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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.1-6, A/7926, A/C.1/1003, A/C.1/L.513-518)

1. Mr. ANTOINE (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The Haitian delegation is pleased, Mr. Chairman, that you have been chosen to preside over the First Committee. Your election as Chairman of this Committee is well justified indeed, as you are an eminent Jurist, with a wide-ranging culture and noteworthy experience both in parliamentary affairs and in international law. To assist you you have two outstanding members of our Organization. This combination of abilities is the best guarantee afforded to this Committee, which has wisely chosen a man of your superior talents to guide its important work.

2. The question of strengthening international security is one which occupies the attention of all Members of our Organization, and they have, during the general discussion at earlier meetings, set forth considerations of inestimable legal and political value. This is, certainly, a normal course which should end, we would hope, with the conclusion of an agreement, in conformity with the aims of the Charter, for the purpose of achieving universal peace and understanding among the statesmen who bear the heavy responsibility of leading the peoples that form the great human-family without distinction of race, sex or religious belief.

3. After two dreadful world wars, veritable cataclysms, which came near to drowning mankind in a sea of mire and gore and still leave an after taste of their ashes in our mouths, and in a world overwhelmed by fears for an uncertain tomorrow laden with perils, there came the San Francisco Conference of 25 June 1945. In that international forum of the allies of the Second World War, it was believed—and rightly—that the world would at last find a political and diplomatic instrument which, through methodical and peaceful means, would assist in the settlement of international disputes to be codified in the Charter that was to be called upon to govern the destinies of this Organization, the main purpose of which is the maintenance of peace through mutual understanding.

4. In a spirit of mutual understanding it must be recognized that during the 25 years of the existence of this Organization, despite all the difficulties encountered, a solution has been found to many disagreements, conflicts have been avoided and the spark which could have engulfed the world in flames was snuffed out, even though certain embers under the ashes unexpectedly, bring the flame to light in the Middle East and in South-East Asia. If these hotbeds of fire are not propagated further, it is thanks to the San Francisco Charter. Peace after all is precarious; it is maintained by accommodations with a view to reaching peaceful coexistence. Let us hope that that ideal will be sincere and will constitute a tangible international reality.

5. Thus, in the preamble to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.517 on the strengthening of international security, submitted by the Latin American group, this is stated to be a question of vital importance, which requires concerted action by all the States of our Organization, based on the resolute will to promote international co-operation so as to adopt and implement urgent measures aimed at eliminating all causes of insecurity and tension with a view to establishing true peace in accordance with the Charter. We believe that this premise covers the political interests of States Members and works towards a concrete achievement of the ideals of the Charter and their attainment.

6. It is fitting to note that in the debates regarding the strengthening of international security, the common purpose of which is to strengthen it by definitive agreements, there is a certain divergence of views, which is not such as will reassure our Organization that there is a sincere desire to find ways to harmony. We must face our responsibilities squarely so as not to fall into a network of contradictory ideas. Nor must we lose ourselves in vain in the treacherous darkness of regional conflicts, inextricable as they are.

7. It is really disappointing to find that on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations we are still groping for a valid international agreement which will guarantee to the young generation a peaceful future, for which so many tears have been shed.

8. The draft resolution of the Latin American group is prompted by a spirit of understanding and without any intention of imposing it. It envisages an acceptable agreement among the various resolutions which have been submitted to the First Committee. The Latin American group has in mind an understanding which will make it possible for the various resolutions which have been submitted for its consideration to find a solution for the problem of strengthening international security, to which no State Member of the United Nations can be indifferent. All the views expressed are admissible. What is needed is to

co-ordinate them in an acceptable resolution, for the survival of this Organization and of all mankind.

9. No agreement can be of any benefit until it wins the unanimous assent of Members of the United Nations, whatever their ideological tendencies or their political conceptions. It is for this reason that the members of the Latin American group undertook a thorough study of this important question of international security and, in a spirit of understanding and conciliation, submit to the First Committee the draft resolution submitted by the 23 members of the group.

10. It would be a great satisfaction for that group of States to see the outlines of a final settlement of the problem of peace through the strengthening of international security.

11. The United Nations Charter supports and continues to provide support to the wishes of peoples to free themselves from the constraints and prejudices which prevent them from finding the road to peace and harmony.

12. Despite the pre-eminence of the sacred principles of the Charter for universal peace we are tormented with anxiety because of the mass production of modern weapons and missiles of destruction which but await the right moment to sow death and desolation. If the two great peoples who are the leaders of the world do not manage to reach an agreement and find a just and equitable solution to their differences in mutual respect, peace will be short lived. To remove the imminent danger, there must be respect for international agreement on the right of people to decide their own destinies by virtue of the sacred principle of self-determination. Without this there will be slaughter far more murderous than we have known and a general destruction of goods.

13. Men of good will, having before them this terrifying prospect, are waiting impatiently for real international security to put an end to the anxiety of mankind. This is the major concern of the Latin American group which, submits its draft resolution to the First Committee, with feelings of warranted apprehension. The Latin American group was not prompted by any pride, but rather by a sense of distress lest, at this twenty-fifth session, we fail to find a definite road to peace through the peaceful settlement, in mutual understanding, of all the questions which divide the world.

14. Thus it is reassuring to note that the three draft resolutions—A/C.1/L.513, 514 and 517—have been attributed their due importance. That is why the Ambassador of Ceylon made an in-depth analysis of these three draft resolutions, which must be given serious consideration, because the goal sought by all Member States at this twenty-fifth anniversary session is to find a just peace through the strengthening of international security.

15. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Haiti personally for his very cordial words of congratulation which he has expressed to me as Chairman and to the other members of the Bureau.

16. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): Mr. Chairman, I should like to associate my delegation with the congratulations that have

been addressed to you by previous speakers on your unanimous election as Chairman of this Committee. In Ireland there exists a special sentiment for the States of Latin America, and this sentiment augments the pleasure that we feel in knowing that our deliberations at this silver jubilee of the United Nations will be under your competent guidance.

17. I wish at the same time to say how happy my delegation is that you should be assisted by Ambassador Farah as Vice-Chairman and Ambassador Černík as Rapporteur. They are both personalities of wide experience. The Committee is indeed fortunate to have such distinguished officers and our proceedings to date show that our affairs are in most capable hands.

18. Just a year ago [*1656th meeting*] my delegation had occasion to offer some brief comments on the item before us, as then presented by the Soviet Union.¹ We followed closely the debates on the item at the twenty-fourth session, and we welcomed the decision of the Assembly to inscribe it on the agenda of the present session and to request the Secretary-General in the meantime to seek the views and proposals of Member States. Like very many other Governments, my Government submitted, on 22 May last, a detailed memorandum on the subject [*see A/7922/Add.1*].

19. It is unnecessary to repeat here the contents of our memorandum, nor indeed would it be appropriate to do so at this late stage of the debate. Consequently, I shall confine myself to a few points.

20. Last year my delegation stated that we saw merit in the suggestion that arrangements be made for periodic meetings of the Security Council as envisaged in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter. We were thus happy to see a specific reference to this suggestion included in the preamble to resolution 2606 (XXIV).

21. It is therefore a source of gratification that the initiative of Finland on this subject was so well received and resulted in the consensus approved by the Security Council on 12 June. My delegation sincerely trusts that this consensus will soon be given practical effect. It would be entirely fitting that the first of the periodic meetings of the Council should be held during this anniversary session of the Assembly. And we would hope that the meeting would give renewed vigour to the United Nations and thus strengthen international security, an essential prerequisite of world peace.

22. A question on which our memorandum laid particular emphasis was the need to remove the causes of international tension and thus create a climate in which each State can pursue, without fear of outside domination or intervention, policies calculated to improve the lot of its people and contribute to a better world.

23. We are all very conscious today of the importance of development and of Governments being able to devote maximum attention to measures calculated to promote the prosperity of their peoples. But this objective can be very

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

seriously compromised if an unsettled and agitated international climate diverts not only the attention of Governments but the resources of States to unproductive purposes, and in particular to wasteful expenditure on armaments. Current expenditure on armaments is of proportions which have well been described as staggering in this the twenty-fifth year of the existence of an Organization designed to achieve collective security. And this situation is all the more deplorable when one contrasts the expenditures with those earmarked for other more productive purposes, such as education, health, and economic aid. In 1967, for instance, military costs throughout the world were of the order of \$180,000 million, as compared with \$8,000 million for economic aid; and in the same year military outlay per head throughout the world was significantly greater than the amount per head allocated to education and health combined.

24. It is thus of the greatest urgency that the Organization begin to make an impact on the causes of tension, fear and distrust, which are primarily responsible for those gigantic expenditures, and that real progress be made in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament as well as in other forums, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, which will arrest and quickly reverse a trend that has become a most regrettable feature of the world picture in recent years.

25. Like many other Governments that have furnished comments on resolution 2606 (XXIV), my Government lays stress on giving the fullest effect to the provisions contained in Chapter VI of the Charter concerning the pacific settlement of disputes. We think that each and every one of the methods there indicated should be vigorously employed. A year ago I had occasion to speak of the importance we attach to recourse to the good offices of the Secretary-General. Our opinion on this subject has only been strengthened by the very full statement which the Secretary-General made in London last June, in which he gave an impressive, although not exhaustive, list of instances in which he and his predecessors had exercised their good offices to good effect.

26. A further point in our memorandum which I would single out is the need to promote more vigorously respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. This is, of course, a specific obligation to which all States have committed themselves by virtue of Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

27. One is naturally reminded, in considering this item, of the discussion which has been proceeding since the early part of last year about the convocation of a conference on European security.

28. A year ago my delegation expressed general approval for this proposal. It is indeed obvious that it is of great importance both because rivalries between European States were primarily responsible for the two world wars and because in many ways, and for various reasons, Europe holds a most important place on the world stage.

29. My Government, therefore, welcomes the active exchanges which have been taking place between the principal

potential participants concerning the convocation of a conference. It is important that everything be done to ensure that the conference take place in the conditions best calculated to provide a reasonable prospect for a successful outcome. For we believe that failure would constitute a serious setback for the high purpose the conference should achieve: peace in Europe in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

30. My delegation wholeheartedly endorses the observation of the Secretary-General in his introduction to the memoranda submitted by Governments in response to resolution 2606 (XXV): "Maintenance of international peace and security is not only the primary goal of the United Nations but also the *sine qua non* for the very existence and progress of mankind." [See A/7922, para. 5.] This session has already taken a significant step towards greater respect for the primary goal of the United Nations. I refer to the unanimous approval by the Assembly on 6 October of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.²

31. It is the sincere hope of the Irish delegation that this Committee will produce an adequate and comprehensive programme for action to strengthen international security.

32. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Ireland, Ambassador Cremin, for his cordial words and congratulations to the officers of the Committee.

33. Mr. ESPINOSA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It will surely come as no surprise to anyone that, speaking for the first time in this Committee, I, who represent a neighbouring sister country of yours, Mr. Chairman, should avail myself of this opportunity publicly to express our satisfaction at the fact that by virtue of the unanimous decision of your colleagues, you are presiding over our debates. With that election a very just tribute has been paid to your great country and to your own merit. I feel sure that in the discharge of your duties you will earn even greater consideration and respect than you already enjoy in the Organization.

34. I should also like to congratulate, on behalf of my delegation, the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, the representatives of Somalia and Czechoslovakia. Their most valuable co-operation will likewise be a decisive factor for the success of our work.

35. The debate we have been having in this Committee, which is the practical and obvious continuation of the one we had in the initial meetings of the Assembly, is tantamount to a re-examination of our universal conscience not carried out in futility, but with satisfactory results and laden with promise. Twenty-five years are not even an instant in the history of mankind, but are sufficient time to judge the life of an Organization. It is almost the time given each generation to leave its imprint in the annals of nations or to disappear without a trace, perhaps unmourned, and never with any recognition from those who succeed or replace it.

² For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

36. The United Nations is already an indestructible landmark in the forward march of peoples, not only because it has avoided the catastrophe of a generalized conflagration, after which nothing could continue, but also because it has created, within the exact meaning of the word, a new style in relations among States. This coincides with a clearer idea of the law, with a more definite sense of justice, with a more objective view of problems, with a keener sense for solutions, with greater technology and science to face the challenges of the future, and with greater social sensitivity not only to condemn intolerable inequalities, but also to embark on undertakings that will reduce or even eliminate them.

37. Nevertheless, wars continue to lay waste martyred areas of the planet, even though the danger of the major war has been removed. Injustices and inequalities prevail; the law is flouted in many places; backwardness and poverty continue as remnants of old economic and social aberrations and as aggressive testimony to the fact that words have not been matched by deeds. Modern technology and science have generated different and even unknown conflicts, and conceptual and institutional evolution, because of its slowness cannot overcome old flaws, let alone those which arise from the daily transformation and progressive complexity of societies; and that new style in relations among States is diluted in the midst of frustrations and at times bears witness to the ineffectiveness of so many treaties and innumerable regulations which have all been transformed into a dead-letter because of the idleness, misunderstanding or deliberate deviations of those charged with seeing to their implementation.

38. And yet the balance-sheet cannot discourage us, because, in any case, the good works outnumber the failures, and because on the occasion of this anniversary we are witnessing a rebirth of vanished confidence, of a spirit of solidarity, and the decision—which now seems irrevocable—to make up for lost time, to make the United Nations more effective, to redress wrongs and give renewed vigour to provisions and instruments that had been forgotten or had deteriorated.

39. Of course we must not make the mistake of imagining that in order not to tarnish the image of the commemoration which is drawing near it is our obligation to go along with the optimistic tendency which is characteristic of festivities of all kinds. The representative of Italy spoke to us here at the 1726th meeting about the “crisis of authority” which the Organization is going through, and the Chairman of the Latin American group, my admired friend the representative of Brazil, referred at the 1731st meeting to its “institutional crisis”. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia has already asserted, in the course of the general debate [*1846th plenary meeting*] that the United Nations had lost some of its authority “because unfortunate precedents had been created and the United Nations Charter had become a useless instrument”.

40. That is precisely the positive result of our examination of our consciences to which I had referred. This has led to pointing out mistakes, identifying sins, and discovering the motives for stagnation and sterility, while at the same time we see that there exists among the overwhelming majority of delegations a desperate desire to guarantee coexistence

and co-operation among peoples, to give new life with lofty aims to the Organization, granting it the strength which it had been denied in the past on more than one occasion, perhaps because another policy had prevailed—the balance of power between the super-Powers—which has barely brought about a formal peace, but not real peace, which would guarantee security, progress, well-being and harmony to all.

41. Basically, we are living through the first stage in the process that was suggested by the delegation of Colombia at the last session in regard to the revision of the Charter, in the sense that we must once again focus our attention on all the principles enshrined in it and which are essential for the maintenance of friendly relations among nations and to devise adequate means to correct its deficiencies.

42. This very debate on international security is proof beyond challenge that something or even a great deal has been going wrong and that a change of course is necessary. Fortunately, as if it were some ancient writ which we have brought back to life from shelves of dusty books that were hardly ever looked at or consulted, we have rediscovered the United Nations Charter again: And on re-reading it and re-examining it, with its excellent Preamble and body of purposes and principles, we realize that had it been respected and complied with, we would have been spared much pain and anguish.

43. The arms race would never have started; aggressions would not have been committed; there would not have been recourse to force; racial discrimination would have been eliminated; it would not have occurred to any State to intervene in the internal affairs of another; human rights would have been exercised fully; the territorial integrity of States would not have been threatened or affected; and never would anyone have contemplated somewhat impassively the persistence of poverty on the face on the earth, with the consequent widening of the gap between the developed countries and those which are just starting to develop.

44. All of this has been feasible, simultaneously or successively. Never would a judge have found more proof accumulated of the flagrant violation of standards. This is not so important, however, as is the determination to restore the validity, the efficiency and the appeal of those rules which have become atrophied because they have not been adequately used nor enjoyed elementary respect. Twenty-five years later we are renewing our faith in institutions and beliefs which at that time served to bring relief to humanity in torment which had almost irreparably lost hope.

45. But our work will undoubtedly be truncated if we do not recognize the validity of the words of the Foreign Minister of my country when he maintained that “in the present world even the most ancient and well-rooted structures in history and the beliefs of peoples have had to undergo the revision counselled by the times.” Secretary-General U Thant was also very categorical in his report on the item which gave rise to these debates. He said:

“In this process, the United Nations should be considered not as something static, except for its basic

purposes and principles, but rather as an evolutionary and open-ended organization, responsive to the constantly changing requirements of international society.” [A/7922, para. 8.]

46. Ambassador Araújo Castro, in his first statement in this Committee [1725th meeting], gave us a wealth of reasons advocating the desirability of revising some parts of the Charter.

47. Hence my delegation cannot share the view of the representative of Czechoslovakia [1726th meeting] that any attempt to revise the Charter would undermine its authority, its prestige, and the foundations on which it is based. We all agree that its authority must be respected and indeed feared, and we have all committed ourselves to renewing its prestige; we stand on guard to protect its foundations. But this does not prevent us, at the same time, from seeking to remove anachronisms from it and try to make it up to date, effective and relevant to deal with problems and circumstances which are different from those which constituted reality at the time when it was adopted in San Francisco.

48. We would be mistaken were we not to recognize the spirit of innovation and change which impels some delegations who wish to modernize the Organization, to make it more operative, and even to multiply its activities. A single example would suffice to prove what I am saying, and that is the very interesting proposal of the representative of Kuwait, which deserves a thorough study. He suggested setting up a special fund intended to finance peace-keeping operations but with a very interesting variant:

“The Security Council . . . will draw from this fund to finance peace-keeping operations. Meanwhile the resources of the fund not devoted to peace-keeping operations should be utilized by the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank to accelerate economic and social development in developing countries.” [1734th meeting, para. 271.]

49. My delegation is aware that the question of the review of the Charter of the United Nations agenda item 88 has been assigned to the Sixth Committee. The ideas Colombia has on the subject will be presented there. Nevertheless, in this debate on international security it is indispensable to point out that it would be a great contribution towards its strengthening if we were to approach the revision of the Charter with an open mind and a constructive spirit. This will surely be the case because it is within the spirit of goodwill which is characteristic of the commemorative period, when there has been a renewed desire for understanding and solidarity among peoples who seek a better life.

50. Three draft resolutions have been officially tabled, namely, document A/C.1/L.513, sponsored by 12 socialist countries, A/C.1/L.514, sponsored by four Western Powers and Japan, and A/C.1/L.517, of the 23 Latin American countries. Last night a new draft resolution [A/C.1/L.518] was introduced by delegates of 30 countries; but since my statement had been prepared to be read yesterday afternoon I have had no time to include any comment on this. My delegation would like to reserve its right to comment on

it later when, with all due respect, we shall study that very interesting draft resolution.

51. The first three have been explained intelligently and wisely by their sponsors. In all there are positive elements, which are very worth while, and even transcendental points of convergence. This is not surprising, since these are countries which proclaim their devotion to the cause of peace and who find reasons to be near one another in reiterating their faith in principles which have aroused the support of people for centuries and who hopefully, 25 years ago, united to give life to a Charter and to a purpose, “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”.

52. The Ambassador of Brazil, with his usual mastery, explained at the 1731st meeting the reasons which led the representatives of the 23 Latin American countries to bring a draft resolution before you. As he said, this is a declaration of rights, it is a reaffirmation of a position which has its roots in the legal and political traditions of Latin America, and furthermore, we believe it to be an effective and constructive contribution to the strengthening of international security.

53. Far be it from me to overlook the very valuable contributions implicit in the other two draft resolutions. But I do not know whether their authors thought that because there were separate preparations for the standards and strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade it was not necessary to dwell on the matter fully and with emphasis.

54. The truth is that, particularly in the draft in document A/C.1/L.513, the reference to a problem of such magnitude is weak and languid. Operative paragraph 12 of the draft states that “the strengthening of international security contributes to the social and economic progress of all peoples” and adds that the “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”.

55. The second draft resolution [A/C.1/L.514] in operative paragraph 18 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”.

56. Doubtless this declaration cannot be satisfactory for the vast majority of mankind which lives in the developing countries. The Ambassador of Italy went much further when he introduced this draft resolution on behalf of the co-sponsors. He then affirmed that “A meaningful and successful Second United Nations Development Decade based on a global strategy is therefore, in our view, a prerequisite for the establishment of a peaceful international order.” [1726th meeting, para. 36.] But such a vigorous and plausible thought was not expressed in the draft in document A/C.1/L.514, nor was there any record of an excellent sentence spoken by Ambassador Vinci, according to whom it is necessary “to eliminate the glaring

disparities still existing, which are an intolerable affront to human dignity". [*Ibid.*, para. 40.]

57. On the other hand, the draft resolution of the Latin American group, which my delegation is honoured to co-sponsor [A/C.1/L.517], maintains that the economic development of the developing countries and, hence, the elimination of the immense inequalities between those countries and the developed countries, are essential to the strengthening of international security. In operative paragraph 8 it also calls for "urgent and concerted international action based on a global strategy aimed at reducing and eliminating once and for all the economic gap between developed and developing countries, which is a prerequisite for the establishment of international peace and the strengthening of the security of all nations." In operative paragraph 9 it affirms furthermore that "there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, the economic development of the developing countries and disarmament". Moreover, in the seventh preambular paragraph it declares its conviction that "resources freed by disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, should be channelled especially to the promotion of the economic development of the developing countries and to their scientific and technological progress".

58. There is, therefore, a Latin American philosophy in regard to development which is submitted on behalf of peoples who are barely achieving it. Surely it is no extravagance to express the hope that this will be studied by other nations.

59. In all three drafts there is a reiteration of support for the principles of the Charter. In document A/C.1/L.514, the support is "unconditional", as it is in the Latin American draft, which nevertheless goes further, calling as it does for "full utilization and strengthening of the United Nations, as the main diplomatic and political centre", and warning that only "efforts... carried out within the framework of the Charter" will have real and irreversible results, arriving at the logical conclusion that what is already recorded in the Charter must be reaffirmed in the event of a conflict between what is provided for in that instrument and in other documents, namely that "the obligations imposed by the Charter will prevail."

60. Despite the wish expressed repeatedly by various delegations to start a period in which there would be a strict and universal observance of the principles which inspired and are the *raison-d'être* of the United Nations, in document A/C.1/L.513 no reference is made to one principle which is fundamental, because unless it is fully enforced the others lose consistency and are sustained on weak foundations, to the great disadvantage and potential danger of the entire structure. I am referring to the human rights solemnly proclaimed by this Organization but which are not always respected by its Members. In document A/C.1/L.514 there is an appeal to States Members "to promote"—those are the exact words—respect for those rights. The Latin American text is doubtless far more forthright and categorical, since it states that true and lasting peace presupposes effective respect for and full exercise of human rights and, hence, that the elimination of violations of those rights is urgent and essential for the strengthening of international security.

61. To the satisfaction and pride of my delegation, the Latin American draft which we co-sponsor is likewise emphatic and constructive because of the energetic manner in which it condemns colonial subjection, a tendency and reality which unfortunately remain from a time and attitude which should have been buried for ever. Without overlooking the positive results of the United Nations in this field—perhaps its greatest success—it is nevertheless necessary to indicate that the *magnum opus* is as yet incomplete and that thereby international peace is seriously affected. It will continue to be an obvious threat to the security of nations as long as this social cancer, the domination of some States, nations or peoples by others, does not disappear from the face of the earth.

62. As will be observed, the Latin American contribution is a very positive one: to restore to the Charter its pristine vigour and to return to the Organization the authority it once had.

63. My delegation is particularly happy because, in the last two draft resolutions I have mentioned, the principle of "good faith" has been recalled, because it was due to the negotiations of the delegation of Colombia at San Francisco that it was included in Article 2, paragraph 2, of the Charter which reads:

"All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter."

64. This principle constitutes the cornerstone of any human organization. Without good faith, none can subsist; far less so when it is international. It is the minimum agreement required for an association of wills.

65. In some of the draft resolutions to which I have referred, and among which is that co-sponsored by my delegation, an appeal is made to another principle: political will. It is this which moves States.

66. Good faith to comply with the obligations entered into, and a political will so that this compliance will become reality: these two virtues, these two principles should constitute the foundations of the new era which is initiated by our examination of conscience which we are witnessing, and with the decision which we shall no doubt take, so that the Organization will in truth become what its creators dreamed it would be 25 years ago.

67. In conclusion, allow me to recall the closing words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia when he addressed the General Assembly: "The United Nations is still a fertile land of hope for a better world."

68. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Colombia, Ambassador Espinosa, for his congratulations to the officers of the Committee. Personally I am very grateful to him for his generous references to myself and my country.

69. Mr. Surendra Pal SINGH (India): My delegation is speaking for the first time on this item and I should like to begin by adding my felicitations to those already extended

to the Chairman, as well as to other officers of the Committee. It is a matter of gratification to us that an eminent personality of the Latin American continent should be presiding over our deliberations in the First Committee on the occasion of the United Nations twenty-fifth anniversary.

70. My congratulations also go to Ambassadors Farah and Cerník, from Somalia and Czechoslovakia, on their assumption of the posts of Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Chacko and his able assistants in the Secretariat.

71. My delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which was introduced last night by the representative of Zambia on behalf of the non-aligned nations [A/C.1/L.518]. The basic principles on international security contained in that draft resolution are the same as are to be found in the Charter and which have been identified and elaborated in the Declaration on Principles of International Laws concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.³ These are the principles of sovereign equality of States, the renunciation of threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in internal affairs, co-operation with one another, equal rights of people and their inalienable right to self-determination and fulfilment in good faith of their international obligations. We agree that the seven principles of the Charter are the seven hills on which our Eternal City should be built.

72. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970, in calling for the adoption of a declaration on international peace and security, based itself on the strict observance of these principles and particularly emphasized their enunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State, inviolability of the established frontiers, and non-recognition of territorial acquisition by conquest.

73. The representative of Zambia has fully explained the basic ideas of the draft submitted by the non-aligned countries and I shall not deal in detail with its different provisions. However, I should like to make a few observations of a general nature.

74. First, the draft is aimed at eliminating the most basic cause of the insecurity of nations, that is, the threat or use of force in pursuit of national interests. The United Nations cannot lay the foundations of a secure and lasting peace unless it raises an effective barrier against aggression. We believe that all international disputes and controversies should be resolved exclusively through peaceful means and that the Security Council should play its full part in this respect within the full scope of the Charter. The Council, in our view, possesses adequate powers and has a vast reservoir of experience and we should be cautious in making any suggestions, especially suggestions which are vaguely formulated. We should concentrate our efforts on consolidating the ground that has been gained, and this can be done if we use restraint in pressing principles and procedures on which

there is so far no consensus. Furthermore, there is a danger that suggestions such as the one concerning the setting up of subsidiary organs under the Security Council might have the effect of changing the functions of the Council and do violence to the Charter.

75. Our concern really is that the decisions of the Security Council should be implemented. It is difficult to see how we can evolve new procedures to enhance the authority of the Security Council without first ensuring that its decisions, taken in accordance with the Charter, are implemented. For example, the decisions of the Security Council on the situation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia remain unimplemented.

76. Our emphasis on the peaceful settlement of disputes does not mean that the United Nations should encourage situations in which the aggressor, after getting what he wants, wins sympathy by offering negotiations or mediation, etc., on the basis of trading his ill-gotten gains. That is why the draft resolution lays emphasis on the definition of aggression and the vacating of territories taken over by force. There is hardly any aggressor who does not take the precaution of creating a dispute about the territory which it wishes to take over through overt or covert means.

77. While discussing the strengthening of United Nations peace-making functions, I might also refer to the paragraph on the need to strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping machinery. We indeed hope that the differences over the initiation, control and financing of peace-keeping operations can be speedily resolved.

78. Secondly our resolution lays stress on the democratization of international relations, particularly in the United Nations. It is well recognized that the permanent members have a special responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. But there has been a general feeling that other members of the international community, particularly small and medium Powers, have not had an adequate opportunity to participate in international decision-making. We believe that such consultations would foster a spirit of partnership and give greater authority to any decisions which may be arrived at. As the representative of Nepal pointed out, we cannot concentrate solely on the Security Council, to the exclusion of all other organs of the United Nations.

79. Thirdly, we continue to believe that the military blocs conceived in the context of great-Power conflict have done more harm than good; in certain areas they have positively contributed to insecurity. Historically, the policy of non-alignment emerged under the conditions of the cold war. Actually, it flowed from the determination of countries to safeguard their independence, to contribute more effectively to international peace and security and to realize better the social and economic advancement of their people. The non-aligned concept thus provides a natural barrier not only against the danger of military polarization and great-Power confrontation, but also against any tendency to view the world as falling within spheres of influence or hegemony of the powerful at the expense of the weak. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi gave expression to that view at the Lusaka Conference, when she said: "We have an equal stake in peace but the quality of peace should

³ *Idem*.

be such as would secure our independence and sovereignty.”

80. Fourthly the draft resolution recognizes that the United Nations cannot become an effective instrument of peace unless all States become its Members. The absence of the People's Republic of China from our Organization has been an obstacle in the solution of several basic problems. Because not all States are participating in the work of the United Nations, many problems of fundamental importance to security are not being discussed here satisfactorily. This situation needs to be rectified.

81. Lastly, the connexion between security on the one hand and disarmament, development and decolonization on the other, has been clearly recognized and this is also reflected in the draft resolution. This is a most important element. The deadly competition in nuclear armaments dominates all thinking and not only deflects energy and resources from constructive work, but also inhibits the nuclear Powers from pursuing courses which could encourage the forces of peace, independence, development and world-wide co-operation on a basis of equality. The tension and insecurity created by colonialism, racial discrimination and poor economic conditions have been too well emphasized by other speakers and need no reiteration by me.

82. In our view, the draft resolution reflects better than the other draft resolutions before us the concepts in which we believe. Considering that this draft resolution is sponsored by a larger number of countries than the other draft resolutions and also the fact that the security of the middle and smaller Powers is a primary consideration before us, I hope that it can become the basis on which general agreement can be developed in this Committee.

83. Several speakers have pointed to the unity that exists on the general approach to this matter as compared to the differences that were apparent last year. We sincerely hope that a consensus on a declaration on this item can be worked out and that we can thereby make some contribution to the strengthening of peace and security of the world on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

84. Mr. Chairman, before concluding, I should like to draw your attention to an unfortunate development that took place last week which can only aggravate tension and insecurity in our area. I refer to the decision of the United States to resume the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan. At a time when tensions in south Asia show a promise of reduction it is regrettable that the United States Government should have thought it fit to inject into the sub-continent large quantities of bombers, jet fighters, armoured troop carriers and other unspecified war materials.

85. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of India, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, for the congratulations he was kind enough to address to the members of the Bureau.

86. Mr. LEGNANI (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ambassador Aguilar, I hope you will accept my congratulations on your election as Chairman of the First Committee.

87. It is a tribute, a just tribute to your great merits. I am not saying that this is not a source of satisfaction to you, directly and personally, but I believe I am right in saying that your genuine satisfaction is from knowing that you have been elected by those who sincerely appreciate you, and I hope that among those you will include me.

88. I would further affirm that your deepest satisfaction is because you represent Venezuela, because this is a honour which reflects on Venezuela, a sister country of America which you represent with so much dignity and with such wealth of intellect.

89. I also congratulate on their elections Ambassadors Farah and Cerník, in the certainty that they are prompted by a desire to serve, to which their antecedents bear witness, and I am sure this will benefit all members of this Committee, wherefore not only are congratulations in order, but our gratitude too.

90. My delegation pronounced itself on the strengthening of international security in the statement it made here in the First Committee [*1667th meeting*] during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. At that session, in other statements, my delegation also stated its views on other items closely linked with international security.

91. I shall not repeat the terms of those statements because that would mean taxing the attention which members of this Committee would kindly give me, but in referring to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.517, of which I have the honour to be a co-sponsor, it is inevitable that I should reiterate opinions which I have already stated, since the reasons on which our position was based on this far-reaching item have not changed.

92. It is unquestionable, from the text of the United Nations Charter, from the very beginning of the wording of its Preamble, when it establishes the aims of “We the peoples of the United Nations”, it is unquestionable, as I said, that there can be no more important or basic aim for peoples than that of international security, because on international security depends a peaceful life for peoples and a life in peace for every family and for every human being.

93. Since it has been a known historical fact, repeated throughout the experience of the ages, that international security of necessity requires international co-operation, which is a lofty manifestation of human solidarity, the United Nations Charter encouraged and promoted the necessary understanding and co-operation among peoples. This is why the peoples of the United Nations made manifest in the Preamble of the Charter that they are determined “to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security”.

94. That is also why the draft resolution which we have co-sponsored states in its first preambular paragraph “that the strengthening of international security is a question of fundamental importance which requires concerted action by all States, based on the political will to promote international co-operation and to adopt and implement urgent measures aimed at eliminating all causes of insecurity and tension, with a view to establishing true peace”. It

further states that "fidelity to the ideals and standards of conduct proclaimed in the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, strict observance of the principles and full implementation of the purposes of the Charter are essential requirements for establishing world peace based on justice and guaranteeing the security of all nations".

95. My delegation would venture to emphasize the wisdom of indicating in the first paragraph I have quoted, the need "to implement urgent measures aimed at eliminating all causes of insecurity and tension, with a view to establishing true peace".

96. This is an inevitable requirement imposed by the present circumstances in which the world now lives and because of the very insecure future which is full of ominous perspectives, and we must adopt urgent measures that will eliminate the causes of insecurity and tension.

97. I think that it is worth while to recognize that what is really needed is not to create, but at least to recover urgently an international security which has been broken seriously and in part and which threatens at any moment to break down completely.

98. In such an undertaking, the draft resolution indicates the "central and fundamental role" of the United Nations "... as the main political and diplomatic centre, in order to constitute a truly effective instrument for peace, for the development of friendly relations based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, non-intervention, abstention from the threat or use of force, the self-determination of peoples, the territorial integrity of States and the achievement of international co-operation in the solution of international problems.

99. In this respect, therefore, the draft resolution purely and simply endeavours to show that the United Nations, in the fulfilment of its specific institutional commitments, should discharge the lofty role which justifies its existence.

100. Thereafter, the draft resolution refers to the close links between international security and "general and complete disarmament under effective international control".

101. The truth is that, instead of following the paths of human understanding and human solidarity as we find them in the Charter, which are broad and firm, based on reason and the normal feelings of human beings—instruments which have promoted progress at every level of human activity—some preferred the ancient and well-trodden road of force prompted by fear, lack of confidence and the ancestral impulse to impose one's own will and to dominate. This road of armed peace and of growing power, which was presumed to be unconquerable and which has invariably led to the quagmires of wars, today, because of the high degree of development in weaponry, has placed mankind on the brink of destruction. In seeking security, arms of incredible diversity and in unbelievable quantities have been accumulated and made more sophisticated. Nuclear energy, which could have been used to promote collective well-being on a scale never before imagined, has been placed at the service of the art of killing; every year hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars are invested

for war preparations. There is still room for the thought that the celestial bodies and the sea-bed will be used for the emplacement of artefacts for mass destruction.

102. Thus, seeking security by way of armed force has achieved the paradoxical result of creating the most extraordinary and dramatic insecurity among peoples.

103. It will not be easy to undo what has been done and to dismantle the complex war machinery, through adequate disarmament formulas which will lead the investments, human resources and energy consumed by war industries towards sources which create the well-being and prosperity of peoples.

104. As soon as resources are liberated by disarmament, they are to be allocated, as the preamble to the draft resolution says, "to the promotion of the economic development of developing countries and to their scientific and technological progress", and development, as is emphatically reiterated in operative paragraph 8, is undertaken within the Second United Nations Development Decade on the basis of a global development strategy, the true conditions for peace and for strengthening international security will have been achieved.

105. To guarantee peace and international security in accordance with the terms of the Charter presupposes achieving a series of conditions intended to regulate the free development of peoples and the free development of the human being, so that he may fully develop his own potentialities and possibilities.

106. The need to "eliminate once and for all systems of colonial and racial oppression and to ensure respect for the rights of all mankind and all peoples", as stated in the preamble to the draft resolution which we co-sponsor, means promoting peace and security. It will tend to put an end to clear departures from very specific provisions of the United Nations Charter.

107. As long as colonialism and under-development weigh down vast sectors of mankind, peace, freedom and security will not move forward nor will they consolidate what has been won.

108. From the premises stated in the preambular part of the draft which my delegation has taken the opportunity of commenting upon will flow as corollaries or necessary conclusions the measures which are proposed for the strengthening of international security. My delegation adheres wholly to those, even though we might make a few brief reservations on some of them and on the context of the draft.

109. To recommend to the Security Council, as is done in operative paragraph 16, that it should "consider the desirability of establishing appropriate subsidiary organs", in accordance with Article 29 of the Charter, means that adequate and maximum use should be made of the means laid down in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

110. To reiterate the need for "urgent and concerted international action", as provided for in paragraph 8, is essential for the peace and security of mankind.

111. My delegation believes that the principle of self-determination of peoples does not end with their political liberation nor with the circumstances of having formally acquired sovereignty. Self-determination demands successive and renewed freedoms among which the most urgent are freedom from hunger, from ignorance, from disease, from the need for housing and other unsatisfied needs which characterize poverty and which are unjust and cruel tyrannies.

112. There can be no real and genuine peaceful international coexistence as long as it is based on the wretchedness and pain of peoples.

113. There will be no real and peaceful coexistence unless, in complying with the principles of the Charter, we eliminate tariff wars, trade discriminations and restrictions on international trade, and replace them with genuine and loyal international co-operation.

114. There will be no peaceful coexistence unless it is clearly perceived that a tariff barrier decided by a Government or raising customs duties can affect millions of people in other countries, even countries very far away and can indeed ruin their industries and that change in the exchange rate between currencies of various countries can spell the economic ruin of some peoples.

115. There will be no peaceful international coexistence unless decisive impetus is given to development on a world-wide scale, that is to say unless there is strict compliance with the purpose stated in Article 55 of the Charter to create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations", and unless we promote, in accordance with the same Article: (a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; (b) solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and (c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

116. Article 56 of the Charter expressly states that: "All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55." The economic and social development of peoples will depend on compliance with this commitment.

117. Nothing in the Latin American draft resolution is foreign to the United Nations Charter; indeed, it can be affirmed that with rigorous objectivity it embodies purposes, principles and standards of action which, because they are contained in the Charter, are the purposes, principles and standards of action shared by all Member States. As my delegation sees it, this is an act of faith in the United Nations Charter, or rather a reaffirmation of confidence in the principles and solutions of the Charter.

118. Since the other draft resolutions before us are valuable contributions to the subject under consideration and cannot have departed from the institutional framework common to all Member States, it is to be hoped that,

ultimately, we shall be able to adopt a draft resolution unanimously.

119. With regard to the decision to include the question: "Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security" in the provisional agenda of the twenty-sixth session, mentioned in paragraph 17 of the Latin American draft, this offers an opportunity for reviewing, broadening or adjusting theoretical pronouncements to the changing realities so as to guarantee the complete effectiveness of the measures.

120. In circumstances where the peoples of the world have been drawn so much closer together, to the extent that it is tantamount to saying that the world which governs us all is known to be getting smaller, and where consequently independence coexists with interdependence—we shall have to see, for example, what new measures, in the light of international law, would maintain the peaceful coexistence of peoples, producing a harmony between the concept of absolute sovereignty and that of interdependence.

121. We shall have to see whether the time has not come, when, for the strengthening of international security, States should accept the mandatory competence of international justice, which would study and resolve controversies and disputes, both legal and political, and would then really place all States on a footing of complete equality before reason and the law.

122. An illustrious law professor in my country, the late Professor Eduardo Couture, pointed out the happy historical coincidence between the United Nations Charter and the atomic era, which reflected a parallel between the force of law and the law of force.

123. On 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, the Charter which was to give birth to the United Nations was signed.

124. On 16 July 1945, the atomic era began with the first large-scale experiment. For the first time, science had mastered the chaotic splitting of the atom, the division of which had been achieved in laboratories a few years previously. The use of atomic energy, Professor Couture said, is merely the technique of containing it, thus avoiding a chain reaction that might destroy the universe. The Charter of the United Nations, he added, is the effort of the law to contain within a universal legal order the chaotic chain reaction of people unleashed and bent on war.

125. My delegation, consistent with the principles traditionally upheld by the Government of my country, believes that what was missing from the provisions of the Charter to contain the chaotic chain reaction of people was a mandatory judicial court. We also believe that disarmament, development and any other measures which may be adopted, will not eliminate controversies and disputes. We do not believe that it is valid to affirm that there cannot be a court to pronounce sentence, a *secundum juris*, in cases in which the applicable international law is too fluid, changing, too vague or not codified, because history teaches that the judge precedes the law, and contributed to it by jurisprudential precedents. We also believe that in this historic epoch in which we are witnessing the most profound crisis of traditional values, surely we should

attempt to form a collective conscience which would uphold the principle of final mandatory intervention by international justice, without which we could not strengthen nor consolidate international security and, therefore, we could not ensure justice, peace, equal rights nor the possibilities which offer man the hope of a life worth living, rather than a slow death postponed from generation to generation.

126. In a later stage in the struggle for the rule of law, the progressive achievements of which are and always will be susceptible of improvement, any dispute or question likely to threaten international peace and which has not been settled peacefully, should be submitted for review to the International Court of Justice, either for an advisory opinion or to assume jurisdiction over it.

127. Before concluding, I should like to say that my delegation supports the suggestion of the delegation of Kuwait [1734th meeting] for the establishment of a special fund for peace-keeping operations, and that resources not used for peace-keeping operations should be utilized by the United Nations Development Programme and by the World Bank for the economic and social development of the developing countries. The latter suggestion would also constitute a move towards maintaining and consolidating peace. Accordingly, my delegation cannot fail to lend its strong support to this proposal.

128. I have nothing further to add on this item. I would have wished that brevity might have been a merit of my statement. I have not succeeded. I hope that you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of the Committee will be so good as to forgive me.

129. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Uruguay for his congratulations to the Bureau and I would like to say to him that personally, I am very grateful to him for his generous and kind references to my country and myself. It is an expression of the very cordial relations that fortunately have always existed between Uruguay and Venezuela, and of the friendship of Ambassador Legnani, which honours me.

130. Before calling on the next speaker I should like to inform the Committee that Burundi has become a co-sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.518, which was introduced last night by the representative of Zambia.

131. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In its statement of 28 September in the First Committee, my delegation stated the basic position of the Soviet Union on the problem of strengthening international security [1725th meeting]. It explained the considerations which had prompted the Soviet Union to submit, together with seven other socialist countries, a draft declaration on strengthening international security [A/C.1/L.513].

132. We should like to express our gratitude to the numerous delegations which have noted the initiative taken by the Soviet Union in raising this very important question of contemporary international politics. The debate at the

last session of the General Assembly and the present broad discussion of this question at the commemorative session, are convincing evidence that the task of strengthening international security is attracting the attention of the entire world, of all countries and peoples, because it has to do with one of the crucial problems of our time. If it is not solved, if international peace and security are not strengthened, it will be impossible—and, indeed, naive even to think that it might be possible—to find a real solution to many other problems—great and small, fundamental and, in some instances, subsidiary but still important—which confront mankind. If this international problem is not solved, if peace and security are not strengthened, if we are not able to protect the world against thermo-nuclear conflict, the very existence of millions and millions of people may be directly threatened.

133. During the debate, which was, on the whole, businesslike and constructive, quite a number of useful ideas deserving the closest consideration were put forward.

134. The statements of most delegations gave frequent expression, in one form or another, to the idea that strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter is an extremely important factor in the strengthening of international security.

135. We fully agree with this approach. What is more, this very idea forms the basis of the draft declaration of the eight socialist countries in document A/C.1/L.513, which places particular emphasis on the need for strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and singles out the principles of the sovereignty, equality and self-determination of peoples, the territorial inviolability of States, non-interference in their internal affairs, respect for the right of peoples freely to choose their social system and peaceful settlement of disputes.

136. We note with great satisfaction that during the debate an overwhelming majority of delegations spoke in support of all these principles.

137. However, it must be recognized very clearly that, important as these principles may be in themselves, it is not enough merely to repeat and reaffirm them.

138. We agree with the delegations which have stressed that mere repetition of these principles will not lead us to our objective, which is the common objective of all States large and small: the genuine strengthening of international security. What is needed is joint collective efforts by all States Members of the United Nations. On the other hand, we strongly disagree with those—fortunately, solitary—voices which have openly appealed to the Committee to confine itself to adopting a “simple resolution”, some kind of routine document, to be an ostrich and bury its head in the sand. In effect, the advocates of this approach are suggesting that the Committee should shut its eyes to reality, to the violations of these principles of the Charter being committed in various parts of the world by those very States which are now making such frequent appeals for some sort of general pacification and agreement.

139. Precisely this—one might say—scornful attitude towards references to the purposes and objectives of the

United Nations Charter could be detected in the statement by the distinguished representative of the United States of America, Mr. Yost. One conclusion emerges inescapably from his statement [1734th meeting], namely, that in matters relating to the strengthening of international security one should rely on the military power of the United States rather than the collective decisions and joint efforts of all the Members of the United Nations and of this Organization as a whole.

140. Thus, on the one hand, we have the position of those who feel that there must be an end to the law of the jungle in international relations, the use of force and the seizure of foreign territory. The position of these countries, which include the socialist States and, I would say, the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, is that the Organization should, at its twenty-fifth session, resolutely say "no" to the use of brute military force, the occupation of foreign lands and territorial conquest.

141. On the other hand, there is the position of those few Powers which hold that the United Nations should do nothing in the matter of maintaining international peace and security and should leave the aggressors a free hand and take no action to prevent them from invading foreign lands and seizing foreign territory.

142. Can one accept that approach?

143. Can one shut his eyes to the fact that the forces of aggression are continuing to seize and appropriate foreign territory? Can one tolerate non-compliance with the Security Council's decisions on the peaceful political settlement of armed conflicts and the withdrawal of forces from territories occupied as a result of such conflicts?

144. Can one disregard and take no notice of the fact that colonialism still exists in the world, that one of the greatest crimes against humanity—racism and the policy of *apartheid*—is still being committed and that wars are being waged against peoples fighting for their national liberation from colonial tyranny?

145. The distinguished representative of Pakistan, Ambassador Shahi, quite rightly pointed out in his statement that the principles of the inadmissibility of the seizure of territory and the need to withdraw foreign troops from occupied territory are the crux of the problem of strengthening international security and that ensuring compliance with precisely those principles is, above all, in the interests of the small countries and of the cause of a genuine strengthening of international peace and security.

146. These basic principles of international relations and international law, which follow directly from the main purposes and goals of the United Nations, have been further developed and widely recognized in international practice. The distinguished representative of the United Arab Republic, Ambassador El-Zayyat, quite rightly pointed out here that the principle of the inadmissibility of territorial acquisitions through the use of force has long been embodied in the Charter of a regional organization, the Organization of American States. It is therefore to be regretted that, for some reason, the draft submitted to the First Committee by the Latin American States concerning

the item under discussion [A/C.1/L.517] does not contain a provision reaffirming this very important principle, which has long been recognized by the Latin American countries in an instrument jointly adopted by them.

147. As you are aware, the principle that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation and acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force has now been embodied in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations which was approved by the General Assembly on 6 October and will be officially adopted during the commemorative part of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.⁴

148. Why, then, is there no mention of this extremely important principle of international relations and of the principle of the withdrawal of troops from occupied territory in the draft introduced by the six capitalist countries of the Western group [A/C.1/L.514]? These principles appear only in the draft submitted by the socialist countries. Is it only the latter countries that have need of them? It would be useful if the sponsors of these two drafts gave us here, in the First Committee, a direct, clear-cut answer as to whether they recognize the principles of the inadmissibility of military occupation and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and war.

149. We note that, in his statement of 9 October in the First Committee [1734th meeting] the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Warner, said in this connexion that a possible provision on, for example, the withdrawal of troops from occupied territory sounded all right in principle. However, he expressed dissatisfaction with the specific formulations contained in the eight-Power draft and he called for a "satisfactory general formulation" of this principle. Well, then, if Ambassador Warner does not object to seeing the principle reflected in a document on international security and is only challenging specific formulations, it would be interesting to know what specific formulation he could himself suggest on this matter.

150. The Soviet delegation is deeply convinced that it is of the utmost importance for these principles to be included in the declaration on strengthening international security. That would put an end to the most blatant and flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter and would lay a solid foundation for preventing the violation of these principles in the future.

151. We should also like to make a few remarks in connexion with comments made during the debate which, either as a result of misunderstanding or for other, more unseemly, reasons, distorted the real position of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as reflected in their joint draft declaration [A/C.1/L.513].

152. In discussing the draft introduced by the eight socialist countries, the distinguished representative of Canada, Ambassador Beaulne, for example, said that it broadened unduly the powers of the Security Council at the expense of those of other United Nations organs, thus representing an "unbalanced approach" as he put it.

⁴ *Idem.*

153. There is no basis for such a statement. It is an undeniable and universally recognized fact that, in the United Nations system, the Security Council is the principal instrument for taking action against breaches of international peace and acts of aggression. In that connexion, it should be clear that the provisions of the draft sponsored by the eight socialist countries, which are intended to enhance the role and the effectiveness of the Security Council, do not in any sense represent a broadening of the powers of the Council at the expense of other United Nations bodies such as the General Assembly. The proposal that the Declaration on strengthening international security should include a provision on the need to implement decisions of the Security Council and enhance the latter's effectiveness is intended solely to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations as a whole in the matter of strengthening international security and creating the necessary conditions for the peoples of the world to develop in peace. Speaking recently, on 2 October, at Baku, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev, stressed that "As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we want to see an effective United Nations which carried authority and directs its efforts towards the maintenance of international peace and security. The Soviet Union will actively support such activities by the United Nations."

154. That is precisely our approach to the task of strengthening the effectiveness of the Security Council as the United Nations organ which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and as the only United Nations organ empowered under the Charter to take action to prevent and put an end to aggression.

155. At the same time, the Soviet Union has always recognized that the General Assembly has an appropriate and useful role in this regard as provided in the Charter. It would apparently be in order to recall at this point that the Soviet Union was in fact mindful of the powers of the General Assembly under Article 11 of the Charter when it raised the question of the strengthening of international security at last year's Assembly and proposed that the Assembly should adopt a comprehensive decision on the substance of this important problem. The preamble of the draft declaration submitted this year by the eight socialist countries also contains an appropriate reference to Article 11 of the Charter.

156. Thus, there is in no sense an imbalance in our approach to this question, as asserted by the representative of Canada.

157. If we are to speak of true imbalance and even bias in the approach taken by some States to the question of the role and composition of the Security Council, such an approach can be said to characterize the draft resolution of the six capitalist countries, of which Canada is a sponsor [A/C.1/L.514]. This draft in effect proposes that, in the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, States Members of the United Nations should be divided into two unequal groups—a small group of "righteous ones" who can enter paradise, that is, become non-permanent members of the Security Council, and a large group of "sinners" to whom the way to this paradise must be barred.

158. Indeed, the essence of the proposal contained in operative paragraph 15 of this draft is that the non-permanent members of the Security Council should be elected only from among a small group of States which have certain special qualifications—above all, of course, military and economic power. Such a provision would, if adopted, deprive a substantial number of States Members of the United Nations of the opportunity to be elected to the Security Council. In essence, the sponsors of this draft are discarding the provisions of the Charter relating to the principle of balance and the procedure established under the Charter for the election of States to membership in the Security Council. They are advancing their own special new criteria. If we accept those criteria, only a State which is strong militarily will henceforth be able to become a member of the Security Council and weak States will be barred from election. This approach is wrong and at variance with the Charter. The past experience and practice of the Security Council show that the participation in the Council's work of such small and militarily weak countries as, for example, Burundi, which is represented in the Council and in the United Nations by its distinguished Ambassador, Mr. Terence, contributes far more to the work of that body than the participation of some States members of the Council which are militarily and economically more powerful.

159. If the criteria proposed in the six-Power draft were adopted, the Republic of South Africa, for example, as one of the militarily and economically more powerful States, could be elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council, while most of the developing countries of Africa, being less powerful militarily and economically, could not become members. One cannot, of course, agree to this approach, and it is quite understandable that a number of representatives of African and Asian countries who have taken the floor here have stated that they are categorically opposed to this proposal by the sponsors of the six-Power draft.

160. In view of the powers assigned to the Security Council under the Charter in the matter of the pacific settlement of disputes, a number of other provisions of the draft introduced by the six capitalist countries are also unacceptable to us.

161. For example, the proposals in paragraphs 5 and 6 of this draft calling for a more active role for the International Court of Justice, for greater advantage to be taken of the Secretary-General's good offices and, finally, for making use of so-called fact-finding methods can only be regarded as an illegal attempt to diminish and weaken the role and importance of the Security Council in regard to the pacific settlement of disputes.

162. In view of the fact that the six-Power draft does not in fact conform to the provisions of the Charter concerning the role of the Council in the pacific settlement of disputes, there is, to say the least, a strange ring to the provisions of operative paragraph 14 of the draft, which recommends that the Council should create subsidiary organs for the pacific settlement of disputes and for monitoring and restraining the flow of armaments.

163. As to the substance of this proposal to create subsidiary organs of the Security Council, it would seem

appropriate to point out that the question of creating such organs, that is, the question of the choice of suitable methods and procedures for the exercise by the Council of various functions, does not require any special recommendation on the part of the General Assembly. The distinguished representative of France, Ambassador Kosciusko-Morizet, quite rightly stated on 5 October: "It is, of course, for the Council itself, which is master of its procedures under Article 29, to evaluate the appropriateness of setting up new bodies to assist in its task". [1728th meeting, para. 42.]

164. During the debate, the question of co-operation among States on a regional basis has been raised many times. There is every justification for saying that a majority of States attach great importance to such co-operation and regard it as important means of strengthening general international security.

165. However, the distinguished representative of Canada, Ambassador Beaulne, in effect took a position against the idea of regional co-operation on a non-discriminatory basis among States—that is, with the participation of all the States of a particular region—with a view to taking joint measures to strengthen security. But does the fact that Canada is territorially far removed from the geographical groups recognized in the United Nations provide any justification for not permitting all those groups of States to strengthen peace and security on the basis of regional co-operation? Moreover, Canada itself is not being excluded from participation in the noble task of strengthening peace and security in, for example, Europe. No one is preventing it from taking part in the forthcoming European conference, which is to be attended by all the countries of Europe without discrimination—if, of course, it wants to take part.

166. The position of the Soviet Union on *détente* in Europe and the convening of a general European conference is set out in the Soviet-French Declaration of 13 October 1971, which we have just received. The Declaration was adopted by the two parties, the Soviet Union and France, at the conclusion of the visit to the USSR of the President of France, Mr. Pompidou, who was accompanied by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Schumann. It states:

"The parties consider that *détente* in Europe would be furthered by the convening of a properly prepared general European conference, whose task would be to promote the development of relations and the establishment of continuing co-operation among all the States concerned beyond the categories of bloc politics"—and I stress this in particular—"beyond the categories of bloc politics. The parties consider that the objective of such a conference should be the strengthening of European security through the creation of a system of obligations providing for renunciation of the use or threat of force in relations between European States and ensuring respect for the principles of the territorial integrity of States, non-intervention in their internal affairs and the equality and independence of all States".

167. What reason can there be for objecting to such co-operation on a regional basis?

168. During the debate it has been repeatedly pointed out that international peace is threatened by the existence of colonial and racist régimes and the military and repressive measures taken by them to crush the liberation movements of peoples which are still suffering colonial and racist oppression.

169. The process of decolonization has not been completed. There are still various bastions of colonialism and racism where racists and colonialists refuse to recognize the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independent statehood, disregard the decisions of the United Nations concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and resort to armed force, terror and tyranny to suppress the liberation struggle of peoples. Accordingly, the focus of emphasis must, of course, shift to the provision of active assistance by the United Nations and all its Members to enable these peoples to attain independence and to put an end to measures aimed at suppressing the liberation movements. This noble and loftily humane idea is embodied in the provisions of operative paragraph 6 of the draft submitted by the eight socialist countries. Even the sponsors of the draft introduced by the six capitalist countries have not dared to criticize these provisions openly in their statements. We note with satisfaction that these provisions have met with broad understanding and support, especially from the delegations of those countries which have themselves recently gained their independence in a determined struggle against colonial enslavement.

170. During the debate considerable attention has been given to the question of the correlation between the strengthening of international security and such pressing problems as disarmament and social and economic development.

171. In the draft put forward by the socialist countries this question is dealt with in proper perspective.

172. The wording of operative paragraph 8 of the draft reflects the view that a solution of the problem of disarmament is an important factor in the strengthening of international security. As a statement of a basic principle this formulation is fully comprehensive. It includes a call for general and complete disarmament, nuclear disarmament measures in which all nuclear Powers will participate, and regional and other partial measures to limit the arms race and achieve disarmament.

173. We have been reproached with the fact that this provision is not detailed, but there is no need to set forth all these provisions in detail. For that purpose there are other documents—there are the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the relevant decisions of the General Assembly on questions of disarmament.

174. We are deeply convinced—and the debate in the First Committee has convinced us all the more—that the draft sponsored by the eight socialist countries deals in a sound and reasonable manner with the question of the correlation between the strengthening of international security and the economic and social development of peoples. Hence, there is no need to make this provision more detailed.

175. It is important that the document adopted by the Assembly should clearly and distinctly state the principle

that there is a close correlation between security and development. The strengthening of security will promote the social and economic progress of peoples, and this progress, in turn, will help to create the necessary conditions for peaceful relations and friendly co-operation among States. We have been criticized for not setting out these provisions in detail. However, we are firmly convinced that they should not be spelled out in detail in a document of this kind. There are detailed provisions on this question in other documents, such as the draft international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, introduced in the Second Committee by 89 developing countries.⁵ The eight socialist countries which have sponsored the draft declaration on strengthening international security have given a detailed explanation of their position on this question in a joint statement in the Second Committee. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics supports the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade to the extent to which it corresponds to this position.

176. As regards the draft submitted late yesterday evening by the non-aligned countries [A/C.1/L.518] the Soviet delegation is giving it careful study and reserves the right to state its views at a somewhat later stage.

177. Mr. Chairman, it is most significant from an historical standpoint that the session of the General Assembly which marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is considering the question of the strengthening of international security, regarding it as the Organization's primary task.

178. We believe that, looking back over the path it has travelled during its 25-year existence, taking account of the experience it has gained and looking boldly to the future, the United Nations should adopt a comprehensive resolution on the substance of this most important aspect of its activities.

179. The question is whether all States Members of the Organization will take a sufficiently responsible approach to the fulfilment of this inescapable obligation of the United Nations. For that will determine whether the anniversary Assembly adopts concrete, effective measures for the strengthening of international peace, measures designed for the new era which is opening in the activities of the United Nations and in the life of States, or whether there will be a continued failure to put an end, once and for all, to departures from the Charter and violations of its basic provisions and of the main purposes and principles of the United Nations.

180. The Soviet Union, for its part, is strongly in favour of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations. This is also reflected in the joint Soviet-French Declaration, from which I have already quoted. The Declaration contains the following passage:

"In connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the Soviet Union and France, reaffirming their adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, are determined to employ all the means they possess as well

as the means afforded by the United Nations in order to save the present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

"The Soviet Union and France state that it is their desire to make an active contribution towards increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for international peace and security on the basis of strict compliance with its Charter, action to ensure its universality and active co-operation by the two parties in United Nations activities aimed at promoting economic and social development and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms."

181. On behalf of and on instructions from its Government, the Soviet delegation takes the position that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the anniversary session, should be marked by the adoption of a purposeful, concrete and effective document in the form of a declaration on the substance of the fundamental problem of the present day—the strengthening of international peace and the maintenance of international security.

182. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on a delegation that has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, I wish to inform the Committee that Tunisia is to be added to the list of sponsors of draft declaration A/C.1/L.518.

183. I also wish to mention that the list of speakers for the general debate has been closed. We have heard all the speakers on the list. To conclude the general debate, there remain only statements by some delegations that wish to exercise their right of reply.

184. Time will not allow us to hear them all this morning, however, so perhaps we could hear some rights of reply now and those which cannot be heard this morning could be heard this afternoon.

185. I call on the representative of the United Arab Republic in exercise of his right of reply.

186. Mr. EL-ERIN (United Arab Republic): I shall be very brief. The statement of the representative of Israel at the 1736th meeting of this Committee contained the usual distortions and falsifications regarding the respective positions vis-à-vis the implementation of United Nations resolutions on the Middle East question.

187. I do not propose to reply to those distortions and falsifications. In other more appropriate occasions the delegation of the United Arab Republic has substantiated the irrefutable fact of Israel's refusal to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly; I wish to make a specific reference to the statement made by Ambassador El-Zayyat in the exercise of his right of reply to the statement of the Foreign Minister of Israel during the general debate in the General Assembly [1851st plenary meeting]. Nor shall I touch on the audacity of a sermon on the strengthening of international security by the representative of a State which has persistently violated the basic norms of the Charter concerning international security,

⁵ Document A/C.2/L.1104.

repeatedly committed acts of aggression and defied the authority of the world Organization.

188. In these remarks I shall confine myself to quoting the words of the Foreign Minister of Israel on what he himself considered to be the role of the United Nations in the field of international security. In the Dick Cavett show on WABC radio, New York, and the ABC-TV network on the night of Thursday/Friday, October 8/9, 1970, the Foreign Minister of Israel stated:

“We ought to understand what the United Nations is and what it is not. It is a tribunal; it is a forum; it is the international microphone with the greatest resonance; it is the normal channel for appealing to world opinion in its broadest range; it is not an instrument of security—and you have to get your security in other ways.”

189. This is the concept Israel has of the United Nations—a pre-Charter and anti-Charter concept of conquest and

aggression. These very words have been spoken by the Foreign Minister of Israel at a time when the whole world is celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, when attention is focused on strengthening the security of the United Nations.

190. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the lateness of the hour I shall adjourn the meeting, but I should like to remind the Committee once again that a meeting is scheduled for this afternoon at 3 o'clock. At that meeting we shall start by hearing statements in exercise of the right of reply which some delegations wish to make, thus conclude the general debate on item 32. Immediately after concluding the general debate, the Committee could proceed to consideration of the draft resolutions submitted to the Committee and hear any proposals for amendments which delegates may wish to make in connexion with these drafts.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.