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Chairman: Mr. Andrés AGUILAR M. (Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 32

Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) (A/7922 and Add.1-5, A/7926, A/C.1/1003, A/C.1/L.513-516)

1. Mr. HSUEH (China) (*translated from Chinese*): Before I speak on the item under consideration, I should like, first of all, Mr. Chairman, to convey to you the warm congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the high post of this important committee. We are confident that, under your inspiring leadership and with the guidance of your wisdom, rich experience and diplomatic skills, this Committee will have a fruitful and successful session.

2. The intensive study of the question of the strengthening of international security, initiated by the consideration of the present item in this Committee last year, has been useful and meaningful. No matter what resolution the General Assembly may decide to adopt on this subject, the international community has already benefited from the valuable views and proposals that have been put forward by Members of the United Nations during the discussion in this Committee and in their replies to the Secretary-General reproduced in documents A/7922 and Add.1-5. At least this study has clarified the central issues of the question and pointed to the direction in which our Organization should continue to proceed in its quest for international security.

3. The views of my Government on this question have been presented in my statement made before this Committee last year [1660th meeting] and in a letter of my Government dated 29 April 1970 in reply to the Secretary-General's letter [see A/7922]. I shall not repeat them now, but shall confine my few brief remarks to the general ideas expressed on this question and to the draft resolutions now before this Committee.

4. From the discussion that has so far taken place, a few conclusions can readily be drawn on which there appears to be a consensus among the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations and with which, I am

happy to say, my delegation finds itself in agreement. I shall briefly recapitulate these conclusions.

5. First, if international security remains inadequate 25 years after the establishment of the United Nations, it is not the Charter that is at fault. In this intensive study of the question, no one has expressed doubt as to the continued validity of the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. On the contrary, this study has confirmed the view put forward by many delegations, including my own, that the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter represent the highest and noblest ideals ever conceived by man. In the ever-changing international situation, they remain as the polestar, and as immutable norms of conduct.

6. Secondly, while there are always measures that may be devised and put into practice for the strengthening of international security, the present study indicates that security depends basically upon the strict observance of the Charter. It is only when all Members are determined to fulfil all the obligations they have solemnly assumed under the Charter that there can be genuine international security.

7. Thirdly, the present study further shows that there is nothing lacking in the machinery provided by the Charter for the strengthening of international security. It has been pointed out by many delegations that what is lacking is the political will to make full use of such machinery to achieve political settlement of international disputes and to relax international tension. In fact, many of the measures proposed under the present item are taken directly from the provisions of the Charter that have fallen into disuse. They are timely reminders that greater efforts should be directed towards implementing the provisions of the Charter rather than towards searching for measures outside of or extraneous to the Charter.

8. These conclusions, drawn from the views expressed by Members of the United Nations, confirm the belief of my delegation that the Charter is the key to the strengthening of international security. It must be recognized that the attainment of the goals set by the Charter requires the constant and sustained efforts of all Members of the Organization. International security will be strengthened if the work of all Members within the structure of this Organization is constantly directed towards these goals. The consideration of the present item is useful, not because it will of itself produce any magic formula for the strengthening of international security, but because by focusing attention on the urgent need for greater international security our efforts will hopefully be directed along the right track.

9. My delegation is grateful to the sponsors of the draft resolutions now before this Committee for having made them available at this early stage. They have both received our careful attention.

10. I am constrained to say, however, that my delegation has serious reservations concerning the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.513, since it contains a number of elements that are not exactly based on the principles of the Charter. For example, the Charter calls upon all Members, as a principle, to refrain from the threat or use of force against "the territorial integrity or political independence of any State". Instead of referring to this principle, the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.513 have chosen to speak, in paragraph 3, of "the principles of the inadmissibility of military occupation" etc. I am sure that we are all opposed to foreign military occupation against the will of the people. We only regret that the United Nations failed to take effective action under the Charter on a number of occasions, one of which occurred not too long ago, when a Member of the United Nations was subjected to such military occupation. Perhaps it is the intention of the sponsors of the draft resolution to say that this kind of military occupation is inadmissible under the Charter, but the formulation, "the inadmissibility of military occupation", is, to say the least, liable to misinterpretation, and is certainly nowhere to be found in the Charter as a principle.

11. The same draft resolution calls in paragraph 11 for the "full implementation of the principle of the universality of the United Nations" as if it were a principle of the Charter. But again, nowhere does the Charter speak of the principle of universality. On the contrary, in Article 4 the Charter specifies conditions under which States may or may not be admitted to the United Nations. Articles 5 and 6 even provide for the suspension of membership and for the expulsion of Members under certain circumstances. All these provisions testify to the principle of selectivity rather than universality of membership in the United Nations. Furthermore, the Charter does not envisage universal membership for the maintenance of peace and security. As a principle of the Charter, Article 2, paragraph 6, calls upon the Organization to ensure that States which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

12. It is understood that in the minds of some people the principle of universality has come to mean the admission of the Mao Tse-tung régime on the mainland of China to the United Nations. To them the two terms have become conveniently interchangeable. It is unfortunate for the United Nations, however, that a theory that is not adopted in the Charter should have been invoked as a principle of the Charter to cloak the support based on political or ideological considerations for a régime that has been condemned as an aggressor under the Charter. I do not mean that this is the purpose of the sponsors of the draft resolution in including the so-called principle of universality in their draft resolution, for their interest may lie elsewhere. But there is no doubt that paragraph 11 of the draft resolution contains elements not based on the principles of the Charter.

13. With regard to the other draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.514, I shall be very brief. My delegation

is in agreement with its main theme, which is an urgent appeal for the strict observance of all parts of the Charter. While it seems to us that a more compact formulation may result in a more forceful appeal, we appreciate the efforts of the sponsors in making the draft resolution comprehensive and well balanced so as to take into account all the useful views and proposals on this subject. In our view, the adoption of this resolution will help achieve the purpose for which we have been called upon to discuss the present item and will mark a forward step towards the goal of international security.

14. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of China for his contribution to the debate and the very kind words he was good enough to address to me at the beginning of his statement.

15. Mr. PINERA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): During this year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it is only right that the debate on international security should acquire a special significance. The ideals of peace and security are linked in the preamble of the Charter with those of economic and social development. They inspire the great effort which led to this great form of organization of the international community, which is the United Nations.

16. The Preamble of the Charter is correct in linking security with peace, and the latter with development. And so was the Organization when it linked these concepts in its motto of "Peace, Justice and Progress". I recall that last year some delegations felt that the concept of "Justice" was a mere slogan. As far as we are concerned, the inclusion of the concept of "Justice", with the words "Peace and Progress", was a very clear and very valid definition. Development is another name for peace, as was said by one man whose wisdom went beyond the conflicts of men. And another great statesman, the eminent politician and ex-President of the General Assembly, Mr. Fanfani, a few months ago, in San Francisco, developed his own theory of, if I may say, "globality" of this question, when we were celebrating the anniversary of the Charter. Disarmament, human environment, security and development are merely part of a single problem. They are the components, they are the elements, of contemporary international policy, that policy that should never have ceased to be at the service of man.

17. We seek a strengthening of international security, and if we do so, it is because we do, in fact, live in a world of insecurity. It is the world of atomic energy that Einstein feared; it is the world of local wars that are cherished or tolerated by power politics, a world in which human rights are so frequently violated. It is the world of the great masses who, because of modern technology, are aware of what they lack, but whom technology cannot save from hunger and want; a world that has been made insecure because the great words were not accompanied by great facts and acts, and because States have violated one by one those same principles they solemnly proclaimed, with voices that have echoed so often within these walls.

18. As peace depends on the existence of justice, on which it is based, so international security is conditioned by the compliance with a number of principles of international

coexistence that flow from natural laws. Those principles are in the Charter and their formulation was the final result of a consensus in the Committee concerned—of which Chile is honoured to form part—in an achievement which may perhaps be the most significant of this twenty-fifth anniversary year. The sovereign equality of all States, fulfilment in good faith of contracted commitments, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, the total renunciation of the threat or the use of force, the self-determination of peoples and the non-intervention of one State in the affairs of another—these are the principles, this is the code of conduct we have approved; this is the new decalogue that the international community has set for itself.

19. However, reality has little to do with these principles. It is said that we have achieved peace because there is no war between the super-Powers, a concept that seems to have replaced that of European wars, which in the past were referred to as world wars. But there are terrible and destructive wars in different parts of the world. Indo-China and the Middle East are the arenas of intense conflicts fraught with destruction and misery. As one of the participants in the debate pointed out the other day, if we look back a little, we will see that, since the last of the so-called “world wars”, the world has been beset by more than 50 local wars.

20. Almost always, these wars are the result of moves on the great chess-board of power. In one or the other focus of power, arms are stockpiled, arms that might wipe out the human species; and, on war, 20 times, if not more, of the total amount, invested in economic development is squandered. The old concept of the balance of power has replaced that of true peace, and, based as it is more on terror than on justice, it bears the dubious visage of a mere truce.

21. But in that truce, in that balance of terror, interventions, either hidden or overt, of an economic or military nature have been rife. Threats and the use of force have assumed the new forms that they had to assume in a unified world, linked by universal communications and the atomic bomb.

22. International life is plagued by euphemisms. We no longer speak of disarmament, we speak of arms control. Peace is described as a *détente*, and war is no such thing if it is not atomic and does not involve the great Powers. Yet reality is quite different.

23. In the field of human rights, where this Organization has obtained such significant results as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we have, with distress, to note that they are violated all over the world, and each time we go further and further from that humanism which is the underlying basis of the philosophy of our Organization.

24. In the matter of decolonization, the many successes achieved by the United Nations cannot make us forget its painful and almost established and lasting failures, which, together with that ghastly challenge to human dignity and the basic equality of human beings, *apartheid*, contradicts and bitterly gainsays what we have so often proclaimed.

25. This divorce between principles and reality, between the ideals proclaimed and the actions performed, is the

cause of the so-called “distancing” of the youth of the world; be they from socialist or capitalist countries, from developed or under-developed countries, be they white, yellow or black, those youths rebel against this intolerable hypocrisy. Some day, perhaps, the peoples of the world will also rebel against the anodyne words that are spoken to them and the bitter reality which is imposed upon them.

26. Strict observance of the principles by all, and particularly by those who possess the greatest power and, therefore, the greatest responsibility, is the only formula that can give true security to the majority of the peoples. That immense majority composed of the medium-sized and small nations of this vast world of ours wishes to find itself not only free from war, but from the threat of war, not only from the threat of armed intervention but from the thousands of pressures of a different nature which constitute indirect intervention. That is the international security that these peoples asked for in the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States a few years ago, when they required from the nuclear Powers the safeguards of security that, failing the destruction of all atomic weapons, must in essence be expressed only in the form of a legally binding commitment that those nuclear weapons would not be used against those countries by the Powers which possessed them. But that did not come about: something else was substituted for it.

27. We have been told that man has always fought for security, and he has never entirely achieved it. We heard Mr. Vinci, the representative of Italy, mention in this regard [1726th meeting] the treaty between the Egyptians and the Hittites, a facsimile of which hangs today in the corridor near the Security Council. The history of the struggles and rivalries among men surely is as old as the so-called original sin, but even more ancient is man's search for freedom, happiness and coexistence. Scepticism is the tired gesture of the defeated, and a proof of spiritual dotage. We must once again try to overcome the ancient and bitter experiences of the past. We must fight to make impossible, or at least difficult, a recurrence of what we have suffered in the past.

28. A good beginning would be an adequate definition of the principles of international law to which all States should subject their conduct. It would then make it easier to define the transgressor and to know his crime. A second and fundamental chapter would be to work to ensure scrupulous compliance with those principles. To do so, as long as some type of world power cannot be established, we must increase the weight of moral sanctions, which are the only type available to the great majority of peoples that do not in practice participate in the machinery of world power.

29. In the very earth-bound field of disarmament, on the one hand, we will have to obtain more concrete results than the almost complete standstill that has this year been shown to us by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and by the conversations between the so-called super-Powers in Helsinki and Vienna. On the other hand, safeguards and guarantees of security will have to be obtained that are more concrete and real than those that were offered to us indirectly at the time of the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

[*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], which confirmed the disarmament of the disarmed.

30. A thinker once said that peace does not happen, it is created—it is a constant creation. It cannot only be understood as the enjoyment of a benevolent order granted from outside, it is a duty, and perhaps the supreme duty. Two decades ago, a great historian, Arnold Toynbee, told us that perhaps the greatest crossroads of history was the transition in a nuclear era between a world divided into two spheres of power and a world authority which the mere presence of atomic energy and modern technology made imperative. Perhaps that is a great conflict to which some solution might be found in the near future. We have arrived at the crossroads, and we are obliged, each one to the measure of his own possibilities and specific responsibilities, to build peace and international security.

31. It has been quite correctly stated that peace is development. Can there be peace and security without development? Is it possible to concede that peace can exist in a world in which two thirds of its inhabitants, nearly 2,000 million human beings, are living in conditions of under-development, while more than 1,000 million suffer from hunger? These figures have been quoted so often that they have lost their shocking reality, but for those of us who live in under-developed countries these figures are a fact and they have not been fundamentally changed. I know that it is not polite in these days to speak of this matter, but reality stands above politeness.

32. The peace of the world is based on the peace of nations; and the peace of nations is based on the peace of the individuals composing them. Can there be peace and harmony and a smooth development of the personality and spirit in a man obsessed with the need to eat or to clothe himself? Can a world of men concerned with the degree of cholesterol in their blood feel secure when confronted by the masses of people who do not have any bread? These are facts that can be supported by figures and statistics.

33. There are some facts that shock and arouse one's conscience. We are told that there are barriers to the transfer of 1 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries to the developing countries to ensure their development, and we think "How much after all is that 1 per cent?". We are told that it is not possible—that the \$10,000 million or some such amount spent on development cannot be substantially increased, although in international meetings it has been agreed to, and even though it is recommended by a number of international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which is composed of almost all the market economy countries. It was even recommended by the Pearson Commission,¹ which worked for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: and that is far from being a revolutionary institution.

34. Yet \$200,000 million are spent on armaments, and again, this is an oft-repeated figure, and one which tends to grow; and admittedly an important part of it is spent by the smaller nations. A few days ago, at the meeting of the Nobel Prize-Winners, held in this building, we heard a

dramatic appeal to put an end to that iniquity. Yet the United Nations Development Decade—the Second, because the First was a failure and is over—seems, in another Committee of this Assembly, to be developing very slowly, and in fact seems almost at a standstill.

35. The Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, instead of planning a strategy for the development and disarmament decade, offers us only a treaty for the partial disarmament of the officially disarmed sea-bed, which had already been discussed last year. Yet, last year, a lengthy discussion took place in this Assembly over what was to be called the Disarmament Decade, and today not even an outline exists!

36. There can be no security and no peace without development. I would go even further and say that there cannot and should not be any discussion of peace and security without development. This twenty-fifth session of the Assembly should not, I believe, issue a declaration on international security if it is unable, in a nearby conference room, to come to an agreement on the Second United Nations Development Decade.

37. There is a necessary link between security, disarmament and development; between the Second Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade; and between this declaration we seek, which should contain this whole complex of elements, and the difficult negotiations in the Second Committee.

38. Many of the replies to the Secretary-General [*A/7922 and Add.1-5*], among which I recall those of the majority of the Latin American countries and of India, Pakistan, Yugoslavia, etc. (and the representative of Yugoslavia very precisely and clearly put his views to us yesterday), have stressed the necessary relationship between security and development, which obviously must be included in any draft declaration.

39. That link, furthermore, is written in the most fruitful part of the history of the United Nations. Peace and security are linked, in the Preamble of the Charter, to development; the drafters of the Charter imagined the Economic and Social Council to be no less a main body of the United Nations than the Security Council; perhaps the most significant work of the Organization has been in its efforts to find forms of co-operation and technical and economic assistance. The United Nations has created an awareness, a mentality, of international co-operation; it has universalized economic studies; it has contributed to opening up possibilities for true solidarity among nations.

40. I know this is not the time to look at our past and to sum up our history, but we believe that this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations cannot overlook the concept of the global world with which humanism imbued, or should have imbued, the work of the United Nations.

41. This is not criticism; these are comments I have to make in the light of the very important efforts to create a more favourable environment for mankind. There can be no development of the environment as we understand it in the United Nations until the pre-conditions of development and security are fulfilled. What meaning can the fight against

¹ Commission on International Development.

pollution have in an insecure and undeveloped world? Very little.

42. International security is not a new subject for this Organization. As many have already said, it was one of the fundamental motivations underlying the creation of the United Nations, and it is one of the pillars on which the Charter rests. Therefore, the fact that we might prepare a declaration cannot exhaust a subject that must always be present in all our debates. Moreover it should always, perhaps automatically, be included in the debates of this political Committee, where it belongs by its very nature.

43. We are all ready to make an effort to obtain a declaration, together with another one to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations; but the dates of 13 October and 24 October are not doomsday dates; the problem of security must be a perennial subject for discussion in this Committee and in the General Assembly.

44. The United Nations, as Ambassador Araújo Castro of Brazil argued so eloquently the other day [*1725th meeting*], is basically a political and diplomatic instrument, and not one for charity. Those who submitted this item for inclusion had an excellent idea when they made it possible for us here, year after year, to undertake the political debate which is part and parcel of our Organization.

45. Sometimes we tend to stress in the Charter the powers of the Security Council, a body intended to reflect the realities of power, or at least the historical realities of power and not those powers which the Charter confers upon the General Assembly, which is a body of peers, a body where the world of international public opinion is reflected, I would say, more purely and with greater truth. I need not cite the precepts of the Charter, nor need I dwell on what is stated, among others, in Articles 11, 12 and 14, which vest wide powers in the Assembly in matters of international security, without prejudice to those of the Security Council.

46. We therefore insist that this item should remain on the agenda of this Assembly, and that it should be included in the agendas of forthcoming sessions, because, unlike other items that are repeated year after year for no known reason, this matter does deserve to be a permanent part of the work of the Organization.

47. My delegation has endeavoured to outline the main aspects of the subject as we see it, from a standpoint we believe to be comprehensive and global. We all aspire to peace and security—not peace and security for dead things but for living beings, so as to channel and orient the laws of life, not to contain and fossilize them.

48. We hope for a declaration that will be complete, and I stress this, comprehensive; one worthy of the twenty-fifth anniversary into the framework of which it must fit. To that end, together with other Latin American delegations, we shall strive to make our contribution to the common effort that is being made in this Committee.

49. I should like to conclude this brief statement on a note of faith. The Chilean delegation believes in the value

of declarations and principles; we believe in the moral force of international public opinion, because that moral force does exist and it has been expressed, we believe that, despite the well-known weaknesses of human nature, we can still create great things on the basis of faith and hope. We trust that international conduct will come closer to the oft-proclaimed principles and ideals of international social justice, the one and only genuine basis for peace and security.

50. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): Mr. Chairman, may I begin, on behalf of my delegation, by extending my warmest congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the Chair of the First Committee. I am fully confident that this Committee will be able to achieve a great deal under your wise and experienced guidance, assisted by the other distinguished officers, Ambassador Farah, Vice-Chairman, and Ambassador Cerník, Rapporteur, to both of whom I also wish to extend my sincere congratulations. My delegation is fully prepared to co-operate with the officers of the Committee as well as with all the other delegations in the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to us.

51. Everyone knows that there is no single effective means for the strengthening of international security. Everyone knows also that the formulation of elaborate rules and regulations for the conduct of international affairs or the drafting of solemn declarations containing beautiful words will be merely a futile exercise unless every nation of the world assumes an attitude of genuinely seeking peace and of putting into action what is written on paper.

52. It is therefore the will and the determination of each nation to build the peace on which depends the realization of the strengthening of international security. This will and determination of nations to build peace could not be better shown, could not be better reaffirmed in a concerted way, than on this commemorative occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

53. The fundamental norm of behaviour for all peace-seeking nations is, as we all know, and as my delegation has repeatedly stated in various forums, the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. For example, Mr. Aichi, our Foreign Minister, in his statement in the General Assembly at this session, on 18 September, said:

“I should like to affirm that, notwithstanding the passage of 25 years, the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are still worthy of our full support as a norm of conduct for the Member States of this Organization. The Government of Japan wishes to reaffirm the importance of the purposes and principles of the Charter. Above all, we wish to stress once again that the basic obligations of non-use of force and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations, as provided for in Article 2 of the Charter, together with the closely related principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes, as set forth in the same article, constitute the most important elements for the maintenance of international peace and security. These are, indeed, the essential minimum obligations of all Member States” [*1842nd plenary meeting, para. 61*].

54. Thus the point of departure of our discussions on the subject before us should be, in the view of my delegation, the reaffirmation of our dedication to the fundamental principles set out in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, or, more specifically, the will and the determination of all Members of the Organization to abide by them fully.

55. This idea is quite clearly and rightly embodied in operative paragraphs 1, 3 and 4 of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.514, of which Japan is a sponsor together with Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy and the Netherlands, and which was so eloquently introduced at the 1726th meeting by Ambassador Vinci of Italy.

56. We have also before us the draft declaration presented by the Soviet Union and seven other countries, contained in document A/C.1/L.513, the first three operative paragraphs of which deal also with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

57. However, we believe in this connexion that the wording of our draft resolution would bear a very favourable comparison with that of the text in document A/C.1/L.513. Our drafting could be said, in fact, to be a more precise, comprehensive, impartial statement of the matter, and, as such, it may be recommended for wide support.

58. The purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter having been thus reaffirmed, my delegation, without indulging in a lengthy methodological analysis of the question based on our ideas, wishes simply to try to set out a list of comparisons of the two aforementioned texts with regard to some of the basic points which are essential, in the view of my delegation, for the strengthening of international security. Needless to say, those essential points for enhancing international security correspond to what the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. Kiichi Aichi, expounded in his statement at the twenty-fourth session [1756th plenary meeting], on 19 September 1969, during the general debate in the Assembly.

59. The first point on which I should like to touch deals with the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

60. The peace-keeping operations of the United Nations came into being as the crystallization of the wisdom of Member States, following the long and difficult experience which our Organization had had in the field of the peaceful settlement of disputes. We all know, therefore, that there are many arguments on substantive matters related to the setting up of procedures for these operations, which often prevent their smooth functioning.

61. What is needed is a spirit of co-operation based on a firm belief in the paramount importance of this activity of the United Nations, which will continue to be, in the view of my delegation, the only tangible and concrete peace-keeping functions that our Organization will be able to perform, at least in the near future.

62. The draft declaration proposed by the Soviet Union and other countries in its operative paragraph 10 refers, *inter alia*, to United Nations peace-keeping operations: "To

accelerate the attainment of agreement... on United Nations peace-keeping operations, on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter;" but it seems to us that it lacks concrete ideas for the future of United Nations peace-keeping operations, mentioning only "strict compliance with the Charter".

63. Our draft resolution may be said, in this connexion, to elaborate more precisely what is urgently required in this important field of United Nations peace-keeping operations. Operative paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 of our draft resolution in fact stress, quite rightly, the urgent need for more effective, dynamic and flexible procedures for peace-keeping operations.

64. The second point that my delegation wishes to stress as an important factor in the strengthening of international security is disarmament. Disarmament is one of the essential measures required to cut through the vicious circle of the expansion of armaments and the increase in tensions. Accordingly, if, while strengthening security systems under the United Nations, we succeed in gradually scaling down the armaments of countries, subject to effective verification and without affecting the balance between them, we shall be able in practical terms to alleviate tensions and lessen the danger of war.

65. In this connexion, it is to be pointed out that the relevant paragraphs of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514—operative paragraphs 7 and 8—reflect better than operative paragraph 8 of document A/C.1/L.513 the discussions which have taken place at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. It is conspicuous that in document A/C.1/L.513 no specific mention is made of collateral measures, conventional arms or the disarmament decade.

66. A third important factor to which we should give our particular attention, in our search for the ways to strengthen international security, is the promotion of economic and social development. Establishment of peace cannot be consummated unless the advancement of the welfare of all mankind is achieved. In other words, the promotion of economic and social development is the prerequisite for political stability and the foundation of the active construction of peace.

67. In this connexion, may I be permitted to quote the relevant paragraph of the draft declaration in document A/C.1/L.513, namely, operative paragraph 12, which says:

"To be guided by the consideration that the strengthening of international security contributes to the social and economic progress of all peoples and that the social and economic progress of all countries, including the developing countries, will in turn contribute to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations and co-operation among nations."

68. I should like to point out that, while the strengthening of international security would undoubtedly contribute to the social and economic progress of all countries, the emphasis should rather be placed first on concerted efforts to promote economic and social development as one of the important means of strengthening international security, as

we have set forth in operative paragraphs 17 and 18 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514.

69. Our draft resolution sets out rightly and clearly the need for joint and concerted action by developing and developed countries for the purpose of removing the causes of insecurity. To this end, in paragraph 18 it urges "intensified efforts during the Second United Nations Development Decade to create conditions of stability and well-being and to ensure a minimum standard of living consistent with human dignity through economic and social progress and development, promoted through joint and concentrated action by developing and developed countries".

70. Now I should like to refer to operative paragraphs 5 and 6 of our draft resolution, concerning the utilization of the International Court of Justice and the greater use of methods of fact-finding. My delegation considers them as a practical and useful means of substantially strengthening international security. Those points are, to our regret, missing in document A/C.1/L.513.

71. As to the need for the greater use of improved methods of fact-finding, it is again pertinent to quote the Foreign Minister of Japan. He said in his statement of 18 September 1970:

"One of the major roles expected of the United Nations in the existing international situation is, in my view, to offer to the world public, with maximum objectivity, accounts of disputes, unfortunate situations and similar events which do not cease to take place in the world. For this purpose, it is indispensable for the Organization to have its fact-finding capacity strengthened and reinforced." [1842nd plenary meeting, para. 72.]

And he went on to say further that, in order to assist the competent organs of the United Nations in carrying out their fact-finding functions, expert groups or fact-finding panels should be better utilized and their competence extended.

72. My delegation therefore strongly commends operative paragraph 6 of our draft resolution, together with operative paragraph 5 recommending the fullest utilization of the International Court of Justice, which, in our view, also constitutes one of the indispensable measures for the strengthening of international security.

73. Another important factor in the strengthening of international security is, in the view of my delegation, how to strengthen the Security Council, which has primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. My delegation, therefore, attaches great importance to operative paragraph 15 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514. It refers to the need for "the faithful application of Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter, which provides that in the election of members of the Security Council due regard be specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Member States of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization". This is, in our view, indispensable for enhancing the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council.

74. At the outset I spoke of the will and determination of each nation as the determining factor for the strengthening of international security. It is again in stressing the need for this will and determination that I wish to conclude. My delegation, for its part, is certainly prepared to join in our common efforts to achieve something tangible and concrete, something promising or some resolution worthy of becoming more than a mere *lettre morte*. Through our discussions on the subject of the strengthening of international security, we should see to it that this commemorative year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is regarded by our descendants as a year marking a solid stepping-stone to the realization of world peace.

75. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Japan for his contribution to the debate and for the very kind words he addressed to the officers of the Committee.

76. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): Mr. Chairman, it is highly appropriate that at a time when the United Nations is commemorating its twenty-fifth anniversary the Chairmanship of the Committee dealing with political and security questions should be destined to fall on the Latin American group—a regional group which took a very active part in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco and a group which after a quarter of a century has lost neither its original convictions and ideals nor its cohesiveness and vitality. Indeed, it is a group which continues to bring forth its dedication to the principles and purposes of the Charter and its innovative ideas and imaginative approaches to the problems facing the world. You, Sir, as a representative of Venezuela, exemplify the very sterling attributes to which I just referred, and, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, I tender to you its congratulations and most sincere good wishes for your success in guiding our deliberations.

77. Your Bureau has been happily strengthened by the election of two other colleagues of ours, Ambassador Farah of Somalia and Ambassador Cerník of Czechoslovakia as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively. The addition of the two experienced stalwarts will undoubtedly assure the First Committee of its internal peace and security. To both of them, I offer our warmest felicitations.

78. I should also like to take this opportunity of conveying our sympathy and condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and, through them, to the Government and the people of the United Arab Republic, for the tragic loss they have suffered in the death of their late leader. President Gamal Abdel Nasser lived a full life and left many monumental achievements behind for his own people. He carved a piece of history for himself and he will be long remembered not only by his people and the Arab nation but also by a multitude of people around the world who admire his intense patriotism and dedication to the service of his country.

79. My delegation also wishes to express its profound sorrow to the delegation of Malaysia for the untimely loss of Ambassador Ramani, former Permanent Representative of the United Nations and a member of the Malaysian delegation to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. He will be missed by all of us who had the good fortune of being associated with him in his lifetime.

80. The question under present consideration, raised by the timely initiative of the Soviet delegation at the twenty-fourth session,² already evoked a thorough debate in the course of last year's discussion, subsequently supplemented by the report of the Secretary-General, which contains replies from no less than 50 Member Governments [*A/7922 and Add.1-5*]. The debate so far in the First Committee has refined further their viewpoints and has helped to pinpoint the areas of agreement and crystallize the points at issue. My delegation has listened to the learned discourse and expositions with interest. We agree with most of the concepts on peace and security enunciated here, and we share the opinion of the Italian delegation that these concepts are not abstract ones. However, we should like to add further that the remedies to international insecurity need also not be in abstract forms and must be made relevant to the present realities and developments in the world.

81. In spite of its obvious weaknesses the United Nations remains the only instrument for international order and justice that we have and every effort must be made to strengthen its fundamental activity, that is, the maintenance of international security and peace. It is generally recognized that peace and security are interdependent and examination of the present international situation has led us to the root causes which create conflicts in many parts of the world.

82. First and foremost is the unwillingness of States to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, or to participate in the work of the region for the common benefit of all concerned. There are a number of reasons which contribute to this unwillingness. Basically it is the failure of Member States to live up to the principles and purposes of the United Nations and to fulfil the obligations under the Charter that they voluntarily accepted when they joined the Organization. They have failed and in many cases refused to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. Interference in the internal affairs of other States, threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State are often resorted to, and regrettably, States which are not Members of the United Nations are directly or indirectly encouraged to act in contravention of these principles.

83. The war in Viet-Nam has lasted for many years and is a direct result of the intransigent policy of North Viet-Nam to take over South Viet-Nam by force and against the will of the South Viet-Nameese people. For the past several years the North Viet-Nameese, with the direct support from the People's Republic of China and other States have also committed aggressive acts against the political independence and territorial integrity of Laos and Cambodia, which are States Members of the United Nations. Tens of thousands of North Viet-Nameese regulars and irregulars have encroached upon and illegally occupied the territory of Laos and Cambodia and continue to organize, instigate and participate in terrorist acts against the legitimate Governments of Member States of the United Nations. The

United Nations appears, however, to be indifferent to and helpless before such glaring acts of aggression, and in the United Nations, as the representative of Brazil said in this Committee at the 1725th meeting, quoting a statement by his Foreign Minister on 17 September 1970 before the General Assembly, "... there is a very discernible trend to shun debate and to forgo consideration of some questions which strike us as too difficult and too controversial".

84. So long as the United Nations chooses to be uninvolved in the question of maintaining peace and security in the troubled area of South-East Asia, no matter what high-sounding principles and lofty ideals the General Assembly will enunciate in the declaration or the resolution for the strengthening of international security, the resolution or declaration will be essentially meaningless rhetoric and the United Nations credibility gap will remain unbridged.

85. Secondly, there can be no peace without justice and there can be no progress without peace. The first essential element is therefore justice. Just as a country may try to construct a just society, so should the international community aim at a world in which peoples, irrespective of their race, sex, colour and faith, can have full enjoyment of human rights, including that of self-determination, and can share, on a more equitable basis, the benefits of economic and social development so as to create conditions of stability and well-being.

86. The third aspect of the problem pertains to the lack of real progress in the disarmament efforts and the continuing arms race, particularly in the nuclear field. In this respect, my Foreign Minister, in his statement of policy to the General Assembly on 23 September 1970 [*1846th plenary meeting*], has drawn our attention to the fact that while the world body has spent an unconscionable time in debates on the kind of weaponry that is less likely to be employed, it has not dealt enough with conventional armaments which are being used every day of the year in all parts of the world for destructive purposes.

87. My delegation also attaches great importance to the peace-keeping responsibility of the United Nations as an element relating to international peace and security. We believe that without the effective functioning of this important aspect of United Nations activities, international peace and security are in great jeopardy.

88. These are the basic points which my delegation wishes to address to the Committee. There is, however, one particular area which, in the view of our delegation, has not received adequate attention. I refer to the role of the permanent members of the Security Council in the upholding of international peace and security.

89. The special responsibility, together with its prerogatives and privileges, entrusted by the Charter to the permanent members of the Security Council is a well known fact. My Foreign Minister has already referred to it in his statement before the General Assembly when he dealt with the security problems. He said:

"The solution of inviting the Powers which, as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council,

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

are entrusted with the main responsibility of ensuring and maintaining world peace is a reasonable way out of the present procrastination and stagnation in the efforts to restore peace and tranquility in South-East Asia" [*ibid.*, para. 76].

90. The representative of Italy also touched upon it in his statement in the First Committee on 3 October 1970 [1726th meeting]. The representative of Brazil, in his statement on 28 September [1725th meeting], indicated that he fully shared the view of the Government of Canada when it stated in its reply to the Secretary-General [see A/7922] that the Charter "reflects political and economic realities by providing for the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council".

91. Several other countries such as Burma and France, a permanent member itself, in response to the request of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 2606 (XXIV), considered this matter to be of sufficient importance to be included in their replies.

92. The Government of Sweden, in a most succinct fashion, categorically stated that: "The great Powers, in their capacity as permanent members of the Security Council, have a special responsibility for the safeguarding of international security. This is a responsibility that those Powers should constantly be aware of" [see A/7922/Add.4].

93. This is what my delegation attempts to do in the amendments contained in documents A/C.1/L.515 and 516. We intend to remind the permanent members of the Security Council of their special obligation and call upon them "to exert greater efforts to discharge more effectively their primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, especially in areas where they are most critically affected". I am hopeful that a vast majority of delegations in the First Committee will agree with the concept that I have just put forward and that our amendments, the sentiments of which are shared by several other Governments, deserve a place in the resolution on the strengthening of international peace and security.

94. Another change that my delegation has proposed relates to operative paragraph 15 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 [see A/C.1/L.516]. While we welcome the inclusion of this paragraph as a means of elaborating on the concept that the authority of the Security Council is commensurate also with the authority of its members, my delegation is not fully convinced of the argument advanced by the representative of Italy when he said, in introducing the draft resolution, that:

"The stability of the international order and of world relations would greatly benefit from the unceasing association to the work of the Security Council of those countries which are in the condition, and willing, to ensure the greatest contribution to the maintenance of peace and security through collective measures." [1726th meeting, para. 34.]

95. The question is, who is to judge whether this or that country fits in with the criteria of being "in the condition and willing". A subjective test on this matter obviously is

not a satisfactory procedure and the idea of granting the right of "unceasing association" to some Member countries that are not declared by the Charter to be permanent members is unacceptable to my delegation. Are we on the road to recognizing "second echelon" permanent members of the Security Council? Surely this would be contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter, which provides in Article 2, paragraph 1, that "the Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members".

96. Furthermore, the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 seem to go against the good advice given to us by the representative of Italy that he believed "it is in the common interest of all Member States to avoid any wording which could lead to a misinterpretation of the Charter...". [*Ibid.*, para. 21.]

97. It appears to us that Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter, to which operative paragraph 15 refers, is not quoted in full. In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the Charter, my delegation, therefore, submits formally an addendum which would add the following words "and also to equitable geographical distribution" at the end of paragraph 15. In doing so I merely wish to adhere strictly and faithfully to the wording of the Charter and no other motivation should be attributed to my delegation.

98. Thailand, a country with a population of 37 million, and slightly smaller in size than France, has been a Member of the United Nations since 1946 and has never once sought election to the Security Council. We fully recognize our own limitations. Nevertheless, we have always fought for the right of small nations, even smaller ones than ourselves, to stand for election to this most important body of the Organization. Exclusion of these small Powers from the Security Council cannot be imposed from outside, and each and every one of us must retain the right to seek or not to seek election purely on a voluntary and self-imposed basis.

99. In submitting at this stage these two sets of amendments that appear in documents A/C.1/L.515 and 516 for consideration by the Committee, I wish to emphasize that we have by no means exhausted our examination of the two texts in documents A/C.1/L.513 and 514. We are still studying other aspects of the proposals and my delegation reserves its right to withhold its final judgement on the drafts until a later date. My delegation, in response to the appeal of the Chairman on Saturday and after preliminary consideration, merely wants to table the amendments now so that all delegations, including the authors of the two drafts, will be aware of the attitude of our delegation on this matter. We have no way of knowing whether A/C.1/L.513 and 514 will eventually be the working drafts of the Committee, nor are we oblivious to the possibility that some other drafts may emerge from consultations among the various delegations or groups of delegations. Be that as it may, the amendments by Thailand should not be construed as applicable exclusively to these two drafts now before the Committee. My delegation expresses the hope that the ideas behind our amendments will not be lost sight of and that the final draft, irrespective of its origin and authorship, will include the concept which is incorporated in the proposed amendments.

100. As you indicated in your statement, Mr. Chairman, at the end of yesterday afternoon's discussion, there is not

much time for the Committee to come to agreement or consensus on a draft resolution. There are only nine working days left before the draft has to be finalized. I therefore respectfully suggest to you for the consideration of the Committee that perhaps the time has now come for the establishment on an informal basis of a small working group with a view to exchanging views on the present drafts and others which may follow, and to attempt to work out a single draft which is satisfactory and acceptable to all concerned.

101. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Thailand for his contribution to the discussion and for the very kind words he addressed to us regarding the contribution of the Latin American countries to the United Nations since the foundation of the Organization and also for the very cordial congratulations he addressed to the officers of the Committee.

102. The representative of Thailand was the last speaker on my list, but before adjourning this meeting I would like to make some comments regarding our work.

103. First of all, according to the latest information available to the Secretariat, for tomorrow, Wednesday, 7 October, we have three speakers for the morning meeting and three for the afternoon meeting.

104. I do not know whether the time has come to propose to the Committee that we close the list of speakers in this general debate on the subject we are considering on Wednesday, 7 October at 6 p.m., that is tomorrow, so that we can have a precise idea at the end of tomorrow's afternoon meeting of the number of speakers and how to allocate the forthcoming meetings to this subject. If there is no objection from members of the Committee I shall consider that the Committee agrees with this suggestion, namely, that we close the list of speakers in the general debate of this item tomorrow, Wednesday, at 6 p.m., at the end of the afternoon meeting.

It was so decided.

105. I hope we will conclude the general debate on this subject on Monday, 12 October. May I remind you that the last day available to us is Tuesday, 13 October, because the commemorative session is scheduled to begin on 14 October. If there is no objection from the Committee I shall also consider that the idea of concluding our general debate on 12 October is approved by members of the Committee.

It was so decided.

106. Finally, I would like to say a word about the suggestion made by the representative of Thailand at the end of his speech with regard to the establishment of a small committee or working group. The idea that has now been publicly voiced by the representative of Thailand was in the mind of the officers of the Committee, as well as of a number of delegations before, but I would not venture to make a formal suggestion as yet. If the Committee does not object, I would prefer to be given some time to continue consultations on the best way of grappling with this problem. Perhaps when we have received all the proposals and all the draft resolutions or amendments we will be in a better position to decide upon the *modus operandi* to be adopted to try to combine the different texts and, if possible, arrive at a single document which will have the approval of the majority, if not all, of members of the Committee. Therefore, as I say, I would prefer more time to be given to us and more proposals to be submitted before we take a decision on the matter.

107. I would like to conclude these comments with a new appeal to all members of the Committee, to all delegations and groups of delegations, who intend to submit draft resolutions or amendments, to do so as soon as possible. If there are no comments on these remarks, I shall adjourn this meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.