First Committee leaves no room for doubt that the United Nations Commission on Korea not only does not contribute to the solution of the Korean question in the interests of the Korean people but also constitutes one of the main obstacles to the attainment of that goal.

209. The discussion once again demonstrated, as it has done time and again, that the United Nations has absolutely no reason to concern itself with the so-called Korean question, that is to say, with the question of the unification of Korea. This question is entirely and exclusively a domestic affair of the Korean people itself. It can be settled only by the Korean people itself without any interference from outside. This is a lawful and inalienable right of the Korean people.

210. The draft resolution on the Korean question which the United States of America and its allies, with the help of the votes of some other countries, imposed on the First Committee is directed against the people of Korea, and is contrary to the cause of maintaining peace in the Far East. This resolution serves the interests only of those who are interested in continuing the occupation, in preserving the division of Korea. The resolution to follow the same old, hopeless and dangerous path with respect to the Korean question. The main purpose of the resolution is once again to use the name and the flag of the United Nations as a cover for the occupation of South Korea, to give it the semblance of "legality", and once again to prolong the existence of the notorious United Nations Commission on Korea and even to breathe new life into it. That is the point of this draft resolution.

211. Of course, such a resolution cannot and will not help the cause of just solution of the Korean question, or the cause of peace in the Korean Peninsula and that part of Asia.

212. The USSR delegation voted against this resolution in the First Committee and will vote against it in the plenary General Assembly.

213. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to indicate briefly why it voted against the draft resolution [A/7460, para. 24] now before this Assembly.

214. In the course of the debate which took place in the First Committee, we explained our position on the so-called Korean question and the attitude adopted by the United Nations with regard to that nation. The Committee had an opportunity to take some constructive decisions for the solution of those problems. However, it was once again compelled to persist in a policy that has been repeated for two whole decades, a policy imposed by the Government of the United States of America and designed to serve exclusively United States imperialist interests against the people of Korea.

215. The draft resolution submitted to this Assembly is simply a reiteration of an illegitimate and arbitrary action which converted the United Nations into an instrument of the aggressive and interventionist policy of United States



imperialism against Korea. What is more, that policy constitutes a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the right of peoples to independence and self-determination.

216. We reaffirm once again our firm conviction, which moreover is incorporated in the very principles of the Charter, that this Organization has absolutely no right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Korean people and that accordingly the so-called debate on the Korean question, the claim to be able to resolve here, in this international Organization, the problem of the reunification of that country, is in itself illegal and violates the principles, the letter and the spirit of the San Francisco Charter.

217. The only question which the United Nations has to discuss and finally to settle after two decades of shameful conduct towards the people of Korea is the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which, as everybody knows, is nothing more than an agency in the service of the United States Government. It must also decide, once and for all, on the withdrawal of the United States forces which are still occupying South Korea and, in mockery of this Organization, are doing so under the United Nations flag and under the auspices of this Organization. Finally, it must put an end, once and for all, to the discussion of the so-called Korean question, which is nothing more than interference by this Organization in matters that are exclusively within the competence of the Korean people.

218. In the draft resolution before the General Assembly reference is made this year to recent events in that region, but with the sole object of distorting what has been happening there in recent months. Actually, there has been increasing tension recently in the Korean area and good examples of this are provided by the increase in recent months in the acts of armed provocation by troops of the United States Eighth Army, wearing United Nations uniforms, against the territory of democratic Korea. Another good example was the incursion of the United States spy ship *Pueblo* into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The resolution which has been submitted to the Assembly helps to perpetuate the occupation of South Korea and actually reaffirms a policy which can only lead to the aggravation of international tension in that area.

219. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm its complete solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, its correct policy towards the problem of the unification of its country and the heroic struggle of the entire Korean population to reassert the independence of their country and achieve unification independently.

220. Finally, my delegation wishes to state that it will vote against the draft resolution before us, because it is a document which is directed firstly against the Korean people, secondly against the principles of the United Nations Charter and lastly against the rights and interests of all peoples who are fighting to assert their independence and sovereignty.

221. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): I have listened attentively to the remarks made by the representatives of the Soviet

Union and Cuba. Quite frankly, I have not heard anything new on the subject before us. On the contrary, I have the impression that those two representatives have merely repeated comments they had already made in the First Committee. Those views were decisively rebutted during discussion of the Korean question in the First Committee, as the report of the Committee [A/7460] shows clearly.

222. The First Committee having thoroughly discussed the Korean question, reached its decision on the four draft resolutions before the Committee by a free and democratic process. We have before us the report of the First Committee, which is clear, simple and definitive. I think that, by far, most of us wish to proceed to the vote without any further delay. I should like to appeal, therefore, to all our colleagues that we do so. I earnestly hope that the First Committee's report will be adopted by an overwhelming majority.

223. Mr. WIGGINS (United States of America): The United States will vote for the draft resolution [A/7460, para. 24], and in explaining our vote I wish to underscore the importance of that draft resolution.

224. It is particularly to be regretted that North Korea has continued to maintain not only a belligerent policy towards the Republic of Korea, but also an inflexible and rigid opposition to the United Nations. The First Committee, in a resolution of which the United States was a co-sponsor, expressed a willingness to invite North Korea to appear before the Committee; and North Korea's views were, of course, put before the Committee in written form. If North Korea has not appeared, this is not because any delegation was unwilling to hear its views, but because North Korea continued to reject any acknowledgement of the right of the United Nations to take action on the matter.

225. The draft resolution before us was thoroughly debated in the First Committee, and all sides were heard. The draft resolution was then approved by a vote of 72 to 23, with 26 abstentions. That is a larger vote than resolutions on the same subject have received in any previous years, and properly so, for two reasons:

226. First, the situation in Korea itself, created by the increasingly aggressive behaviour of North Korea, is more dangerous and disturbing than it has been for many years; and thus the reassuring presence of the United Nations in that situation is more necessary than ever.

227. Second, the draft resolution before us varies from those of the past in certain ways which are significant and, in the belief of the sponsors, will prove constructive in the cause of peace.

228. The facts of recent North Korean aggressiveness can be quickly summarized. Never since July 1953, when the Korean War was ended by the Armistice Agreement, has North Korea so frequently and dangerously violated its undertakings in that Agreement. The reports of the United Nations command, and of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, give dramatic testimony to this fact. In 1967, more than ten times as many armed North Korean bands and agents intruded below the Armistice Demarcation Line as in either



of the two preceding years; and this year it appears that the record of 1967 will be broken. Casualties suffered by the United Nations Command in dealing with these intrusions have also risen dramatically.

229. Among these incidents, some have been of a most ominous size and character. Last January, a band of thirty-one North Koreans from the 124th Guerrilla Unit slipped into Seoul with orders to kill the President of the Republic of Korea. They were wiped out, but representatives can well imagine what the consequences for peace would have been had they succeeded.

230. Then, only a few weeks ago, a group from the same North Korean unit, more than twice as large as the earlier band of infiltrators, landed on the east coast one hundred miles south of the Armistice Line. Already, sixty-three of them have been killed and five captured.

231. For these facts we have direct testimony from the UNCURK and from the United Nations Command. It is true that the North Koreans have done their best to impugn this testimony and to lay all the blame for trouble in Korea, from 1947 to the present, on the United Nations, and especially on my country. How much weight should be given to their assertions, especially as to recent facts, I leave to my fellow representatives to judge.

232. The North Koreans have shown a constant aversion to impartial inquiry of any kind. They have never opened any territory under their control to the United Nations or the world press. They have refused to let the impartial investigating machinery of the Armistice Agreement function even in areas outside North Korea control; and their advocates in the First Committee would not even support language requiring respect for the Armistice Agreement. They have refused to suggest alternative machinery. They have not even responded to my country's offer to let any doubting Member of the United Nations send official representatives to do their own investigating on the spot. In these circumstances, the facts as stated by the United Nations authorities in Korea stand uncontroverted.

233. What is the purpose behind North Korea's violent acts? Are they mere pinpricks, or perhaps the normal clashes that can be expected along any disputed frontier? It would be comforting to think so; but we are denied such comfort by the explicit words of Premier Kim Il Sung, who made a long speech a year ago this week to the Supreme People's Assembly in Pyongyang, in the course of which he said:

"The entire people in the northern half of the Republic bear the heavy responsibility for carrying the South Korean revolution to completion."

And again:

"The people in the northern half of the Republic should always remember the brothers in the South and have a revolutionary determination to liberate them at all costs."<sup>4</sup>

234. It was against this background that the First Committee considered, and decisively rejected, three draft

resolutions put forward by advocates of North Korea: one [A/7460, para. 19 (b)], to strip the Republic of Korea of international protection by withdrawing the troops of the United Nations command; another [ibid., para. 19 (c)], to abolish UNCURK; and a third [ibid., para. 19 (d)], to end forever the discussion of Korea in the United Nations. In other words, we were asked to put Korea outside the pale of United Nations concern; to say to the world that the writ of the Charter does not run in Korea any more. By large majorities, the Committee refused to recommend any such course to the General Assembly.

235. The course we did approve in the Committee, and which the Assembly is now asked to adopt, lies in the opposite direction. It fully reaffirms the historic objectives of the United Nations in Korea, stated in resolution 2269 (XXII),

"to bring about, by peaceful means, the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area".

236. In addition, the draft resolution [A/7460, para. 24] contains some notable new language. The preamble and the third operative paragraph both express concern over the increasing number of disturbing incidents in the area. The latter paragraph also makes a timely call for an easing of tensions and for the avoidance of incidents and activities in violation of the Armistice Agreement.

237. Operative paragraph 4 goes on to commend UNCURK for its recent efforts to encourage restraint and reduce tensions, and to seek co-operation and assistance from all parts of Korea, both North and South, towards the goal of peaceful unification.

238. Lastly, operative paragraph 5 is written to provide the United Nations with more frequent and timely reports of conditions and developments in the area, instead of the annual reporting system which was considered sufficient in the past. The first such report is asked for within four months, with others to follow on a regular basis. The Commission is given flexibility both as to the frequency of its reports and as to whether a particular report shall be made to the Secretary-General or, if the situation seems to require it, directly to the General Assembly, in which case it would go on our provisional agenda as in past years.

239. By means of this draft resolution we shall reaffirm the peaceful and dependable presence of the United Nations in Korea. We shall renew the mandate of the United Nations both to promote the immediate security of the area against further attempts at disruption and to press on towards the goal of reunification in peace and freedom.

240. In the past fifteen years since the Korean armistice was signed, much has been achieved towards our goals in that war-torn nation. By means of the armistice, and the stabilizing and deterrent presence of the United Nations Command and UNCURK, a minimum of peace and security and tranquillity has been maintained all through these years. Behind the shield thus erected, the Republic of Korea has made rapid progress towards political development as a democratic nation and towards economic and social well-being.

<sup>4</sup> *Asian Recorder*, April 8-14, 1967.

241. There is every hope that, if we are steadfast and faithful to our charge, the present dangers in the area will subside and that the entire nation can progress towards the final goal of national unity, freedom and peace. This draft resolution is the vehicle of that hope.

242. The PRESIDENT: There are no more speakers in explanation of vote. We can now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 24 of its report [A/7460].

243. Separate votes have been requested on operative paragraphs 3 and 5.

244. Since there is no objection, I now first put to the vote operative paragraph 3. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Southern Yemen,\* Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Against:* Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen.

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Finland, Ghana, India, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain,\*\* Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda,

\* The representative of Southern Yemen subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having voted against operative paragraph 3.

\*\* The representative of Spain subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of operative paragraph 3.

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 73 votes to 15, with 28 abstentions.*

245. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote operative paragraph 5.

*Operative paragraph 5 was adopted by 71 votes to 26, with 19 abstentions.*

246. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Against:* Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Burma, Cameroon, Ceylon, Finland, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Tunisia, Uganda, Upper Volta, Zambia.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 71 votes to 25, with 20 abstentions [resolution 2466 (XXIII)].*

247. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 25.

*The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.*