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

*In the absence of the President, Sir John Carter (Guyana),  
Vice-President took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 19**

**Election of the United Nations High Commissioner  
for Refugees**

1. The PRESIDENT: The Members of the Assembly have before them a note by the Secretary-General [A/7317], proposing that the term of office of Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees be extended for a further period of five years from 1 January 1969 to 31 December 1973, and that during that period the High Commissioner should receive the salary and emoluments of an Under-Secretary-General. May I assume that the Assembly approves the Secretary-General's recommendation by acclamation?

*The recommendation was adopted by acclamation.*

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision just taken by the General Assembly, I declare Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan elected United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees until 31 December 1973. I take this opportunity to congratulate Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan on the renewed confidence that the General Assembly has placed in him, and I wish him continued success in the important task that he is performing on behalf of the refugees.

3. Lady GAITSKELL (United Kingdom): It gives me very great pleasure, on behalf of my delegation, to add my Government's warm congratulations to the many which will be expressed today to the High Commissioner on his re-election. His unanimous re-election, no surprise in this Assembly, is evidence of the immense respect which he and his office command.

4. The High Commissioner's report for the year ending 31 March 1968 [A/7211 and Corr.2 and A/7211/Add.1]

makes it clear that the need for the continuing services of the United Nations High Commissioner is still very great. We are heartened by the High Commissioner's view that the international community is showing increasing support for the principles governing his work.

5. It is very rare to find a man with qualities of realism and imagination and diplomacy so fitting for a post bearing such a heavy responsibility. The High Commissioner is blessed with these qualities in full measure, and I am very happy to express my Government's continuing support for the High Commissioner and his Office.

6. Mr. SHAW (Australia): I should like, on behalf of the Australian delegation, to express our pleasure that the General Assembly has just approved the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the term of office of Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees should be extended for a further period of five years, from 1 January 1969 to 31 December 1973.

7. After the conclusion of the Second World War Australia participated in the work of the International Refugee Organization and supported the establishment of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1950. In 1951 I had the honour of participating in the first meetings of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme in Geneva, and Australia has continued to be a member of that Executive Committee ever since. In addition to our financial contributions to the Programme. Australia has been glad to co-operate with the High Commissioner in providing new homes and new settlement opportunities for some hundreds of thousands of refugees coming within the High Commissioner's mandate.

8. We have worked with successive distinguished High Commissioners: Mr. Van Hoesen Goedhardt, Mr. Lindt and Mr. Schnyder, and now with Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan. We believe that the present incumbent is continuing the high standards set by the earlier holders of this difficult office. His task is to stimulate and co-ordinate various activities in the field of refugees and to provide a nucleus around which multilateral forms of aid are developed. The High Commissioner has the complicated task of making sure that his programme dovetails with those of the United Nations Development Programme, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the World Food Programme and, in particular, with the very valuable work of the voluntary and non-governmental organizations. Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan has performed his duties with great dedication and skill.

9. The Australian Government was glad to welcome and be host to the High Commissioner for Refugees during his visit to Australia in April 1967. Our confidence in Prince

Sadrudin is testified to by our continuing and active contribution to the work of his office and by the maintenance of our financial contribution to his programme.

10. The Australian delegation therefore believes that the re-election of Prince Sadrudin to the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will be welcomed by all Member States and by those voluntary organizations which are dedicated to the work of assisting and protecting refugees. We join with others in congratulating Prince Sadrudin, and we promise him our support.

11. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*translated from French*): The Malagasy delegation is proud to agree with the delegations that have preceded it with regard to the election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

12. As a member of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Madagascar has been able to appreciate the positive work of Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan throughout his last term of office. That statement does not reflect a desire on the part of my delegation merely to take part in the ritual which consists in always paying the most glowing tribute to anyone elected to a position of high responsibility. It would be failing in its duty if it did not repeat here the views and feelings of the representative of Madagascar on the Executive Committee. The questions which the High Commissioner must face, vigilantly and effectively, are complex and delicate, and they also require co-ordinating, administrative and organizational skills as well as a deep human understanding of problems which, while of a general character, call for great precision. These questions, moreover, can only be tackled with an open mind and extreme objectivity. And finally, while all these qualities are essential, the question of refugees requires a spirit of initiative and imagination responsive to changing realities, human factors and certain political and economic conditions. We need only turn to the reports which the High Commissioner has submitted in the last few years to realize what day-to-day difficulties he has encountered in finding adequate solutions, which I would describe as always adapted to particular situations, and to appreciate his untiring efforts to overcome all these difficulties in a constructive and realistic spirit, even if the results are not always all that we would have wished.

13. Fortunately, we have found all these qualities in Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan, whose human experience has to a very great extent enabled us to set our conscience relatively at rest—at least, we believe so—when we contemplate the refugee problem.

14. Consequently, my delegation offers its warmest congratulations to Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan on his unanimous election and would like to assure him of the sincere co-operation of the representative of Madagascar on the Executive Committee in the execution of his noble task, for which we wish him every success.

15. Mrs. PICKER (United States of America): The United States wishes to take this opportunity to join most heartily with the other delegations in congratulating Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan on his unanimous re-election to the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

16. During his first term the High Commissioner demonstrated over and over again the importance of the job he is doing and the wealth of talents he brings to that job. He has faced problems of an ever-increasing geographic and political magnitude with flexibility, skill and great imagination. President Johnson said in a recent message to the Senate:

“Refugee problems—in their origin and in their resolution—cannot be divorced from the strife, tensions and oppression which are so detrimental to the well-being of nations and peoples.”

17. It is clear that the very nature of refugee problems requires the application of the greatest statesmanship and humanitarian concern. The success of Prince Sadrudin in relieving those problems is evidence of the vigour, interest and marked operational and intellectual competence with which he executes his programme.

18. There is every indication, unfortunately, that refugee problems will continue and expand in the near future, as State-to-State relationships and citizen-to-State relationships continue to change. The appointment of Prince Sadrudin to another term is an important first step in meeting those problems. The United States strongly supports him and the vital work he is doing to bring relief, consolation and indeed a new life to the millions of people who, without him, would be living in isolation and despair. By alleviating these problems the High Commissioner has promoted the fundamental interests of us all in enhancing peace and promoting the dignity of the individual.

19. Mrs. SEGERSTEDT-WIBERG (Sweden): It is a great honour and privilege for me to convey to Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan the heartfelt felicitations of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. We have been able to follow his work closely during the past years and we are happy that, through the election which has just been held, the General Assembly has decided on the continuance for another five years of his imaginative and dynamic leadership in the activities for the benefit of refugees. I should like to end by pledging to the High Commissioner the continued whole-hearted support in his work of the Governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

20. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (*translated from French*): The Iranian Government welcomed with special satisfaction the proposal of the Secretary-General [A/7317, para. 3] to prolong the term of office of our eminent compatriot, Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan, as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In the three years during which he has occupied that high office, Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan has demonstrated his exceptional qualities as a diplomat and as a man of action sufficiently to make it unnecessary for me to recall them. The impetus he has been able to give to a task which circumstances have, unfortunately, rendered increasingly important is recognized by all. It is therefore a very great pleasure for me to thank the Assembly, on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan and of the Iranian Government, and on my own behalf, for having been kind enough to express its unanimous support for the Secretary-General's proposal. We are sure that under the guidance of its eminent and dynamic head, the High Commissioner's Office will perform its humanitarian

mission in the interests of hundreds of thousands of deprived people, the victims of the upheavals of our present times.

21. Mr. DIALLO (Guinea) (*translated from French*): Following the re-election of His Highness Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan to the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, I take special pleasure in conveying to him, on behalf of the delegation of Guinea and the Guinean Government, my very heartfelt and warm congratulations. Those of us who have known Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan for some time, who are privileged to be among his personal friends and who have had many occasions to appreciate his outstanding human qualities, his competence, devotion and constant selflessness in the cause of refugees throughout the world, have no need to state our deep conviction that, as in the past, he will be able to discharge the weighty responsibilities of his office worthily. We therefore wish to assure him in advance of the unswerving support of the Guinean Government in the performance of his duties and once more to offer him our lively, warm and very friendly congratulations.

22. Mrs. AFNAN (Iraq): I should like to express the very warm congratulations of my Government and country to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his re-election for a term of five years as High Commissioner for Refugees. I appreciate fully that this means for him total rededication to an immensely difficult task for another five years. For us it is the continued assurance that the refugees who come within his field of competence will receive the benefit of his sustained, imaginative, realistic and humanitarian efforts. We know that his task must often have been heartbreaking in the face of very great difficulties but we feel that it must nevertheless also sometimes have been rewarding, for we know that thanks to him we have often been successful in relieving some of the suffering which without him would have been unrelieved.

23. Mr. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of the Venezuelan delegation I wish to congratulate Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan warmly on his election for a further term of five years as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

24. We are fully aware of his high qualifications for this important task and wish him continued success in his dedicated efforts on behalf of the refugees, who merit the efficient help they receive from the Office of the High Commissioner.

25. Mr. CHAYET (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation also wishes to address its warmest congratulations in public to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his re-election to the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Throughout his first term of office, he gave evidence of the objectivity and humane spirit which must guide the work of the United Nations work on behalf of the too numerous victims of political vicissitudes in the various areas of the world. My delegation wishes to pay a most sincere tribute today to the personal action of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

26. Mr. HAYMERLE (Austria): The Austrian delegation wishes to join other delegations which, on the occasion of the re-election of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan to the office

of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, have commended the High Commissioner for the work he has achieved during the past years in that office with a skill and efficiency which we are bound to admire. My delegation was among those which supported Prince Sadruddin's candidacy three years ago and we are particularly satisfied to see him re-elected today for another term of office.

27. We all know that important tasks lie ahead for the High Commissioner. His office up to now has been able to cope with most of the difficult refugee situations which have arisen all over the world, be it in Asia, in Africa, or in Europe, and we sincerely hope that his office will in the future—as in the past—be in a position to extend its assistance to all refugee situations wherever they may occur. We wish to assure the High Commissioner that in that task he can always count on the active support of the Austrian Government.

28. Mr. NSANZÉ (Burundi) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Burundi takes a very special pleasure in conveying its heartfelt congratulations to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his re-election as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Besides the reasons which other delegations have for congratulating him, the Government and people of Burundi have special grounds for welcoming his re-election on account of the invaluable help he has given Burundi, as a result of which Burundi is today regarded as a pilot country in aid to refugees from other countries. Thus, through the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, our country has been able to absorb many tens of thousands of refugees from neighbouring countries. We are grateful to the High Commissioner for his untiring devotion to humanitarian tasks, which he performs with a dynamism, a selflessness and an efficiency which are undeniably exemplary. Despite the limited means available to him, he has on many occasions been able to meet responsibilities which are as crushing as they are numerous; indeed, he who now addresses the General Assembly, and who has often witnessed his activities, believes that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, is everywhere and nowhere. When one has to contact him with precise reference to the co-operation to be given him in the matter of refugees, it is difficult to find him at Geneva, even though that is his headquarters. When one asks for him there, the answer is always that he has flown to the assistance of a country or group of refugees. I believe that the entire world and Africa—especially Burundi—owe him a great debt of gratitude.

29. On behalf of the Government and people of Burundi and on my own behalf, I should like to say that we have had the opportunity of benefiting from his assistance on a number of occasions; we wish again to express to him our heartfelt thanks and our great pleasure at his re-election.

30. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 19.

## AGENDA ITEM 15

### Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency

31. The PRESIDENT: It gives me great pleasure to invite Mr. Sigvard Eklund, Director-General of the International

Atomic Energy Agency, to present to the General Assembly the Agency's report for the year 1967–1968.<sup>1</sup>

32. Mr. EKLUND (Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency): Since I had the honour of speaking in this Hall last December, the General Assembly has commended the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. In the words of the Secretary-General, ten years of efforts have culminated in this treaty, which, if duly ratified and implemented, “will help to limit and contain the threat of nuclear war”. In this light the treaty is certainly the most significant international agreement, at least in the nuclear field, since the Second World War.

33. The Agency has a unique relationship with the General Assembly by way of its annual report to the Assembly. In connexion with the implementation of safeguards it may also report to both the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Agency is further enjoined by its Statute to “conduct its activities . . . in conformity with policies of the United Nations furthering the establishment of safeguarded world-wide disarmament and in conformity with any international agreements entered into pursuant to such policies” [*art. III, B, 1*]. The non-proliferation Treaty is that type of international agreement.

34. The Agency's report this year is presented in an atmosphere of revitalized interest in atomic energy and its consequences. Two great events of this year, namely, the signing of the non-proliferation Treaty and the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States which was held in Geneva last August,<sup>2</sup> have been the main cause for that interest.

35. I would in this context also refer to the Secretary-General's report published at the end of last year under the title “Effects of the Possible Use of Nuclear Weapons and the Security and Economic Implications for States of the Acquisition and Further Development of These Weapons”.<sup>3</sup> That report underlined heavily both the detrimental effect to world security inherent in a spread of nuclear weapons and the economic burden which the acquirement of nuclear arms imposes on a country.

36. Long and difficult negotiations preceded the acceptance of the draft treaty both in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and in the United Nations. I pay a tribute to the skill, endurance and firm belief of the negotiators of the Committee, who through years of negotiations were able ultimately to produce the draft agreement which later was commended by the General Assembly.

37. It is a difficult and time-consuming process to achieve international understanding and agreement in this area where politics and technology are so closely interrelated, as shown, for instance, by the fact that it took four years to establish the IAEA after the famous “Atoms for Peace”

speech by President Eisenhower in 1953 [*470th meeting*]. Since its inception the Agency has endeavoured to fulfil its double role, namely, first, to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace; and secondly, to ensure through the establishment and administration of a safeguards system that nuclear materials, facilities or equipment intended for peaceful uses are not diverted to military purposes.

38. Let me first dwell upon the second of the two functions. IAEA safeguards activities have continued to expand with the coming into force of a number of new agreements. As a consequence, all Member States in Latin America, and in the regions of the Far East, South East Asia and the Pacific which have reactor programmes have now concluded safeguards agreements with the Agency.

39. Another notable development has been the action taken by the Government of Mexico in requesting the IAEA to apply its safeguards to all nuclear activities in the country pursuant to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.<sup>4</sup> This is the first time that the Agency has been asked to apply safeguards to all present and future nuclear activities in a Member State. Furthermore, some Member States, such as Canada, Norway and the United States, are now notifying the Agency of their international transfers of nuclear materials. It is expected that other Member States will follow this procedure.

40. I would now like to turn to the far-reaching implications of the non-proliferation Treaty with regards to our safeguards system. The Treaty has already been signed by more than eighty States. Still many of those States that are most advanced in nuclear technology have not yet seen their way clear to signing the Treaty, but I hope that this will become possible in the near future.

41. Before and during the Agency's General Conference this September,<sup>5</sup> a substantial number of countries urged that the Agency should proceed without delay to prepare itself for its increasing responsibilities under the non-proliferation Treaty. During the past months, the Agency has been making detailed studies of the provisions of the Treaty and its various implications, legal, technical, operational and financial. Since October, groups of consultants made available by some of the Member States have been associated with the Agency's staff to define and elaborate the detailed objectives and procedures of its safeguards operations based upon the present safeguards system.

42. Safeguards must strike a careful balance between, first of all, the following three criteria: they must be effective, they must provide international confidence or credibility and they must not be intrusive or place an undue burden on the nuclear industry. The pattern of a model safeguards agreement is now being formulated on this basis.

43. Scientific and technical research and development work is likely to become vitally important for the formulation both of detailed safeguards procedures and of general

<sup>1</sup> International Atomic Energy Agency, *Annual Report of the Board of Governors to the General Conference, 1 July 1967-30 June 1968*, Vienna (July 1968) and supplementary report; transmitted to the Members of the General Assembly by notes of the Secretary-General (A/7175 and Add.1).

<sup>2</sup> Held from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.IX.1.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 91, document A/C.1/946.

<sup>5</sup> Held in Vienna from 24 to 30 September 1968.



safeguards system concepts for the future. During the last year, we have for the first time seen significant sums devoted to safeguards research and development in Member States. The Agency keeps in close contact with the work being done on a national level to ensure that the Agency's safeguards operation derives immediate and substantial benefits from the results of work done in Member States.

44. I am aware of the concern that exists about the future costs of applying international safeguards. There are several factors that would tend to reduce these costs. Governments of countries advanced in the nuclear field and having substantial nuclear power programmes will find it in their own interest to establish national nuclear materials management systems and national safeguards controls, which could not only facilitate the implementation of the Agency's safeguards but could also eventually help to reduce their cost. The unit size of plants under safeguards is also likely to grow substantially, which means that their safeguarding will require proportionately less staff. All these factors would tend to decrease the manpower and budget requirements.

45. I would like to terminate this exposé on safeguards by referring to one of the resolutions taken by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States—resolution B—which reads:

*“Recommends that all non-nuclear-weapon States not comprised in the zone established by the Treaty of Tlatelolco initiate or continue such studies as they may deem opportune concerning the possibility and desirability of establishing by treaty the military denuclearization of their respective zones, provided that political and security conditions permit.” [A/7277 and Corr.1 and 2.]*

It stands to reason that the IAEA is at the disposal of any Member State wishing to avail itself of the opportunity given by this resolution.

46. In all matters concerning disarmament I consider it most important for the Agency to move only after receiving assurances from Member States that proposed actions are acceptable. Here, more than at any time, it is necessary to move with caution. The pace must be determined as a result of continuous, careful consultations between the Member States and the Agency if solutions acceptable to all are to be achieved. Questions concerning the non-proliferation Treaty can only be solved in an atmosphere of confidence and the Treaty can only become a corner-stone in nuclear disarmament if this confidence is maintained and further developed.

47. I would now like to turn to articles IV and V of the non-proliferation Treaty. These articles contain important undertakings by the leading nuclear countries to promote co-operation and foster the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, particularly in the developing areas of the world.

48. May I first recall that the Agency, since 1958, is promoting the applications of nuclear energy and nuclear techniques in developing countries through a technical assistance programme which, as I have reported to the General Assembly, was reviewed last year. In implementing this programme the Agency, as all other organizations in the United Nations family, is faced with an overwhelming

problem, namely, the difficulty of obtaining funds to give effect to more than a fraction of the technically sound requests for assistance. I feel it my duty to draw the attention of the Assembly to this fact when I now start to discuss the implications of article IV of the non-proliferation Treaty on the Agency.

49. Nuclear energy is now firmly established as an economically competitive alternative to the fossil energy resources for electricity production in the industrially advanced countries. The only limiting factor in the present expanding use of nuclear power seems to be that the manufacturers' order books are full. The times of delivery for the supply of some components are beginning to lengthen appreciably.

50. There are now about 133,000 mWe of nuclear power capacity in operation, under construction or planned throughout the world, but of this 133,000 mWe, only about 2,000 mWe, or 1.5 per cent, will be installed outside the industrially advanced countries of North America, Western Europe, the Soviet Union and Japan. This is a result of the inherent technical characteristics of nuclear power. The economies of scale apply more sharply and extend further in the case of nuclear power than in that of conventional power, and at present only rather large nuclear power stations of the size of 300 to 400 mWe and upwards are competitive with conventional power in most locations. The bigger the nuclear power plant, the sharper its competitive edge is over conventional plant of corresponding size. It is in the industrially advanced countries with their large electric power distribution grids that the very large nuclear power units can be accommodated.

51. Nevertheless, there are already some locations in developing countries where nuclear plants are feasible and are being built: India, Pakistan and Argentina. There are other areas where power consumption is growing so rapidly that the need for large new plants can be foreseen in the relatively near future. The mere fact that cheap and abundant electricity is available would in itself be likely to create in many areas the conditions that would lead to the rapid development of industry and to rapidly increasing power demands. Moreover, nuclear technology continues to improve, and it is to be hoped that future advances will make nuclear power reactors competitive in smaller-sized units.

52. What is needed, however, is investment capital on a scale that has so far not been at the disposal of most developing countries. This is a major problem which covers two main aspects: the first is the question of international financing, of which Members of this Assembly are acutely aware from the many discussions of external financing of economic development, be it under the symbols of UNDP, UNCTAD, UNIDO, the United Nations Capital Development Fund, the IBRD and IDA, or under the guise of such comprehensive plans of aid as that of the next United Nations Development Decade.

53. The second aspect is the question of national priorities: to what extent is a developing country willing to finance a nuclear power programme which of course must be related—or, rather, integrated—in an over-all development plan. Positive response by international financing will

depend greatly, if not entirely, on the response given to the establishment of these priorities. The Agency is of course ready to offer its services in this connexion, but these services are not of a financial nature but mainly technical.

54. During its eleven years of existence, the Agency has accumulated a wealth of information on how nuclear technology can contribute to the economic and scientific advancement of individual countries at all different stages of development. Last year, a comprehensive study was made of the ways in which the Agency could give more effective help to developing countries. But still no additional funds have been made available for that purpose. Year after year, the contributions of Member States to the Agency's General Fund, which is the chief source of finance for its technical assistance programme, have remained static, while the average cost of providing a particular item of assistance—fellowship, expert or equipment—has risen: since 1962 by at least 22 per cent. The results of this inadequacy of resources and of the growing interest of developing countries in nuclear energy are shown by the fact that in 1958 the Agency was able to meet nearly 90 per cent of the requests it received for experts and equipment, while in 1968 the figure has dropped to less than 30 per cent. There is no lack of technically sound projects, but the means to implement them are actually decreasing.

55. It is essential that funds be made available on a much larger scale than at present to make Article IV of the non-proliferation Treaty an effective instrument for the promotion of nuclear energy and nuclear techniques. I assure you that any proposal which is submitted to the Agency will be the subject of careful consideration, and that we will continue to seek co-operation with the IBRD or UNDP.

56. The extensive discussions of the technical implications of the non-proliferation Treaty at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in Geneva in August to September of this year seem to indicate both the concern of many countries that they may lose the potential benefits of nuclear power and nuclear science and their wish to allot a higher priority to nuclear energy matters in their development programmes. These feelings seem to be reflected in a number of resolutions which the Conference has transmitted to the Assembly. The General Conference of the Agency in September of this year adopted a resolution which in that same vein requests the Board of Governors to review the statutory basis for the composition of the Agency's Board of Governors and submit the results of this review to the next General Conference.

57. Let me mention at this point some of the work that the Agency is already now doing to promote, in the words of Article IV of the Treaty "... the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy". In the early days, three of the nuclear Powers made available a total of more than 5,000 kilograms of contained Uranium 235 to the Agency. Several other countries made available source materials. Generally, the prices at which these materials are available are the same as those obtained domestically in the countries concerned, but still only a very small portion of this fund of nuclear fuel

has been utilized by the Member States, and chiefly for research purposes. The IAEA here still has an existing international machinery for supply of nuclear fuel which, if all the terms that can be offered for supply are as favourable as those for bilateral supplies, could also offer a form of international assurance that fuel will be available for the lifetime of a nuclear plant. It could also easily be adapted to meet the needs for large-scale nuclear power applications.

58. With regard to scientific and technological information, progress has been made in the development of the International Nuclear Information System. This computer-based system, which may come into operation in 1970, will provide every Member State that wishes to take part with a continuous service of quick references to the vast amount of nuclear science information that is now being generated throughout the world. It will thus enable specialists in Member States to keep much more easily abreast of the work that is being done in their field in other countries.

59. I would also refer to the recommendations before you for a Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in 1971 [A/L.558]. The Secretary-General's Scientific Advisory Committee has proposed that this be held by the United Nations with the IAEA participating in the same way as in the 1964 Conference. The Agency's secretariat is prepared to contribute fully if the General Assembly confirms these recommendations.

60. Guided by the General Assembly resolution commending the non-proliferation Treaty and the views expressed at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, The Agency's General Conference in September this year adopted a resolution which points out that the Agency can effectively perform the role of an "appropriate international body" for providing services in connexion with the peaceful uses of nuclear explosives. I have thus initiated studies of the procedures that the Agency should employ in performing such a role. We have to acknowledge that a great deal of developmental work still has to be done over several years in the nuclear-weapon States before nuclear explosives can be used in specific civil engineering projects. This technology is still at an early stage of development, but the Agency is keenly aware of the long-term promise that it offers and has already, several years ago, sent a technical assistance mission to Panama to study the safety aspects of the use of nuclear explosives. The Agency's approved programme for 1969-1974 also includes a number of activities relating to the peaceful use of nuclear explosives, particularly in promoting the exchange of information.

61. Confidence that the Agency can cope with the tasks imposed upon it by Article III of the non-proliferation Treaty has been reiterated by the countries of Latin America in selecting the Agency's system for the implementation of the Tlateloco Treaty<sup>6</sup> by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapons States. Great opportunities are now also unfolding for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Besides such large enterprises as electric power and nuclear desalting plants and the agro-industrial complexes that I described to you last year, and eventually nuclear explo-

<sup>6</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, agenda item 91, document A/C.1/946.

sives for civilian purposes, there are many applications that can help the developing countries to develop or improve their agriculture, medicine, hydrology and industry. The entry into force of the non-proliferation Treaty and its ratification, especially by the countries on the threshold of nuclear capability, would provide the framework in which these benefits could be enjoyed without fear of the spread of nuclear weapons. The International Atomic Energy Agency has accumulated the knowledge needed and has a tested and proven machinery, not only for safeguarding the spread of nuclear technology, but above all for accelerating and enlarging, in the words of the Statute, its "contribution to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world". The Agency has the technical and administrative base to take on even greatly expanded tasks. But the financial resources need to be provided.

62. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to express our thanks to Dr. Eklund, the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, for the statement he has just made in introducing the report of the Agency.

63. I now recognize the representative of Mexico on a point of order.

64. Mr. GARCÍA ROBLES (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish it were possible on this occasion for me to express in detail how much Mexico has appreciated and continues to appreciate the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and also to say with what interest I have listened to the introduction of its report [A/7175 and Add.1] just made by its Director-General, Dr. Eklund. I should also have liked to give some details about the signing of the first agreement under which all Mexico's nuclear activities are placed under the Agency's system of safeguards, in accordance with article 13 of the Treaty of Tlatelolco to which he referred. However, that and the statements on the item by other representatives will have to await a more suitable occasion, if the Assembly agrees to the motion I am going to make.

65. The motion which I now formally submit is to postpone consideration of the item scheduled in today's *Journal*, i.e. the Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and of the draft resolution submitted by Canada, Iran and Poland [A/L.552].

66. My reasons for submitting this proposal will, I think, be sufficiently clear to all representatives who, like myself, only received this morning the draft resolution dated 13 November and its revised version [A/L.552/Rev.1] hardly more than half an hour ago. Despite efforts made to obtain it earlier in the week, the Addendum to the Agency's report [A/7175/Add.1] only reached my delegation about two hours ago.

67. On the one hand, the above-mentioned facts must be taken into consideration; on the other hand, it must also be borne in mind that the draft resolution now before us is not merely a procedural resolution of three lines, like that adopted on 5 December 1967 reading as follows:

"The General Assembly

"Takes note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency to the General Assembly for the year

1966-1967." [General Assembly resolution 2284 (XXII).]

68. On this occasion the draft resolution deals with extremely delicate matters which gave rise to lengthy debates in the Conference of Non-Nuclear States held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968; they were also considered at the last meeting of the General Conference of IAEA, held at Vienna from 24 to 30 September 1968, where they resulted in a much divided vote.

69. In addition, the First Committee, as we all know, has at present on its agenda, among the items relating to disarmament, the final report of the Conference of Non-Nuclear States [A/7277]. There is no doubt that that item has a considerable bearing on the subject of the draft resolution.

70. For all these reasons my delegation, I repeat, formally proposes that the debate on the item which we have just begun to consider be postponed to a later date.

71. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Mexico has proposed, presumably under rule 76 of the rules of procedure, postponement of the consideration of this item and of the draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.1. Under rule 76, in addition to the proposer of the motion, there may be no more than two speakers in favour of the motion and two against it. Does any representative wish to speak?

72. Mr. DE ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): My delegation wishes to give its strong support to the proposal of the representative of Mexico for postponement of the item under consideration. As Members know, draft resolution A/L.552/Rev.1, introduced by the delegations of Canada, Iran and Poland, was distributed only today. The previous text reached us only this morning. It is obvious that we have had, as yet, no time to consult our Government. And this, of course, may also be true of most other delegations.

73. If, as in preceding years, the draft resolution limited itself to taking note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, we should have no objection to having a vote or a discussion today. But it is obvious that the draft resolution goes much further than that and carries with it many implications on which we are bound to reserve our position and to seek the advice of our Government. And as we see, a revised version of document A/L.552 has now been submitted and we have as yet had no time to evaluate the changes it introduces. Furthermore, the text touches upon matters relating to the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States which are assigned to the First Committee, and I do not think that, as of today, we should prejudge the outcome of the Committee's proceedings.

74. We therefore strongly endorse the proposal of the representative of Mexico as being entirely consistent with the normal conduct of our business and as one that will give our Governments the opportunity properly to consider the matters of which the General Assembly is seized.

75. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to do something rather unusual. Rule 76 of the Rules of Procedure provides that only two representatives may speak in favour of a motion to adjourn the debate and

two against. As I know that other delegations wish to speak, my delegation, which supports the motion proposed by the delegations of Mexico and Brazil, will not take the floor in order that other delegations may do so.

76. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (*translated from French*): I have asked to speak merely to inform the Assembly that the sponsors of draft resolution [A/L.552/Rev.1] have no objection to the postponement of the discussion. We feel that the request made by some delegations is a legitimate one, since they state that they have not had enough time to study the draft. If it is simply on that basis and if an adjournment pure and simple is being asked for, we have no objection.

77. The PRESIDENT: If there are no further speakers I shall now put to the vote the motion for the postponement of consideration of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.552/Rev.1.

*The motion was adopted by 81 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.*

### AGENDA ITEM 93

#### Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (*continued*)

78. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): The position of the Afghan delegation on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and the principles involved, has been stated on many occasions. This question has been discussed throughout the course of many years in the General Assembly and, in our view, involves the fundamental principles of the Charter. For years my delegation has urged that the rights of the People's Republic of China should be speedily restored and we have always stated that the question was not that of the admission of a State but merely that of the validity of representation. For nineteen years the will of the majority of the people of the Chinese State has been expressed in international relations by the Government of the People's Republic of China, which has been able to exercise its rights of sovereign authority. We therefore regret the deprivation of the legitimate Government of the Chinese people of the right to assume its rightful place in the United Nations.

79. This matter, besides being obviously unjust, is undermining the principle of universality of the Organization. The promotion of the objectives of the United Nations on the basis of the Charter essentially coincides with that principle. If the Organization is to serve as a focal point for efforts to solve the disputes, moderate the attitudes, solve the problems and eliminate the conditions which make for war and uncertainty its authority should be as wide as possible. If the United Nations is a forum for the consideration of the dangers which threaten and the challenges which confront the human race, an agency for dealing with the implications of interdependence and an instrument for helping States to control their conflicts and collaborate in the pursuit of common interests, then maximum breadth of membership is essential. That, we believe, is the general concept of the nature and functions

of the United Nations, which not only conforms to the spirit of the Charter but also provides the most distinctive and promising role for the Organization.

80. The mission of the United Nations is to serve a troubled world community of nations in whatever ways a fully-fledged international organization can contrive. It is by confronting divergent viewpoints that the United Nations can achieve viable solutions to the problems of international society. From that point of view the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would obviously contribute to the functioning of the Organization. Political differences may exist between different States but, in the view of my delegation, such differences should not be an impediment to the representation of the legitimate government of a nation in this world body. We believe that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the exercise of its rights and the fulfilment of its obligations would greatly serve the cause of the United Nations and the effective observance of the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

81. For the reasons we have stated, and realizing that it is only the Government of the People's Republic of China which truly and unequivocally represents the Chinese people, my delegation will support the sixteen-Power resolution contained in document A/L.549 and Add.1.

82. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania): The position of the Government and people of Tanzania on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been made clear from time to time by the Tanzania delegation. My delegation has also followed with keen interest the arguments on this question that have been expounded by other delegations. Indeed, so much has been said on the item over and over again for the past eighteen years that there is danger of killing it by repetition. And this is exactly what the enemies of China intend to do. They believe that if they can hold on long enough the States Members of the United Nations and the world community as a whole will become bored, tired, fed up, and will forget about the whole question; the item will be erased from the agenda of the United Nations, nobody will talk any more about the restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese people in the United Nations, and the Taiwan clique will continue to enjoy illegally the privileges and rights which do not belong to it.

83. These, I am afraid, are the tactics now being pursued by the enemies of China: to kill the item by the simple art of stalling. However, I should like to inform the enemies of China that theirs is a futile course. They will not succeed because, happily enough, there are those delegations which, like my own, are fully aware of this imperialist tactic of stalling.

84. To the people of Tanzania this question is one which involves deep fundamental principles on which we cannot compromise. Therefore, we shall never grow tired of airing our views; for to us it is better to be guilty of repetition on a question of principle than to be guilty of silence. We in Tanzania cannot remain quiet when we know that there are States which have been spending millions for the purpose of preventing the representatives of the more than 700 million



people of a State Member of the United Nations from participating in the work of this Organization. The provision of the United Nations Charter governing membership and representation has been deliberately twisted and confusedly interpreted, and the General Assembly has been made to appear ridiculous, all in order to appease the political and selfish interests of a handful of States. That is an absurdity. For this state of affairs the United States must bear the primary and special responsibility and its attitude on the matter should be condemned unreservedly.

85. The United States and its faithful disciples have been repeating in this Assembly for the past eighteen years arguments which, in all their aspects, belong nowhere but in the dust-bin of crooked and wishful thinking. Let us take, for example, the question of who is governing China.

86. The United States has argued—and its allies have agreed—that Chiang Kai-shek is governing China and that therefore the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek should continue to sit in the United Nations. This argument has been advanced this year, it was propounded last year and the preceding years, and will, unfortunately, continue to be advanced in this Hall. But we know, and the United States knows too, that the people of China decided on 1 October 1949 that it should have a new Government with new leaders to govern its country. The decision to change its Government was within the sovereign right of the Chinese people, just as the people of the United States decided a few days ago to change its Government and to have new leaders to govern the country.

87. It is true that the people of China changed its Government through revolution and that the ideology of the new Government was different from that of the Governments that had existed before 1949. But it was and still is a Government whose interest is to serve the Chinese people.

88. It is not my intention to repeat in this Assembly the entire history of China before 1949. But, as my delegation had occasion to point out last year, the Chinese people was fighting against imperialism, economic exploitation and political strangulation for many years before 1949. The United States and other Powers were all involved in the evil exploitation of China, but this came to a stop in 1949 when the enemies of China were decisively defeated. But those who had been supporting the exploitation of China were not happy at the triumph of the Chinese people. Among them was the corrupt, feudal and mediaeval Government of Chiang Kai-shek, who fled to the Chinese island of Taiwan, where he remains. In simple terms, those are the facts.

89. The Chiang Kai-shek régime was routed from China because that régime was a symbol of slavery, colonialism and economic exploitation. He and his followers have managed to stay on Taiwan because the United States, his paymaster, has offered him protection with huge military armaments. The island which he has occupied for so long is an integral part of mainland China just as Long Island and, for that matter, Manhattan are parts of the entire United States mainland. Furthermore, Chiang Kai-shek has managed to stay in power on Taiwan because he has used the military presence of the United States to suppress the

Chinese people there, and not because he was welcomed by the 12 million people on the island. And there is no doubt that it is the confirmed military occupation of this province of China which sustains the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

90. My delegation cannot, therefore, subscribe to the flimsy argument that Chiang Kai-shek and his henchmen are the ones who are and should be representing the wishes of the population of China. In our view, it is absurd for the United States or any other country to support a man and a system of government rejected by their own people nearly two decades ago.

91. I should now like to come to a serious, but probably the most baseless, allegation which has been levelled against the People's Republic of China, namely, that of not being peace-loving. The argument that the Chinese People's Republic is not peace-loving has been repeated in this Hall so many times that I suspect the authors of that sterile cliché of "peace-loving" hope to create fact from hollow opinion. But, however nonsensical that argument might sound when used against China, it must nevertheless be answered and then rejected. Too many people have been "taken for a ride" by that argument to let it pass without refutation, even though one might be repeating oneself. In this respect it might be useful to recall some of the statements which have been made to support the aforementioned line of reasoning.

92. First, it has been said that China is too aggressive and that it is at odds with its neighbours. According to this thesis, therefore, before talking about the representation of China, we must wait until it becomes moderate in its foreign policy. Secondly, it has been argued that that Government and people of the People's Republic of China have shown utter contempt for the basic principles of customary international law. Thirdly, it has been stated that China has shown utter contempt for the United Nations and that it is not even interested in being represented in this Organization. The United States has been particularly meticulous in its thorough exploitation of this argument. Last year for example, Mr. Fountain, speaking in this Assembly on behalf of the United States delegation said, "Peking has made no secret of its utter contempt for this Organization. It does not seek to enter the United Nations" [*1602nd meeting, para. 37*]. Mr. Fountain went on to point out another crime, namely, that the Government of China has criticized past actions of the United Nations and that the Chinese people and their leaders have called for the reformation of this Organization. We have once again this year heard several delegations repeating those same arguments.

93. Those are some of the baseless arguments which have been used to describe the People's Republic of China as a country in love with war and desiring no peace. We in Tanzania know that this is a lie. We know that China is a country which has nothing to do with placating the whims of the enemies of the Chinese people. We know that China after its hard won freedom took measures to safeguard its national security against those who would have liked to intervene in China's internal affairs. We know that the United States has constantly violated Chinese airspace, has threatened the security of the Chinese people, and that the

military presence of the United States in Taiwan and in other American satellites in South East Asia is a constant threat to China's security. We know—and I am sure the United States knows—that the Chinese people maintain diplomatic relations with a large number of countries that are Members of this Organization. And in addition, a number of countries Members of this Organization also have concluded treaties of peace and technical assistance with the People's Republic of China.

94. All this is an unchallenged testimony that China desires to live in peace with other countries and that it has no contempt for the basic principles governing international relations. Indeed, as pointed out in this Assembly last year by the delegation of Albania when China announced that it had exploded a hydrogen bomb, China said that:

“At no time and under no circumstances whatsoever will China be the first to use these weapons. We have but one word. As in the past, the people and the Government of China, with all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, will continue their efforts and will persevere in their fight to achieve the noble objectives of the total prohibition and the total destruction of nuclear weapons.” [1602nd meeting, para. 68.]

95. Equally fallacious is the allegation that China is contemptuous of the United Nations. True, the Chinese People's Republic has criticized the United Nations. But who has not criticized this Organization? The United Nations is not infallible. All of us at one time or another have criticized it. Other States represented here have, on the other hand, treated the very decisions of this Assembly with ridicule and have often ignored them scornfully, especially when their interests have been involved. The evil cause of colonialism and *apartheid* is being supported and financed in Africa largely by those who have been maligning China. In Viet-Nam untold miseries have been inflicted upon the innocent Viet-Nameese people by the United States and its allies. In the Middle East aggressions have been committed one generation after another. All this has taken place in spite of the protests of the majority of the Member States of the United Nations. In short, the enemies of China have been violating the Charter of the United Nations year in and year out, but all along they have managed to cover up their deeds by looking for scapegoats somewhere else.

96. My delegation, therefore, would like to appeal to the United States and its allies to cast off the mask of hypocrisy and for once to be reasonable. It must be realized that almost one out of every four persons in the world is a Chinese endowed with energy and a fierce will to be independent, self-reliant and to defend his liberty. He is, moreover, heir to a great and ancient civilization and culture which could contribute in a large measure to the cause of peace, social and economic progress, which are the basic objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

97. Furthermore, no meaningful progress can be hoped for in the field of disarmament if the opinion of the People's Republic of China, a great nuclear Power, is not taken into account. And the United Nations cannot hope to have the co-operation of that great nation in this matter if this Organization continues to pretend that its Government

should be represented by a clique of puppets of another country.

98. The course to be followed this year is therefore quite clear. This Assembly cannot afford to put aside this question any longer: it must face the facts. Before the General Assembly there are three draft resolutions A/L.548 and Add.1, A/L.549 and Add.1 and A/L.550. Tanzania is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.549 and Add.1, which seeks to recognize the representatives of the People's Republic of China and allow them to sit in this Assembly, the Security Council, the subsidiary bodies of the United Nations and all the other organs of the organizations in the United Nations family. This would mean the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. My delegation believes that this is the correct and appropriate action for this Assembly to take and that any other alternative should be rejected. In view of this, my delegation will vote against the other draft resolutions.

99. Draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1 appears at first sight to be an innocuous recommendation, but in fact it is a very curious document. To say the least, and with all due respect to the co-sponsors, this draft is very cynical. It is a draft resolution which has been appearing in this Assembly for a number of years now and its true intention is not what is stated in the draft. The draft resolution declares sarcastically that the question of Chinese representation is an important question which, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, requires a two-thirds majority. But the true intention of the authors of this draft resolution is and always has been to prevent action being taken on the issue of Chinese representation. Before the phraseology in this draft was ever concocted, the United States and its faithful supporters were frightened by the fact that many Member States of the Organization had begun to see the truth. They feared that sooner or later the General Assembly would recommend expulsion of the Taiwan clique and they anticipated this by stating that if this were going to be done it should be by a two-thirds majority. Alarmed by the rate at which Member States of this Organization are beginning to view this question in a realistic way, the United States and its supporters have devised this manoeuvre in order to frustrate the wish of the majority. Yet it would be absurd to imagine that even this manoeuvre could succeed permanently in infringing the rights of the great Chinese people.

100. Italy and other delegations, all of which are sympathetic allies of the United States, have come up with another plan for stalling and inaction. This appears in draft resolution A/L.550. This draft resolution aims at establishing a committee to study the matter and report to the General Assembly. In the first place, this is another tactic to delay action on this question. We in Tanzania know—and I am sure that the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/L.550 also know—that eighteen years ago a similar committee was established, but reported to the Assembly that it had nothing to report. I believe that if another committee were established it might do the same again, and we should be back to square one. Secondly, there are those who believe that such a committee would have something new to report, but we know what it could report: we know that it could only report that the question should be solved on the basis of a two-Chinas policy. Indeed this is the hope of

many of those who originally supported the United States but have now changed their minds. Again, this would not be acceptable, for in our view it would amount to an unwarranted attempt to divide the territory of China. In

short, therefore, we see nothing to study and accordingly my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.550.

*The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.*