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# ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Neue Hofburg, Vienna, on Monday, 2 October 1967, at 10.50 a.m.

# President: Mr. NEUMANN (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic)

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\* GC(XI)/368.

### GENERAL DEBATE AND REPORT OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS FOR 1966-67 [GC(XI)/355, 355/Corr.1, 366] (continued)

1. Mr. SERRANO FERNANDEZ (Chile) said that his country had signed the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, to which it attached great importance. Chile was a profoundly peaceful country and had signed the treaty in the belief that it would help to bring about the prohibition of all atomic weapons.

2. With a view to ensuring that the control and safeguards procedures were fully effective, an appro-

priate method would have to be devised for extending the scope of the Agency's Safeguards System (1965, as Provisionally Extended in 1966)[1]. He welcomed the fact that Mexico had placed all its nuclear energy activities under Agency control and was sure that the Agency would set up adequate control Machinery in all such instances.

3. That this country supported international co-operation in nuclear energy activities was demonstrated by the fact that it had requested the Agency to ovaluate its nuclear energy development

<sup>[1]</sup> INFCIRC/66/Rev. 1.

plans. The Government and the National Nuclear Energy Commission collaborated closely in both pure scientific research and practical work. A National Nuclear Research Centre had recently been set up.

4. Some persons considered that the technical assistance provided by the Agency and the procedures followed were satisfactory and that the amount of assistance provided could be increased only if the voluntary contributions of the developing countries — which were the very ones which should receive assistance — were increased. Chile, on the other hand, believed that the procedures followed could be greatly improved and that the amount of technical assistance provided could be considerably increased. It had decreased over the past few years as a result of the growth in the Agency's membership, which had not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the funds available.

The Agency's technical assistance programmes 5. were examined and approved by the Board of Governors, i.e. by the relatively more advanced countries, which were permanently represented on the Board. That was one of the many reasons why it would be necessary to revise the Statute, which did not ensure that representation on the Board was realistic and universal in character. As a result, the technical assistance given to the less-developed countries was not sufficient to meet their needs. There was a tendency to grant much more assistance to comparatively advanced countries; that was detrimental to the interests of the less-developed countries as the funds available for technical assistance did not keep pace with requirements. The reason frequently given - that the less-developed countries were less able to take advantage of technical assistance - could result in a distribution based on the principle that the more advanced countries should be helped at the expense of those more in need of assistance, precisely because they were less developed.

6. In order to ensure that the allocation of assistance was equitable, it should be based more on the requirements of the less-developed countries, thus avoiding a further widening of the gap between the "rich" and the "poor".

7. The Director General had mentioned his concern at the growing gap between the advanced countries, the super-Powers and the developing countries of the "third world" in Asia, Africa and Latin America [2]. Decisive steps would have to be taken to prevent the gap becoming a permanent one, which would lead to an irreparable division of the world. If far-sighted action was taken to make its "benefits widely available, nuclear energy could constitute the best means of helping those countries which needed it most urgently for their development, reducing discord and antagonism and closing the deep gulf between the most highly industrialized and the developing countries.

8. With regard to technical assistance, he also wished to raise the question of the relation between experts and equipment, which had been widely discussed. Experts were frequently sent whenever equipment was provided. Sometimes the expert was not needed by the receiving country, because the equipment did not call for his services. Moreover, the expert and the equipment often did not arrive together, through no fault of the national authorities, with the result that the assistance provided was not used to the best advantage. The ratio between equipment and experts should not be fixed, but should be adapted to suit each case. In making those comments, his aim was to bring about a further improvement not only in the administration of technical assistance, but in all the Agency's activities.

9. Chile had made a voluntary contribution to the General Fund which was proportionally larger than its assessed contribution to the Agency's budget, but its effort was not matched by the benefits it obtained in the form of technical assistance; that was also true of other Member States. In urging that the Board should be made more representative, Chile also had in mind the entire administrative structure of the Agency. Various countries, such as his own, were not represented on the senior staff, and that situation would have to be remedied if universal representation were to be achieved.

10. His delegation would leave the Conference in an optimistic frame of mind. Governments were gradually coming to the belief that the Agency would eventually control nuclear activities throughout the world. It might not be long until the Agency played the most important role in human destiny: that of the true guardian of peace and progress.

11. As a Latin American country, Chile was proud of having been one of the first to entrust the Agency with responsibility for exercising control and applying safeguards under a continental agreement on the prohibition of nuclear arms. It hoped that its example would be followed by all countries.

12. Mr. QUARTEY (Ghana) said that he would like to express his warm appreciation of the work done by the Director General, the Board and the Agency's Secretariat over the past year in pursuance of General Conference Resolution GC(X)/RES/217calling for a review of the Agency's activities and had studied the resulting review document [3]. He had listened with interest to the statement made to the General Conference by the Director General [4], and would like to make a number of comments.

<sup>[3]</sup> GC(XI)/362, 362/Add.1 and 2.

<sup>[4]</sup> GC(XI)/111, paras 26-63.

First, the delegation of Ghana wished to 13. underline the importance of flexibility in fulfilling the principal objective of the technical assistance programme, which had been defined as "the transfer of knowledge and skills". In practice "the transfer of knowledge and skills" had always involved the provision of experts' services, yet, in many cases, what developing countries needed in order to make full use of the available knowledge and skills was equipment, not experts. The delegation of Ghana believed that the Agency should be able and willing to provide equipment, without necessarily requiring any formal relationship between the provision of equipment and the provision of experts.

14. In that connection, he urged that serious attention be given to draft resolution GC(XI)/COM.1/105 co-sponsored by Ghana, which had been approved by the Programme, Technical and Budget Committee [5], since he believed that its implementation could be expected to make the Agency's technical assistance programme more flexible and, hence, more useful to Member States requesting assistance.

15. There was a widening gap between the amount available to the Agency for technical assistance and the growing needs of the developing countries and Ghana supported the call for voluntary contributions from Member States to enable the Agency to fulfil its relevant obligations. He was therefore happy to be able to announce that Ghana would make a voluntary contribution for 1968 proportional to its assessed contribution, as recommended by the Board.

Secondly, his delegation believed that the 16. work being done at the International Centre for Theoretical Physics in Trieste was both useful and in line with the Agency's objectives. Consequently, it considered that the Agency should not only support the Centre in its present form, but should also encourage and assist, to the maximum extent practicable, the further development of the Centre and its programme. To ensure steady progress, the Centre should be financed from the Regular Budget of the Agency, instead of from uncertain voluntary contributions. In spite of the scale of financial support involved, it was incumbent on the Agency to ensure the Centre's rational operation and development. so long as it remained an Agency responsibility.

17. Finally, with regard to the organization of the Secretariat, he noted the Director General's expressed intention of recruiting staff from as wide a range of countries as possible [6]. For reasons which had been stated by the delegation of Ghana at successive sessions of the Conference, his country believed special efforts should be made to recruit personnel from the developing countries for the Secretariat. It did not accept the view that such action would lower the standards of the Secretariat. On the contrary, it was possible and indeed necessary to associate the developing countries closely with the work of the Secretariat, so that the people of those countries could develop a sound understanding of the work of the Secretariat and of the Agency and benefit from their experience. The Agency should organize a training scheme under which personnel from the developing countries could work in the Secretariat for short periods to study the routine of work there and understand the problems involved and skills required.

He next wished to refer to the Statute, which 18. he believed contained some anomalies. Revision of the Statute would be as useful as the recent review of the Agency's activities. He noted, for example, that the Board had again designated the Republic of South Africa as one of its Members, on the grounds that it was the Member State "most advanced in the technology of atomic energy" in Africa and the Middle East. Even if it were accepted that South Africa was the Member State most advanced in that respect in the area, the delegation of Ghana would urge the Agency to take cognizance of the fact that, owing to its political policies, the Republic of South Africa was not able to perform, vis-à-vis the other Member States in the area, the functions which the most advanced Member State was expected to perform in relation to the purposes and objectives of the Agency. South Africa had declared it willingness to co-operate with neighbouring States in atomic energy activities and the delegation of Ghana was prepared to concede that the Government of South Africa genuinely sought that co-operation, but until South Africa changed it policies such co-operation was impossible. In any case, in his delegation's opinion, even the assumption that South Africa was the Member most advanced in the technology of atomic energy in Africa and the Middle East was open to question. His delegation hoped, therefore, that the Board and the General Conference would see their way to adopt a policy in that connection which, while respecting the scientific criteria embodied in the Statute, would help to promote the objectives of the Agency.

In spite of the difficulties which he had men-19. tioned, Ghana considered that the Agency had been extremely useful. His country had received, and continued to receive, a great deal of assistance from the Agency for its atomic energy programme. The past year had been spent on a reappraisal of that programme, in order to achieve the balance between it and other important areas of national development necessary to ensure the most profitable use of the limited funds and scientific manpower available. Work on radioisotope applications in medicine and agriculture continued to be the main areas to which efforts in Ghana were being devoted. The relevant programme had been supported by the award of research contracts and

<sup>[5]</sup> GC(XI)/COM.1/OR.78, paras 40 and 41.

<sup>[6]</sup> GC(XI)/OR.111, para 41.

training fellowships by the Agency. Some of the personnel trained under those fellowships and others trained by the Ghana Energy Commission itself had already returned home to make their contribution to the national effort in the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

20. The delegation of Ghana noted with pleasure that the Agency had already accomplished much. It wished to pay a special tribute to the memory of Sir John Cockcroft. It recalled with admiration Sir John's pioneering contribution to the development of nuclear science and to the establishment of the Agency. It also recalled with deep gratitude Sir John's invaluable advice and assistance to the Ghana Government and the Ghana Atomic Energy Commission. So great was its sense of loss, so deep its sense of indebtedness, that it ventured to express the hope that the Agency and the international scientific community would, before very long, find a means of commemorating Sir John Cockcroft and his great work.

21. Mr. El-HASHIMI (Iraq) said he had represented his country at a number of international conferences but had never attended one at which the atmosphere was so harmonious and the business was conducted so smoothly as at the present session of the General Conference.

22. His delegation, believing as it did that the maximum number of countries should share the benefits to be derived from membership of the Agency, welcomed the new Members and hoped their participation would make a valuable contribution to its work.

23. At the last session of the General Conference his delegation had expressed its views regarding the type of asistance needed most by developing countries and had called for an equitable distribution of technical assistance and a wider geographical distribution of posts in the Agency [7].

24. His delegation was grateful to the Board, the Director General and the Secretariat for the excellent review of the Agency's activities, and the developing countries were eagerly looking forward to the implementation of the recommendations made. Such a periodic review was very useful, since it enabled the Agency to maintain a consistently high standard of efficiency.

25. Technical assistance should be distributed in such a way as to meet the real needs of developing countries. His delegation would like to appeal to Member States, particularly the more advanced countries, to increase their voluntary contributions to the General Fund with a view to achieving the target of \$2 million. In that connection, the Agency should also seek financial assistance from other international organizations, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

26. He welcomed the extension and successful application of the Agency's Safeguards System and believed that its future extension should keep pace with the growth in the Agency's other activities. In that connection, his delegation agreed, in principle, that the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons was highly desirable.

27. Iraq was making the fullest possible use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Work relating to the medical applications of atomic energy with a view to raising the standard of health was being successfully carried out, and the competent bodies were drawing up and implementing plans for its use in agriculture. His country was also keenly interested in developing the use of isotopes and radiation in industry and hoped the Agency would devote more attention to that subject in the future.

He would like to refer briefly to social and 28. political problems, since they inevitably had a bearing on technical matters. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director General of the Agency had both expressed concern at the hostilities and unrest in certain parts of the world [8], which resulted in devastation, human suffering and the disruption of economic life. The lowering of moral and ethical standards seemed to presage the decline of the West, of which Spengler had written, and the social theories of Hobbes and Machiavelli now found favout rather than Rousseau's "contrat social", which was based on the consent of the governed. In the light of those unfortunate developments, his delegation appealed to all people who wished to preserve civilization to combine their efforts to maintain world peace [9].

29. The DIRECTOR GENERAL said he was gratified by the spirit of tolerance and understanding which had prevailed at the Conference. The debate had been both interesting and constructive and every effort would be made to implement those proposals which had received general acceptance. On the more controversial issues, the Secretariat would endeavour to reconcile conflicting points of view in preparing the future programme of the Agency.

30. It was clear that delegates shared his satisfaction and optimism at the prospects for nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and his conviction that the Agency had an important part to play in the related implementation of safeguards. In meeting that challenge, the Agency would continually review

<sup>[7]</sup> GC(X)/OR.108, paras 56-63.

<sup>[8]</sup> GC(XI)/OR.111, paras 71 and 63 respectively.

<sup>[9]</sup> This summary of a statement which was not delivered at the meeting is inserted in the record by direction of the President.

its procedures and practices to ensure their maximum effectiveness and take account of constantly changing situations. Research and development to adapt the Safeguards System to modern techniques was essential and he was gratified by Member States' readiness to devote national efforts to that end. He also welcomed their willingness to provide facilities, as well as instructors and materials, for the purpose of training inspectors.

It was to be expected that in an organization 31. including many developing countries the subject of technical assistance would evoke great interest. He had been fully informed of the debate in the Programme, Technical and Budget Committee resulting in approval of a resolution concerning the provision of technical experts and equipment. Although he was convinced that firm guiding principles were essential for the operation of an international organization, he considered that it should always remain possible to modify them to meet changing conditions. The Agency had always adopted a flexible attitude to the criteria relating to the provision of equipment; in the period 1966-67, equipment had formed 20% of the assistance provided from the Agency's own resources. Particular attention would be given to that aspect in dealing with future technical assistance requests, and an effort would be made to reflect in practice the spirit of the resolution. However, the question would be largely academic unless voluntary contributions to the General Fund were greatly increased. It must also be recognized that the Agency had no authority to apply new criteria to assistance provided out of funds derived from the United Nations Development Programme, the rules for which were established by the United Nations.

32. It was gratifying to note the favourable response of most delegations to the proposal to establish the International Nuclear Information System (INIS). Note had been taken of the reservations expressed, particularly those emphasizing the need for co-ordination with the work done by national and regional organizations; it was certainly not the Agency's intention to duplicate existing services. The programme was being worked out in the light of frequent consultations with technical experts from Member States and from the regional organizations in question. No final proposals would be made before completion of the pilot project. The system would admittedly involve substantial costs, but it was intended to propose that a charge be made for special services rendered, the proceeds from which should ensure that the INIS budget was stabilized.

33. The spirit of the Conference and its demonstration of international understanding, together with the expressions of support for the Agency and its important role in world affairs, augured well for the future. There was now a clearer understanding of the part the Agency could play in achieving the objectives of its founders. The Agency could enter upon its second decade with confidence, fortified by the goodwill shown towards it and its Secretariat in the contributions to the debate. Such support would be increasingly needed in the future if the Agency was to undertake successfully the new and important responsibilities which were likely to devolve upon it.

# REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE [GC(XI)/375]

34. The PRESIDENT announced that the Credentials Committee had examined the credentials of delegates in accordance with Rule 28 of the Rules of Procedure; its report, containing two draft resolutions, was to be found in document GC(XI)/375.

Mr. ANGONI (Albania) said it was 35. outrageous that, owing to the cynical attitude adopted by the United States and certain other delegations, the Chiang Kai-shek clique had been permitted to represent China at the eleventh regular session of the General Conference. Such a situation was ridiculous since the only legal Chinese Government was that of the People's Republic of China, a country with 700 million inhabitants which used atomic energy solely for scientific, economic and cultural purposes and was interested in its military use for defensive purposes only. With a view to enabling the Agency to fulfil the objectives of its Statute, it was essential that the People's Republic of China, which supported all nations fighting for freedom, should represent the Chinese people in the Agency, particularly as the solution of current international problems could only be achieved with its co-operation. Accordingly his delegation was opposed to draft resolution I contained in the Credentials Committee's report.

36. Mr. ARKADIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said his delegation did not recognize the validity of the Chiang Kai-shek group's credentials nor its right to represent China at the General Conference, and accordingly could not support draft resolution I.

The Credentials Committee had recognized 37. the validity of the credentials of the Federal Republic of Germany; furthermore that State had served on the Board of Governors and its delegate had been elected as a Vice-President at the current session of the Conference. The Federal Republic of Germany did not comply with the main provisions of the Statute and did not accept the Agency's Safeguards System. On the other hand, the German Democratic Republic had not been allowed to participate in the Agency's work, although it was entitled to membership in accordance with recognized international principles and the Agency's Statute. Unlike the Federal Republic of Germany, it had already affirmed its readiness to accept the Agency's Safeguards System [10] and

<sup>[10]</sup> See document GC(X)/INF/91.

to fulfil all the conditions of membership. Moreover, it was a highly industrialized country which made an ever-growing contribution to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and its exclusion from membership on political grounds, at the instigation of certain Member States, was prejudicial to the Agency's prestige.

38. Mr. PELE (Romania) regretted that the Conference had made no effort to solve the problem of the representation of China. The Chiang Kai-shek group was not legally entitled to represent that country, since it really represented nobody. The only legal Chinese Government was that of the People's Republic of China, and its exclusion from membership was damaging to the Agency's prestige and detrimental to its work.

Mr. FAROLAN (Philippines) said that, as a 39. member of the Credentials Committee, he considered it his duty to state that the Committee had acted in accordance with the principles and precedents followed in the past by the Agency and the General Assembly of the United Nations, and he believed the Conference, in taking its decisions, should do likewise. Political decisions were not the responsibility of the Agency, and thus the Conference should continue to recognize the validity of the credentials issued by the Republic of China. He pointed out that when a State had duly become a Member of the Agency it was entitled to the same degree of respect from other Member States as they themselves would expect to receive.

40. Mr. EFFAT (United Arab Republic) said his country had hoped, for a number of years, that the People's Republic of China would be permitted to join the Agency, since its membership would constitute a major contribution to the maintenance of peace in the Far East and throughout the world. His delegation regretted that it was still debarred from membership and accordingly would abstain from voting on draft resolution I.

Mr. LEWIS (United States of America) 41 endorsed the Committee's report together with the two draft resolutions contained therein. Referring to the objections to the credentials issued by the Republic of China, he recalled that the General Assembly of the United Nations had considered the question on a number of occasions, most recently in November 1966, and had always rejected attempts to replace the representatives of the Republic of China. The General Assembly had also recommended that its attitude in the matter be taken into account in technical agencies in the United Nations family. In accordance with the standard practice followed by the specialized agencies of the United Nations, and in order to avoid controversy and disruption of the Agency's work, the Conference should, in line with its own previous practice, follow the General Assembly's recommendation and adopt the draft resolutions contained in the Credentials Committee's report, which were identical with those adopted in the past.

Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) said her delegation 42. would support draft resolution II contained in the Credentials Committee's report. With regard to draft resolution I, however, she pointed out that her Government still recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China but that the latter's persistently hostile attitude had gravely impaired relations between the two countries. That attitude had been reflected in its deplorable treatment of diplomats and its subversive activities, which were designed to overthrow the Indonesian Government. Her Government was confident that it could counteract such activities. The great majority of the Indonesian people wished her Government to break off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and, in response to that demand, the Indonesian Foreign Minister had stated that if the People's Republic of China decided to break off relations, the Government would accept that decision. However, since that had not yet happened, her Government could not accept the validity of the credentials issued by a Government it did not recognize.

43. Mr. CHENG (Republic of China) said that for the past ten years the artificial issue of his delegation's right to represent China had been the subject of exhaustive deliberation at the General Conference, and accordingly he did not intend to enter into protracted discussions on the subject. Now that the Agency was entering its second decade, he hoped the misunderstandings regarding the rightful representation of his country would cease and that all Member States would co-operate in promoting the use of atomic energy in the interest of mankind.

44. His country had been forcibly taken over by a tyrannical regime which did not truly represent the 700 million people on the Chinese mainland; they could only be rightfully represented by his Government, in Taiwan, which was morally and legally one of the provinces of China. The unfailing support of many countries which his Government had enjoyed for ten years reflected their conscientious desire to promote the cause of freedom. The Conference should follow the example of the General Assembly and adopt the draft resolutions contained in the Credentials Committee's report.

45. Mr. ANGONI (Albania) suggested that draft resolutions I and II should be voted on separately, since divergent views had been expressed.

46. The PRESIDENT, noting that the Albanian suggestion was not seconded by any other delegate, said he assumed that the Conference wished to adopt draft resolutions I and II in document GC(XI)/375.

47. It was so agreed.

# OPENING DATE OF THE TWELFTH REGULAR SESSION

48. The PRESIDENT said that the General Committee had requested him to recommend to the Conference on its behalf that the opening date of the twelfth regular session should be Tuesday, 24 Spetember 1968.

**49.** The recommendation of the General Committee was accepted.

### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS [GC(XI)/369]

The PRESIDENT drew attention to the 50. report of the General Committee [GC(XI)/369], in paragraph 1 of which the Committee notified the Conference that seven Members must be elected to the Board of Governors during the present session. The Committee specified the geographical areas in respect of which elections were required and drew the Conference's attention to the fact that elections must be conducted with due regard to equitable representation on the Board as a whole of the Members in the geographical areas specified in Rule 83 of the Rules of Procedure. Rule 79 of the Rules of Procedure provided that elections should be by secret ballot and that there should be no nominations.

51. At the invitation of the President, a member of the Swiss delegation and a member of the United Arab Republic delegation acted as tellers.

52. The PRESIDENT invited the Conference to elect a Member from the area of Latin America.

53. A vote was taken by secret ballot, the result of which as as follows:

Ballot papers returned :	70
Invalid votes:	3
Abstentions:	3
Valid votes:	64
Required majority:	33
Votes obtained :	
Peru	62
Chile	1
Venezuela	1

54. Having obtained the required majority, Peru was elected a Member of the Board.

55. The PRESIDENT invited the Conference to elect a Member from the area of Eastern Europe.

56. A vote was taken by secret ballot, the result of which was as follows:

Ballot papers returned :	70
Invalid votes:	1
Abstentions:	5
Valid votes: .	64
Required majority:	33
Votes obtained :	
Bulgaria	57
Romania	3
Turkey	3
Hungary	1

57. Having obtained the required majority, Bulgaria was elected a Member of the Board.

58. The PRESIDENT invited the Conference to elect two Members from the area of Africa and the Middle East.

59. A vote was taken by secret ballot, the result of which was as follows:

Members to be elected :	2
Ballot papers returned :	138
Invalid votes:	2
Abstentions:	9
Valid votes:	127
Required majority :	32
Votes obtained :	
Madagascar:	63
Algeria	61
Turkey	2
Saudi Arabia	1

60. Having obtained the required majority, Madagascar and Algeria were elected Members of the Board.

61. The PRESIDENT invited the Conference to elect a Member from the area of South Asia.

62. A vote was taken by secret ballot, the result of which was as follows:

Ballot papers returned :	69
Invalid votes:	3
Abstentions :	2
Valid votes:	64
Required majority:	33
Votes obtained:	
Ceylon	63
Burma	1

63. Having obtained the required majority, Ceylon was elected a Member of the Board.

64. The PRESIDENT invited the Conference to elect a Member from the area of the Far East.

65. A vote was taken by secret ballot, the result of which was as follows:

Ballot papers returned :	68
Invalid votes:	0
Abstentions:	4
Valid votes:	64

Required majority:	33
Votes obtained :	
The Philippines	64

66. Having obtained the required majority, the Philippines was elected a Member of the Board.

67. The PRESIDENT invited the Conference to fill the remaining vacant seat on the Board.

68. A vote was taken by secret ballot, the result of which was as follows:

Ballot papers returned :	67
Invalid votes:	0
Abstentions:	2

Valid votes:	65
Required majority:	33
Votes obtained :	
Turkey	65

69. Having obtained the required majority, Turkey was elected a Member of the Board.

70. The PRESIDENT pointed out that, under Article VI.D. of the Statute, the Members just elected to the Board would hold office from the end of the eleventh regular session of the General Conference until the end of the thirteenth regular session. He congratulated Algeria, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Madagascar, Peru, the Philippines and Turkey on their election, and thanked the tellers for their work.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.