



Thursday, 21 September 1972,
at 10.40 a.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI
(Poland).

Adoption of the agenda: memorandum by the Secretary-General (continued) (A/BUR/179/Rev.1, sect. III)

ITEMS 38 TO 48

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that items 38 to 48 should be included in the agenda.

ITEMS 49 TO 51

1. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom) said that he would have a proposal to make regarding the allocation of subitems 49 (a) and 49 (b) to the Committees. The proposal would involve a change in the wording of the item.

2. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the Committee should take note of the United Kingdom representative's announcement and should consider the change of wording he had mentioned when it allocated the agenda items.

It was so decided.

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that items 49 to 51 should be included in the agenda.

ITEM 52

3. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the representative of Canada had proposed at the 199th meeting that consideration of item 52 should be postponed to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

4. Mr. RANKIN (Canada) pointed out that the substance of item 52 was already covered by items 50 and 99. In order to avoid useless repetition, it would be advisable for the General Assembly to postpone consideration of item 52 to the twenty-eighth session. It would then be in a better position to evaluate the effectiveness of the decisions that would have been taken on items 50 and 99.

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that item 52 should be included in the provisional agenda of the twenty-eighth session.

ITEMS 53 TO 91

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that items 53 to 91 should be included in the agenda.

ITEMS 92 TO 94

5. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the representative of Canada had also proposed that consideration of items 92 to 94 should be postponed to the twenty-eighth session.

6. Mr. RANKIN (Canada) pointed out that there would be little point in the General Assembly taking up items 92 and 93 at the present juncture. There had been no change in the situation covered by those items since the previous year and there was little hope of seeing any appreciable progress in that field in the near future. As to item 94, the anxieties which had led to its being placed on the agenda in earlier years had now been allayed and the question was not at all urgent.

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that items 92 to 94 should be included in the provisional agenda of the twenty-eighth session.

ITEM 95

7. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the inclusion of item 95 had been requested by the Liberian Government (A/8751). In accordance with article 43 of the rules of procedure, he invited the representative of Liberia to take part in the discussion of the item.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mrs. Brooks (Liberia) took a place at the Committee table.

8. Mrs. BROOKS (Liberia) said that item 95 was of particular interest to her, not only because she had presided over the first World Conference on Adoption and Foster Placement, but also because she herself had had an impact on the lives of 47 children who had been either adopted or foster children. The Liberian Government had always supported efforts to solve the problems that affected mankind as a whole. It fully endorsed the resolution adopted by the World Conference on Adoption and Foster Placement and it had therefore proposed the inclusion in the provisional agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the item entitled "United Nations conference for a world convention on adoption law".

9. The first World Conference on Adoption and Foster Placement, organized by the International Joint Com-

mittee of Associations of Adoptive Families, had been held at Milan from 16 to 19 September 1971. Representatives from about 40 countries had participated in the conference and had adopted a resolution inviting the United Nations to sponsor an international conference for the purpose of establishing a world convention on adoption law which would include not only government authorities but also experts in the relative human and social disciplines and representatives of associations of adoptive families.

10. She recalled that there had been first a seminar and then a conference on intercountry adoption, which had been held in Europe over a decade before. Since that time, socio-economic conditions had changed so rapidly that many of the recommendations then made were now obsolete. For instance, there had been a breakdown of traditional family ties, an urbanization of rural families, increasingly frequent contact between religious and ethnic groups, population growth in excess of available resources, and more and more unequal distribution of the world's resources. All those changes had created different needs for children and had brought with them new attitudes and practices in the field of adoption; but there were still many legal restrictions which acted as impediments to adoption.

11. Moreover, for many reasons, an increasing number of children were being institutionalized and therefore deprived of the family atmosphere which was indispensable for their development and their social integration.

12. Mankind needed universally accepted principles regarding adoption, particularly the principle that adoption should be pronounced only in the primary interest of the child.

13. The Liberian Government, representing the interest of millions of persons everywhere whose hopes were placed in the United Nations and who possessed a strong desire to have the Declaration of the Rights of the Child implemented in the field of adoption, respectfully requested the General Committee to endorse item 95, which, she hoped, would be allocated to the Third Committee.

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that item 95 should be included in the agenda.

Mrs. Brooks (Liberia) withdrew.

ITEM 96

14. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the Committee had decided on the inclusion of item 96 at the 199th meeting.

ITEM 97

15. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the USSR had requested the inclusion in the agenda of item 97 (A/8771).

16. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) pointed out that although the transmission by satellite

of direct television broadcasts that could be received by individuals opened up great hopes of drawing peoples closer together, it also raised serious legal problems. Steps must be taken to ensure that the new technology would be used in the service of international peace. It was therefore necessary to protect the sovereignty of States from any external interference and ensure that all States had equal access to direct television broadcasting facilities. It was for States to assume responsibility for activities in that field. The draft convention on the subject which the USSR Government had attached to its letter requesting the inclusion of item 97 in the agenda (A/8771) aimed at establishing the conditions required to ensure that the use of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting should serve the cause of peace and mutual understanding between peoples, and would not be used to disseminate propaganda under the guise of information. The draft convention was, of course, only a basis for discussion, and the Soviet delegation was ready to consider any comments and criticisms from other delegations.

17. The Soviet delegation wished to stress that in proposing the inclusion of that item in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session, its only desire was to contribute to the strengthening of mutual understanding among all peoples. It would like the matter to be considered by the First Committee which was traditionally called upon to deal with questions concerning the peaceful uses of outer space.

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that item 97 should be included in the agenda.

ITEM 98

18. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the Yugoslav Government had requested that item 98 should be included in the agenda (A/8772). In accordance with rule 43 of the rules of procedure, he invited the representative of Yugoslavia to take part in the discussion of the item.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) took a place at the Committee table.

19. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia) recalled that his Government had requested the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of a supplementary item entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations" in view of the fact that the People's Republic of Bangladesh had submitted its application for membership on 8 August 1972.¹ His Government's reasons for making its request had been exclusively constructive and fully in accordance with the principles of the Charter. The Yugoslav delegation was firmly convinced that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations would greatly contribute to the Organization's universality, lessen tension on the Indian subcontinent and

¹ A/8754. For the printed text of this document, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10759.

consolidate Bangladesh's status as an independent non-aligned nation.

20. The Yugoslav Government had dedicated itself faithfully to the principle of universality since the inception of the Organization, and it had consistently endeavoured to remove the obstacles in the way of the admission of new Members. It had always stressed that the United Nations should enable every new State to accede to membership promptly so that it might participate actively in international relations and contribute to the constructive cause of the Organization.

21. The fact that the new State of Bangladesh, which was now recognized by 91 members of the world community, wished to become a Member of the United Nations was an extremely positive development and a step in the right direction which should be encouraged. The admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations would strengthen its independence and broaden the base of its international relations. Its admission would help it to be more active in the search for ways to normalize the situation on the Indian subcontinent and settle the problems there. Bangladesh met the requirements laid down in Article 4 of the Charter. Indeed, it had already become a member of some specialized agencies. It was, furthermore, the recipient of the largest humanitarian aid programme ever mounted by the United Nations.

22. It was known that the Security Council had considered Bangladesh's application but had not managed to make a positive recommendation, although the majority of the members had been in favour of its admission. Having the General Assembly consider the item at the present stage in no way implied that the prerogatives of the Security Council were being infringed, but his delegation sincerely believed that consideration of the matter by the General Assembly, where all members of the Organization were represented, could only be helpful and assist all delegations and the Council itself to reconsider their positions with a view to reaching a solution that would be just to Bangladesh, beneficial to the United Nations and conducive to the normalization of the situation on the subcontinent.

23. On 18 August, the Yugoslav Government had submitted its request for the inclusion of a supplementary item in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session. It had then been convinced, and still was, that the General Assembly too should have an opportunity to consider a matter of such significance for the Organization. The Yugoslav delegation continued to hope for developments in the area which might ease present difficulties, but felt that consideration of the question by the General Assembly could in itself be a very constructive factor in the situation.

24. In conclusion, the Yugoslav delegation hoped that the item whose inclusion it had proposed would be considered directly in plenary, as had been the practice of the General Assembly in previous years for questions concerning the admission of new Members.

25. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) recalled his delegation's stand, which was based on principle, and said that until the relevant resolutions were implemented in good faith, the United Nations should not admit "Bangladesh". The Chinese delegation was not fundamentally opposed to the admission of "Bangladesh", but held that the purposes and principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations should be respected. That alone would help to induce the parties concerned on the South Asian subcontinent to settle their problems themselves through consultations on an equal footing and thus relax the tension in that part of the world by promoting the normalization of relations between the parties concerned. The position of the Chinese delegation was in full accord with the fundamental interests of all the peoples of the subcontinent.

26. However, for reasons known to all, the Soviet delegation had done its utmost to be obstructive when the Security Council had considered the question and to block the adoption of the reasonable draft resolution put forward by the Chinese delegation² and also the proposal of certain members to postpone consideration of that question.

27. A proposal to include item 98 had been made at the time when the Committee on the Admission of New Members had been considering the matter and when everyone had been well aware that it was a highly controversial question. When the Security Council had decided against recommending the admission of "Bangladesh" and when General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the India/Pakistan question remained unimplemented, another attempt was being made to by-pass the Security Council and force the General Assembly to discuss the admission of "Bangladesh" in order to compel the Security Council to reconsider the matter. Some people were attempting to use the issue to exert political pressure on the Chinese delegation and on certain other Member States. Such efforts were to no avail; they merely showed that those who opposed the inclusion of the item in the agenda were not really concerned with the admission of "Bangladesh", but were trying to use that question to reverse the decision taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session (resolution 2793 (XXVI)) and by the Security Council in its resolution 307 (1971) of 21 December 1971 and thus to continue to place obstacles in the way of a *détente* on the subcontinent.

28. Obviously, the controversy was not between "Bangladesh" and the Chinese delegation, or between the latter and those countries which supported the admission of "Bangladesh", it was between the United Nations and those forces which were trying to sabotage the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. The Chinese delegation wished to repeat that it was firmly opposed to consideration of the question of the admis-

² Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972, document S/10768.

sion of "Bangladesh" by the General Assembly in the present circumstances. Its stand was unshakable.

29. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) recalled that New Zealand had been one of the first countries to recognize Bangladesh as a State. Since Bangladesh satisfied the conditions set forth in Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations, New Zealand was in favour of its admission. Bangladesh was a State which was recognized by two thirds of the membership and already belonged to several specialized agencies. Since the Security Council could not take action, the General Assembly should consider the question. New Zealand wholeheartedly supported the Yugoslav proposal and hoped that the inclusion of item 98 in the General Assembly's agenda would bring about Bangladesh's entry into the United Nations.

30. Mr. BABAA (Libyan Arab Republic) did not consider that it would be appropriate to include the item proposed by Yugoslavia in the General Assembly's agenda. It was in fact a question which came within the competence of the Security Council, whose decisions Libya respected without prejudice to its position in favour of the universalization of the United Nations. Including the question in the agenda of the General Assembly would not prevent the item from being referred back to the Security Council and would not serve the interests of the peoples on the Asian sub-continent. The Libyan delegation therefore could not support the Yugoslav proposal.

31. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) recalled the position which Guinea had adopted when the Security Council had considered the application submitted by Bangladesh. That position had been based on the fact that Bangladesh had not honoured either Security Council resolution 307 (1971) or the resolutions of the General Assembly. As far as the proposal submitted by Yugoslavia for inclusion of the item in the agenda was concerned, much debate could be avoided if rule 139 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly was borne in mind. Furthermore, the solution to the problem lay outside the United Nations, since before aspiring to admission among the Members of the United Nations, Bangladesh should conform to the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter. Guinea therefore felt that it would be inappropriate to include the item proposed by Yugoslavia in the agenda.

32. Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus) considered that Bangladesh met the conditions set forth in Article 4 of the Charter and that its admission would promote the universality of the United Nations. Furthermore, it was important that the General Assembly should have an opportunity to express its feelings on the matter. His delegation supported the inclusion of item 98 in the agenda of the Assembly.

33. Mr. ESPINOSA (Colombia) said that his delegation which favoured, as in the case of the admission of China, the principle of the universality of the United Nations, supported the proposal made by the representative of Yugoslavia. He felt that one State should not

be able to prevent the admission of another State which satisfied the requirements of Article 4 of the Charter. Colombia was one of the 91 Member States which had recognized Bangladesh as a State. Consideration of the question by the General Assembly might help to change the attitude which had paralysed the Security Council, or at least to clarify the problem. His delegation felt that item 98 should be included in the agenda of the Assembly.

34. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) pointed out that only three weeks previously the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations had been vetoed in the Security Council. No practical purpose would be served by reopening the debate while the situation remained unchanged. Besides, the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on ending the conflict between two Asian countries, in particular the provisions concerning prisoners, had still not been implemented; the admission of Bangladesh could be reconsidered only when it had given proof of its good will in that connexion. It was therefore not appropriate to include item 98 in the agenda of the Assembly.

35. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius) said he supported the Yugoslav proposal and supported the arguments which had already been put forward.

36. Mr. ČERNÍK (Czechoslovakia) said he saw no reason to postpone consideration of the application of Bangladesh for admission since it satisfied fully the requirements of Article 4 of the Charter. Bangladesh was recognized by over two thirds of the Member States and was a member of several specialized agencies. Its request for admission showed that it was willing to assume the obligations imposed by the Charter. Its admission would be a step towards the universality of the United Nations and would enhance the Organization's prestige. His delegation accordingly supported the inclusion of item 98 in the agenda of the Assembly.

37. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said he supported the Yugoslav proposal. The issue was the admission of a State which had achieved its independence and sovereignty at the cost of a hard struggle in which, right from the start, it had received the support of the USSR. Bangladesh, whose policies were based on the principle of non-alignment, was a peace-loving State whose actions were aimed at normalizing the situation in the subcontinent. It had been recognized by over two thirds of the Member States and was already a member of some specialized agencies. To ignore the fact that it had won the right to international recognition would be to ignore the facts. It satisfied the conditions set forth in Article 4 of the Charter and had shown that it was able and willing to assume the obligations imposed by the Charter. Its admission to the United Nations was in accordance with the principle of universality and could only enhance the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations and encourage mutual understanding between peoples. Its admission would also help Bangladesh to overcome its own difficulties, for it would enable Member States to contribute more to its development; Bangladesh needed

the United Nations if it was to resolve the serious problems it had to face. Unless criteria other than those of Article 4 of the Charter were applied to Bangladesh, there was no reason to postpone its admission.

38. He recalled that in the Security Council there had been 11 out of the 15 votes in favour of admitting Bangladesh, and only 3 had been against it. He hoped that the inclusion of item 98 in the General Assembly's agenda would, without interfering with the prerogatives of the Security Council, lead the Council to reconsider the admission of Bangladesh. The USSR, which consistently supported the principle of the universality of the United Nations, requested the General Committee to recommend to the General Assembly the inclusion of item 98 in its agenda.

39. Mr. REYES (Philippines) said that his delegation supported the admission of Bangladesh to certain of the United Nations specialized agencies. However, he wondered whether holding a debate at the General Assembly in the current circumstances would be the best means of hastening the admission of Bangladesh. The procedure for admitting new members involved the two principal organs of the United Nations. He questioned the usefulness of having those two organs oppose each other. That was why his delegation, which did not, however, wish to oppose the will of the majority, would be obliged to abstain in the vote. He recalled that the Simla talks were still continuing and that their outcome might well be to overcome the obstacles which prevented the Council from recommending the admission of Bangladesh.

40. The CHAIRMAN put the question of the inclusion of item 98 in the agenda to the vote.

The General Committee decided by 17 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions, to recommend to the General Assembly that item 98 should be included in the agenda.

41. Mr. SUY (Belgium) said that he had voted in favour, since Belgium traditionally did not oppose the inclusion of any item in the agenda. His favourable vote did not, however, prejudice the position his delegation would take during the debate.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) withdrew.

ITEM 99 (continued)

42. The CHAIRMAN said that some representatives had requested that consideration of item 99 should be postponed until the next meeting. If there were no objections, that procedure would be adopted.

It was so decided.

ITEM 100

43. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the Romanian delegation had requested the inclusion in the agenda of item 100 (A/8792). In accordance with rule 43 of

the rules of procedure, he invited the representative of Romania to take part in the discussion of the item.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Macovescu (Romania) took a place at the Committee table.

44. Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania) stressed that his delegation's request had been inspired by Romania's steadfast support for the United Nations and the purposes and principles of the Charter, and by its sincere desire to see the United Nations play its part in the community of nations in eliminating the causes of conflict and tension and building the framework for fruitful co-operation and lasting peace and security throughout the world.

45. The increasing concern of Member States with enhancing the role and effectiveness of the Organization in contemporary international relations had been demonstrated on several occasions. The idea had been stressed in the Declaration adopted at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries at Georgetown, Guyana, and it was also the main theme of the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/8701/Add.1). Many heads of State and Government had stated their views on the United Nations' failure to make its presence really felt in international life, particularly at the political level in the field of the pacific settlement of disputes, that was to say the field in which the United Nations was, under the Charter, called upon to play a major part. Many constructive ideas, suggestions and proposals had been put forward, but they had not been considered further, and they had had no tangible results.

46. The proposal he was submitting was intended to concentrate the attention of Member States on the role of the United Nations in international life and on the measures which should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the legitimate aspirations of the peoples, in order to enhance the United Nations capacity for action and to increase its effectiveness in the pacific settlement of international problems. What was wanted was not to repeat the discussions on the political activities of the United Nations for they would take place under other items on the Assembly's agenda, but to consider what measures should be adopted, in the spirit of the Charter, to strengthen the Organization's effectiveness and authority. His delegation was convinced that such a debate would initiate a process thanks to which conclusions could be reached that would lead to really useful action.

47. The Assembly should not be discouraged by the complexity and magnitude of the questions raised in such a debate. On the contrary, it must decide to act with the conviction that the collective wisdom of all Member States and their political will to imbue the Organization with the necessary vigour would bring about the results awaited by the entire world. His delegation was convinced that consideration of the item would help to elevate the United Nations to the pinnacle of its noble mission, enshrined in the Charter.

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that item 100 should be included in the agenda.

Mr. Macovescu (Romania) withdrew

ITEM 101

48. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the item had been proposed by the USSR in document A/8793.

49. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the Soviet Government had proposed the inclusion in the agenda of item 101 as an important and urgent question. The development of the international situation showed a trend towards reduction of tension and the establishment of international relations based on peaceful coexistence. In particular, the slackening of the arms race had been reflected in important documents, among others, the treaties on the non-use of force between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland. Certain agreements, such as the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, were now in force. In Europe, summit talks preceding the all-European conference on security and co-operation held out the hope for the conclusion of specific agreements which would reduce the causes of international tension. Finally, the agreement between the USSR and the United States of America contained important provisions for the limitation of strategic arms.

50. Despite the trend towards a reduction of tension, the United Nations could not ignore the fact that armed conflicts were taking place in several parts of the world, the arms race was continuing and the threat of nuclear war had not been eliminated. The role of the United Nations was thus to consolidate the progress already achieved and to adopt new measures designed to end

existing conflicts and to establish the conditions that would rule out any new armed conflict. The best way to achieve that aim was to uphold the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, and to apply it to all types of weapons.

51. Renunciation of the use of force was an important principle of the Charter, expressed and confirmed in many international instruments, particularly in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

52. Consideration of the item proposed by the Soviet Union and the adoption of the necessary decisions would certainly help to strengthen international security and to reduce the risks of armed conflict. Thus it was necessary to prohibit both conventional and nuclear weapons. All States would thereby be in a position of equality and none would enjoy military advantages.

53. The obligation to refrain from using force was in keeping with the Charter and must be honoured; that obligation did not imply that States should renounce their inherent right to self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter, nor the right to take up arms to protect their territory and to defend their interests recognized in the Charter.

54. Consideration of the item would help to strengthen peace and security and would create favourable conditions for halting the arms race. More than \$200 thousand million would thus be released and could be used for the economic and social development of all countries. His delegation hoped that the subject would be discussed as a separate item in plenary meetings.

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that item 101 should be included in the agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.