

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**FIRST COMMITTEE, 1660th  
MEETING**

Tuesday, 21 October 1969,  
at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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**Chairman: Mr. Agha SHAHI (Pakistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 103**

**The strengthening of international security (*continued*)  
(A/7654; A/C.1/L.468)**

1. Mr. HSUEH (China) (*translated from Chinese*): My delegation shares the view unanimously held in this Committee that the strengthening of international security is the ultimate and highest objective of the United Nations. To achieve that objective is the *raison d'être* of our Organization. The work of all organs of United Nations must be directed at all times towards that objective. Each resolution adopted and each decision taken by the General Assembly, the Security Council and all the other United Nations bodies, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, represents or should represent a step closer to the realization of the objective. In other words, international security can be strengthened only as a result of constant, sustained and unremitting efforts on the part of all Members of United Nations to achieve this purpose.

2. There appears neither a magic touch nor a short-cut in this matter. Surely, the question of strengthening international security cannot all of a sudden acquire an important and urgent character at the present session of the General Assembly just because an item bearing that title has been inscribed on its agenda. It is important and urgent at all times.

3. To channel all efforts for the strengthening of international security in a single direction, the Charter of the United Nations is the sole guide. It sets forth all the fundamental principles essential for the maintenance of international peace and security and provides for the machinery to ensure their application. It is a basic document, comprehensive, well balanced and indivisible. Those who seek to promote nationalistic or group or even personal points of view at variance with or extraneous to the principles of the Charter are fond of referring to the fact that the world is changing. But that is neither a relevant point nor a new discovery. The world has been changing since the beginning of the history of mankind. It has never stood still. However, fundamental values common to all men, such as peace, justice and freedom, are valid for

all ages. In this ever-changing world, the Charter of the United Nations, embodying these fundamental values as applicable to international relations, remains the North Star.

4. In his speech before the General Assembly on 6 October 1969 my Foreign Minister had the following to say on this subject:

"It seems to my delegation that the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter represent the highest and noblest ideals ever conceived by man. If there is a gap between Charter goals and reality, the reason is that it is not always easy for man to live up to his most cherished ideals. But this does not mean that he should stop trying. On the contrary, the effective functioning of the United Nations demands urgent and serious efforts on the part of its Member States to make a reality of the aims of the Charter. It is the failure of Member States to make good their commitments to the Charter that is responsible for the state of frustration in which the United Nations now finds itself." [1779th plenary meeting, para. 72.]

5. My delegation is gratified to find in this debate that an overwhelming majority of delegations hold a similar attitude on this point. Having thus briefly stated the basic views of my delegation on the present item, I should like now to turn to an examination of the relevant documents before us.

6. Both the draft appeal to all States of the world [A/C.1/L.468] and the statement of the Soviet delegation [1652nd meeting] introducing the draft appeal are prefaced by a reference to the Second World War, out of which the United Nations was born. When the Soviet representative recalled the horrors of that war and the sufferings to which his country had been subjected, I could not but have a genuine and sincere feeling of sympathy. For my own country, the Republic of China, went through the same horrors, and the Chinese people suffered just as much during that war. The Republic of China lost more than three million able-bodied men in the armed forces, in addition to many more millions in civilian casualties. Direct losses in destroyed properties alone amounted to the equivalent of more than U.S.\$31,000 million at the purchasing value of the dollar in the 1940's. We too have paid a devastatingly heavy price for the peace which the world has been able to enjoy, however precariously, since the end of the war. We have contributed to the creation of conditions under which the establishment of the United Nations was made possible. Indeed, the Republic of China is second to none in its determination to do everything possible for the strengthening of international security and for the prevention of another war.

7. The draft appeal before us contains in its substantive paragraphs a number of elements, which may be grouped into two categories. The first category consists of elements which are taken directly from the provisions of the Charter. They are, notably, the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, the granting of independence to peoples under colonial rule, the establishment of regional security systems and the convening of periodic meetings of the Security Council. I believe that no one disputes the need for or the desirability of implementing these provisions of the Charter in the interest of the strengthening of international security. My delegation finds no difficulty in agreeing to the inclusion of these provisions in an appeal that the General Assembly may decide to make.

8. However, my delegation has serious misgivings as to the desirability of mentioning these provisions of the Charter in such an appeal to the exclusion of other provisions of the Charter equally important to the strengthening of international security. For example, the Charter provides for the settlement of international disputes not only by peaceful means, but also in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. The Charter also demands promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms. The Charter further calls for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being by promoting higher standards of living, full employment and so forth. I do not wish to take the time of the Committee by reading out all the provisions of the Charter. But I cannot help wondering whether, in receiving an appeal from the General Assembly, the world may not be puzzled as to why these and other provisions of the Charter are no longer regarded as important to the strengthening of international security.

9. The second category of elements contained in the draft appeal relates to questions that have been or are being dealt with by the various organs of the United Nations, such as the withdrawal of foreign troops, the definition of aggression, the principles of friendly relations and co-operation of States, and United Nations peace-keeping operations. These questions evidently involve a good deal of concrete detail on which there is a divergence of opinion and which require careful consideration. The General Assembly has adopted resolutions on some of these questions, such as the withdrawal of foreign troops, with regard to a number of cases brought up at its past sessions, but has declined to act on others.

10. Take the definition of aggression, for instance. The General Assembly has ever since 1950 carefully studied the question whether a definition is possible and desirable. The answer, based on the opinion of the majority of the membership, appears to be inconclusive. It would be presumptuous for the General Assembly now to decide arbitrarily to call for the formulation, as proposed in the draft appeal, of "a generally acceptable definition of aggression". As to the principles of friendly relations and co-operation among States and United Nations peace-keeping operations, it would also be better for the General Assembly to await the report of the special committees concerned before taking action.

11. It is the view of my delegation that on such specific questions Members of the United Nations are obliged, in

the interest of strengthening international security, to abide by the resolutions adopted and the decisions taken by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations and to seek ways and means to implement them. It must be recognized that such questions can be satisfactorily solved only by a democratic procedure in accordance with the Charter in an organization like the United Nations composed of equally sovereign States dedicated to peace. If accusations by individual Members were allowed to fly around that the General Assembly adopted a certain resolution only by the so-called mechanical majority or that the General Assembly failed to adopt a certain other resolution only because of alleged pressure made on the majority, then not only would the majority of the membership be insulted but defiance of the will of the General Assembly would be encouraged. Such a practice, if not discouraged, would not contribute to the strengthening of international security, but, on the contrary, would tend to weaken it.

12. In conclusion, my delegation holds no strong views on whether an appeal as proposed should be made by the General Assembly. Nothing, not even an appeal by the General Assembly, could be more effective for the strengthening of international security than the determination by all Members of the United Nations to live up to their pledge given in Article 2, paragraph 2, of the Charter to "fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter." But if the General Assembly should in its wisdom decide to make an appeal, my delegation strongly feels that the appeal should not be limited to a few provisions of the Charter selected at random and that in it the General Assembly should not pronounce itself in a summary and arbitrary manner on the specific questions that have been or are being dealt with in detail by its special committees.

13. Since the Charter is too lengthy and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations are too numerous to be reproduced in an appeal, my delegation suggests that the appeal should be worded in general and simple terms. The General Assembly could perhaps appeal to all States of the world to respect the Charter of the United Nations, to observe its principles and purposes, and to comply with the resolutions and the decisions of the United Nations. Furthermore, since the work of strengthening international security is continuous and not confined to the present session of the General Assembly or the next, my delegation does not see the desirability of including another specific item on this question in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session.

14. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): Mr. Chairman, permit me to extend to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Sudan, our most sincere congratulations on your election to the Chairmanship of the First Committee. You bring to this post the benefits of your wide and varied experience and the personal qualities of leadership that have earned the esteem and admiration of those of us who have been, like myself, privileged to know you. We all know that you are not a novice in the conduct of affairs at the United Nations where you have represented your country at the councils of this Organization with undoubted merit and distinction. The First Committee stands to gain a great deal by electing you as its Chairman.

15. May I also extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Kolo of Nigeria, the Vice-Chairman of the Committee and Mr. Lloyd Barnett of Jamaica, its Rapporteur.

16. The Soviet Union, by introducing the subject of "The strengthening of international security" on the agenda of the present session [A/7654], has added yet another initiative to its many original and challenging proposals designed to serve the cause of world peace and foster world security. As the United Nations approaches the twenty-fifth year of its existence, it is fitting that its Members should seek to support and uphold its primary function as a guardian of world peace.

17. It is no less true that the present appeal by the Soviet Union [A/C.1/L.468] for a proclamation of confidence in mankind and a declaration of its will and determination to live in peace, has come at a time when man's technological capacity for destruction has reached such a frightening level. It is, moreover, widely realized that the peace that has reigned for the last two decades has been too fragile and too uncertain. Even a global war becomes a distant possibility as long as the defence plans of nations can countenance the annihilation of scores of millions of people in a few hours and calculate the chances of a retaliatory capacity and of survival.

18. Fear is no guarantee for peace. It is conceivable that some technological break-through might tip the precarious balance of terror, thus prompting one Power, or group of Powers, to eliminate the conditions of comparative insecurity that now exist by launching a disabling attack against a potential enemy before it should have a chance to restore the balance. For over 25 years we have lived with the peril of a nuclear war and we have wondered whether there was any escape. We have been aware, however, that only through determined and concerted effort can we have peace in place of fear.

19. My delegation considers the present appeal addressed to all of us by the Soviet Union as indeed going beyond its stated terms. Since, if it were to be conceived as a mere petition to Member States to be mindful of their Charter obligations in relation to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from encroaching on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other Member States, it would be open to the criticism that it is an ineffective though harmless form of exhortation which would have limited currency and no binding force.

20. In fact, rather than an "appeal", my delegation would prefer to conceive of this Soviet proposal as directed towards initiating a fresh commitment and a new undertaking. We would perhaps be justified in this assumption by reference to the wording of the first paragraph of section II, where it is proposed that:

"The General Assembly

"1. Firmly and resolutely declares that in order to strengthen international security it is necessary, above all, to ensure without delay:

"the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of action by the armed forces of some States

against other States and peoples defending the independence they have won . . . ;

"the cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule and the granting of independence to all such peoples;

"observance by States of the decisions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of occupation troops from foreign territories."

21. It is evident from this paragraph that identifies some of the main causes of international tension and insecurity that what is called for is resolute action by the United Nations in support of the principles of its Charter and the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

22. The representative of the Soviet Union, in his address before this Committee on 10 October 1969 [1652nd meeting], asserted with confidence that the problem of the security of the world was capable of solution and pledged that his country was prepared to make use of the potentialities of the United Nations in ensuring peace and curbing aggressive designs, in the struggle against colonialism and racism and for disarmament and a relaxation of international tensions.

23. That is an endeavour which should receive the whole-hearted co-operation of every State in the world that feels a responsibility for the well-being of its people. It is an effort that deserves the unstinting support of all Members of the United Nations, which should attempt by positive action, through the United Nations, to create conditions under which peace would be most likely to prevail.

24. My delegation has no hesitation in acknowledging that in circumstances where the world is threatened by total annihilation the primacy of peace is indisputable. Yet conditions exist in many areas of this world where the blatant prevalence of injustice and the large-scale denial of freedom would make it immoral to seek for the prevalence of peace.

25. The signatories of the Atlantic Charter, a precursor of the Charter of the United Nations, asserted their conviction that in order to preserve justice and freedom the enemy that sought to deprive them of liberty should be fought until completely vanquished. When the battle for freedom was joined and won, the Organization that was set up to save humanity from the scourge of war should have had as one of its primary purposes the preservation of freedom and justice on equal terms with the maintenance of peace. The requirement that the maintenance of peace and security should be in conformity with the principle of justice ought to have been part of the first Article of the Charter of the United Nations. It should have been made obligatory for the Security Council to ask in every case of a breach of peace, in every case of war, whether one of the combatants was justified in taking up arms. Once that was determined, the Security Council could act in order to suppress "acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes".

26. The draft submitted by the Soviet Union accords first priority to the responsibility of the United Nations in the exercise of its duty to remove a major source of danger to world peace—the occupation by foreign troops of territory of another State as a result of war. The delegation of the Sudan is in complete agreement with that order of priority. It should be obvious that, apart from its ever-present threat to the peace, the acquisition and occupation of territory through armed force is repugnant to every principle that the United Nations stands for and should not be tolerated. The fact that there have been instances in which the United Nations has failed to employ the remedies that are prescribed by the Charter to enforce the evacuation of territory, and the fact that the United Nations has allowed aggression to prevail, again raises the question whether peace and even life itself might not be sacrificed in the cause of justice and freedom. A war of national liberation needs no justification and no apology.

27. The representative of the Soviet Union, in his statement on this item, affirmed that the struggle for peace has merged with the struggle for the peoples' freedom. Our understanding of that statement is that in order that peace may prevail freedom cannot continue to be denied, and since the maintenance of peace is the supreme task of the United Nations the Organization must recognize—as indeed it does—the legitimacy of the struggle of all people for freedom everywhere. The violence of this struggle is often the unavoidable consequence of the conditions in which it has been undertaken. We conceive of a war of national liberation as a just war almost by definition, since it has as its aim the attainment of freedom for a nation or a people from colonial bondage or foreign occupation. Thus the struggle of the Palestinians and the struggle of the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe for national liberation and self-determination is a struggle for freedom without which peace would be an empty word.

28. The objectives of the struggle for national liberation in Palestine, in Angola and Mozambique and in the whole of southern Africa are those which the United Nations Charter seeks to uphold, the fundamental right of human beings to live in freedom, the preservation of the dignity and worth of the human person, the right of the individual to the fruits of his labour and of all peoples to determine their own destiny. It is only because these rights have been denied by the oppressive powers that rule the land that violence has become inevitable. The United Nations should aid the struggle for liberty rather than endeavour to suppress it, since it will not be suppressed. Its eventual victory will be its vindication, the victory that will be forged by the peoples themselves in Palestine and in southern Africa.

29. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] imposes on Member States the obligation to cease all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples "... in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence" it states that "the integrity of their national territory shall be respected". The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples proclaims that "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is

incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

30. That call is properly addressed to those Member States of the United Nations and other States now outside the United Nations for which the search and struggle for peace would be without meaning if it were not conceived in freedom, if it were divorced from the struggle of people everywhere for national liberation. The collective action of those States in support of the cause of freedom and peace may yet prove to be a viable alternative to the "concert of the great Powers"—which has not been, by the admission of those Powers themselves, very successful.

31. "Very little progress" could be reported "in the world at large towards the goals of the United Nations Charter—to maintain international peace and security...". That is what the Secretary-General said in his introduction to his latest report.<sup>1</sup> But this is no reason for despair since not much progress had been expected. If the ultimate responsibility for peace rests with the great Powers, the failure of the United Nations must be laid squarely at their door. This failure, which has been due in large measure to the divergencies of interests amongst the great Powers, is not unconnected with the highly quixotic attitude of the United Nations towards the representation of China. The need for the representation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council stems from the very concept of the great-Power responsibility that is central to the Charter of the United Nations.

32. Section IV of the Soviet proposal expresses the conviction that regional security systems in various parts of the world which are set up and operated in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations can be a factor in strengthening international security.

33. We note that that statement does not seek to set up any system of security that would supplant the United Nations system. That would mean that the provisions of Article 53 of the Charter would be applicable in that no enforcement action would be taken under these regional arrangements without the authorization of the Security Council. It is further postulated that Article 54 of the Charter would also apply, so that the Security Council would be informed at all times of activities undertaken or contemplated under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

34. The provision in the Soviet draft for the participation of all States in the area presupposes that such regional arrangements as may be set up would project a universal interest in security and a degree of homogeneity in long-term aims and interests; such universal interest in security does not necessarily pose any particular threat to a potential adversary. It should be evident, however, that regional arrangements which are designed to be exclusive may pose a threat to security rather than enhance it. They would do so by inviting a reaction on the part of the country, or group of countries, which would be excluded by the terms of the alliance or the assumption behind its formation.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, para. 198.



35. The Organization of African Unity is immediately brought to mind as an example of a regional arrangement set up in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and operating in co-operation with the United Nations in furtherance of its objectives. The Organization of African Unity may yet prove its worth in the mediatory roles which it may be called upon to assume in order to help to resolve regional conflicts.

36. Section V of the Soviet proposal is a reaffirmation of the general trend of the preceding sections in that it invokes Article 28 of the Charter, which envisages periodic meetings at the level of members of Governments represented on the Council, so that they may have the opportunity of engaging in more generalized discussions of the state of international security. One should perhaps forgive the optimistic lapse constituted by the implication that these periodic meetings of the Security Council at the level of members of Governments have in fact been taking place. If that formulation is meant to point out to the members of the Security Council in the most gentle manner their dereliction of duty, one might argue that our manner should be less gentle when we consider the fact that this is not the first time the members of the Council have been reminded of their primary, onerous responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

37. Rule 4 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, providing for holding periodic meetings twice a year at such times as the Council may decide, stands as a constant reminder; it has never been acted upon.

38. My delegation is in full accord with the injunction that the Security Council should take effective practical steps against acts of aggression, using the full powers vested in it by the United Nations Charter. It has been its failure to take effective steps against acts of aggression that has led to the erosion of confidence in its decisions. Those decisions of the Council, which have recently tended to seek refuge in ambiguity for the just and the unjust alike, are surely not made effective through the mere fact of their adoption without dissent.

39. We are all aware of the need to restore confidence in the Security Council and its effectiveness. We are all aware of the need to revitalize the United Nations. We should all be grateful to the Soviet Union for suggesting some of the ways in which that revitalization could be achieved.

*Mr. Kolo (Nigeria), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

40. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): My delegation is gratified that the United Nations has begun to discuss the strengthening of international security and that this item, included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session on the initiative of the USSR Government, is being considered by the First Committee ahead of all others, in view of its importance. This is one of the most serious and urgent questions facing us, since it relates directly to the essence and *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

41. The recently completed general debate in plenary session has made it plain that the threat of war still hangs over us, that the fires of war are still smouldering and that

the militant forces of imperialism are only waiting for a suitable occasion to precipitate fresh hostilities. In these circumstances, the United Nations has no more important or more urgent duty than to intensify its efforts to defend the peace and strengthen international security and to mobilize all peoples of the world and all its resources under the Charter to that end.

42. The United Nations was created as an instrument for peace and its founders, then members of the anti-nazi coalition, deemed that to be its purpose. I think it suitable to mention these facts on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, since that is also the anniversary of the end of the most dreadful world war mankind has experienced. That war, as we all know, was fought not only in order to save mankind from the mortal danger of fascism, which had been brought into being and fostered by reactionary and aggressive imperialist circles, but also in order, after defeating the fascist aggressors, to create a world in which there could not possibly be a resurgence of those forces and those inhuman ideas which would divide nations into masters and slaves according to their race. Rejecting the philosophy of domination and exploitation, the peoples wanted to create a safer and more equitable world. Some of them took to heart the lessons of history and decided to alter radically their social system, eliminate exploitation, liquidate capitalism, transfer all power to the workers and engage in the building of socialism and a struggle against war and for national security.

43. Yet our world today is far from perfect. The idea of peaceful coexistence, friendship and co-operation among peoples has still not triumphed; the liberation of the colonial peoples has not yet been completed; mankind has not stopped wasting an enormous share of its energy and potential resources on producing weapons of mass extermination and waging war instead of raising their level of living; only a first few modest steps have been taken towards a solution of the disarmament problem.

44. Today it is more necessary than ever before—especially if we bear in mind the astounding power of modern weapons of mass destruction—to ask oneself a fundamental question: Where do we go from here? Do we choose the path of strengthening and consolidating international security, or the dangerous path of fluctuating international tensions, leading to military crises which might culminate in a nuclear catastrophe? Life itself tells us to choose the first path. And since we know that the best way of reaching this vital goal of ours is by creating and consolidating a world system of collective security in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, we must appeal to the good will of the individual States and their Governments and call on them to make a mighty concerted effort to resolve this problem.

45. Let us take the struggle against colonialism as an example. Undoubtedly the United Nations has done a great deal to help enslaved peoples to shed the shackles of colonialism. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, whose tenth anniversary we shall commemorate next year, is a historic document in this area. The fact is, however, that the purposes set out in the Declaration have not yet been

fulfilled. Until colonialism in all its forms has been finally liquidated, there can be no world security. The vestiges of colonialism and the more recent forms of neo-colonialism result in a dangerous situation which at any moment can erupt into armed hostilities.

46. The new States which have arisen on the ruins of colonial empires are organizing their existence in freedom and sovereignty and eliminating the after-effects of many years of cruel colonial oppression. In order to succeed, they must have peaceful conditions, they need to be protected from a possible resurgence of colonialism, which takes not only the covert form of economic pressure but also, in many cases, the overt form of military intervention. Consequently, the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of States which have liberated themselves from colonial domination is not only timely, but is an essential supporting measure for the ideas advanced in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. No one who, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, pauses to consider its tasks and the direction of its future activities can disregard these facts.

47. The spirit of our age demands that we again and again emphasize the purposes and principles of the Charter and redouble our efforts to attain them under the present international conditions. The purposes and principles of the Charter remain fully valid, and their significance is not lessened even by the fact that not all the good intentions of the founders of the United Nations have been carried out and that the Organization has not always been able to ensure tranquil and peaceful development to the world's peoples.

48. The Czechoslovak delegation cannot associate itself with those critics of the Charter who are bent on revising its fundamental provisions. During the 25 years that have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, in a complex and uneasy international atmosphere, the Charter has in the main proved its validity, and has played its part in the struggle to prevent another world conflagration and to defend international peace and security. While today we are trying to see to it that the United Nations should perform its primary mission more effectively than in the past and concentrate its efforts on the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security, we believe that the principles on which the Charter rests must not be revised. On the contrary, what is needed is correct interpretation and consistent application of all the principles it contains.

49. Foremost among the Charter's fundamental provisions are those which define the position and role of the Security Council as the organ which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In this connexion, a special responsibility rests on the permanent members of the Security Council. The extraordinary position of these members, reflected in the principle requiring their concurrence, is not only a privilege, but a very serious obligation to the world as a whole. Consequently, if we wish to enhance the role of the United Nations in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, we should begin by reaffirming the powers which are vested in the Security Council by the Charter, bearing in mind the important part played by its

permanent members. If it were to do otherwise, the United Nations would be undermining its own foundations and making it possible for the solid concept of the Charter to be replaced by a system with whose shady side we are all familiar from the practice of the defunct League of Nations.

50. Consequently, if we want the United Nations to play its rightful part in maintaining international peace and security, we must work to strengthen rather than destroy the present concept of the Charter and the relationship between its principal organs. The Appeal to All States of the World submitted by the USSR delegation adopts that very approach.

51. My delegation is in favour of using all the possibilities which are afforded by the Charter and have been ignored heretofore. It therefore welcomes and supports the USSR proposal to consider the possibility of applying Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter which provides for periodic meetings of the Security Council convened at the level of members of Government or other specially designated representatives to consider questions relating to the maintenance of international security. This idea is not new; it has been advanced here, in one form or another, several times, the last time in quite definite proposals put forward by Secretary-General U Thant.

52. In this connexion, I would also draw attention to the fact that throughout the existence of the United Nations some of the Charter provisions have remained a dead letter. This applies specifically to the provision regarding the Security Council's machinery to ensure United Nations peace-keeping operations. It is truly surprising that the provisions regarding the existence and activity of the Military Staff Committee have never been applied and that United Nations peace-keeping operations have until now been carried out either by ignoring or by circumventing these provisions. If we want to make headway in the maintenance of international peace and security, we must go back to the Charter. The work done by the Special Committee of Thirty-Three in this regard gives us some hope. It is desirable that our present discussion of questions relating to international security should stimulate that work and ensure that it is completed in good time and in accordance with the fundamental provisions of the Charter.

53. There are other Charter provisions which offer broad opportunities for intensifying United Nations activities in the sphere of strengthening international peace and security. The chapter providing for the creation of regional security systems deserves special mention. I have in mind not military alliances, but rather systems which should replace them and which should therefore promote mutual collaboration and bring about an atmosphere of trust among the States of the region.

54. Czechoslovakia, being a Central European State, attaches primary importance to the creation of a system of collective security in Europe. Our position on the matter was reaffirmed in the declaration of our new Federal Government dated 16 October 1969 and reading in part:

"The Czechoslovak Government regards it as an important task actively to co-operate—in accordance with the

interests of other socialist countries—in improving the general climate in Europe, removing the consequences of the cold war and strengthening European peace and security. The Government is convinced that the proper conditions exist for convening a European conference, as was proposed in Budapest by the States parties to the Warsaw Pact, and that such a conference could be an important step forward in strengthening security, peace and collaboration in Europe”.

55. It is gratifying that the idea of collective security and collaboration in Europe is gaining numerous adherents and that there now appears to be a possibility of specific negotiations among the interested States.

56. We are convinced that such a decision, of which there are some prospects in Europe, could usefully be sought in other parts of the world as well. Our feeling is that if in Europe, which is cut in two by the line dividing two different social systems and where different military alliances come in immediate contact, the idea of collective security is gaining increasing sympathy and support, then in those parts of the world where military blocs do not exist or where they represent the interests of one group of States, it should be possible to establish effective collective security systems much more rapidly. Consequently, that part of the Soviet Union's Appeal to All States of the World which relates to regional collective security systems is undoubtedly of great importance for the policies of States that are anxious to maintain and strengthen international peace and security.

57. United Nations codification activity can also play an important part in ensuring peace and security. Chaos, disorders and arbitrary action generally occur where there is a gap in the law. Although the existence of a rule of international law does in itself eliminate unlawful action, it can nevertheless be a very useful weapon against it. Therein lies the importance of the work of codification performed by the United Nations and its special committees seeking to define aggression or elaborate principles of international law governing friendly relations and collaboration among States. Completion of such work and adoption of the results cannot naturally in themselves prevent aggression or automatically ensure friendly coexistence among States. However, there cannot be the least doubt that the successful completion of work in this area would place a stumbling block in the way of aggressive and militant forces and foster the development of friendly relations and international co-operation. Consequently, my delegation considers that the United Nations activities mentioned in part VI of the draft Appeal [A/C.1/L.468] deserve every support.

58. As has been noted, the world situation is such that the peoples do not have a feeling of confidence and security, and the reasons for this state of affairs cannot be ascribed solely to inadequate activity on the part of the United Nations or to its Charter. Despite all its shortcomings, the United Nations also has some important achievements to its credit.

59. The contribution of the United Nations to the struggle of peoples to avert the threat of a nuclear war and defend world peace is well known. At the same time, we are also

well aware of the limited possibilities of the United Nations in this area, owing to the existing balance of forces. We all know that we have not been sufficiently consistent or successful in seeking ways to defend peace and strengthen international security. The strength of the United Nations lies not in the numbers of its regiments, aircraft or missiles, but in the demonstration of the will and determination of the great majority of Member States to defend international security and ensure a free and peaceful existence for their peoples.

60. Thus, for example, has not the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples been of the greatest assistance in eliminating the colonial system? Has it not afforded direct and tangible help to the peoples engaged in the struggle for national liberation? It constituted more than moral support; it was factual recognition of the right of peoples to fight for their liberation from colonial oppression. The best testimony to the results of this struggle and to the importance of the Declaration is the fact that representatives of many of these liberated and now sovereign peoples are present among us today.

61. Another example is the resolution calling for general and complete disarmament. Did not this historic resolution mark the beginning of serious negotiations on urgent and vital disarmament questions? Thus far these negotiations have yielded only limited and partial results; nevertheless, there has been some movement forward in comparison with the preceding stage. This resolution not only set a realistic—although as yet remote—goal, but, more importantly, it focused the attention of peoples on a problem of the greatest importance for world peace.

62. The peoples are becoming increasingly conscious that the so-called “balance of terror” must be replaced by a balance of confidence and security. While mankind can lead a precarious existence in the shadow of a nuclear volcano, it can hardly live in peace and freedom and use its creative powers to cure the diseases which still beset our world. This is a fact that should make us even more aware of the need for intensified efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons and achieve general and complete disarmament.

63. My delegation therefore does not share the view, expressed in the course of this debate, that the world is weary of declarations and appeals. It all depends on the particular appeal or declaration. In the present case, we are convinced, along with many other delegations, that the proposal put forward by the USSR Government is an appeal that can, and undoubtedly will, play an important part in helping our Organization to discharge its basic function.

64. The questions I have commented on are far from new. The purposes set forth in the USSR draft Appeal to All States of the World either are based on the Charter or are contained in it. I nevertheless deem it necessary to go back to them, draw attention to them and lay stress on them. In this regard, I have in mind not only States Members of the United Nations, but all those States which for various reasons remain outside the Organization. After all, peace is not the privilege of the 126 Members of the United Nations. All States of the world have a right to peace. But

they also have the duty—whether or not they are Members of the United Nations—to work to prevent any breaches of international peace and security. Although they are not obligated to do so by the Charter, which they did not sign, they are so obligated by the fact of belonging to the human community which inhabits our planet. Consequently the Appeal which the General Assembly should adopt at this session and which stresses the need for strengthening international security, must be addressed to all the earth's inhabitants—all States of the world and their Governments.

65. Let us therefore endeavour to elaborate, at this very session, a document which would strengthen international security and promote the maintenance of world peace. The Appeal to All States of the World would then represent a major contribution to next year's celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

66. My delegation believes that the principles concerning the strengthening of international security set out in the draft Appeal should command the constant attention of the Governments of all States of the world, and of the United Nations itself in its future activity.

67. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Czechoslovakia for his kind compliments to the Chairman and his colleagues on the Bureau.

68. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to congratulate our Chairman on his unanimous election to the Chairmanship of this important Committee. Our congratulations also are extended to the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Kolo of Nigeria, and to the Rapporteur, Mr. Barnett of Jamaica. I feel confident that under their wise and dynamic leadership the work of this Committee will be constructive and fruitful.

69. My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union in introducing at the present session of the General Assembly the item "The strengthening of international security" [A/7654].

70. We have over the years expressed in this Committee and in the General Assembly our deep concern regarding the need for developing international security through the United Nations as the structure on which peace can be based. It is our belief that progress towards international security is a precondition and an indispensable adjunct to any meaningful efforts towards general and complete disarmament and towards safer conditions of international life for all nations, whether big or small.

71. At the San Francisco Conference on the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations we said:

"While centring all efforts at disarmament with little results, we have persistently overlooked the reality that there can be no meaningful progress towards disarmament without parallel progress towards international security through the United Nations. We thus gave little thought to the paramount need of strengthening the United Nations as a world Organization for the development of international order and security under the Charter."

72. Last year we introduced in this Committee a draft resolution<sup>2</sup> calling for a study of the closely-linked and interdependent problems of disarmament and international security, and for a relevant report to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Responding to an appeal by some delegations, we did not press it to a vote, in order that more time might be given for its consideration in the following year, namely this year. The present agenda item affords the opportunity for a wider discussion on this vital subject and, it is to be hoped, for some constructive action.

73. We are heartened that the item was inscribed on the agenda by the Government of a super-Power which could significantly contribute to a world of international security and peace. It is also encouraging that, as stressed by the representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik, his country firmly and confidently believes that it is possible now to establish international security through the United Nations Charter.

74. Indeed, the need for developing international security is becoming increasingly obvious. National security in the sense of defending the homeland through armaments is becoming increasingly unrealistic. It has been rendered meaningless by the glaring reality of today that military power, however great, can in no way protect the homeland and its people from being destroyed in a matter of minutes by nuclear missiles, launched, perhaps, from the other side of the globe. Nor can war solve, even temporarily, any problem; nor can war today be brought to a successful, or to any, conclusion. It merely creates far graver problems and more complicated situations for those concerned and for the world at large. The outdated concept of peace through a supposed balance of power has become threadbare, while the immensity of dangers from the concomitant of an escalating nuclear arms race, threatens the very existence of humanity on this globe.

75. It is therefore obvious that effective national security in a nuclear age does not lie in power policies or in military blocs. It can come only from international co-operation, in common security, through a strengthened United Nations. This is the indisputable reality that should not only be understood, but should become a conscience for all nations and peoples. Effective international security, however, requires the development, through the United Nations, of a world legal order with justice. This is what the Charter envisages in its preamble and spells out more definitely in its Articles. And this is what we have not even tried to do in any co-ordinated or meaningful way though the United Nations has been in existence for a quarter of a century.

76. On all occasions we declare our adherence to the Charter, to which we have solemnly subscribed, but our actions and policies not infrequently seem to ignore the Charter and its aims. Indeed, the very structure and mode of functioning of States is still wholly geared to the concept of force and war on the patterns of the past, as though there had been no change in the world during the last 25 years and the use of force had not been abolished by the Charter, and as though we were still in the pre-atomic and pre-space age. One need only glance at the colossal and

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda items 27, 28, 29, 94 and 96, document A/7441, para. 5 (f).



rapidly growing expenditures on nuclear armaments in a relentless preparation for war on the one hand and at the meagre, insignificant sums contributed to the United Nations for peace and security on the other to become aware of the sad reality in the present world conditions.

77. We have been reminded by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in his statement in the general debate [1756th plenary meeting] that over \$200 billion are incinerated each year in the furnace of war preparations. May I complete the picture by recalling here that, in contrast, the sum annually spent for the United Nations, including all specialized agencies, is \$370.5 million; that is, less, substantially less than 1/2 per cent of the arms expenditure. That comparison is eloquent testimony of our attitude towards international security through the United Nations—the only possible international security—and of our passive complacency about the rapid crumbling of peace.

78. The approaching twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations calls for earnest reappraisal and a more meaningful rededication to the Charter, rededication to the cardinal principles of self-determination, non-use of force against the territorial integrity and independence of any State and non-intervention in their internal affairs.

79. The collective will of nations and peoples for a new life, one of peace and security, is the essential driving force and the hope for renovation. That collective will is now alive and pulsating in the minds and hearts of peoples everywhere and it boldly manifests itself through the youth in every part of the world. It is natural, therefore, for the peoples of all nations to look with eagerness for a solemn expression of such a collective will for peace and security. But words must be consistently followed by deeds so that there may be faith in our generation and respect for our declarations. The rededication must be accompanied by appropriate action.

80. The main responsibility for the needed change rests on the major Powers. For obviously the greater the degree of power and knowledge, the greater the responsibility in leadership. However, we the smaller and small nations must also bear our share of the great responsibility. Depending for our freedom and security on common security, we should as a moral core in the United Nations—since we have no other power but our voice and our moral concepts—pool our efforts to strengthen international security through a strengthened United Nations.

81. The arresting of the arms race and the halting of all production of nuclear weapons is a compelling necessity to be proceeded with in all earnestness. This is the responsibility of the major Powers. Parallel to that effort, international security must be developed and the principles of the Charter actually complied with. Such compliance, however, must be facilitated and encouraged by providing, through the United Nations, the appropriate instrumentality under the Charter for the maintenance of peace and security through the United Nations and for the pacific settlement of disputes. To that end the first and paramount objective must be the development and strengthening of the Organization as the instrument of peace, security and progress in the world. That is the responsibility of us all.

82. The United Nations should be enhanced morally and strengthened materially so that it can effectively perform its functions in the maintenance of peace, and the development of world legal order with justice: morally, through the dedication by its membership to the cause of peace and security, in an objective approach to international problems, guided by a United Nations conscience, by an emerging and growing world consciousness; materially, by correcting the present wholly unacceptable financial conditions of the United Nations.

83. Its resources have not been equal to the requirements of international security. We can see that there is something fundamentally wrong with the sense of values that this imbalance represents. It is due to the basic misunderstanding as to where national security really lies; that misunderstanding blocks the way to world security and peace. The Organization must be placed on a sound financial basis with dependable resources, so that it can effectively carry out its duties and responsibilities in the interest of the world community.

84. If contributions cannot be made available, independent sources of revenue must be found. There have been many suggestions, and probably the most practical one is that of royalties from the exploitation, in the interest of mankind, of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, when the time comes.

85. The problem of international security has three main facets: that of the control of arms and disarmament, and, closely linked to it, the two parallel interdependent facets of, first, the maintenance of peace by the United Nations, and, second, the pacific settlement of disputes.

86. With regard to the maintenance of peace, the Security Council must be facilitated in its important duties under Article 39 of the Charter by an appropriate definition of aggression as is necessary for the due application of that article and related articles. We are thus in full agreement with the reference to the definition of aggression in the Soviet draft appeal [A/C.1/L.468]. The provisions of Article 43 regarding the means for enforcement action by the United Nations may have to be complied with. Further, the peace-keeping operations, which have proved so useful, must be put on an organized basis in place of the present improvised, last-minute arrangements of loaned forces. Such peace-keeping machinery could eventually develop into a stable United Nations peace force recruited by and for the United Nations with direct allegiance to the Organization and its Charter. We hope that the Committee of thirty-three,<sup>3</sup> which seems now to be making some progress on the United Nations Observers, may be able to tackle effectively the important aspect of peace-keeping machinery.

87. Turning now to the other facet, that of the pacific settlement of international disputes, we find that this is an area which has been rather neglected and which requires particular attention. The methods for the settlement of such disputes contained in Chapter VI of the Charter should be systematically developed and procedures established for their application.

<sup>3</sup> Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

88. Negotiations between the parties as the most positive way of settling disputes is given first priority in Article 33. As distinct from the Covenant of the League of Nations, which placed all emphasis on arbitration and judicial processes, the United Nations leaned, on the contrary, on negotiations. As Mahatma Gandhi once said, "The parties know what is right and therefore they ought to be able to settle the dispute between them." This is the proper approach, and we hope that the moral standard in the world will come to a point when this will be a complete truth and reality. However, if the parties prove not able to agree, recourse to other procedures of peaceful settlement should be facilitated and encouraged.

89. The good offices of the Secretary-General should be sought. This is a procedure that was fully envisaged by the drafters of the Charter, who also foresaw a political role for the Secretary-General. We are gratified to note that this aspect has been developed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his last report, which contains the following words: "I have come to the clear conclusion that I am competent, under the Charter, to use my good offices".<sup>4</sup>

90. Inquiry and mediation could provide useful and effective means of settling disputes, and they should be used. Mediation based upon an independent assessment of the merits of the case can constructively help towards accommodation between the parties on a peaceful and just solution.

91. Another important procedure that has been rather neglected is that of conciliation; for conciliation is the sound basis of any solution. Adequate procedures for conciliation have now been included in the Law of Treaties adopted at Vienna this year.<sup>5</sup> They provide for a Conciliation Commission competent to deal with both the legal and the other aspects of problems and to make recommendations. As, however, the signature and ratification of the relevant Convention is sure to take a long time, Member States might be encouraged to have recourse, where possible, to the procedures of conciliation provided for in the said Law of Treaties.

92. Arbitration is another procedure that has also to be developed and practised. Furthermore, attention should also be paid to the functioning of the International Court of Justice so that it may become, as intended by the Charter, the effective legal arm of the United Nations. Unless a legal order with justice prevails in the world there can hardly be international security or a stable peace. In this context we express the hope that the work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression and of the other Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States will make further significant progress so that by 1970 they may complete their work on these two important and long-pending subjects.

93. Before concluding we should like to say a few words regarding the Soviet draft appeal. In this connexion it may be recalled that a number of constructive and important

resolutions presented by the Soviet Union have been overwhelmingly adopted by the General Assembly, among them being the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*see resolution 1514 (XV)*], the resolution on general and complete disarmament and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States [*resolution 2131 (XX)*]. The present draft appeal follows those lines, although expanded in many directions.

94. In section I of the Soviet Union draft, it is stressed that the "peoples have no firm confidence in their security and cannot concentrate their efforts . . . on . . . economic and cultural development and improved well-being". This feeling of insecurity and anxiety in the light of recent world developments has been expressed by many delegations in this Committee. In this respect we would add our voice to this anxiety and express the wish that more concrete steps may be taken by the Security Council, and particularly its permanent members the nuclear Powers, for enhancing international security and protecting all the States from any threat or use of force against their political independence and territorial integrity, in accordance with the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter. The activation of periodic meetings by the Security Council, in accordance with Article 28, paragraph 2, as proposed in the Soviet draft could prove useful and constructive in providing the possibility of and occasion for studied consideration of measures to protect international security and peace and to forestall aggression.

95. We do not know what is precisely meant by reference to "regional security systems". The word "security" may ring with a military sound. We are confident, however, that the Soviet Union is not supporting a parochial view of international security. For us international security can only be conceived as a global security through the United Nations, one and indivisible for all nations and peoples.

96. It is true that the Charter under Article 53 takes cognizance of possible regional arrangements for enforcement action under the authorization of the Security Council. But it should be remembered that the Charter was drafted before the advent of the nuclear and the space age.

97. The period of regional security systems in our view is already past. Today we live in a totally different world and such military arrangements, however useful they may have seemed at one time, are now increasingly proving to be more of a handicap and a danger than an assistance to the development of world security. On the other hand, we welcome regional arrangements and systems directed towards enlarging the areas of peace and creating nuclear disarmament zones or establishing instrumentalities for regional conciliation or for other constructive purposes, as has been done in some cases by the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of American States.

98. I reserve my right to deal at a later stage with the draft resolution [*A/C.1/L.468*] that has been submitted.

99. To summarize, our position is that international security should be strengthened and developed through strengthening the United Nations. On practical measures, to promote international security we suggest a study of the

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, para. 185.

<sup>5</sup> See document A/Conf.39/27 and Corr.1.

three interrelated problems of disarmament, peace-keeping and peace-making, and the development of the modalities on a systematic basis for the specific settlement of disputes within the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter.

100. The problem of international security and peace is essentially a moral problem. Greater knowledge and power call for higher moral standards in international relations. In an age of nuclear weapons and moon travel, when man's knowledge and power have assumed incalculable dimensions opening before him vast horizons of vision and inspiration, his continued adherence to the narrow and parochial concepts going back to the age of ignorance and innocence in matters of peace and security on which survival depends, can neither be explained nor excused. We hope, however, that new and inspired leadership over the world may lead mankind out of its present trials and tests to a new life of love, co-operation and peace.

101. The CHAIRMAN: I am grateful to the representative of Cyprus for the kind compliments which he addressed to the Bureau.

102. Mr. SHARIF (Indonesia): First of all, I should like to associate myself with previous speakers who have congratulated you on your election as Vice-Chairman of this Committee. With Mr. Agha Shahi of Pakistan as Chairman and Mr. Lloyd Barnett of Jamaica as Rapporteur, my delegation does not entertain the slightest doubt that the conduct of business in our Committee will proceed expeditiously and successfully.

103. I should like also, on behalf of my delegation, to extend our condolences and deep sentiments of grief and sorrow to the delegation of Somalia on the sudden death of His Excellency Abdirashid Shermarke, the President of Somalia.

104. The question under discussion—the strengthening of international security—is no doubt one that concerns all States and nations, large and small, whether or not they are members of our Organization. Its importance was so ably demonstrated by the unpoetical manner in which it was elaborated by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Malik [1652nd meeting]. It is a subject of the utmost significance, as it pertains to the essence of international behaviour of nations, and thus practically covers all aspects of human life in all its environments in our complex world of today. The representative of the United States of America, Mr. Coleman, rightly observed in his statement [1656th meeting] that the bulk of the Assembly agenda represents an appeal from the whole world and showed that all Members are indeed concerned over security. Mr. Khalaf of Iraq has our sympathy when he pleaded for security for our Arab brethren in the Middle East and for the people in Viet-Nam and South Africa [1655th meeting]. Every national must share the objectives of securing and strengthening both national and international security. The question, therefore, is of such great magnitude that my delegation now only wonders whether we shall have sufficient time in the present session to consider the item in its full proportion and depth.

105. On the question itself, my country—born in the international community almost at the same time as the

United Nations in the middle of 1945—has always paid the greatest attention to problems of national and international security. When the country was still under colonial domination, the Indonesian people, as in any colonial territory, were denied their fundamental rights of equality of men. When peaceful means could not achieve the desired goal, the Indonesian people proclaimed, on 17 August 1945, their complete emancipation from all nations, which has become known in history as the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia. It was only after no fewer than four and a half years of bitter warfare that our existence in the world community was eventually recognized. The principles of equality of men regardless of race, sex, language or religion, and the equality of nations, large and small, are solemnly enshrined in our State-philosophy of the Pantjasila and our Constitution of 1945.

106. When colonial Powers during World War II also experienced the horrors of oppression and domination by the Nazi-Fascist and military régimes of the Axis, they were the first to resist and defend those principles of equal rights of men and of nations, which they had denied for so long to the peoples in their own colonies. We are grateful indeed that those principles have been adopted as one of the basic foundations of the United Nations Charter, even if it were at that time very probably only accepted for political or other reasons.

107. Thus the Indonesian people and its Government have been able to accept and endorse from its birth, wholeheartedly, the principles and purposes of the Charter. Indonesia became the sixtieth Member of the United Nations on 28 September 1950, and ever since my Government has had occasion to express its commitments and dedication to the high principles of the Charter. Only recently, on 1 October, Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Adam Malik, concluded his statement in the general debate before the plenary session by stating:

“...let me assure the Assembly that Indonesia will continue to uphold the high principles of the Charter, and . . . to strengthen the Organization in its efforts to maintain international peace and security and to obtain the well-being of people throughout the world”. [1774th plenary meeting, para. 144.]

108. The general position of my delegation with regard to the question of the strengthening of international security is thus very clear.

109. On the possibility of adapting the Charter to changed circumstances and conditions at the forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization next year—to which the present Soviet proposal also is related—my Foreign Minister has also been very specific. He said:

“As we are approaching the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, I believe it is very fitting indeed to reflect on some of its achievements so that we may be able to adjust the Charter, as well as our activities, in accordance with the changed circumstances and conditions in the world today. It is for this reason that my Government attaches great importance to efforts to relate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations with the question of a general conference to review the Charter

which, in accordance with Article 109 has been on the agenda since 1955.

"Although we can congratulate ourselves on some of the achievements of our Organization in the past twenty-four years, there is little room for complacency. The world has changed. Science and technology have created new horizons in man's life; man has reached the moon. Membership of the United Nations has more than doubled, and political systems and attitudes of Member States have changed. New approaches and platforms have been created to solve world problems and accelerate the economic and social development of the world. It is with these changes in mind that a stock-taking should be made, so that the achievements of our twenty-five years of labour can be fully reflected in our Charter. My delegation has in mind particularly the principles and institutional bodies pertaining to the three Ds: development, decolonization and disarmament." [Ibid., paras. 126 and 127.]

110. Thus my delegation believes that international security could be ensured and strengthened by strengthening our Organization and making necessary changes in the Charter by adapting it to changed conditions and circumstances, notably in the fields of development, decolonization and disarmament, which are so much interrelated in the strengthening of international security.

111. Having had our own bitter experience of colonial oppression for more than three centuries, we in Indonesia attach great importance to the struggle for decolonization. We believe that in order to participate in the life of the international community a nation should first have national freedom and independence. Independence means to us a complete emancipation of all nations so that they can participate fully as equal partners in all aspects of international life. In 1955, scarcely five years after the end of its war of independence, Indonesia was host to a conference of 29 independent Afro-Asian nations in Bandung, which unanimously condemned colonialism and agreed to a common platform for a joint struggle "to bring an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

112. The Bandung Conference was followed by the Conference of Independent African States held in Accra in 1958 and in Addis Ababa in 1960 and we are grateful indeed to the Soviet Union for having initiated in 1960 the item "The Granting of Independence to all Colonial Countries and Peoples"<sup>6</sup>. Subsequent discussions by the plenary sessions of the Assembly in that year resulted ultimately in what is now known as resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization.

113. Thus, in the opinion of my delegation, the United Nations can adapt itself to the changed conditions and circumstances in the world, although, just for the record, resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted on 14 December 1960—15 years after the Charter was accepted—not unanimously but, in an Assembly of 100 members with two absentees at the time of the voting, with 89 votes in favour, none against and still 9 abstentions. This being the situa-

tion, and with official statistics indicating that no fewer than 40 million people are still living under colonial domination or living in territories which have not yet attained independence, the struggle for decolonization cannot and should not be abandoned. Provisions of the Charter of 1945 relating to "Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories" should now be reviewed, and adapted to the spirit of resolution 1514 (XV) and subsequent resolutions for its implementation.

114. Although political freedom is no doubt important for relations in the international community of nations, as was explained earlier, it is not the only condition for international security. As was stated rightly by the representative of Sweden [1654th meeting], conditions of economic misery and social injustice are the root causes of the many tensions and conflicts which now put people against people and groups of people against other groups of people.

115. As a developing and raw-materials producing country, Indonesia, its Government and people, believe that each country has the right to choose and decide for itself the political, economic and social system which is the most appropriate for its internal development, freely and without outside interference. The roots of poverty and underdevelopment in the developing countries have not yet been removed. Mobilization of their own domestic resources is inadequate. Hence the developing countries are looking for assistance, financial, technical or otherwise, from the developed nations. The gap between the developed and developing nations continues to widen, and new conditions of relationships are created, opening at the same time also possibilities for domination and dependence. Much depends in this matter indeed on the attitude and the position of the rich industrialized countries, and as we find ourselves now on the threshold of the Second United Nations Development Decade an appeal for restraint is timely, while adequate measures should be taken so as to prevent the evil practices of colonial exploitation.

116. The question of disarmament in relation to international security is no doubt of the utmost significance, if not decisive. We have made some progress in that we have been able to localize armed conflicts and prevent the outbreak of a large scale war in which nuclear weapons could not be excluded and which no doubt would end in the total destruction of the whole of mankind. We appreciate the efforts made towards the banning and liquidation of all nuclear weapons of mass-destruction. Our ultimate goal, however, to achieve general and complete disarmament under strict international control is still far off, due to lack of goodwill and trust among the powerful nuclear States.

117. Progress through long protracted negotiations seems regrettably slow, and while they have practically embarked on a massive programme of an armaments-race, they appeal to the world for disarmament and a significant cut in the expenditure on armaments. There is still much to be done before we can say that the powerful nuclear States have abandoned their privileged position, or forsaken their vested self-interests. In spite of their statements confirming their adherence to the Charter-principles, to the principles of non-interference, peaceful coexistence and the like, they continue to pursue a policy in line with their ulterior

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 87, document A/4502.



motives. As the matter further develops, we have noted the tendency for the situation in the world to be more and more determined by the state of relations among some powerful nations.

118. The present state of affairs in the developing nations unfortunately lends itself to such tendencies. We have often noted rebellions and unrest within newly independent nations, most of which have pledged themselves to a foreign policy of non-alignment. Some have even been the victim of aggression from outside. To meet the situation it is essential that these developing countries be in possession of reasonable supplies of conventional weapons. With their limited foreign exchange earnings, they cannot set up weapon-industries of their own, nor plan them as a first priority. Thus for many years to come these developing countries will depend on imports from outside, for which they are compelled to use a large portion of their meagre foreign exchange earnings. To meet the difficulties in payments we are further familiar with practices by which grants, easy payments, credits and other facilities are extended in exchange for a regular supply of armaments which are so vitally needed for their very existence.

119. In view of the above, my delegation regards it as essential for the strengthening of international security, that we find an early solution to the question of a regular supply of conventional weapons for newly independent nations to defend their sovereignty and national integrity against rebellion from inside or aggression from outside. This is in the context of regulation of armaments required by the Charter in Articles 11, 26 and 47. We hope that the new twenty-six-nation Committee on Disarmament may also find time to give full attention to this question.

120. On the position of that Committee I would recall my delegation's proposal during the General Assembly in 1966<sup>7</sup> to the effect that, in view of the increasing responsibilities that would be assigned to it, the status of the Committee on Disarmament should be raised to that of a principal organ in the terms of Article 7 of the Charter, with a membership for a fixed term, rotating among members of the Organization to be seated on an elective basis in accordance with the representative character of all major organs of our Organization. We readily admit that this need for armaments may be considered a setback in our genuine efforts towards general and complete disarmament, but in view of present world developments, when peace seems to be possible only on the basis of strength, we cannot but base our policy on realities.

121. My delegation would further like to underline what has been said by the representative of Brazil, Mr. Araujo Castro [1653rd meeting], that the Charter was based on the idea of peace rather than that of justice, and that in justice and not in power lies the surest way to peace and harmony among nations.

122. With the non-aligned nations, Indonesia believes that world security does not depend on the powerful nations alone. Nor do we believe that the rigid formation of blocs will strengthen international security. We believe that non-alignment opens broader possibilities for relations with

both sides, and thus broaden the possibilities of settlement at the negotiating table of international problems, of co-ordinating measures, of reducing the dangers of war and of making mutually advantageous economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties, in the interest of the strengthening of international security based on justice.

123. These are the general observations of my delegation on the question of the strengthening of international security, on which we will base our position in considering the specific proposals contained in the draft appeal [A/C.1/L.468] and other drafts which may be presented on this item.

124. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind compliments.

125. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): Mr. Vice-Chairman, my delegation wishes to congratulate you on your substantive Vice-Chairmanship and your Chairmanship this afternoon. We also wish to congratulate Mr. Shahi of Pakistan as Chairman and Mr. Barnett of Jamaica as Rapporteur of this Committee.

126. The proposed appeal to all States of the world on the strengthening of international security, submitted by the Soviet Union, is one which should be welcomed by all—because we are all basically peace-loving peoples—for its constructive spirit, declaring as it does that the strengthening of international security requires a fresh collective effort, fresh initiatives and fresh action by all States. There is little doubt that the contributions which have been made to the debate by representatives have shown a wide variety of interpretation, and fundamental amendments, which some States would like to see made in its wording; but we note that the Soviet Union was conscious of this in submitting it as a draft which had to be examined and considered. It is in this constructive spirit that we welcome it and would like to consider it.

127. Sierra Leone took part in both devastating First and Second World Wars, in both of which we lost some of our most gifted sons on land, sea and air. Sierra Leone also contributed forces to the peace-keeping operations in the Congo. Our involvement, therefore, in peace and international security is not a theoretical but a realistic one, which intimately concerns us.

128. The common desire of the two super-Powers for peace, as expressed by President Nixon [1755th plenary meeting] and Mr. Gromyko [1756th plenary meeting] during the general debate should be seized as important contributions towards the relaxing of that state of constant world tension in which we find ourselves. My delegation would urge them to translate their words into more positive action in the areas of nuclear disarmament and in limiting the supply of arms to smaller countries which may themselves be locked in dispute.

129. We must remove the causes of tension so that wars will not break out, so that the peoples of Africa will not be driven to violence and revolution, so that the developing world will not continue to remain frustrated and be forced to react, so that a big Power, for whatever reason, will not over-run a weaker country, so that one-third of the world's

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Twenty-First Session, First Committee, 1442nd meeting.

population will not feel isolated. This is one aspect. The other move which the United Nations can make is to work out effective methods for combating these problems when they do arise. For example, the Organization should be able to make more use of its Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. It could, if the common will exists, plan ahead to stop war as soon as they break out. The slow progress of the Committee is due in part to the unwillingness of many nations, especially the powerful ones, to act. We would hope that greater progress will now be made since there is a new awareness of these problems.

130. The exclusion of some States, especially those devastated by war, is another source of tension. As my Foreign Minister pointed out in the Assembly general debate [1777th plenary meeting], it surely is not beyond the means or the competence of the United Nations to effect a change agreeable to all. We believe that the problem ought to be tackled, for all of these areas are high on the conflagration list.

131. The draft appeal of the Soviet Union calls for fresh initiatives. We feel that these initiatives should be new efforts for using more effectively some of the organs which already exist and which have often been side-tracked or used as a matter of convenience to support the individual foreign policies of particular nations. There should always be some surrender of sovereignty, some compromise in action, and a total dedication to the belief in human equality, before lasting peace and security can be achieved by nations, both great and small.

132. My delegation feels that a *détente* and working understanding between the great nuclear Powers must continue to form the major contribution to world peace. The activities of the Special Committee on Friendly Relations<sup>8</sup> continue to work definitely towards this end. We also need to point out that smaller countries like ours have a duty to work actively towards the preservation of peace with our neighbours, and sometimes within our own country. Great conflagrations are sometimes started by an unextinguished matchstick carelessly thrown as much as by powerful explosives. It is well known that major conflicts which have arisen in this century were quite often started in small countries which, by their alliances with great Powers, drew the latter into international conflicts. It has been truly stated that alliances should not necessarily be for aid towards the initiation or continuation of conflicts, but also for assisting the smaller countries to disentangle and disengage themselves from their immediate conflicts.

133. The role of the Security Council could certainly be made more effective if it met periodically to review the maintenance of peace and security, rather than meeting only when violence and distress have begun. We should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the success which the Council has achieved under very difficult circumstances and the attention which it has devoted to peace-keeping operations. The expansion of the membership of this body and the Economic and Social Council is an example of a realistic response by the United Nations to changed circumstances. We should be able at ten-yearly

intervals or so to review the operations, if not the structure, of our Organization.

134. The concept of spheres of influence has left its scars on the world. States have been forced into subjugation when one or another of the super Powers believed that States within their so-called protective zones were moving away from the fold. This has happened in Europe, in Latin America and in Asia. Minor reverberations of this same policy have been felt in Africa. It was, we are told, perhaps a useful policy during the era when there was confrontation between the two major blocs. Now, however, when they co-operate to such an extent there can be no justification—as there has never been any—for over-running a country or forcing any type of government on an unwilling people.

135. Regional security organizations are certain to be used increasingly in future years, but their effectiveness should be directed towards increasing the effectiveness of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We have noted with interest the activities mentioned by the representative of Finland [1654th meeting] in trying to convene a conference on European security, and we wish him success in this venture. A parallel achievement has been gained through the efforts of Member States in Latin America in producing a denuclearization treaty in 1967.<sup>9</sup>

136. Regional organizations, such as the Organization of American States, have worked towards the settlement of disputes and conflicts within the region, and the Warsaw Pact countries have gained peaceful achievements in some areas of conflict in Eastern Europe. The achievements of the Organization of African Unity must also be remembered. It has attained success in negotiations which it has undertaken and is still actively undertaking in various parts of Africa.

137. The position in southern Africa is one which presents a grave threat to international peace and security and is tending to polarize the African countries politically against a few of the great industrial powers in Europe, America and Asia. The recalcitrance of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia has been strengthened directly, but more often indirectly, by the members of other regional groups whose domestic policy and assertions of democracy and human rights have been in grave contrast to the activities of some branches of their economy or even of their Governments themselves.

138. The achievements of decolonization have strengthened international security in many parts of the world—in some cases peaceful, in others after bloody conflicts; but there still remains a hard core of maintenance of colonial and neo-colonial systems which present a constant threat to peace.

139. We stated at the beginning that the role of the super-Powers and great Powers was important in the maintenance of peace, and that it has been recognized as being perfectly possible for them to coexist with their differing social policies. We subscribe as smaller countries to the statements and policy of non-alignment, which the

<sup>8</sup> Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 91, document A/C.1/946.

representative of Yugoslavia outlined [1655th meeting] and to which we fully adhered in the Belgrade Conference<sup>10</sup> in July and at the meetings of Foreign Ministers held recently in New York. We should like to draw attention at this point to the recent statement of the Prime Minister of Ghana that non-alignment does not indicate non-involvement. This is a belief held by many of us; we regard non-alignment as a positive rather than as a negative or neutral philosophy.

140. We cannot end without pointing out that it is useless to try to strengthen international security without improving the material conditions and the spiritual happiness and contentment of the many millions of citizens in developing countries, and also the often forgotten but significant proportion present in developed territories themselves.

141. We have noted that during the call for peace and security by President Nixon of the United States in his address to the United Nations, he stressed that:

“It is no longer enough to restrain war. Peace must also embrace progress, both in satisfying man’s material needs, and in fulfilling his spiritual needs”. [1755th plenary meeting, para. 46.]

142. The Secretary-General emphasized in his statement to the latest session of the Economic and Social Council that many of the most dangerous situations throughout the world were largely rooted in unresolved social and economic ills. Our delegation noted that he pointed out that a slight reduction in money spent on arms would be sufficient to provide the external sources required for the solution of some of the most serious economic and social problems of today’s world. We should remember this in planning for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

143. The success of this forthcoming Decade depends to an equal extent on the willingness of the industrialized Powers to make conditions possible for the development of the less developed as well as on the effort of the latter, including ourselves, to put forward realistic development proposals with the full intent of carrying them out.

144. These basic principles of peace and measures for strengthening international security are many-sided and complex, but the fact that we are aware of them and that their success can be achieved through the Security Council, the General Assembly and the specialized agencies of the United Nations, fills us all with tremendous hope for the future which should transcend details of semantics and differing political philosophies.

145. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for his kind compliments to me and to my colleagues on the Bureau.

146. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): My delegation has asked me to make a few brief explanations during this debate on the

strengthening of international security in connexion with the statements made by some delegations. We intend to make a more detailed statement at a later stage of the discussion, but it seems to us useful at this point to clarify certain questions in order to facilitate mutual understanding which is, of course, essential if the constructive and workmanlike discussion of the strengthening of international security now taking place in the First Committee is to yield definite and positive results.

147. My remarks relate first of all to the comment made by a number of delegations that the disarmament problem must be solved if international security is to be strengthened. Such comments and wishes are fully consonant with the position of the Soviet Union, which has always been a convinced, firm and consistent partisan and champion of a cessation of the arms race, which, as emphasized in our draft Appeal to All States of the World, diverts enormous quantities of funds and material resources from creative purposes and represents a threat of a military conflict with the direst consequences for mankind.

148. As everyone knows and as a number of delegations have mentioned, the Soviet Union initiated the negotiations on general and complete disarmament. Several years ago it submitted a draft international treaty on the subject to the Committee on Disarmament. The USSR Government is doing everything within its power to translate this great and noble idea into reality.

149. On 7 November of this year my country will celebrate its national and revolutionary holiday—the fifty-second anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In accordance with a long-established tradition, the Central Committee of the Communist Party on every such anniversary addresses appeals to the peoples of the USSR and to the States and peoples of the world. These appeals represent the political credo of our Party, our people and our State on domestic and international questions. Among the many appeals issued for the fifty-second anniversary of the Great October Revolution is the following:

“Peoples of the world! Demand the prohibition of all types of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons! Fight for general and complete disarmament and for the strengthening of international security!”

150. This appeal expresses clearly and concisely the convictions and policy of the Soviet Union with regard to disarmament. No one has any grounds for thinking or saying that the Soviet Union ignores this problem. We are also in favour of partial disarmament measures and of stopping the arms race. Our proposals are generally known. Consequently, the USSR can only view with favour suggestions of delegations that the document to be adopted by the First Committee on the strengthening of international security should also include a provision regarding the need for an early solution of disarmament problems.

151. We also understand the serious concern of many delegations here present with the need to remedy the economic backwardness of the developing countries. A number of States must overcome a gap in their develop-

<sup>10</sup> Consultative meeting of the representatives of the Governments of Non-aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 8 to 12 July 1969.

ment, a direct consequence, as we all know, of centuries of oppression by the foreign intruders who colonized Africa, Asia and Latin America. We should be prepared to consider definite proposals for introducing in the document on the strengthening of international security a statement to the effect that the solution of this important problem is interconnected with the problem of economic development and improved well-being of peoples. We take the view that the strengthening of international security will help to liberate funds for the economic development of all peoples and thereby promote the economic progress of the developing countries. Some of the other considerations and suggestions advanced by delegations during the debate and the exchange of views on the USSR draft Appeal to All States of the World require analysis, study and thought. Naturally, we must try to strengthen the Appeal, and not weaken or dilute it. There is time enough at the present session for an exchange of views on the matter. The USSR delegation is ready to engage in such an exchange in a spirit of constructive endeavour and goodwill.

152. The CHAIRMAN: There are no more speakers for this afternoon's meeting. Before adjourning the meeting I should like to inform the Committee about the programme for tomorrow. Two meetings are scheduled for tomorrow, Wednesday. Unfortunately, some delegations that had initially been inscribed for Wednesday have informed the Committee Secretary that they will not be able to speak until Thursday or Friday. The result is that for Wednesday there are only four speakers for the morning and six for the afternoon. It would greatly assist the work of this Committee if some delegations would volunteer to advance the date scheduled for their speeches to Wednesday.

153. I would particularly appeal to delegations for at least four more speakers for tomorrow. I suggest that delegations which find themselves in a position to heed this appeal should contact the Committee Secretary before the beginning of our meeting tomorrow.

*The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.*