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Chairman: Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL
(Mauritius).

AGENDA ITEM 35 (concluded)

Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General (A/8661, A/8665 and Corr.1, A/8673, A/8680, A/8749, A/8775 and Add.1-3, A/C.1024, 1029, A/C.1/L.627 and 640)

1. The CHAIRMAN: I shall call now on those representatives who wish to explain their votes on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, adopted by the Committee this morning.

2. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): My delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 for the following reasons.

3. First of all, our basic position on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is that the Declaration should be treated as a complete whole, and that it would not serve the purpose of the Declaration if we should play up only one aspect of it or reconstruct it in piecemeal manner. The Declaration was adopted by consensus, after most arduous and elaborate negotiations harmonizing a great number of different views on the strengthening of international security. As my delegation stated last year [1857th meeting], singling out some of the provisions of the Declaration without referring to other relevant provisions which are integrally related to them might destroy the delicately balanced compromise reached at the twenty-fifth session.

4. We should be particularly careful not to impair the precision, comprehensiveness and impartiality of the Declaration by adopting a resolution which does not command unanimous support and is not approved by a number of major Powers.

5. The draft resolution adopted by this Committee this morning contains some provisions which appear to be not strictly within the framework of the Declaration, and thus, for the same reasons we adduced last year, my delegation would have found difficulty in giving support to it.

6. Having said that, my delegation wishes to make it quite clear that this position of ours by no means lessens the importance Japan attaches to the strengthening of international security, and that Japan is second to none in its determination to formulate its foreign policy in accordance with the principles and the provisions of the Declaration.

7. Mr. ELIAS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Spanish delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 that the Committee adopted at its previous meeting. We did so because we believe that in its series of provisions it does contain positive elements for the strengthening of international security. However, and in accordance with what we made clear to the First Committee in our statement yesterday, we should like to state for the record that my delegation considers that in paragraph 3 express reference should have been included to the principles of territorial integrity and respect for the sovereignty of all States. We believe that sovereignty is a concept that is not necessarily included in that of independence, and that territorial integrity is a principle equal in rank to self-determination, as is stated in resolution 1514 (XV). From this standpoint, my delegation considers that paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627, originally submitted by Bulgaria and other socialist countries and later withdrawn, was much more complete.

8. Also, as far as paragraph 4 is concerned, I should like to say that although we entirely agree with the principle of the freedom of each country to use its natural resources as it wishes as a basic attribute of sovereignty, the form in which this principle has been couched in this paragraph is not particularly felicitous and might give rise to interpretations hardly in keeping with the spirit that underlay the resolutions and declarations that were previously approved.

9. Mr. MIGLIUOLO (Italy): My delegation did not take part in the general debate on agenda item 35 because of its considered view that there can hardly be any significant advantage to be drawn for the United Nations from proceedings that—however lofty and inspiring the statements of some representatives may be—are coming more and more to resemble a repetition of the general debate in the plenary meetings.

10. However, we feel duty-bound to say a few words to explain our abstention in today's vote, an abstention which should not be construed as an indication of lack of interest in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Italy attaches great importance to that Declaration, to the drafting of which, at the twenty-fifth anniversary session, the delegation of Italy, through my person, made an extensive and, we think, constructive contribution. Precisely in view of that contribution no one

can be surprised by the position consistently maintained by Italy in asserting that it considers—and acts accordingly in its foreign policy—that the Declaration must be implemented in its carefully balanced entirety and in full conformity with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. Unfortunately, from that point of view, the approach chosen both last year and this year by some delegations in raising the issue before this Committee appears to be highly questionable. In particular I must refer to the fact that it was felt expedient to focus attention on some specific aspects of the Declaration whilst others are still being totally ignored.

11. We do not question the importance of some problems dealt with in the Declaration and brought to the consideration of this Committee, but we cannot accept the obstructive attitude taken with regard to any attempt aimed at giving a meaningful follow-up to other equally important provisions of the Declaration like the one which urges Member States to enhance by all possible means the effectiveness of the Security Council—the United Nations organ entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Yet the need—I repeat, the need—for such action has been lately affirmed by the members of the Security Council in their collective reply to the Secretary-General, contained in document A/8775/Add.2. Any selective interpretation or implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is unwarranted and unacceptable to my delegation which, therefore, could not extend its support to draft resolution A/C.1/L.640.

12. Mr. LENNKH (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): Austria voted for draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. In so doing, my delegation wished, above all, to stress the importance Austria attaches to all questions concerning international security. This position is not, of course, new since my delegation not only co-operated actively in the drafting of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, but also took part in the preparation of resolution 2880 (XXVI).

13. I should like also to refer to the reply of the Austrian Government, contained in the reports of the Secretary-General this year and the previous year.

14. Nevertheless, my delegation would like to express certain reservations concerning the text adopted this morning. First of all, operative paragraph 4—in my delegation's view—goes beyond the framework of the resolution itself, and if a separate vote had been requested, my delegation would have abstained on this paragraph. My delegation would also have liked operative paragraph 2 to be more precisely worded; the term “the creation of zones of peace and co-operation in various areas of the world” seems to us to need a closer definition. Finally, the idea expressed in operative paragraph 5, while acceptable to us in principle, did, we believe, require more thorough discussion. It is in the light of those reservations that Austria's affirmative vote on a draft resolution, whose principles it supported, should be understood.

15. In conclusion, my delegation would like to thank the delegations of the non-aligned countries for their efforts in the preparation of this draft resolution.

16. Mr. DA SILVA (Portugal): The delegation of Portugal has asked to speak in order to make a few observations on the decision taken this morning. We should like to go on record as saying that some of the provisions of the draft resolution just adopted were unacceptable to us. For that reason, we had no alternative but to vote against it.

17. But at the outset, we should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on the very able manner in which you have conducted the work of the Committee. It is true that we did not have big problems, especially of a procedural nature, to cope with, and all interventions took place within bounds which very few could have taken exception to. Nevertheless, without your expert and adroit guidance the excellent results that we have might not have been the same. For this reason you deserve the grateful appreciation of all.

18. We cannot refrain from stating for the record that, to our great disappointment, once again Portugal was made the object of attacks by some delegations, as in the past, based on premises that are unrelated to facts. We must confess that the temptation to deviate from objectivity, even while discussing so vital a subject as the strengthening of international security, was too strong for some speakers who let themselves go in for unfounded accusations against Portugal, even alleging that Portugal was using napalm and defoliants in its territories in Africa. Nothing is further from the true facts. Why could speakers not be a little more precise in their accusations and indicate the place, the time and occasion of such reported use of napalm and defoliants?

19. This whole game of repeated accusation and denial appears somewhat pointless. Everyone knows that all along, from 1963 to last October, the Government of Portugal has addressed invitations to various United Nations bodies to visit or to send representatives to the Portuguese Overseas Provinces to see for themselves the state of affairs prevailing there. We have not received a reply to those invitations.

20. How can one understand this attitude? We can only conclude that this Organization knows better than everyone else that there is no truth in the allegations that are constantly being repeated. We cannot, we need not, accept them at face value. They are made purely as part of the demagogic game of power politics. There should be nothing easier to prove.

21. We regret that this should be so. Above all, we regret that this Organization, whose objective is the strengthening of international peace, should avoid all means of achieving that end and pursue only methods that can but lead to tension in international relations.

22. The interpretation that we are compelled to give to all these moves and resolutions which on the face of it appear to be so much in favour of the ideal of peace is that they are nothing but a part of the game of pretence destined to further the interests of some who, ignoring the true needs of the peace-loving peoples of the world, will not shirk anything that can aid them in their quest to expand their spheres of influence. It is in full cognizance of this truth that the delegation of Portugal has cast its vote.

23. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Since I explained my vote at the preceding meeting, I have asked to speak not to give a new explanation of vote but to explain my explanation of vote, which, I know, is a novelty in the procedures of the First Committee.

24. I think that my statement this morning created a certain confusion or concern among some delegations in the First Committee. It is true that I said that I regretted the absence of consultations among the different groups in the First Committee. It is also true that, as the representative of Belgium, I received from the sponsors the preliminary draft resolution they intended to introduce and I then had no objection but, on the contrary, quite agreed with the paragraphs they had included in its operative part.

25. Unfortunately, at the last minute an additional paragraph was included with which my delegation could not agree.

26. I am the first to admit that the lack of time, and also the fact that the Assembly had been dealing with other equally important problems which necessitated many consultations, stood in the way of our continuing the consultations that had been begun between the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 and, primarily, my own delegation. I wished to clarify this situation and have done so particularly because I was impressed by the fact that my friend Mr. Lusaka took some exception to the statement I made this morning, and if there is one friendship I should not like to see jeopardized, it is that which links my delegation to that of Zambia, and especially to Mr. Lusaka.

Conclusion of the Committee's work

27. The CHAIRMAN: We have now concluded for this year the deliberations of the First Committee. We have heard many statements and listened to many words indeed. In this regard we may rightly take the advice of the poet W. H. Auden in his *Hymn to the United Nations*. He says:

"Let mortals beware
Of words, for
With words we lie,
Can say peace
When we mean war".

28. What is required of us now is that we give life to the words we have spoken here. The conclusion of our work means simply that we must now begin the implementation of the ideals we have discussed and the draft resolutions we have adopted.

29. This year the Committee considered a total of 12 items and heard approximately 260 statements in 62 meetings.

30. On the outer space items, the Committee considered the questions of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, preparation of an international treaty concerning the moon, and preparation of an international convention on principles governing the uses of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting.

31. In all, some 54 speakers addressed the Committee on the space items and four draft resolutions were produced. Two of these draft resolutions were concerned with principles governing direct television broadcasting. One draft resolution was adopted on the report of the Committee itself and the last draft resolution was concerned with mitigating the harmful effects of storms.

32. It is gratifying that in adopting these resolutions we have played an important role in the evolution of a legal régime governing the peaceful uses of outer space. We have laid down guidelines for the elaboration of principles for the future. The Committee's progress cannot be underestimated in regard to the sharing of the practical benefits of space applications, a subject of wide and global interest.

33. This year the Committee had six disarmament items before it. Approximately 104 speakers addressed the Committee on the disarmament items, including the world disarmament conference, the implementation of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, general and complete disarmament, chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2830 (XXVI) concerning the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

34. On those items the Committee produced a number of draft resolutions. The first of these deals with the subject of a world disarmament conference. In adopting this draft resolution the Committee has indeed moved forward in terms of laying the groundwork for the proposed conference.

35. On the subject of general and complete disarmament the Committee adopted two draft resolutions, one dealing with the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and the other with the subject of napalm.

36. In addition, the Committee produced three draft resolutions on the question of the banning of nuclear tests, a perennial problem in our Committee and a perennial worry for people everywhere, especially those directly endangered by fall-out.

37. We have also adopted resolutions on the subject of chemical weapons, the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States and the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

38. In adopting those draft resolutions the First Committee reaffirms each year its right to be involved in the vital questions of disarmament. The curbing of modern weapons is a subject that interests all countries, irrespective of their size. As I said in my statement at the beginning of this year's session, these chambers are a place where even the weakest can be heard. Disarmament is not solely the concern of the strong; security is the goal of all.

39. In this sense the item concerned with the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace represents an attempt to remove one vast area of our world from the dangers of great-Power rivalry.

40. On the item "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" some 41

delegations spoke of the urgency of this our central task in the United Nations. International security and progress is the ultimate goal in whatever items our Committee considers.

41. Finally, the last item on our Committee's agenda this year was that concerned with the sea-bed. On that item approximately 61 speakers addressed the Committee. In regard to that subject we can justly feel that we are taking important steps in dealing with what constitutes after all, two thirds of the surface of the globe. The success of the conference on the law of the sea will be crucial if we are to establish a new order in this vast area of our planet.

42. In this regard I am grateful, among others, to Mr. Lusaka of Zambia as Chairman of the non-aligned group, Mr. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, who is also Chairman of the sea-bed Committee, Mr. Pardo of Malta, Mr. Ranganathan of India who in his own usual modest and quiet way played an important and constructive role in the background regarding sea-bed matters, Mr. Jayakumar of Singapore, Mr. Arias Schreiber of Peru, and Mr. Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina who kept on materializing from nowhere whenever there was a crisis. The delegations of Kenya, Tunisia, Thailand, and so many others, merit special mention.

43. My sincere thanks go to all the members of the Committee for their co-operation. The Chairman of the Committee must be the servant of the Committee. In this task I am grateful to each and every one of you for your guidance and help. Our consultations and dialogue enabled the Chair to organize and conclude our work effectively. My thanks go to my two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Bishara and Mr. Datcu, who were always ready to substitute so ably for me, and to our Rapporteur, Mr. Santiso-Gálvez. It is by reading his reports that we discover what the Committee has been doing these past months. My thanks are also due to the Chairmen of the regional groups for their help in facilitating our consultations. I also offer my congratulations to those delegations which sponsored various draft resolutions or which introduced certain items to the Committee.

44. My thanks also go to the Secretariat. I thank Mr. Kutakov for his help and guidance. I found much comfort in his constant presence by my side.

45. Let me here pay tribute to our Secretary, Mr. Chacko. He is a veteran Secretary of our Committee. It is self-evident that without his experience and guidance the Committee could not function the way it does. As members are aware the Committee had, however, to begin its deliberations this year without his services. Mr. Chacko was at that time on an important mission to Namibia. His place, fortunately, was filled by the very able Mr. Herndl. His guidance was of enormous help to me and I thank him most sincerely for his good-humoured and indispensable assistance.

46. I want, too, to thank Miss Segarra of the Secretariat. She tackled the complexities and frustrations of the speakers' list with humour and grace and I am grateful for her help on this and indeed on many of the day-to-day problems of the officers of the Committee. I also owe

considerable gratitude to Miss Amy Pierce who understands the complexities of our documentation better than any of us. I am grateful to her.

47. Mr. Murthy, of course, has been exceptional in his diligence and devotion to his duty. He has even done a great deal of extramural work and as a friend has been of great help to the Chairman. He has even helped me to prepare this statement. The Committee became more productive the moment I announced that Mr. Murthy fathered a baby during our deliberations.

48. I also want to thank all those other members of the Secretariat whose services are indispensable to the servicing of the First Committee. To our highly professional interpreters I extend not only my thanks but my admiration. All of us are in awe of their abilities. On many occasions, too, they were obliged to work very late indeed—and without compensation. The Fifth Committee, I hope, will be outraged when they hear this.

49. And my thanks are also due to our two lovely conference officers who have greatly brightened the hours we have spent here.

50. Let me conclude my thanks by expressing my appreciation to all of our unseen helpers: the verbatim reporters, the interpreters, those who produce the relevant documentation, the secretaries who work in the background, our documents officer and last but not least that silent army that invades the conference room when we adjourn: the cleaners and those who keep the conference room properly provisioned.

51. Nor at this stage am I able to resist making a suggestion to the effect that the Secretariat next year retain a messenger here on the dais. This, I think, would be of great assistance to the Chairman while at the same time it would remove some of the more onerous burdens from the political officers of the Secretariat.

52. We have now concluded for this year the deliberations of the First Committee. Since the work we do here is done in the name of Governments and consequently in the name of many hundreds of millions of people—a sobering thought—it is altogether fitting that we reflect a moment on our purpose and function.

53. A quarter of a century, and more, has elapsed since the end of the Second World War. We celebrate the fact that we enjoy the longest period of world peace in this century. Since 1900 no period of world peace has been as long. Alliances are shifting, détente is growing, new initiatives seem to consolidate our gains and open wider the doors to peace.

54. Yet year after year we come here to denounce war, condemn evil, and praise good. No less is expected. But how much do we achieve? How far do we advance? How much progress do we make? Will peace elude our grasp in the long run? None of us can know as surely as the historians who will write of this period a hundred years hence. And though we sit here year after year—and sometimes wearily—wondering whether it all makes any difference, wondering whether the United Nations can save

us, we must surely still retain some idealism, some belief in our function, some hope in the future. For why else do we return to these chambers to uphold values and denounce war?

55. For surely that next of our wars—fought with the most evil and incomprehensible weapons ever created by man—could only be followed by future wars fought with sticks and stones. We know of those horrors and at the same time we do not know of them. We are ignorant of the full horror of the images of thermonuclear conflict. For none of us can comprehend, none of us can accurately call to mind, none of us can summon to the imagination the frightening images of a nuclear world where peace has finally eluded us. Who would ever have imagined that Armageddon could be loosed by man himself.

56. Here in this room we have discussed with reason and dignity the horrors of napalm. Yet few of us can imagine the real horror and indignity of terrorized children as they perish by these flaming and foul inventions of a supposedly adult world. Although this is not a human rights committee, the dignity and security of the individual is our ultimate goal. International security for each individual is our objective. To that end, the suffering wrought by man-made weapons, prisons and torture chambers should inspire us to work harder, think longer and understand each other more easily.

57. Yet, while we wonder how much the United Nations can help, how little or how large the contribution of the First Committee is, for the vast majority of the peoples of the world the United Nations is the last and best hope of man and the only hope for a permanent and dignified answer.

58. The answer, at least in this respect, is very simple. No one individual can make and keep world peace. Indeed, no one Government can make and keep a permanent peace. No one people can ensure that our children shall not slaughter each other in the name of principle.

59. For mankind is not only the only species that regularly murders its own kind, it is also the only species that kills on principle. We are the principled killers; not the naked ape but the intransigent ape, the moralistic murderer.

60. To this end, we should perhaps be less interested in our over-principled positions and more interested in the evolution, within the dictates of conscience, of a set of principles that bring us together. Intransigence sets us apart, brother from brother, Government from Government and people from people.

61. Peace is the product of many. Its fruits are gained by the contribution of all—a little from each, a great deal from all, a compromise here, an idea there. Peace is the product of each individual, of each delegation, of each Government when it comes to these and similar chambers with an open mind.

62. No one man, woman or people can make peace permanent. It is collective work. The efforts of this Committee are consequently vital.

63. It matters little then that the United Nations is derided for the lack of instant success. For by little steps does the world fall into the abyss of war. By little steps does peace become reality. Should we doubt this, we need only read the prehistory of the First World War. "How did it all happen?", a high official of an involved country was asked when that great war erupted. "Oh," was the reply, "if only we knew."

64. When we sit here and wonder if our efforts make any difference, when we wonder if the United Nations can really help, when we wonder if this is really the right forum, we should perhaps remember that. It is fitting too that this should be so. For in the final analysis peace is the rightful concern not of nations in the abstract but of the individual. We must draft him into our armies for peace.

65. In a world in which the instruments of war have outpaced the instruments of peace, the United Nations must be a unifying ideal. Peace itself is more than just the absence of war. It is a mosaic of global parts. Without one small section, without the contribution of each and every delegation, the picture is incomplete.

66. This is why the United Nations is important to the country that is small and weak. Without nuclear weapons, without the armies and the navies and the air forces possessed by the strong, the small nation has only the Charter, and through the Charter the possibility of full communication with its fellow men. With the pursuit and conquest of evil, the small country can get on with the task of cultivating the source of all national strength—the originality and spirit of its national heritage. The great nations of history that still inspire us were so very often the small nations, producers of the art, culture and spiritual strength that we justifiably regard as the greatest of all our cherished human ideals.

67. Yet, it is no exaggerated rhetoric to say that we stand today at a crossroads of history with human destiny in the balance. The need for security is a problem as old as man himself. Today, however, our pursuit of security has to do with the survival of man himself. For the quest for peace and political progress is, in our time, a seeking to avoid ultimate annihilation. Modern society has no other alternative to annihilation than to strengthen the force of law against the law of force. We have reached a point where almost the entire human race can either be obliterated at the touch of a finger or can enjoy the fruits of advancing knowledge in a new civilization. The continuing arms race not only threatens our future but depletes our present resources and security.

68. In this Committee, we repeatedly voice our concern over this perilous uncertainty. We call constantly for a future of peace, prosperity and progress. We work for the furtherance of international harmony. These things are within our power to build. And our appeals are no more than a call to common sense.

69. It is time to realize that the arms race must eventually defeat its own purpose. It cannot purchase security over the long term. Its pursuit of "sufficiency" is ephemeral. Its security gains are uncertain. The world cannot tolerate the continuation of the armaments race and the existence of

ever-growing stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. In this connexion, the five nuclear Powers have a special responsibility for finding, in the proper forum, the formula for destroying these instruments of destruction.

70. Millions as yet unborn are dependent on the success of this venture. Rhetoric is not enough. Concern is not enough. Eloquence is not sufficient. Only action will do.

71. The pattern of world politics is changing. Yet still we bear the burden of unprecedented and outrageous perils. The ever-deepening and widening chasm between the rich and the poor nations alone is a scandal of mounting peril. The corrosion of human freedom and dignity throughout the world is itself a problem of growing concern.

72. Yet, in this age of turmoil we stand confused. In the time of change we cling to outworn and outmoded ideas while yet permitting the erosion of those fundamental values that deserve to last. We witness, among other things, a technological explosion, a population explosion, an information explosion.

73. A time existed, not so very long ago, when a man or woman could read every book ever written. Now, in this age which claims 80 per cent of all the scientists who ever lived, specialization is increasingly forced upon the individual. For he cannot read everything written today, he cannot comprehend everything that is invented today. Knowledge has exploded, but time has not. We still possess the same number of hours in each day, the same number of days in each week, the same number of weeks in each year. So the computer is born to assimilate knowledge for us.

74. New media arise that we do not fully understand—though we wrestle here with principles governing such problems as direct television broadcasting. Instead, the computer understands for us, till one day we read of bombs dropped by computer and laser. Suddenly the problems that we little understand have magnified and returned in more sombre form to our Committee. Though we live now in the longest period of over-all world peace of our century we stand prepared to shatter that peace so that nothing can repair it. As if to chastise ourselves for living for so long in a period without war, we stand prepared to break the peace in an altogether unprecedented and apocalyptic fanfare. Our new sophisticated weapons may herald a new era characterized by unprecedented stupidity and incomprehension.

75. The peace puzzles us. This age puzzles us. The traditional guiding institutions of State, church and the law lag in their speed of growth behind our technology. Precisely because they are institutions they develop slowly. Yet something is accelerating so rapidly in the twentieth century that man, the individual, is left behind. Lacking institutional guidance, possessed alternately by confusion and fervour, and uncomprehending and unhappy in the face of change, the individual languishes in a void, or worries whether his own technology will imprison him.

76. Over 200 years ago Jean-Jacques Rousseau said: "*L'homme est né libre, et partout il est dans les fers*"—"man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains". He went on to say that "Those who think themselves masters

of others are indeed greater slaves than they". We too are engaged in this task, that man should be free.

77. Recently, my colleague and friend, Mr. Bishara of Kuwait, said in his statement to this Committee that "No one is so perfect as to be another's lord. No one is so unblemished as to assume the role of edifying tutor".

78. We work to make that belief a reality. We sit here year after year for that purpose. And when we wonder what the value of our efforts is we should perhaps remind ourselves of the importance of our task. We are in danger of neglecting the truths of our own rhetoric—that all men are created equal: equal in value and capable of equally valuable contributions in the pursuit of peace. To that end the contribution of those who clean the rooms and those who speak in these rooms is, in that sense, equal. I thank them both. The efforts of each of us is important. In an age of specialization may the specialists of peace proliferate.

79. In the painful conflict between self-interest and morality may we choose the latter. For no task is more noble or difficult than the pursuit of peace. It is the central task of the United Nations. Throughout history, whose lessons we are so slow to learn, the pursuit of peace has proved to be the single most evocative dream of all peoples. No task requires more sustained courage and effort than this. No task has more fired the imagination and hopes of all men than this—that they and their children should learn to live without war. Our work here is a step forward, a move ahead. For the point is not that the United Nations is or will be a failure. The point is that we occasionally fail it. Here in this mirror of the world the question is whether or not we fail ourselves, or whether, believing that each of us has a little to contribute, we pursue our goal undaunted.

80. In this baffling age when even peace puzzles us, where we have built weapons so horrible that even we cannot comprehend them, the individual is still supreme. For it is also an exciting age where our enthusiasm can infect others. "For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." The individual whose interests we pursue here, and who must never be lost sight of, can still save us from our own weapons and our own technology.

81. Over 2,000 years ago another individual, whose name was Archimedes, said: "Give me a lever and a place to stand, and I will move the world".

82. I shall now call on those speakers whose names are inscribed on my list.

[The speaker continued in French.]

83. I call on my very dear friend and colleague, and African brother, Mr. Jean Davin, of Gabon, the Chairman of the African group.

84. Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, you have just concluded our work, and we could not remain indifferent to the emotions aroused in the course of your statement. Your feelings do honour to you in your dignity as a man and as a noble son of Africa. On behalf of the African group, over which it is my honour to preside during this month of December, I am happy to

assure you of our lively and unconditional satisfaction at the way in which you directed the proceedings of this great political Committee throughout this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

85. In selecting you to carry so heavy a burden the African group, more than ever devoted to the defence of the ideals of the Charter for freedom, the independence of peoples and co-operation among nations, recognized in your person one of its most active and capable members. Your election to this important office has been a source of legitimate pride for us. The delicate tasks you have had to assume and the complexity of the problems which you have faced could not shake your tenacity or catch your intelligence and enlightened judgement by surprise. To that you added your humour and your well-known brio. Thanks to those qualities, the austere and at times impassioned debates have been marked by the most propitious atmosphere for the successful discharge of your high responsibilities. Thus the Committee has been able, under your wise guidance, to make some remarkable progress in the important items on our agenda, from disarmament and outer space to the sea-bed and the non-use of force—to mention only a few of the items on our agenda on which important resolutions have been adopted.

86. In thus successfully conducting the proceedings of this Committee to a close within the prescribed time limit, you have attained the objective assigned you, thanks to your talents, and thanks too to the valuable assistance of the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur.

87. On behalf of the group I represent, I should like to address my thanks also to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, who has consistently followed our proceedings.

88. Lastly, I should like to thank Mr. Herndl, who headed the Secretariat of our Committee during the absence of Mr. Chacko, who was carrying out another mission entrusted him by the Secretary-General. To Mr. Chacko and his colleagues and to all the members of the Secretariat who have made possible the successful functioning of our work, I should like to express our admiration and gratitude.

89. The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Tüzel, representative of Turkey, who will speak on behalf of the Chairman of the Asian group.

90. Mr. TÜZEL (Turkey): I am speaking on behalf of Mr. Olcay, who is attending the meeting of the Security Council in which the item on the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is under discussion.

91. Mr. Chairman, it is an honour and pleasure for my delegation, on behalf of the Chairman of the Asian group as well as on its own behalf, to express our deep appreciation of the way you have conducted the meetings of the First Committee and of the skill and leadership you have demonstrated, which were decisive factors in bringing our work to such a successful conclusion. The draft resolutions we have been able to adopt in connexion with the sea-bed, disarmament, outer space and the strengthening of international security are ample evidence of your success. In

addition to your qualities of leadership, your human qualities, your friendliness, your sense of humour, your kindness and your patience, not to mention your hospitality, created a special atmosphere in our Committee which made our tasks easier and also more pleasant. The mood of conciliation which enabled us to achieve successful and important results must be attributed to your personal charm and qualities. We thank you, Sir.

92. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Asian group to the Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Bishara of Kuwait and Mr. Datcu of Romania, for the very able assistance they extended to the Chairman, whose burdens they fully shared and in whose success they so fully participated.

93. I should like too to thank the Rapporteur of our Committee, Mr. Santiso-Gálvez, for the excellent work he had done in preparing and presenting the reports of the Committee.

94. I also want to express our thanks to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, to the very experienced and able Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chacko, and their staffs, and to all members of the Secretariat, inside and outside the booths, visible and invisible, whose dedicated efforts constituted a significant contribution to the work of the Committee.

95. The CHAIRMAN: I call on Ambassador Polyanichko, of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chairman of the East European group.

96. Mr. POLYANICHKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): First of all, Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank you for the deeply thoughtful and moving statement that you have just delivered in summing up the work of this session, to which we all listened with the closest attention.

97. My delegation, which this month provides the chairman of the East European group, has the high honour and satisfaction of extending to you on behalf of that group, and also on its own behalf, our deep appreciation of your conduct of the meetings of the First Committee throughout the course of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. For the successful conclusion of our work today our Committee is greatly indebted to your brilliant conduct of our proceedings and your skilful handling of negotiations among the various groups and delegations of Member States. To no small degree this was also made possible by the spirit of calm, restraint and good humour that you have consistently displayed in the course of our work. Thanks to these qualities of yours, which were already familiar to us who have known you as the permanent representative in this Organization of a young independent State, Mauritius, and which you have so skilfully demonstrated as one of the leaders of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the First Committee has successfully dealt with the many items on its agenda. This was made clear in our meeting this morning, when we adopted a very important draft resolution on the strengthening of international security.

98. We should also like to note the successful consideration of another very important item, that concerning the

convening of a world disarmament conference, which is a comparatively new question and which this time has been satisfactorily resolved.

99. Our work has also been facilitated by the contributions of our Vice-Chairmen, the Ambassadors of Romania and Kuwait, Mr. Datcu and Mr. Bishara, and of the Rapporteur, the Ambassador of Guatemala, Mr. Santiso-Gálvez, to all of whom we express our appreciation and thanks.

100. I should also like to express the appreciation of the East European group to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chacko, and his assistants, and all members of the Secretariat—interpreters, verbatim reporters, and other conference staff, thanks to their zeal and assiduity, all the work of the Committee has been facilitated.

101. The CHAIRMAN: I now call on my fraternal colleague, Mr. Paul Lusaka of Zambia, Chairman of the non-aligned group.

102. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasant duty, on this happy occasion of the successful conclusion of the work of the First Committee, to express to you, on behalf of the non-aligned group and my own delegation, the sincere sentiments of admiration and appreciation of the exemplary manner in which you have guided our deliberations. The fact that the Committee has been able to conclude its work today, a week before the closure of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, is attributable to your efficient and wise leadership. You have guided our deliberations with brilliance and impartiality. Your sense of humour has certainly been a major factor in the happy and friendly atmosphere that has prevailed and which characterized our Committee meetings even during the consideration of delicate matters. Your kind and warm words expressed to us a moment ago are highly appreciated.

103. The non-aligned group, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, has been equally impressed by and appreciative of the important role so ably played by the two Vice-Chairmen, the Ambassadors of Kuwait and Romania, and the Rapporteur, the Ambassador of Guatemala. We have no doubt that they have been valuable lieutenants whose wise counsel has greatly facilitated your task as Chairman. You have been a team of rare qualities.

104. This short intervention would be incomplete if I did not extend the sentiments of the non-aligned group to all the members of the Secretariat who have been connected with the work of the First Committee. We appreciate the valuable services rendered by the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov; the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chacko, his staff, the interpreters, the verbatim reporters, the précis writers, the conference officers, the translators, the documents officers, the typists and the lonely man in the control booth. Their outstanding abilities and devotion to duty have significantly contributed to the speedy and successful conclusion of our work.

105. I should like also to express the appreciation of my delegation, and indeed that of the entire non-aligned group, for the friendship and co-operation which we have enjoyed throughout this session from the entire membership of the First Committee.

106. Finally, I seek your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, if it is out of place for me, to express the appreciation of my delegation for the unqualified support and co-operation that my delegation has always enjoyed from all members of the non-aligned group throughout the period it has been our honour and privilege to serve as co-ordinator. I need not mention the obvious fact that our movement is destined to play an ever important and positive role in the work of the United Nations.

107. The CHAIRMAN: I give the floor to Mr. Martinez-Simahan, the representative of Colombia, who will speak on behalf of the group of Latin American states.

108. Mr. MARTINEZ-SIMAHAN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, speaking on behalf of Mr. Espinosa, who is at present at a meeting that he cannot leave, I am happy to say that every representative in the First Committee can attest to the prudence and efficiency with which you have presided over the work of the First Committee, with the brilliant assistance of the Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Bishara of Kuwait and Mr. Datcu of Romania and of our esteemed Rapporteur, Mr. Santiso-Gálvez of Guatemala.

109. We also wish to express our appreciation to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, and to the very efficient and able Mr. Chacko, as well as to the rest of the Secretariat.

110. Therefore, on behalf of the group of Latin American States, which Colombia is honoured to preside at this time, I express to you, Mr. Chairman, our appreciation and sincere and cordial thanks. It is thanks to your intelligence and your tact that today the First Committee can show a good balance sheet of its work for this twenty-seventh session. Your good humour, a quality that only certain men of sensitivity can bring forth at the right time, has helped us greatly in our work and very often turned a tense situation which usually arises in an important discussion into understanding. Under your wise leadership, Mr. Chairman, we have been able to examine items concerning international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, the different aspects of disarmament, the question of the sea-bed and the need to establish a new law of the sea and, finally, the question on implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In the examination of those questions, where brilliance and a desire for understanding on the part of all members prevailed in our work, we can say that on every subject the countries of the third world, including the Latin American nations, all courageously requested the great Powers to contribute to world understanding and to the development of peoples, and that in order to achieve universal peace and progress they give up national egotism. The consensus which has often been attained could be an ode to optimism.

111. At this very moment man again is walking on the moon and the world applauds the feat of a great nation. Therefore, I know that I am expressing a general view when I state at this closing meeting that every act of the nations of the world, every scientific, technological and social activity of progress will carry with it the advancement and progress of the entire planet, and that it will mean security and not fear for mankind, co-operation and not imperia-

lism, peace and not war. We truly hope that each act of the super-Powers and of each nation in the world will be met with the emotion and the pride as inhabitants of the Earth with which we view the astronauts of Apollo 17 today. When that takes place, then we shall have achieved the purposes expressed in this Committee. From that time on, our work will be as effective as we want it to be. Unfortunately, at that time we shall not be presided over by the distinguished Ambassador of Mauritius, but we trust that he will always co-operate with us as the representative of a people we greatly admire.

112. The CHAIRMAN: I give the floor to Mr. Macris, the representative of Greece, who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European States.

113. Mr. MACRIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): At the closure of our debate, on behalf of the countries of Western Europe and others, a group that my delegation presides over for the month of December, and also on behalf of my own delegation, I wish to say that justification of the confidence shown around this table in the unanimous election of the officers of the First Committee has been fully demonstrated and in a very happy way.

114. We have been very fortunate to have someone preside over our meetings in an exemplary fashion, which has allowed us to conclude our work successfully. The talent, tact, wisdom and efficiency with which you, Mr. Chairman, the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Bishara of Kuwait and Mr. Datcu of Romania, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Santiso-Gálvez of Guatemala, have all carried out your onerous responsibilities have thus earned our warmest thanks. We have thus successfully concluded our debate on the complex and extremely important matters that were allocated to this Committee for consideration, examination and constructive action.

115. We also wish to thank Mr. Kutakov, the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Chacko, the Secretary of the Committee and his assistant, as well as other members of the Secretariat who, through their effective work, have also contributed to the happy and satisfactory conduct of our work.

116. The CHAIRMAN: I give the floor to the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Arab group.

117. Mr. BENKHAYAL (Libyan Arab Republic): I am pleased, Mr. Chairman, to take this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Arab group to thank you and the Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Bishara of Kuwait and Mr. Datcu of Romania, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Santiso-Gálvez of Guatemala, for your wise guidance of the Committee in its consideration of the items of our agenda.

118. At the same time I should like to express the appreciation of the Arab group to all members of this community for their productive work at this session, and also its confidence that this successful effort will continue in the years ahead. Our Organization has, from its beginning, been administered by the super-Powers, which governed it in the absence of the majority of the present Members which were formerly colonies of those Powers.

For these reasons, I urge that in the future we focus our attention on the necessity of the participation of all members of the world community in creating a far better world for the future.

119. I thank the representative of Libya who has spoken on behalf of the Arab group. I call on the representative of Israel.

120. Mr. BARROMI (Israel): Mr. Chairman, at the cost of being repetitive may I add a few words of appreciation to you and to the other officers of the Committee, on behalf of the delegation of Israel. It is a pleasant duty to testify that you have enlivened our debates by your wit, your grace and by the elegance of your language. While holding, and certainly not concealing, strong opinions on many subjects, you have conducted our work with firm and tolerant equanimity. For all these reasons you deserve the gratitude and the esteem of this Committee.

121. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Israel for his kind words. I now call on the representative of India, who wishes to speak on behalf of the Permanent Representative of his country, who is President of the Security Council for December.

122. Mr. RANGANATHAN (India): Mr. Chairman, the Permanent Representative of India, Mr. Sen, would have liked very much to have been here personally to share your moving statement and to participate in the concluding session of the First Committee. Unfortunately, he has to preside over the meeting now taking place in the Security Council.

123. The Chairman of the Asian group has already, on behalf of the Asian States, referred in most appropriate terms to our admiration of the manner in which you, Sir, and the officers of the Committee—Mr. Bishara of Kuwait, Mr. Datcu of Romania, and our Rapporteur Mr. Santiso-Gálvez of Guatemala—conducted the work of this Committee. We took several important decisions this year, apart from attempting to give further impetus to existing agenda items, such as the one we just concluded today. To mention a few such decisions one needs only to look at the world disarmament conference, the creation of the *ad hoc* Committee to consider the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and the resolution adopted by acclamation relating to the scheduling of the conference on the law of the sea in 1973/1974.

124. Here, Sir, I am very humbled by your kind references to me. The fact that the resolution on the conference on the law of the sea was adopted by acclamation shows that it was the collective effort of many delegations who had associated with it at various stages: to mention only a few, the delegations of Canada, Norway, Australia, and the Chairmen of the regional groups, Mr. Kedadi of Tunisia, Mr. Panyarachun of Thailand, and Mr. Espinosa of Colombia.

125. More important, at considerable cost to yourself, you arranged a series of informal gatherings where many opportunities were provided to all of us to review our work in this Committee on a weekly basis. This innovative device helped to smooth out difficulties in the handling of the

agenda items before us. Many speakers before me have already referred to the finesse and the firmness with which you tackled very tricky situations, and this was a guarantee of the complete fair play on which the success of our work depends.

126. Sir, if I would not be out of place here I should like to take this opportunity of showing our appreciation to the co-ordinator of the non-aligned group, Mr. Lusaka, and to his entire delegation who so completely and successfully completed the mandate entrusted to them of co-ordinating the work of the non-aligned group in the First Committee.

127. To conclude, my delegation would like to associate itself with the grateful appreciation expressed to all the members, officials of the Secretariat, whom you mentioned in your own statement.

128. The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia, my beloved elder brother Mr. Baroody, conscience and chief pillar of the United Nations.

129. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The reason I am taking the floor is that I am neither aligned nor non-aligned, and inasmuch as geographically the country I represent happens to be in Asia I consider that I may speak as a United Nations man, having served here for over a quarter of a century, rather than merely belonging to any national, geographical or regional group.

130. The work of the First Committee has come to a close, and it behoves me to comment that on the whole the items allocated to its agenda were discussed in a calm and serene manner. The peace that reigned over the Committee, although it dealt, *inter alia*, with explosive, diabolical and lethal weapons of mass destruction, was in no small measure due to the relaxed, personal style with which our Chairman conducted our meetings. At no time was our Chairman ruffled. On a few occasions, when some representatives may have entertained the idea that their pet item or items on the agenda should meet with no opposition or criticism, our Chairman dispensed tranquillizing jokes that were accepted good-humouredly and thereby relieved the tension that may have developed in the heat of debate—I should say in the course of debate for, indeed, very little heat was generated in this Committee because, curiously enough, the rights of reply were kept to a minimum, and whenever they were made the pitch was low and the manner quite mild and friendly.

131. What was the secret of the Chairman's success? First, he is tall, handsome and exercises natural charm; he has charisma. In this, the host country, he would have been a good candidate for the presidency. Secondly, he refrained from asserting any irritating authority by making rulings which, with 132 representatives around, could easily have been challenged to the detriment of our dignity. Thirdly, the Chairman was none the less wise, in that he did not fall into the temptation of injecting his own views from the Chair and insinuating that he had definite ideas on any particular item. Last, but not least, the Chairman this year was lucky on the one hand, in having many personal friends, while on the other there were many representatives who, in a year of perceptible political détente, did not deem it fit to resort to fireworks in their deliberations but

rather were quite sedate and resigned if their draft resolutions did not meet with acceptance.

132. By the nature of the items which we discussed in this Committee we have travelled precariously into outer space without donning pressurized outfits and without the risks attendant on being catapulted around the moon or walking on that satellite, as is being done by brave astronauts at this very hour; we have dived precariously into the seas and oceans without a drop of water clinging to our suits; last, but not least, we have nursed the hope that man may ultimately find a way to live in peace by exploring the possibility of world disarmament, which should ultimately pave the way for love and harmony amongst all peoples on this planet.

133. Your statement this afternoon, Mr. Chairman, should be a testament of faith for all of us but in particular for world leaders and their aides, who formulate the momentous policies which decide whether the human species will commit suicide or live, nurtured, as it should, by universal love and friendship.

134. There is an onomatopoeic Arabic meaning to the name of the Chairman—"Ramphul" can be hyphenated as "*ram-phul*", which, translated from Arabic, means: "he desired the full, full as a flower akin to the gardenia that has a sweet and benign intoxicating fragrance". So, it could well have been that we were all aware that the Chairman cast a salutary spell on all the members of the Committee, who found it a pleasure to have their deliberations conducted by him. And I should not forget his immediate aides: not only the two Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteur, who are personal friends of mine, but every member of the Secretariat who serviced this Committee, without naming each one separately lest any be forgotten.

135. Finally, I hope that the States that exercise world power—and the emphasis is on world power—will be inspired by the statement which you read to us this afternoon and which was pregnant with wisdom and good sense. All I have to do now is to wish you and everyone without exception a happy New Year.

136. The CHAIRMAN: I now call on my fraternal colleague of Liberia.

137. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): I had hoped to speak before Mr. Baroody, but of course I am always happy to be able to speak after him.

138. I have asked to speak particularly to say a few words on behalf of one of Africa's oldest sovereign States and a founder Member of the United Nations. In my years on the First Committee I have never been so moved as I was by you, Mr. Chairman, this afternoon. I think it is important that particular emphasis be placed on this so that, as we leave this hall this afternoon, we may not let your words and the emotion that followed them lose their meaning, but may become more and more resolved to be dedicated and responsive to our duties, both as States and as individuals, in helping to bring the true meaning of peace and understanding.

139. We wish in particular to congratulate you; you have been exemplary in mastering your job and on behalf of my delegation I wish to compliment you highly and, through you, the Vice-Chairman, the Under-Secretary-General and all the members of the Secretariat. This has been one of the most successful First Committee sessions I have attended and I wanted this to go on record as an expression of Liberia's great admiration for a great son of Africa.

140. The CHAIRMAN: I now call on my colleague, Mr. Santiso-Gálvez, Rapporteur of the Committee.

141. Mr. SANTISO-GALVEZ (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have asked for the floor for a very brief statement. Because of the great generosity of the group of Latin American States, and without my having deserved it, I find myself seated here for the second time as Rapporteur of the First Committee. Therefore I should like to take advantage of this opportunity, first of all, to tell you, Mr. Chairman, and your two Vice-Chairmen of my admiration for the way in which you presided over the far from easy work of the First Committee and successfully completed the work of what is one of the most important Committees of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

142. Secondly, may I express my heartfelt appreciation to all the representatives of the regional groups of the General Assembly who have spoken so kindly and in such generous terms of the work of the Rapporteur of this Committee. Their words I accept with humility, but I shall carry them with pride, since I have been allowed to enjoy the honour of occupying this post in the First Committee of the General Assembly, our supreme world body.

143. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the Rapporteur of the First Committee. I wish to thank all the distinguished Chairmen of the regional groups, as well as those of the non-aligned group and the Arab group, and other delegations, while not forgetting the delegation of Saudi Arabia, so eminently represented by my beloved elder brother Mr. Baroody, for the kind words addressed to me as Chairman of the First Committee, to the other officers of the Committee and to the Secretariat.

144. The political and security Committee of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has thus concluded its mandate.

145. I wish you all a peaceful new year.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.