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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 21

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the first speaker this afternoon I should like to state that suggestions have been made to the President that it might at present be useful to close the list of speakers in view of the fact that the discussion will continue in any case in the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. In view of the fact that the Committee would like to meet immediately after the end of the debate on this item in this meeting and of the fact that we already have 10 speakers, I would like to suggest that we close the list of speakers in accordance with rule 75. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees.

It was so decided.

2. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): The text we have before us [A/8103 and Corr. 1, annex] is the product of long and arduous work on the part of the Preparatory Committee. I do not suppose that the Committee would claim that it is a perfect document; that would indeed be too much to expect of a Committee which has throughout been working by consensus. Nor do I suppose that any delegation will be fully satisfied with the text. But it is a tribute to the members of the Committee that a text has been presented to us. That has only been possible because on the substance of what they have proposed, a spirit of give and take and of compromise has been shown. This is particularly appropriate for this twenty-fifth anniversary year, when more than anything we need reconciliation, not confrontation. Of course the result is not perfection. But I forget who the Minister of Finance was who

said that the best budget he had ever introduced was the one which was bitterly assailed by all sectors of the public as being unfair to their particular interests—because then he knew that it was reasonably fair to all. It is in that spirit of compromise that my Government has authorized me to accept the draft declaration.

3. My delegation's approval of the draft cannot unfortunately be as unreserved as we should have liked. That is a pity because there are indeed many very positive features in it. In particular we very much welcome what the draft has to say about the development of friendly relations, about peace-keeping, about disarmament, about human rights and about the need for a concerted effort, by developed and developing countries alike, to reduce the serious and growing disparities between them and to strive vigorously to secure prosperity for all. But I have at the same time to make certain reservations.

4. The first concerns paragraph 6. It is right and proper that this declaration should refer to what has been done in the last 25 years to bring dependent territories to independence and to look forward to the challenge of what still has to be done. It is right too that the principles of self-determination should be upheld. But my Government finds it undesirable that in a document of this nature, designed to show the unity of the United Nations and to reflect all its activities over the last 25 years as well as its aspirations for the future, a Member State should have been subjected to what amounts to condemnation for breach of this principle. This is all the more surprising when we bear in mind that nothing is said in the document about other Member States which have been responsible for gross violations of the principles of the Charter in other respects and which have not hesitated to intervene with armed force in the affairs of other Member States.

5. My other two reservations are of a somewhat different though equally specific nature. First, our acceptance of particular wording in this text in no way implies our acceptance of the provisions of any United Nations resolutions on which we have abstained or recorded a negative vote, nor that we regard any resolutions which have no mandatory force as acquiring it through this declaration. Secondly, in accepting the reference to the struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom and to moral and material help for this struggle, I wish it to be clear that we are in no way condoning violence or external support for it.

6. I have spoken so far of the text presented to us by the Committee. The position is now complicated

by the amendments which have been prepared by some delegations. Some of those amendments seem to us to be improvements, some are unacceptable to my delegation; others are, I believe, unacceptable to other delegations. My delegation has of course no objection to referring those amendments to the Committee. I have no doubt that they will be carefully examined, but it is only fair to recall that many of them reproduce wording which has already been argued over at great length, and the text presented to us by the Committee shows a consensus position which has been reached on them. I share the hope expressed by previous speakers that the sponsors of these amendments will show the same good spirit as has been shown in Committee and will not prejudice the possibility of the declaration being adopted without objection.

7. Mr. REECE (Canada): In considering the draft final document on the twenty-fifth anniversary, we must first ask ourselves whether this document is worth while. In the view of my delegation it certainly is. Admittedly the document does not say anything particularly new, but it does restate—and it is very useful to restate—the convictions which we all share.

8. These are very important things: the reaffirmation of the purposes mentioned in Article 1 of the Charter; the development of friendly relations and co-operation based on international law; a commitment to settle disputes peacefully; a commitment to work towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control; a reaffirmation of the inalienable rights of all peoples, including colonial peoples, to self-determination, freedom and independence; a condemnation of *apartheid* and all oppression and tyranny; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; the urgency of economic and social development, and the use of science and technology for the benefit of peoples everywhere. It is certainly worth while to proclaim to the world at large that those are the things which unite us. As has been pointed out by the skilful, distinguished and hard-working Chairman, Mr. Akwei, the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, which was carefully balanced and fully representative of all groups, worked for literally months over the document before us. The document, admittedly, has defects, but it also has the virtues of compromise and conciliation. It is not a singing and eloquent message; rather it is a sober, careful document produced with great thought and effort. Of course, many delegations hold views which are not reflected in that document, because no consensus on them could be found. There are probably few Members of this Organization that do not regret that matters of importance to them have been omitted and material included that they do not favour. The United Nations itself faithfully reflects such wide differences of opinion among its Members, but in a final document for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary we must seek to restate those things which all of us share.

9. At the same time, my delegation of course upholds the right of individual delegations to make their reservations known in plenary meeting, as some have already done. This process should be a sufficient and greatly

preferable substitute for formal amendments. My delegation has studied with care the amendments put forward by the delegations of Chile [A/L.592 and Corr.1], Bulgaria [A/L.593] and Nigeria and others [A/L.594]. We think some of those amendments are very good, some are acceptable and some undesirable, but it is the view of the delegation of Canada that, unless amendments at this stage are very limited in number and uncontroversial in content, we shall never be in a position to issue a final document and so to proclaim to the world the rededication of all our Governments to the cause of peace, justice and progress. If we embark at this late hour on a process of amendment and counter-amendment, we shall almost certainly end up with nothing. Should the final document before us be transformed into just another resolution, with affirmative and negative votes and abstentions, we shall have failed in fact to produce a final document for the anniversary.

10. Let us not celebrate our twenty-fifth anniversary with division and discord. Let us not present to the world a vacuum. Rather let us set forth on our anniversary a message which represents a sober meeting of minds, a careful admixture of opinions which diverge but also converge on the essential issues of our time. Therefore I should like, with respect, to urge the co-sponsors of all controversial amendments to show a suitable spirit of compromise and conciliation and to withdraw their amendments either now or, if they are found unacceptable, in the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations.

11. Mr. WOLTE (Austria): It is with great interest that my delegation has followed the discussion on the question before us and has taken note of the various amendments submitted to the draft declaration. We fully appreciate the intentions underlying those proposals. The ideas expressed in the amendments undoubtedly have their rightful place in our discussion—so much so that most of the suggestions put forward here were advanced in the Anniversary Committee and were given careful and thorough attention. In fact we find a number of those ideas covered in the draft now before the Assembly.

12. The formula the Committee has found—and this would appear to be a decisive element in this context—is one that commands the broadest possible support. This, I submit, has not led to any loss of forcefulness or clearness of presentation of a particular issue. It is a draft which has amalgamated different positions in a firm, understandable way.

13. In their statements last night [1862nd meeting] the Chairman of the Anniversary Committee, Mr. Akwei of Ghana, to whom I should like to address a special tribute, and the Rapporteur have rightly pointed to various aspects which we should keep in mind in debating this draft. Anyone who has followed the lengthy and intensive debates which have led to the formulation of the draft declaration will readily subscribe to their words. Actually the question is, as has been said before but cannot be often enough repeated, whether the Assembly wants a solemn decla-

ration along the lines the paper before us follows or wants to have a completely different final declaration or to have no declaration at all. If we want a declaration with a broad range but with concise wording, we should concentrate on the draft before us and take note of the fact that the draft addresses itself to the most significant aspects of the work and tasks of the United Nations. Yet it is also a fact that a number of amendments have been introduced and, in spite of all that has been said about the draft declaration in its present form and of the time pressure on this Assembly and of other elements, we shall have to deal with these proposals. The Anniversary Committee will now have to take a close look at the amendments and see whether or in what way they can be organically woven into the declaration without destroying its texture.

14. However, the overriding objective for our present and future endeavours in this respect should be to arrive at a declaration which commands the widest possible measure of agreement and, above all, not to destroy the work and the delicate balance that has been achieved. If it should turn out in the course of the discussions ahead that the declaration in its present form, or possibly with slight amendments, does represent the most practicable solution, Member States may find it possible not to insist on their amendments but to register their reservations by way of statements in the Assembly. They have in fact done so in essence by submitting these amendments. Any draft can of course be made more complete and wider in outlook. In view of the situation we find ourselves in, however, we should try to continue to work in the spirit of compromise that has characterized the debates so far in the Anniversary Committee. If we continue along those lines and in the same spirit, we should be able to succeed in attaining a final solemn declaration which the General Assembly can accept by acclamation on 24 October.

15. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): My delegation has examined in great detail the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations contained in document A/8103 and Corr. 1 and especially the annexed draft declaration on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization. We fully appreciate the difficulties encountered in the elaboration of such a document. However, we cannot but voice our regret at the substantial shortcomings and lack of cohesion evident in the document.

16. We also listened carefully to the argument of certain delegations that we are now faced with a dilemma: shall we have a general declaration based on a consensus or shall we have no declaration at all? We should like to express our preference for a good, substantive declaration rather than a weak and disappointing one. This draft declaration can hardly satisfy the expectations and hopes that many delegations have placed in it. More specifically, the document before us fails to reflect adequately the development of our Organization since 1945. Nor does it accord sufficient attention to the main activities that lie ahead, above all those relating to decolonization and development.

17. It is in that spirit that my delegation supports the proposals contained in document A/L. 594 submitted by the group of African States, requesting changes in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the draft declaration, relating to the problems of decolonization and *apartheid*. At the same time, my delegation also supports the amendments by Chile contained in document A/L. 592 and Corr. 1.

18. In studying the draft declaration we have come to the conclusion that it would be useful, with the aim of improving the text of the declaration, to propose some changes in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the text. In our view such changes would accentuate the significance of the strict observance of the principles of the Charter in relations among all States which is necessary in order to strengthen further the role of the United Nations in the fulfilment of its fundamental purposes. Closely linked to that is the attainment of full universality by our Organization. In our opinion paragraph 11 of the proposed text, dealing with universality, is inadequate and should be improved. It should stress more prominently the need finally to attain universality in the United Nations.

19. May I now inform the Assembly about specific amendments to the draft declaration that were deposited by my delegation this morning with the Secretariat for distribution?¹

20. The first concerns paragraph 1 of the draft declaration. We should like to insert at the end of that paragraph, after the word "Charter", the following words:

"as well as our deep conviction that the United Nations provides the most effective means to strengthen the freedom and independence of nations".

The paragraph would then read as follows:

"In furtherance of the anniversary objectives of peace, justice and progress, we reaffirm our dedication to the Charter of the United Nations and our will to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter as well as our deep conviction that the United Nations provides the most effective means to strengthen the freedom and independence of nations".

21. My delegation's second proposed amendment concerns paragraph 3. We should like to insert the following after the word "co-operation" in the first sentence:

"among all States, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems, on the basis of strict observance of the principles of the Charter, and in particular the principle of sovereign equality of States, the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the principle that they shall settle

¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/L.598.

their international disputes by peaceful means, the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, the duty of States to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter, the principle that States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.”

22. My delegation's third proposed amendment concerns the last sentence of paragraph 3. After the words “United Nations” we should like to insert the following:

“in particular by adopting the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.”

That part of paragraph 3 would then read as follows:

“The progressive development and codification of international law, in which important progress was made during the first 25 years of the United Nations, in particular by adopting the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, should be advanced in order to promote the rule of law among nations.”

23. Our fourth amendment concerns paragraph 11. We should like to insert the following after the word “future” in the second sentence:

“the universality of the Organization in conformity with the Charter will be finally attained.”

That sentence of paragraph 11 would then read as follows:

“We express the hope that in the near future the universality of the Organization in conformity with the Charter will be finally attained.”

These proposals are made in the sincere hope of contributing to the efforts being made to improve the present draft.

24. As you rightly said this morning, Mr. President, we are hopeful that the members of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and all other delegations will co-operate in a most constructive manner in order to submit to the solemn session of the General Assembly a satisfactory and meaningful declaration in accordance with the hopes placed in this very important event in the life of our Organization.

25. Mr. PETRI (Sweden): The Swedish delegation wishes to associate itself with several previous speakers in supporting the draft declaration as presented by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. We do so bearing in mind that the draft declaration now before us has been worked out in a Committee composed of 25 members designated by the President on the basis of equitable geographical distribution.

26. As regards the amendments proposed, however interesting they may be, my delegation, which has taken part in the work of that Committee, believes that it will hardly be possible at this late stage to have any amendments to the draft declaration accepted. We have to be realistic on this, especially since some of these amendments are known to be unacceptable to several delegations.

27. The Swedish delegation, therefore, believes that the consensus reached after painful negotiations on this draft declaration will be endangered if we now start considering new amendments. Let me only remind members that the commemorative session starts tomorrow and that the wording of, for example, paragraphs 6 and 7 represents two weeks of hard work. Since the amendments now proposed are likely to be found to be unacceptable in the Committee—and we have reason to believe they will be—we would like to make an appeal to those who have introduced them to try to consider withdrawing them.

28. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I should like first of all to join previous speakers in the tributes they have paid to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Ambassador Akwei. We are grateful for his tireless and unceasing efforts in order to bring the members of that Committee together.

29. I should also like to state that we acknowledge the spirit of understanding and conciliation which prevailed during the long hours of intensive work of the Committee. I wish also to express our gratitude to the other officers of the Committee who gave valuable and constructive assistance to the Chairman in his very difficult task.

30. Several delegations have stated that this draft declaration which has been presented to the General Assembly is unsatisfactory. I should like to state that I fully understand their views and especially the views of dissatisfaction which have been expressed by many of our African friends. But in all frankness I must say that even the members of the Committee were not satisfied with that draft declaration. I, for one, was not satisfied with it and I certainly did not spare my criticism during the work of the Committee. However, we must realize that that is the unavoidable consequence of the fact that we had to work on the basis of compromise and consensus. Disappointment and dissatisfaction on the part of each delegation is an unavoidable consequence of the results of negotiations and consultations conducted on that basis.

31. It is a fact that when one works on the basis of compromise, everyone—none excluded—has to renounce some idea, some view, some position to which he attaches the greatest importance. That was certainly the case of my delegation, which, throughout the work, had to drop many of its views in order to enable the Committee to reach agreement on each paragraph. That is also why my delegation, as a member of the Preparatory Committee, was willing to refrain from taking the floor and reintroducing some

of its views. As a matter of fact, we are in favour of the appeal made by the Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Akwei, to approve the draft declaration as it has been introduced in the plenary Assembly, and to accept it as it stands, however imperfect it may appear to many delegations.

32. At the same time, I should like to acknowledge that many of the proposed amendments are certainly constructive and of interest. But we must recognize that amendments which have been submitted here were also discussed in the Committee during the preparation of this draft declaration.

33. I repeat that I would have refrained from introducing any amendments, but since at least one member of the Committee has submitted amendments, I feel that it is my duty, at least for the record, to submit, not all the views and proposals that we put forward in the Preparatory Committee, but to submit two of them which are reflected in the two following amendments,² which read:

“1. *Paragraph 4.* Replace the last sentence of the paragraph, beginning with words “We invite all Member States”, by the following text:

“ ‘We invite all Member States to resort more often to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflicts by the means provided for in the Charter, notably through negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration. We urge all Member States particularly to resort more than heretofore to the judicial settlement of disputes and to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. All relevant organs and organizations should also seek advisory opinions of that Court whenever necessary.’ ”

“2. *Paragraph 11.* Replace the last sentence of the paragraph, beginning with the words “It is furthermore desirable”, by the following text:

“ ‘It is necessary, furthermore, to undertake a thorough review of the structure, procedures and working methods of the United Nations in order to strengthen the Organization’s effectiveness in dealing with the growing volume and complexity of its work in the next decade. Steps must now be taken to make the United Nations the main instrument for international peace and security and for the economic and social progress of all peoples. A more rational division of work should be ensured among the agencies and organizations within the United Nations system and among the constitutional organs of the Organization itself in order to enable the whole system to act in pursuance of the common interest of the world community.’ ”

34. As I said before, I submit these amendments, at least for the record. At the same time we strongly support again the appeal made by the Chairman of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Ambassador Akwei, that the draft

statement which is the result of such long, intensive and difficult work, should be approved as it stands and sent forward to the meeting of the commemorative session on 24 October.

35. The PRESIDENT: It was decided that no amendments would be accepted after the end of this morning’s meeting, but I understand that the amendments referred to by the Italian representative were handed in before that deadline.

36. Mr. ELMU (Somalia): Permit me first of all to pay tribute to the Chairman of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Ambassador Akwei of Ghana, for the praiseworthy manner in which he conducted the work of the Committee. Our appreciation is extended also to the Rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo of Italy, and the other officers of the Committee.

37. My delegation has served in the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and its views are reflected in the summary records of the Committee’s proceedings. I will, therefore, be as brief as possible.

38. My country’s relationship with the United Nations goes back to 21 years ago when, on 21 November 1949, the General Assembly adopted resolution 289 A (IV) and placed Somalia under the international trusteeship system with Italy as the Administering Authority for a period of 10 years. My country became an independent State and a Member of this Organization even before the termination of the trusteeship period because this Assembly agreed to our request to anticipate the date of our independence. I have mentioned this in order to indicate the particular significance, both historical and political, which my Government attaches to the United Nations.

39. As we are about to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary, my delegation acclaims the role of the United Nations and rejoices in observing that in these 25 years a large number of nations—38 of them African—have gained their national independence and have become full Members of this Organization. In spite of the well-known basic political differences among Member States on colonial issues, my delegation had hoped that both the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization and the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples would mark the last stage in the process of decolonization, and that we would be able to adopt a declaration which enjoyed the unconditional support of all Member States.

40. Unfortunately, and much to our dismay, we have been disheartened by the manner in which the paragraphs of this draft declaration relating to decolonization, *apartheid* and racial discrimination have been treated by some delegations representing major Member States of our Organization. The representative of Nigeria yesterday introduced, on behalf of the African Group, appropriate amendments to paragraphs 6 and 7 [A/L. 594]. My delegation, which

² Subsequently circulated as document A/L.597.

has already placed on record its strong reservations on the general inadequacy of this draft declaration, fully supports those amendments.

41. If we insist on naming South Africa and Portugal in this draft declaration it is because of their total disregard of the principles we all stand for and their persistent and flagrant violations of our Charter. As to the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples—including armed struggle—it is not our wish to advocate violence. The views of the African States in this matter have been made unequivocally clear in the Manifesto on Southern Africa which was adopted by the General Assembly last year. The relevant paragraph of that Manifesto reads:

“We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the States of southern Africa, we have no choice but to give the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors.”³

42. Yesterday in this hall the representative of Portugal referred to the Portuguese colonies in Africa as part of Portugal's national territory. Again, our views on this ridiculous pretence, which we resent and reject, are expressed in that Manifesto on Southern Africa in these words:

“In Mozambique and Angola, and in so-called Portuguese Guinea, the basic problem is not racialism but a pretence that Portugal exists in Africa. Portugal is situated in Europe; the fact that it is a dictatorship is a matter for the Portuguese to settle. But no decree of the Portuguese dictator, nor legislation passed by any Parliament in Portugal, can make Africa part of Europe.”⁴

43. Finally, if we insist on declaring *apartheid* a crime against mankind it is simply because this obnoxious racist policy cannot be defined otherwise, as indeed it cannot any longer be tolerated by the international community.

44. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): My delegation would like to make some brief and general comments on the draft declaration for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. I am compelled to say first of all, with regret, that my delegation feels a sense of disappointment with the draft declaration before us which, in our view, falls short of standards appropriate to this commemorative occasion both in terms of substance and also in eloquence and—if I

may say so—grandeur of language. For one thing we would have expected that the document might have been more limited in range and more general in its application.

45. As we see it, the twenty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly is precisely the right occasion for a critical and sober assessment of the strengths, weaknesses and failures of the United Nations. The commemorative session we regard as something different. It is a commemoration, an inspirational celebration, and not an occasion for sharp definition of political issues that are recognizably controversial.

46. If there is to be a restatement of objectives, my delegation would have preferred it to be a restatement of purposes and principles somewhat in the language of the Charter and not a statement that purports to give advice and direction for the solution of particular problems no matter how acute these may be. My delegation certainly believes that most of the substantive points in the draft declaration are matters of importance and urgency, but they are already being considered, discussed and acted on in the various Committees and Councils of this Organization. As we see it, an attempt to duplicate in the documents of the commemorative session the substantive analyses and recommendations that are the proper subject of the twenty-fifth regular session is attempting the injudicious, if not the impossible.

47. My delegation, like all delegations, has followed closely the process of drafting this declaration in which the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations has been engaged, and I should emphasize that nothing I have said is intended to disparage in any way the sustained and dedicated efforts that Ambassador Akwei and his Committee have made to reach an agreed text. I am sure we are all grateful for the efforts they have made. We have noted particularly the great difficulties that the Committee encountered last week when it was trying to finalize the document and to reconcile views that were diverse and in some cases directly opposed.

48. It is therefore no surprise to us to find that the result is something that would be better discussed in detail in the various Committees of the Assembly than embodied in a comprehensive statement prepared for unanimous adoption.

49. To sum up, my delegation regrets to have to say that, in our view, the draft declaration casts its net too widely and tries to give expression to views and judgements which have a proper place in the resolutions of a regular session of this Assembly but which, since they do not lend themselves to positive, unanimous endorsement, are not strictly in keeping with the form and the purpose of a commemorative declaration. Whether or not we are to be able to accept it will depend on the extent to which it may be amended. But if we are in fact able to accept it we are bound to have to do so with some reservations.

50. Mr SHAHI (Pakistan): This is the very first opportunity that has been afforded those who are not

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 12.

⁴ Ibid., para. 13.

members of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations for making known their views on the draft final declaration before us.

51. We have carefully studied the text submitted by the Committee. We, of course, appreciate the work done by it and realize the difficulties involved in reconciling divergent formulations proposed by different members. However, we feel it is necessary to state that the draft final declaration does not fully accord with the viewpoint of my delegation regarding the themes that need to be stressed if the reorientation of outlook necessary for revitalizing the Organization is to be achieved.

52. It is not my intention to comment on every paragraph of the draft declaration. My statement will be confined to only a few of its salient features.

53. The draft text begins with a reaffirmation by Member States of their dedication to the Charter of the United Nations and their will to carry out the obligations therein. We agree that this reaffirmation is both necessary and opportune in view of the crisis of confidence felt by the peoples of the world concerning the Organization.

54. The settlement of international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered is one of the main principles of our Charter. That this principle has been seldom honoured is a most regrettable fact of the history of the United Nations. While major efforts have been directed towards peace-keeping, and not without substantial success, the greater task of peace-making has not received the attention that it has demanded. Yet, in the perspective of the coming years in which it must be viewed, the draft declaration in this respect is but a pale reflection of what has been laid down more precisely and emphatically in the Charter. Is it enough to "invite" all Member States "to resort more often to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflicts by the means provided for in the Charter" as we read in paragraph 4 of the draft declaration?

55. When two parties to a dispute or conflict show a common willingness to resort to one of those means, the dispute or conflict is no longer a threat to international peace and security. It is where one of the parties refuses to do so—indeed, bars recourse to those means—that the situation becomes fraught with danger and gnaws at the vitals of peace. We see nothing in the draft declaration that would show that the international community is resolved to bring about the peaceful settlement of all disputes.

56. No doubt the Committee was under compulsion to evolve a text acceptable to all its members. However, the obligation of pacific settlement of disputes is not one of those provisions of the Charter which give rise to irreconcilable differences of interpretation or conflicts of interest. One would therefore have thought that a text which would bear a greater promise of international peace and security would issue from

this commemorative session to uplift the hopes and hearts of all nations.

57. On the question of disarmament we welcome the expectation expressed in paragraph 5 of "moving forward from arms limitation to reduction of armaments and disarmament everywhere, particularly in the nuclear field, with the participation of all nuclear Powers".

58. The need to enable the People's Republic of China to participate in all negotiations on disarmament, including those relating to nuclear weapons, has been manifest to Member States for a number of years. Pakistan has consistently emphasized this need. We therefore consider this element in the draft declaration to be a positive one and forward-looking. At the same time, we find that in the context of universality of membership in paragraph 11 no account appears to have been taken of the important fact that China—already a Member of the United Nations—is not represented in the Organization as its seat is occupied by the nominees of a régime which lost its credentials 20 years ago.

59. Inseparable from the question of disarmament is that of international security. The need to assure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States in the nuclear era has for the last few years increasingly forced itself on the consciousness of those States. A step has been taken in the direction of providing security assurances by the recognition on the part of certain nuclear-weapon States of their special responsibility in the qualitatively new situation that would arise in the event of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. But the fact that the right of self-defence cannot be exercised against such a threat, except with the assistance of a nuclear-weapon Power, has not been fully appreciated. Therefore, in this respect, the draft declaration is not oriented to the realities of the nuclear era.

Mr. Araujo Castro (Brazil), Vice-President, took the Chair.

60. On the question of self-determination of peoples and decolonization, we welcome the statement in paragraph 6 of the draft declaration that the peoples and countries concerned are "entitled, in their just struggle, to seek and to receive all necessary moral and material help in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter" of the United Nations. Equally, we welcome the determination expressed in the draft declaration to secure the elimination of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa.

61. At the same time we observe that no promise is being held out of measures more effective than those taken so far, and without success, to bring about the peaceful liquidation of colonialism, alien domination and racism, wherever they continue to exist.

62. We applaud the formulation in paragraph 8 regarding promotion of respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all and acknow-

ledgement of the fact that "serious violations of human rights are still being committed against individuals and groups in several regions of the world". It is our hope that the pledge "to a continued and determined struggle against all violations" of these rights, will mean a more active role for the United Nations in this important field. But we do wish that the declaration could make greater impact on public opinion than we anticipate from the wording of paragraph 8.

63. Lastly, there is no reference in the draft declaration to the unanimous view that the acquisition of territory by the use of force is inadmissible. Even though the principle is a corollary of the Charter and is in no need of reiteration for its continued validity, we do feel that its affirmation would have shown that the Organization is fully cognizant of present situations where this principle is in danger of being whittled away.

64. In view of all these considerations the Pakistan delegation wishes to make it clear that the adoption of the draft declaration by the Assembly is not to be understood as signifying our agreement with the view that the draft declaration fully responds to the needs of the present international situation and that it reflects a complete understanding of how the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations need to be applied now or in the foreseeable future. At the same time, it is only fair that we do not grudge our tribute to the 25 Members of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, under the able Chairmanship of Ambassador Akwei of Ghana, for their devoted and untiring efforts to present us with a draft declaration to commemorate this occasion.

65. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): Bearing in mind the statements made here yesterday and today, we need not repeat how the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations laboriously worked over a period of 10 months to achieve, on the basis of consensus, an agreed text on the declaration, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

66. My delegation does not fully approve of the text as it stands, but we have accepted it in a spirit of compromise and conciliation. As a member of the Committee, my delegation is desirous of having a text of a declaration adopted by the General Assembly during the commemorative session. We are prepared to renew our efforts and go back to work on the text so that the time and labour spent by the Committee in the past 10 months will not go down the drain, and so that, at the same time, the Committee will be enabled to comply with its responsibility under resolution 2499 (XXIV).

67. We therefore support the procedure of having all the amendments referred to the Committee for its consideration. We welcome the decision setting a deadline for the submission of amendments, because time is of the essence. It may also be necessary to set a deadline for the Committee to complete its consideration of the amendments.

68. It is the hope of my delegation that a spirit of co-operation, harmony and understanding will animate all concerned so that a final agreed text of the declaration may be realized.

69. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Philippines was the last speaker on my list. If there is no other observation, I should like to make an announcement.

70. I have been requested to make it clear that Ghana is not among the co-sponsors of the amendments contained in document A/L.594 and that a corrigendum is being circulated to that effect.

71. I interpret the situation to be that there is a consensus to the effect that all the proposed amendments submitted here should be referred to the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations which will be meeting this afternoon to consider them. The Chairman of the Committee has indicated that the sponsors of the amendments would be welcome to participate in the Committee's deliberations.

72. The Assembly may wish to ask the Committee to report back by Thursday evening to enable the plenary to approve its report. It is hoped that at the time of the resumption of the consideration of this item in plenary meeting there will be no need for another debate.

AGENDA ITEM 33

Effects of atomic radiation: report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/8088)

73. The PRESIDENT: The report of the Special Political Committee on this item is to be found in document A/8088, and the financial implications of the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee are contained in document A/8120.

74. Mr. MAHJOUBI (Morocco), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee (*interpretation from French*): It is my privilege, in my capacity as Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, to present to the General Assembly that Committee's report on its consideration of the first item on its agenda, namely, item 33 [A/8088].

75. It was in the course of its 692nd meeting that the Special Political Committee was seized of a draft resolution submitted by some 15 delegations and it was at that same meeting that the draft resolution was unanimously adopted by the Committee. That draft which is now before the Assembly in paragraph 7 of the report recalls in general terms the ideas implicit in General Assembly resolution 2496 (XXIV), adopted last year.

76. I believe, however, that I should draw attention to two new elements which characterize the draft

before the Assembly this year. Firstly, the invitation addressed by the Scientific Committee to the States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies or of the International Atomic Energy Agency to submit available data that would enable it to assess the effects of peaceful uses of nuclear energy on the radiation exposure of human populations. Secondly, the importance of the contribution that might be made by the Scientific Committee to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in 1972.

77. The value of these two elements and of the other elements contained in the draft resolution was recognized by the Committee which therefore adopted it unanimously. It is therefore with great confidence that I now have the honour to submit this draft resolution to the General Assembly, convinced that it will command unanimous support as it did in the Committee.

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

78. The PRESIDENT: As the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the report of the Special Political Committee [A/8088] was adopted unanimously by the Special Political Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 2623 (XXV)).

AGENDA ITEM 34

The policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (PART I) (A/8106)

79. The PRESIDENT: This report, which has been circulated in document A/8106, deals with only one aspect of item 34.

80. Mr. MAHJOUBI (Morocco), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee (*interpretation from French*): As Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, it is my privilege to submit for the General Assembly's approval part I of the report of that Committee on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa [A/8106]. The initial debate on this question, of course, takes place under the general heading of agenda item 34, but the report which is before the Assembly for consideration today concerns only one aspect which the Special Committee considered to be both important and urgent.

81. The special importance attached to consideration of this first part of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa derives from the ardent desire of the Committee to see the international community give an effective follow-up both to General Assembly resolution 2505 (XXIV), which the last session of the General Assembly adopted on 20 November 1969, and to Security Council resolution 282 (1970); and, also from the interest that a majority of the Com-

mittee take in the moves of African diplomacy, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, in his approach to various countries which still maintain relations with South Africa.

82. The Committee, taking this dual objective into account, accordingly adopted by 94 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions, the draft resolution contained in paragraph 8 of the report. The Committee's adoption of that draft resolution did not, however, close the debate on item 34 of the Assembly's agenda; that item is still before the Committee and it is continuing its consideration of it. The Committee nevertheless thought it useful to submit this draft resolution to the Assembly now, as an interim measure, with a recommendation for its adoption.

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

83. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations that have signified their desire to explain their votes before the voting.

84. Mr. FACK (Netherlands): When the draft resolution contained in document A/8106 was put to the vote in the Special Political Committee last Friday the Netherlands delegation announced that it would vote in favour, in spite of certain constitutional reservations based on the provisions and on the intention of Article 12 of the United Nations Charter. Now that the draft resolution is before the General Assembly, I should like to refer once more to those reservations.

85. Article 12, paragraph 1, of the Charter reads:

"While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests."

As the Security Council has not presented a request of this nature to the General Assembly on the matter before us, my delegation has certain doubts concerning the constitutionality of any recommendation by the General Assembly on a subject which is kept under constant review by the Security Council.

86. My delegation considers it essential to observe and respect the tenets and concepts of the Charter as a whole and of any individual Article of our Organization's constitution. We would be concerned over any tendency, even perhaps unintentional, to undermine the authority and the field of competence of the principal organ to which we have entrusted primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

87. Any move in this direction may in our view lead to the weakening of the role of the Security Council in its particular field and would be detrimental to our efforts to strengthen the United Nations in general.

Being in agreement with the substance of the draft resolution before us, the Netherlands delegation will vote in favour of it and at the same time we want to go on record as entertaining doubts as to the constitutional aspects mentioned and we wish to indicate our preoccupation over any neglect of the precepts of Article 12 of our Charter.

88. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): On behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden and my own delegation I should like to offer the following brief remarks with regard to the draft resolution on the arms embargo against South Africa now submitted to the plenary by the Special Political Committee [A/8106, para. 8].

89. Let me say at the outset that the Nordic countries fully share the concern which has prompted the African and Asian delegations to introduce in the Special Political Committee the draft resolution with which we are presently dealing. The Nordic countries will therefore be happy to support it. The draft resolution deals with Security Council resolution 282 (1970) which called upon all States to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa. By this resolution the Security Council has dealt with the substance of the matter on the strength of the authority vested in it by the Charter. In this matter as well as in other matters which fall within the purview of the Council, it has therefore acted on behalf of all the Members of the United Nations. As we understand it, the primary purpose of the present resolution is therefore not merely to express profound anxiety over the present state of affairs in South Africa but also to reaffirm the overwhelming support of the Members of this Organization for the important resolution which the Council adopted on 23 July of this year [1549th meeting].

90. The position of the Nordic Governments on the question of *apartheid* is well known. Therefore, I do not need many words to reiterate it here today. Suffice it to say that the *apartheid* policy of racial discrimination and segregation deeply affronts our sense of justice, our concept of freedom under law and our faith in the equality and dignity of the human individual. In the view of our Governments, the system of *apartheid* constitutes a source of potential conflict endangering the stability of international relations. It is therefore a legitimate concern for the international community and for the United Nations.

91. The resolutions of the Security Council on the arms embargo against South Africa are of crucial significance. The arms embargo resolutions adopted by the Council in 1963 and 1964 were in fact the first instance in which the international community moved from words to deeds in order to come to grips with the dangerous situation in southern Africa. The fact that such a result could be achieved in the Council reflects, in the view of the Nordic Governments, a fundamental reassessment of values in international life: the virtually universal acceptance of the truth that the world community, if it wishes to promote an orderly evolution of international relations, can no longer tolerate the persistence of mass violations of fundamental

rights and freedoms of the kind practised in South Africa under the name of *apartheid*. The arms embargo has thus become a test of the resolve of the international community to carry out the pledge it has undertaken under Article 56 of the Charter. It is right therefore that this resolve is reaffirmed at this time by the General Assembly.

92. Finally, I should like to emphasize that the Nordic Governments have complied with the resolutions on the arms embargo adopted by the Security Council in 1963 and 1964 and that they are presently taking steps in order to put into effect additional provisions of Council resolution 282 (1970).

93. Mr. REECE (Canada): My delegation has studied with the greatest of care the text of the draft resolution before us in paragraph 8 of the report of the Special Political Committee [A/8106]. The Canadian Government is fully in sympathy with the underlying principles of this resolution. However, the Canadian delegation will have to abstain on the resolution because its very essence, that is, the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 282 (1970) is now under review by the Canadian Government.

94. When resolution 282 (1970) was adopted on 23 July of this year, the Canadian Government immediately began the very full and careful consideration which a subject of this importance requires. The resolution presented no difficulties for Canada with one exception. Canada has been applying a general embargo on arms to South Africa since 1963. There have been no lapses in this general embargo. In the survey prepared by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa [A/8022] there was no indication to the contrary.

95. However, Canada continued to furnish some spare parts for equipment which had been supplied to South Africa under contracts entered into before Security Council resolution 181 (1963) of 7 August 1963 was adopted. This matter is now under review but the Canadian Government has not yet completed its consideration of all the ramifications of Security Council resolution 282 (1970). In these circumstances it would be neither appropriate nor honest for my delegation to vote now in favour of the resolution before us in the report of the Special Political Committee. We shall therefore abstain.

96. Mr. PRAWIRODIRDJO (Indonesia): I should like to make a very brief statement on behalf of my delegation. During the general debate in the Special Political Committee my delegation made abundantly clear the position of the Government of Indonesia concerning the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. My delegation would like to reiterate its condemnation of that criminal policy of *apartheid*. My delegation would like it to be recorded that during the vote on the draft resolution in the Committee [696th meeting] my delegation was unable to attend the meeting. Had it been present during the vote, my delegation would have voted in favour of that draft resolution.

97. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): The inhuman policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa have been a source of serious concern and embarrassment to the United Nations. The crimes against humanity being committed in South Africa by the racist régime against a defenceless population have been condemned in no uncertain terms by the United Nations and the whole of mankind. The arbitrary arrests and the detention of innocent people and the brutalities, torture and death being inflicted on a peace-loving people have been carried out and intensified, most regrettably, with the help of arms supplied to the racist régime by certain countries that are Members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, some of them permanent members of the Security Council.

98. Seven years ago the Security Council adopted a resolution imposing an arms embargo on South Africa. That was the first practical step taken by the Organization towards ending the evil system known as *apartheid*. In July of this year, as it became quite clear from information reaching the United Nations that the arms embargo was not being observed by certain countries, and amidst reports that at least one country, a permanent member of the Security Council at that, which from 1964 to 1970 had tried to implement the arms embargo, was considering the resumption of the sale of arms to South Africa, the Security Council again met and by an overwhelming majority passed the famous Security Council resolution 282 (1970) calling once more on all States to enforce the arms embargo.

99. Today the General Assembly is being requested, in the draft resolution contained in paragraph 8 of the report, now before us, to endorse the action of the Security Council. My delegation believes that this is a most reasonable request which should receive the unanimous support of the Assembly.

100. In their legitimate struggle against oppression and slavery, the Africans in South Africa have always advocated a peaceful solution, if possible. However, the bloodthirsty racists have rejected all appeals to reason. They want an open and violent confrontation. They plan and conspire to annihilate the non-white population of South Africa. They threaten the integrity and sovereignty of independent African States.

101. My delegation believes that no Member of the United Nations ought to aid or abet the South African racists in their criminal adventures. Therefore, on behalf of my delegation and all African delegations, I appeal to all States to enforce fully and sincerely the arms embargo imposed by this Organization.

102. Finally, I want to thank all those Member States that gave such overwhelming support to the draft resolution at the voting stage in the Special Political Committee. We hope we can count on their support today in plenary meeting. At the same time I wish to appeal to those States that abstained from voting last week to join with us and ensure that the draft resolution receives the unanimous support it deserves.

103. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The draft resolution upon which this Assembly is about to pronounce itself has been recommended by an overwhelming majority in the Special Political Committee. Essentially it is a solemn pledge, as well as an earnest appeal, to the international community on behalf of the millions of oppressed people of South Africa. It is an appeal to the conscience of those States which continue to give comfort and support to the South African Government in the execution of its oppressive racist policies against the non-white population of that country.

104. We have no illusions that the arms embargo, however effective, will by itself resolve the situation in South Africa, but we feel that the first step that the international community can and must take is to stop feeding the South African military machine, stop strengthening its military capacity, stop supplying it with arms—because it is that armed power which enables it to strengthen its evil grip over the oppressed people of that country and extend its nefarious policies.

105. In his nationwide appeal to the people of the United Kingdom in May 1963 the late Chief Albert Luthuli said:

“Perhaps it is futile to appeal to those who put profits before justice and human lives. Nevertheless, in all sincerity I appeal to them to pause and rethink their sense of values—values which place material considerations before human lives. For this is the meaning of their making available their murderous wares to the South African Government.”

106. Those of us who have sponsored this draft resolution believe that it is the duty of Member States to observe this embargo fully, since it has been called for in fulfilment of their pledge under Article 56 of the Charter. Furthermore, the obligation incurred in the United Nations commitment to combat the scourge of *apartheid* overrides any contractual obligations on the part of States to South Africa which some States use as an excuse for financial exploitation, since these conflict with the objectives which the embargo called for by the Security Council seeks to achieve.

107. The embargo, first called for in 1963—and again in 1964 and in 1970—does not in any manner exclude the supply of arms or spare parts for those arms contracted for before that year. Yet, unfortunately, some States have used the arms contracts as an excuse for weakening the embargo and enriching themselves.

108. They have acted as if their obligation to supply arms and spare parts to the South African racist Government is greater than their obligation to the United Nations. It cannot be claimed that there has been insufficient time to allow for a readjustment of trade or for their arms policies to be reviewed in the light of the Security Council resolution. The arms suppliers have had all the time in the world at their disposal either to stop the trade or to do some rethinking about the ethics of the trade.

109. The co-sponsors of this draft resolution cannot conceal their satisfaction at the broad measure of sup-

port the draft resolution received in the Special Political Committee, particularly in the vote on operative paragraph 1, calling for full compliance with the embargo. Notable among those States which voted positively on that paragraph were Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands—all of them countries that manufacture, or have the capacity to manufacture, arms of all descriptions. The fact that they have decided voluntarily to align themselves whole-heartedly on the side of those opposing the supply of arms to South Africa is a significant step and one that we hope will be emulated by others.

110. We were also encouraged by the unqualified statement by the Brazilian delegation during the debate in the Special Political Committee [695th meeting] that Brazil has no intention of entering into any kind of treaty arrangements with South Africa involving arms.

111. What is the purpose of the embargo? It is to prevent South Africa from building up an arms capacity that would enable it to impose its racist policies by brute force. Neither the United States nor the United Kingdom, nor Canada, nor any other State which supplies arms under pre-1963 contracts can deny that the spare parts and arms they are supplying under those contracts are maintaining in efficient operation the weapons, war planes and war craft they have supplied.

112. The co-sponsors wish to direct a special appeal to France. We are well aware that in 1963 it registered a reservation concerning the arms embargo. We could perhaps understand if that reservation had been occasioned by special or temporary difficulties. But that reservation has provided the arms manufacturers in France with a loophole through which scores of aircraft, submarines and expensive radar equipment worth hundreds of millions of dollars have entered South Africa to strengthen the South African military machine, making a mockery of the Security Council resolution. We have been particularly pained by the actions of France because of its historic ties with Africa and because of the glorious traditions that were and are France.

113. I may recall that in 1946, when the race problem in South Africa was first brought before the United Nations, the oppressed people of South Africa met with understanding on the part of the French delegation of that time that was not forthcoming from other Western delegations. That too was the France of de Gaulle emerging from the war against nazism.

114. We were somewhat encouraged by France's assurance in the Security Council debate of July this year that it would re-examine its policy. We are still waiting for a change in that policy. Many of us could not conceal our disappointment when no sooner had the debate been concluded than it was widely announced in the press that France had delivered another submarine to South Africa. We hope that France will put an end to the shipment of equipment or supplies to the South African military machine.

115. The thought of South African racists flying in French planes—or, for that matter, any other planes,

be they United States or British—to carry out war against the oppressed African peoples struggling for freedom or to strafe independent African States is a distressing one.

116. Finally, I would earnestly appeal to the new Government of the United Kingdom to reconsider its position. It is by now well aware of the feelings of the international community concerning its intention to reopen the flow of arms to South Africa. We cannot accept the idea that warships supplied to South Africa will not be used for the reinforcement of racist oppression. We refuse to draw a distinction between arms that can be used for internal defence and arms that can be used for external defence. To us, all arms are lethal and all arms can be used with impunity against the black peoples of Africa. Let us not forget that such arms add to the arrogance of the South African racists and give them moral comfort. Let us not forget that South Africa is illegally occupying the Territory of Namibia, for which the United Nations has assumed responsibility. Those very arms the United States, France, the United Kingdom and others have supplied to South Africa could well be used against the United Nations itself, should this Organization muster sufficient courage to act in support of its commitment.

117. We read in the British newspapers that the British Government will have to go through with arms supplies because the prestige of the Government and of its Foreign Secretary have become involved. I should like to say that as far as the African peoples are concerned the decision of the Labour Government to implement the arms embargo, even with all the loopholes, did credit not only to the Labour Party or the Liberal Party but to the British people as a whole. We have not forgotten the historic speech of Mr. Macmillan, the Conservative Prime Minister, in 1960, on the winds of change, nor the opposition of Mr. Heath to racist elements in Britain, nor the statement of Sir Alec Douglas-Home on the grave danger of race conflict.

118. The African States emerging from colonialism wish to spend their resources on education, health and economic development. The last thing they want is to be pushed into an arms race. The Western Powers can avoid that course by refusing arms to bolster the military power of South Africa. Africa has proclaimed its non-alignment. It asks other Member States outside Africa to respect this desire of the African people and not to enter into or strengthen military agreements with South Africa for cold war or other extraneous reasons.

119. We have pressed for the early adoption of this draft resolution to encourage swift action on the resolution adopted by the Security Council nearly three months ago. My delegation does not agree with the contention that the action contemplated by this draft resolution is contrary to Article 12, as one delegation attempted to argue. This draft resolution, in both form and objective, is complementary to the Security Council resolution; it helps it. It helps the Security Council in this respect; it enables the Council to know at a glance which States here are prepared to give the Secur-

ity Council their full co-operation in ensuring that the arms embargo called for by the Council will be honoured and fully respected.

120. The reason why this draft resolution has been brought before the General Assembly is to allow each delegation to state its position clearly and unreservedly. A vote for this draft resolution is a vote for humanity; a vote against this draft resolution is a vote for the South African racist government; an abstention is an abdication of responsibility.

121. The draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to submit a report by 10 December, which incidentally is Human Rights Day. What more appropriate way can there be to celebrate Human Rights Day this year than to have a report by the Secretary-General on the arms embargo, which promises hope and fulfilment for the non-white oppressed peoples of South Africa.

122. The PRESIDENT: Since no other member wishes to explain his vote before the vote is taken, the Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/8106]. A request has been made for a separate vote by roll-call on operative paragraph 1.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone.

Against: South Africa, Portugal.

Abstaining: Swaziland, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Canada, France, Malawi, New Zealand.

Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 99 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions.⁵

123. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolutions as a whole.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: France, Italy, Malawi, New Zealand, Swaziland, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Canada.

The draft resolution was adopted by 98 votes to 2, with 9 abstentions (resolution 2624 (XXV)).⁵

124. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their vote after the voting.

125. Mr. OHIN (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): We have just voted in favour of the resolution because it is in accordance with the aspirations of all African peoples but we wish to recall that, in the Special Political Committee, we abstained on the last two preambular paragraphs referring to resolutions adopted at Lusaka and Addis Ababa.

126. Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/8106 because my delegation supports the underlying principles of this resolution and the substance of what it calls upon all States to do. My Government has consistently and fully observed the arms embargo against

⁵ The delegation of the Ivory Coast subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

South Africa and entirely supports resolution 282 (1970) adopted by the Security Council in July this year.

127. However, the resolution which has just been adopted refers in the seventh preambular paragraph to the resolution on *apartheid* and racial discrimination adopted by the Third Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries. We are unable to concur with operative paragraph 6 of the latter resolution.

128. Therefore, my delegation wishes to state that although we cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution, if a separate vote had been taken on the seventh preambular paragraph my delegation would have abstained on that particular paragraph.

129. Mr. SETSHWAELO (Botswana): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole but wishes to reaffirm its reservations on the reference in the second preambular paragraph to resolution 2505 (XXIV).

130. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ivory Coast, who has asked to speak on a point of order.

131. Mr. TRAORE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): I merely wish to point out to the Assembly that my delegation was unable to participate in the voting because it had been urgently called away and I want to explain that had we been here we would have voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole.

132. I should therefore like to have my delegation's affirmative vote recorded on the draft resolution contained in document A/8106.

133. The PRESIDENT: The statement of the representative of the Ivory Coast will be contained in the verbatim record.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.