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

**AGENDA ITEM 32**

**Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) (A/7922 and Add.1-5, A/7926, A/C.1/1003, A/C.1/L.513-517)**

1. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic): The delegation of the United Arab Republic is gratified to see as the officers of our Committee three men known to have the faith, dedication and ability that are certain to contribute not only to the successful work of this committee but to that of the whole Organization.

2. I wish to congratulate the Committee on having as its Chairman this year Ambassador Aguilar of Venezuela and as its Vice-Chairman Ambassador Farah of Somalia, and on having Ambassador Cerník of Czechoslovakia as its Rapporteur. The United Arab Republic delegation has an added reason to express its appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, and through you to the officers of the Committee and the Committee as a whole. Your spontaneous reaction to the tragic news from Cairo about the death of President Nasser, which was first announced in this Committee, will always be remembered. Please accept again our deepest thanks. We have been surrounded by sympathy and even this morning your delegation, Mr. Chairman, speaking from the floor, was good enough to repeat its kind sentiments.

3. I also wish to mention the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, and to express to Mr. Chacko and to all the other members of the Secretariat—especially those of the silent majority whom we do not see but who are working and did work on the report on the Secretary-General [A/7922 and Add.1-5] and on the answers contained therein and who gave us the material enabling us to study this question—our thanks for all the assistance they continue to provide.

4. Turning now to the question before the Committee, it is appropriate to express again our appreciation of the initiative taken last year at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly by Foreign Minister Gromyko<sup>1</sup> which

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

was followed up with great energy and ability by Ambassador Jacob Malik in this Committee both last year and this year. Ambassador Malik must be pleased to see the serious contributions made in response to the USSR initiative in statements, in replies to the Secretary-General and in the draft resolutions submitted by so many Member States.

5. It was the conviction of our Committee last year, reflected in General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV), that there was an urgent need to make the United Nations more effective as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security and for strengthening international security. Reading carefully the well-considered replies which more than 50 States sent to the Secretary-General in response to last year's General Assembly request, and listening to the statements made so far in this Committee, we hear it stated and re-stated that, 25 years after the signing of our Charter, the nations of the world are not yet free from fears for their security. The United Nations has not yet provided them with a meaningful alternative to relying on their own force. Nations still try, therefore, to obtain security by ensuring their superiority in what is called the "balance of power" between them and their antagonists. Superior power—not right, or law, or the principles solemnly accepted by our signing of the United Nations Charter—still determines the policies and actions of many States. Under the theory of the balance of power, greater security for one State can be obtained only at the expense of greater insecurity for another. The effective, collective security system, which is the answer envisaged in the Charter to this unacceptable situation, is simply not operative now. Our world is a helpless witness today to unrepelled acts of aggression, to unpunished and unchecked Charter violations and defiances of its collective will, tolerated or, worse, in some instances actually encouraged.

6. Where did we go wrong? Is our Charter deficient? Were the men who wrote it dreamers who decreed for the nations rules they could not humanly live by?

7. Reading the replies of some Member States to the Secretary-General's letter and listening to some statements like the brilliant one made today [1733rd meeting] by my colleague, Ambassador Boye of Senegal, shows that some of us would indeed wish to see the United Nations Charter revised. Our constitutional instruments and arrangements—like all other human institutions—are far from perfect. Blueprints could legitimately be conceived for making them more perfect. The problem does not lie, however, with the imperfection or imperfections of our institutional instruments. I think that we should try first to see if we have applied the Charter which we have.

8. The Charter, for example, was declared in the name of the people of the world, reaffirming the equal rights of men

and women and of nations large and small. Why, then, is more than a quarter of the population of the world barred from this Organization? Why would any nation be barred or even abstain from joining the Organization? In a message sent by Secretary-General U Thant to His Holiness the Pope on 4 October last the point is pertinently made by the Secretary-General that it is not only the privilege but the duty of all nations to shoulder their part of collective responsibility in world affairs by abiding by the Charter of the United Nations.

9. Another point is this. There are Articles in the Charter that deal with Members of the Organization that persistently violate its principles. Why does the Organization suffer repeated defiance of its resolutions and decisions by countries that apparently would also like to remain Members, countries that take whatever privileges they can obtain and disdain the rules they should abide by and the duties they should perform?

10. Another point is this. Why does the Organization allow pre-commitments to shadow the free judgement of some of its Members? The spirit of the Charter knows only one great alliance, the alliance of all men in a quest for justice, peace and progress. The absence of a system of international security is perhaps responsible here too. As countries have to rely on their own force or seek the support of a superior Power, military alliances dictating pre-commitments are created, and the spirit and good functioning of the Organization are damaged.

11. Another point is this. In the implementation of the principles of the Charter, why is the world collective security system not functioning effectively now? Why is the outmoded theory of the balance of power still persisting in the vocabulary of nations? Why is violence still a tolerated instrument of national policy?

12. Our forefathers thought that the scourge of war would not soon be forgotten. They thought that we could and would exert our utmost endeavours to establish the machinery that would enable us to impose where we could not persuade, to punish when reprimanding was not enough.

13. In 25 years, as far as I am aware, Article 41 has been resorted to only once, and there are serious questions about whether its provisions were strictly applied. It is not that we have been without any infringements or violations of the Charter, but the Charter, is not applied.

14. Another point is this. The machinery referred to in Article 43 was never set up. One does not know whether the insecurity of nations is the reason for or the result of the absence so far of this necessary mechanism of the world collective security system. We have not exhausted the provisions of the Charter; so far we have only exhausted such verbs as "call upon", "demand", "deplore" and "condemn". There is a risk that their edge will be blunted with excessive use. Their effectiveness is clearly impaired by the prior knowledge that there will be no follow-up by the Security Council or by this Organization. The words of the Charter remain words; they have not been translated into articles of faith. We do not believe enough in them, and certainly we do not behave in accordance with them.

15. Last year [*1656th meeting*] the representative of the United States said that his country would be happy to join other Members in recalling the purposes and principles of the Charter and in issuing a simple declaration reaffirming them and reaffirming the commitment to and faith in the Charter's provisions. He thought, however, that such an act would not advance any of our aims. I beg to differ. The words of the Charter will remain, as I have said, mere words unless they are transformed into articles of faith and the faithful do not tire from repetition of the words in which they believe. Perhaps it is by remembering and even memorizing them that we can bring ourselves somehow to live and act according to their guidance.

16. The Heads of State or Government of 53 non-aligned countries meeting at Lusaka last month were of the opinion that the present session of our Assembly should adopt a declaration on the strengthening of international peace and security, reiterating the principles of the Charter and promoting an effective international security system. That declaration, they thought:

"should be based on a scrupulous respect of the observance in practice of the principles of the Charter, of peaceful coexistence and friendly relations among the States and would particularly emphasize the renunciation of the threat or use of force against territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-intervention in the internal affairs of any State, inviolability of the established frontiers, prohibition of aggression and non-recognition of territorial acquisition by conquest, respect for the sovereign equality of nations, peaceful settlement of disputes, disarmament including nuclear disarmament, and the promotion of economic and social development in particular of developing countries".

17. The most outstanding achievement of our Charter is its response to humanity's long-standing yearning and struggle to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy. This basic principle has as its corollary the equally basic principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by conquest, a principle which has been reaffirmed by the General Assembly and the Security Council. That principle has also found solemn expression in article 17 of the charter of one of the regional organizations, the Organization of American States, which provides that "No territorial acquisitions or special advantages obtained either by force or by other means of coercion shall be recognized".

18. The paramount importance of the strict observance of that principle was pointed out by the representative of Ceylon in his address before the Security Council on 12 September 1969,<sup>2</sup> when he stated:

"If that principle were not scrupulously observed, and if it were not effectively enforced, the United Nations would have no meaning or purpose. That is the heart of the matter."

19. A meaningful peace would require that every country should be free from all kinds of domination—those reflecting inequality among nations or those imposing inequality

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year, 1510th meeting*.

among races. Moreover, there should be freedom for all people to choose their own political, economic and social systems.

20. As was pointed out this morning [1733rd meeting] by the representative of the Netherlands, Ambassador Fack, the approach taken by the Charter to peace and security is broad and organic. It does not seek merely the absence of war: the Charter seeks the creation of conditions of freedom and of progress conducive to real, meaningful peace. A constant source of insecurity in the world is the unbridged gap between the industrially developed countries and the so-called developing countries. A meaningful peace would require, then, that all nations—and indeed all peoples—enjoy equal opportunities in their endeavours for economic, cultural and scientific advancement. Such endeavours should be assisted by more vigorous, extensive and intensive international co-operation.

21. The astronomical sums spent on armaments, shunting away from the needs of men everywhere the material resources necessary for their happiness, are of course another reflection of the state of insecurity which exists. Disarmament can be practically achieved only when the system of world collective security is realized. We in the United Nations, therefore, can contribute to world disarmament by ensuring and strengthening the ability of our Organization to provide security to all States. We should at least try.

22. The Committee now has before it three drafts, introduced respectively by the representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik [A/C.1/L.513]; the representative of Italy, Ambassador Vinci [A/C.1/L.514]; and the representative of Brazil, Ambassador Castro [A/C.1/L.517]. The non-aligned countries will soon submit their draft to the Committee. It is gratifying to see all these efforts being made, expressing as they do our serious endeavour to find out how best we can attain what is, in fact, an objective common to us all.

23. Different Committees of the General Assembly are also engaged in considering in what manner they could best contribute to the task of reappraising the activities of the United Nations with a view to making it a more effective instrument for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of international co-operation. The Second Committee is preparing a declaration on the Second United Nations Development Decade; the Fourth Committee is working on an appropriate document to be issued on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the Sixth Committee has already recommended to the General Assembly the adoption of a Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. A declaration by the General Assembly on the strengthening of international security should be paramount among the different instruments which this twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly should adopt. For peace built upon justice and ensuring security is the cornerstone of the international order as established—or as hoped for—by the Charter. Its maintenance is the principal purpose of the Organization, and its primary function.

24. My delegation notes with satisfaction that one measure included in the draft appeal submitted by the Soviet delegation at the last session of the General Assembly<sup>3</sup> has already been adopted. On the initiative of the delegation of Finland the Security Council reached a consensus at its 1544th meeting on 12 June 1970 to hold periodic meetings of the Security Council, with its members represented by their Foreign Ministers or by some other specially designated representatives. The Council is expected to hold such a meeting very soon, I understand. May we hope that when the Council convenes at those periodic meetings it will consider, perhaps among the first items it takes up, the setting up of the structural arrangements for the enforcement action envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, and that it will then consider the desirability of establishing a subsidiary organ to follow up, oversee and report on the full implementation of the decisions of the Security Council, which the Members of the United Nations have pledged to accept and to carry out under Article 25 of the Charter.

25. I also submit to this Committee—and with this I shall conclude my statement—the suggestion that the General Assembly initiate a study on the means of ensuring strict observance by Member States of the basic norms of the Charter, especially those relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the compliance with resolutions of the General Assembly—especially those related to this subject.

26. Perhaps future action on these two suggestions may prove to be a useful addition to the declaration we all expect from the present Assembly on the strengthening of international security.

27. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to thank the representative of the United Arab Republic, Ambassador El-Zayyat, for his words of congratulation to the Bureau.

28. Mr. ECOBESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, may I begin by addressing to you on behalf of the Romanian delegation our most cordial congratulations, and by expressing our satisfaction at your election to the chairmanship of this important Committee.

29. The fact that, at the commemorative session, this high office was entrusted to a distinguished representative of Venezuela constitutes a proof of the esteem which is felt for your remarkable qualities as a diplomat and statesman, and for the contribution of your country to the work of the United Nations.

30. At the same time we see this election as a recognition of the dedication of the Latin American States to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and their noteworthy participation in the work of the Organization.

31. May I take this opportunity of mentioning the positive development of relations between Romania and Venezuela, to the establishment of which you so greatly contributed, and also of emphasizing the extension of co-operation between my country and other Latin American States.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7903, para. 7.

32. I should also like to extend warm congratulations to your distinguished colleagues, Ambassador Farah of Somalia and Ambassador Cerník of Czechoslovakia, whose great skill and spirit of co-operation, so necessary for our work, enjoy our unanimous appreciation.

33. If there is any problem which should constantly be on the agenda and enjoy priority attention in the United Nations, it is that of international security, for the essential reason that it constitutes the primary objective of the Organization, engraved on the flyleaf of the Charter, and that it is, at the same time, the most ardent aspiration of the peoples of the whole world.

34. We therefore note with satisfaction that, thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union, the problem of international security is the subject of particular attention at the present session, as it was at the last session.

35. The several thousand years of human history show that, at the cost of incessant effort and heavy sacrifice, the peoples have always acted to achieve their legitimate aspiration, to make certain of their security. The question of security has become even more urgent in our age, when enormous stocks of weapons of mass destruction are being accumulated, and sources of tension and conflicts engendered by the use of force and interference in the life of this or that people persist, which cannot but have a highly adverse effect on the peace and tranquillity of all nations.

36. The fundamental point in the approach to the problem is that international security is not an end in itself. Its clearly-defined objective is to create conditions in which every State can exercise its inalienable and equal right to free existence, to a worthy life, to national sovereignty and independence, to peace and security in international relations. The security thus achieved should constitute for every people a guarantee that never under any circumstances will it find itself faced with an act of force or threat to its freedom and independence, to its rights and legitimate interests.

37. I should like to recall in this regard that in Romania's reply to the Secretary-General's letter [see A/7922/Add.2] it is stated that, in the Romanian Government's view:

"... international security requires a system of clear-cut commitments by all States, and also specific measures which will provide each State with a complete guarantee that it is safe from any threat of aggression or any other act involving the threat or use of force, and which will ensure the peaceful development of States in an atmosphere of *détente*, understanding and co-operation.

"The decisive factors on which the maintenance of world peace and security and the improvement of the general political climate at present depend are respect for the right of every people to decide its own fate itself, and the renunciation of efforts to dominate other people by force."

38. In order to consolidate peace and strengthen general security, it is of paramount importance that relations between States should be based on the fundamental norms and principles of present-day international law, as enshrined

in the United Nations Charter. This means most especially respect by all in regard to each, for the noble principles of national sovereignty and independence, the equality of rights, a non-interference in internal affairs, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, territorial integrity and the inviolability of State frontiers, mutual advantage and reciprocal respect. The strict observance of those principles ensures optimum conditions for the development of the creative capacity and the economic and spiritual prosperity of every nation. At the same time it is the key to relations of trust and co-operation between States, to strengthening international legality. Experience shows that the universal observance of these international rules of conduct, which constitute an inseparable whole, is the essential condition for *détente*, understanding and peace. Any encroachment on the integrity of those principles inevitably gives rise to mistrust and tension in relations among States, dangerous situations of crisis and conflict, which may have grave consequences for world peace and security.

39. It therefore seems to us particularly significant that the replies of States to the Secretary-General's letter [A/7922 and Add.1-5], like the debates at this session—and at the preceding session, for that matter—emphasize the paramount importance attached to the principles and to their unswerving application, as a fundamental requirement for the strengthening of international security. That fully vindicates the conviction expressed in the report of the Secretary-General that:

"one of the main prerequisites of the strengthening of international security is for all States to live up to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to rededicate themselves once again to the norms of international behaviour and morality set out in the Charter. This would be as much in the interest of the major Powers as it would be in the interest of all the others." [A/7922, para. 6.]

40. In the same spirit Ambassador Malik, representative of the USSR, rightly emphasized in his comprehensive statement of 28 September last:

"Respect for these principles is an indispensable and essential condition for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security. Flouting of these principles results in international tension and aggressive acts, and leads to armed conflicts and wars." [1725th meeting, para. 32.]

41. In the light of the foregoing, my delegation believes that it is urgently necessary that the document to be adopted on the item on the strengthening of international security should clearly and unequivocally reaffirm the principles of the United Nations Charter and the determination of Member States to respect them and to apply them consistently in all their international relations.

42. The decisive condition for guaranteeing peace and security for all is the elimination of force and its most brutal expression, war, as a means of settling disputes between States.

43. The common code of conduct of the States Members of the United Nations, the Charter, proclaims in its Preamble the determination of the peoples of the United

Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", and for these ends, "to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used". The establishment of a climate and of international relations governed by the force of law and not by the law of force represents a commandment of the Charter that all States Members of the Organization have undertaken to respect.

44. A corollary of contemporary international legality, the imperative of non-recourse to the threat or use of force, is of vital importance for guaranteeing the right of every people to free and independent existence and for protecting the world from devastating conflagrations.

45. The situation that exists throughout the world, however, shows us that this cardinal principle is not respected by all or applied in all circumstances. We cannot but be concerned at the fact that although such acts have been outlawed attacks against the independence and sovereignty of States are made in various parts of the world, imperialist circles resort to the threat or use of force, interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, commit acts of aggression against this or that people and pursue policies of oppression and domination.

46. In view of these realities Romania believes that the higher interests of mankind require that resolute action be taken to put an end to any act of force and aggression. That is a requirement which should guide our debate in this Committee.

47. The document to be adopted at the conclusion of our discussion should, we believe, vigorously and expressly reaffirm the fundamental obligation of States not to resort to the threat or use of force and not to interfere on any pretext whatsoever in the domestic affairs of other States.

48. In conditions where the threat or the use of force is outlawed and States have a duty to do everything possible to stem and, finally, to eliminate the manifestations of force in their reciprocal relations, there is only one legal and reasonable way: that is, the solution of disputes exclusively by peaceful means.

49. In giving formal expression to the obligation of all States to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations", the Charter explicitly provides, at the same time, that "all Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered." This obligation is set forth in greater detail in Article 33 of the Charter, which makes available to States a varied spectrum of ways and means of bringing about peaceful settlement of their disputes.

50. Once the norms of international law unambiguously establish the mandatory nature of peace procedures, the most important thing, above all, in present international circumstances, is the political will of States to act in accordance with this principle, which is so crucial to the security of all.

51. The development of events eloquently shows that there is no dispute to which a lasting solution cannot be found when this decisive factor, the political will of States to reach a peaceful settlement, is present.

52. My delegation believes that after adoption of the Declaration concerning principles which should govern relations between States the United Nations should concern itself further with the study and promotion of the peaceful means set forth in the Charter. The systematization and progressive development of these rules in conformity with the principles of the Charter would represent a notable contribution to increased effectiveness of the procedures for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

53. If non-use of force is an essential legal pillar of security, elimination of the instruments of force, armaments, are its material guarantee. Any debate worthy of the name devoted to the topic of security therefore implies recognition of the pressing need to take effective disarmament measures.

54. There is deep concern at the fact that, although partial agreements have been concluded, the arms race has assumed monstrous proportions, becoming a heavy burden on all peoples. Immense stocks of nuclear devices constitute a grave danger to the very existence of civilization on our planet. Chemical and biological weapons, as well as so-called conventional armaments, are a standing threat to the life of all peoples. The presence of military bases in the territory of other States endangers the security of States in various parts of the world. These very grave realities make it more necessary than ever that all peoples, all Governments, all political factors, should reflect with the greatest responsibility on the risks incurred by mankind and should act as resolutely as possible to put an end to the arms race and proceed to the destruction of the means of waging war.

55. The central objective has been and remains general disarmament and, as an absolute priority, practical measures to eliminate nuclear weapons. At the same time, it is necessary that chemical and bacteriological weapons should be eliminated from the arsenals of all States, that concrete steps should be taken in other areas of disarmament, that military bases in the territory of other States should be dismantled and troops withdrawn within national frontiers, and that measures should be taken to eliminate military blocs.

56. The programme of the Disarmament Decade, which the General Assembly should adopt at its present session, should comprise a complex of measures and activities aimed at providing the guidelines for negotiations and opening up prospects for tangible results in the field of disarmament in the years ahead.

57. At the same time, the Romanian delegation supports the view shared by the delegations of other countries that the question of security guarantees for the non-nuclear-weapon States, a matter left open by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], should find an adequate solution. To that end, it is particularly important that the nuclear Powers enter into a firm commitment not to use nuclear weapons and not to threaten to use them against States not possessing such weapons.

58. A living entity in a constant state of flux, international security can and must be built on the lasting foundations of broad international co-operation among all States, irrespective of their political and social systems.
59. The changes that are taking place in today's world, the massive penetration of modern science and technology into all areas of human activity, the deepening of the international division of labour—these are all factors that dictate the extension and multiplication of ties of all kinds uniting countries and peoples and the intensification of relationships and contacts among States.
60. Responding to objective necessities, co-operation appears as an essential condition for the prosperity of every nation; furthermore, it performs a real function of peace and security for the benefit of all mankind. There is hardly any problem in international relations which can conceivably be solved without co-operation. This is especially true of world problems such as international peace and security.
61. This is why attempts to strengthen general peace and security must go hand in hand with constant concern for the unimpeded development of collaboration among States. Hence the urgent necessity for the efforts of all countries to be directed towards both co-operation and security, for the purpose of attaining both those objectives.
62. In order to serve effectively the cause of strengthening peace and security, and to play its role as a factor in general progress, co-operation must constantly flourish under the rule of the fundamental principles and the norms of international law, from which there can be no departure.
63. In the interest of the maintenance of international peace and security, an end must be put without further delay to the last vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialist practices must be completely eliminated from relations among States, together with all forms of enslavement, dependence and exploitation from abroad, all of which poison international relations and constitute a source of tension and conflict that seriously jeopardize the general peace and security.
64. The Socialist Republic of Romania stands four-square behind the struggle being waged by peoples against foreign oppression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the abolition of all forms of domination of one State by another, against the plundering of other peoples' resources. Our country whole-heartedly supports the fight of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia, and of all peoples still under colonial oppression, and condemns in most categorical fashion the *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the minority régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia. The complete abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and the creation of conditions in which every people could affirm their right to a life of freedom and dignity, would constitute a powerful factor for the strengthening of world security. But security is not a political matter only. Its economic aspects are also an essential component. This leads us to mention, if only briefly, the important question of development, which, unless it receives appropriate solution, will leave security always incomplete and, therefore, unstable.
65. The slogan under which the commemorative session of the United Nations is being held—"Peace, Justice, Progress"—has the advantage of emphasizing, in strikingly succinct form, the directions in which the merged efforts of all States should be directed. Further, it points up the imperative need for guaranteeing the right of every nation to develop free from all dependence and to enjoy broad access to the benefits of modern civilization, failing which progress for all would be but an illusion, justice would be unknown, and peace and security would be endangered.
66. A prime essential for progress, one to which the United Nations must constantly attend, must always bear in mind—particularly now when we are drawing up the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade—lies in the economic and social progress of the developing countries, in bridging the gap that divides them from the advanced States, and in developing the resources that they possess in the interests of the well-being of their peoples. The reduction and elimination of that gap represent one of the essential conditions for the development and safeguarding of peace and for the reinforcement of general security.
67. If it is agreed that in our time peace and security are indivisible, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the flames of war still rage and dangerous hotbeds persist in various parts of the world.
68. Romania favours an immediate halt to the war in Viet-Nam and all military action in Indo-China, the withdrawal of United States troops, and an end to all interference in the domestic affairs of the Viet-Nameese people. The peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos should be left to solve their problems on their own, in accordance with their own aspirations and desires, free from all foreign interference.
69. Our country likewise consistently favours the peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of November 1967 calling for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, for respect for the right to existence and to independent development of each State in the region, and for a solution of the problem of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with their legitimate interests.
70. By its very nature, security, like peace, is a vital necessity for every people and for all nations, without exception. This means that it is the right and the duty of all States to participate in the discussion and solution of international problems and in efforts to build a peaceful world in which the security of all States is safeguarded.
71. No State, whatever its size or potential, should be prevented from making its contribution to this general endeavour. This is a requirement which flows directly from the principle of the sovereign equality of States, requiring their participation in international life on a footing of equality. It also flows from the interdependence of the modern world which results from, among other things, the scientific and technological revolution. The problems facing mankind today are of such scope and complexity that a lasting solution to them is hardly conceivable without the participation of all peoples and all nations.



72. The President of the Council of State of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, has said:

“In the present conditions, all States of the world, irrespective of size or population, economic and military power or social and political system, have the opportunity and the duty to contribute actively to the cause of international peace and security. We believe that a particularly important role in this regard falls to the small and medium-sized countries which, as experience has proved, are usually the first to fall victim to the aggressive acts of imperialism. By co-operating in many ways those countries can make a notable contribution to developing normal relations in international life, to eliminating hotbeds of conflict and tension created and maintained by imperialism in various parts of the world, and to defending peace.”

73. In my Government's view a key role in the strengthening of international security falls to the United Nations as a forum called upon to harmonize the efforts of all States and direct them towards the promotion of co-operation and peace.

74. In order to carry out this noble task effectively it is essential that the Organization and its various bodies be constantly and unswervingly guided by the principles of the Charter.

75. One of the most important requirements for the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations, which flows from the principles of the Charter and is dictated by reality, consists in the attainment of universality for the Organization and in the creation of conditions in which all States can participate in its activities. Romania is firmly in favour of the restoration without further delay of the lawful rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, a great world Power without whose participation a viable solution to the problems facing mankind is scarcely conceivable. It is also necessary that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany be admitted to the United Nations and that conditions be created with a view to permitting other States so wishing to participate in the activities of the Organization.

76. In our opinion, the United Nations should redouble its efforts to contribute further to strengthening international legality. To this end, efforts should be continued to draft as soon as possible a generally acceptable definition of aggression, which would help to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations machinery for the maintenance of world peace.

77. Devoting their best efforts to a broad-based activity of peaceful construction, the people of Romania are vitally interested in international security. They are fully convinced that their objectives and constructive ideals, like those of other peoples, can be attained only in a climate of peace and international understanding. That is why the consolidation of peace and security represents a central and constant objective of Romanian policy. To this end Romania is endeavouring to develop links of co-operation with all the socialist countries and all States of the world, irrespective of their social systems, and working actively to promote norms of law and justice in inter-State relations,

for the solution of international problems in conformity with the legitimate interests of peoples. As a European country Romania attaches great value to the attainment of lasting security in Europe and consistently works towards this objective, which is of great importance to the peoples of the continent, as well as for world peace.

78. As we see it, the conditions are now more propitious for developing co-operation and promoting understanding among the States of Europe. An example in this regard is the Treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, which is of particular importance not only for relations between the two countries but also for improving the European political climate as a whole.

79. It should be emphasized that the organization of a general European conference, a matter of growing urgency, would help to strengthen confidence and stimulate co-operation while at the same time smoothing the way towards the attainment of security and a solution of the problems which have accumulated on the continent.

80. We believe that the time has come to pass from the stage of general declarations to that of specific actions to convene the conference with the direct participation of all the countries concerned, both in the preparatory activities and in the conference proper.

81. In view of the role that measures on a regional scale are called upon to play, the Government of Romania is consistently acting to extend good-neighbourly relations with all the countries of the Balkans and to create an area of peace and collaboration, free from nuclear weapons, in that part of Europe.

82. Those are the considerations which my delegation wished to put forward on the item relating to the strengthening of international security. It is in this spirit that my delegation intends to contribute to the drafting and the adoption of a document which will satisfy the interest of all States in seeing real progress towards the strengthening of peace and security.

83. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Romania for his contribution to the discussion on this item and for the kind words of congratulations which he extended to the officers of the Committee. I wish personally to thank him most sincerely for his generous comments about my country and myself which are a reflection of his friendship and the cordial relations that I am happy to say exist between Romania and Venezuela.

84. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Mr. Chairman, it was my pleasure and privilege to propose you for the chairmanship of this most important Main Committee of the General Assembly. The capacity for leadership and guidance that you have demonstrated since we began our work has more than fulfilled the high expectations that we entertained of your chairmanship. May I extend to you the sincere congratulations of the Pakistan delegation and also thank you for the generous words that you said about me personally.

85. Our Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur are colleagues of great ability who have many accomplishments to their credit.

86. This Committee may indeed congratulate itself on its good judgement in electing as officers of the Committee such outstanding permanent representatives to the United Nations.

87. Last year, the Soviet Union took a most timely initiative in inscribing on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly an item on the strengthening of international security.<sup>4</sup> At first, many delegations wondered, with a hardly concealed scepticism, whether a discussion of such a question would lead to any productive outcome. However, as the debate began to unfold, awareness deepened that it was about time the United Nations turned its attention seriously to considering the state of security of nations, to promote and strengthen which it had been established. The discussions on this subject last year and the views of Governments communicated to the Secretary-General [see A/7922 and Add.1-5], as well as the present debate, have provided us with a volume of documentation which clarifies the issues to a degree sufficient for us to prepare ourselves to meet the challenge of harmonizing our views and interests in a declaration that can do credit to this commemorative session of the Organization.

88. The views of Pakistan were set forth by my delegation last year and by my Government in its communication to the Secretary-General of 30 April this year [see A/7922]. I do not therefore consider it necessary to recapitulate or elaborate them. If it is agreeable to the Committee, I shall confine my intervention to certain preliminary comments on the texts of the three draft resolutions that are before us.

89. Before I do so may I say that my delegation has been most impressed by some of the interventions in the present debate. I would like to make particular mention of the one made by the representative of Brazil, Ambassador Araújo Castro, on 28 September [1725th meeting], which gave lucid and powerful expression to what my own delegation feels most strongly—namely the imperative need to revitalize the United Nations as a political instrument for the promotion, through settlement of international disputes, of a permanent peace based on justice.

90. It is our view that the Charter does not allow any division between international peace and security on the one side and justice on the other, for Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter obligates all Members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered. It is a matter of regret that, during the last 25 years, this very mandatory provision of the Charter has been largely disregarded. The notion that the Security Council should be used only to control, localize and, if necessary, to police conflicts and do little to settle them has largely undermined the credibility of the United Nations as an instrument for promoting international security.

91. The basic approach of the Pakistan delegation to the three draft resolutions before us is guided by our faithful adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The formulations that will elicit our

support will be those that in our judgement reflect the provisions of the Charter as well as the principles that can be shown to follow ineluctably from them. We recognize that a mere reiteration of the provisions of the Charter would serve little purpose and make no impact on public opinion in the world. At the same time, any declaration which adds to or detracts from the Charter would amount to its revision. As we see it, the Committee is called upon to bring into focus those principles which, though explicit or implicit in the Charter, have not received the attention they deserved during the last 25 years of the working of the political organs of the United Nations.

92. Looking at draft resolutions A/C.1/L.513 and A/C.1/L.514, my delegation is deeply impressed by the efforts made by the delegations of the Soviet Union and the seven socialist States, and those of Italy, Japan and other Western States to narrow the gap between their respective positions, which were so wide apart last year. This in itself deserves acknowledgement and appreciation from all of us. I should like to pay a tribute to the representatives of the sponsoring countries for the spirit of accommodation and readiness to reconcile their differences that they have demonstrated. Although there may be ideological differences between the two groups of Powers to which the sponsors of the two draft resolutions belong, both texts equally reflect a maturity of thought and understanding born of long political experience, of direct participation in the framing of the Charter and of an analysis of the factors involved in the strengthening of international security. It is only right that I should mention the names of Ambassador Vinci of Italy and Deputy Foreign Minister Yakov Malik for their contribution to our search to find common ground.

93. A third draft resolution [A/C.1/L.517], which was introduced two days ago [1731st meeting] by the representative of Brazil in the name of his own and 22 other Latin American delegations, is also before us. In his outstandingly able presentation, Ambassador Araújo Castro has indeed, in his own words, set forth "an authentic Latin American position towards world problems". Let me express my admiration for this exercise. It is a *tour de force* which gives brilliant expression to Latin American juristic traditions.

94. As far as the Pakistan delegation is concerned, there is in fact no particular provision in any of the three drafts to which we have any fundamental objection. Given a spirit of harmony, a desire to find and widen a basis for agreement that undeniably exists, I see no reason why contentions and controversies should be injected which would defeat the objective of evolving a text acceptable to all.

95. Such controversies will, I fear, definitely arise if any attempt is made to bring in matters that are germane to a declaration quite different from the one on strengthening international security. In this context, I refer to 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 is to be adopted by the General Assembly on 24 October.<sup>5</sup> My delegation was constrained to enter reservations concerning that Declaration in the Sixth Committee, for the

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, document A/7654.

<sup>5</sup> For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).



reason that some of the formulations in it were liable to grave misinterpretation, but on the whole it was a balanced document and did not attempt to place undue emphasis on any one of the seven principles mentioned in it at the expense of another. Like all declarations, it stands in its entirety and does not admit of any selective stress on one part as against another. Would it not, therefore, be highly unfortunate if, in evolving a declaration on strengthening international security, we were to lift one part of one principle from the Declaration on friendly relations, cut it asunder from the balancing elements existing in that declaration and incorporate this part in the present declaration? In that way, we would go a long way towards misinterpreting both the purposes and meaning of the two declarations.

96. Let me cite an example. The Declaration on friendly relations speaks of "the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate international lines of demarcation, such as armistice lines . . .". In view of the fact that this Declaration also speaks of the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples of their right of self-determination and also of the right of such peoples to seek and to receive support in their resistance to such forcible action, it does not in any way give any aid or comfort to any party that may harbour designs of converting an armistice line into a permanent frontier. But, should we separate the first duty, which I have mentioned, from the other duty and right, the result would be that, instead of strengthening international security, we would be aggravating insecurity.

97. If the violation of an armistice line is considered equal to the violation of an international frontier, then is it not the case that we are virtually extending the boundaries of the State which is forcibly occupying territory that does not belong to it? Let us not forget that a cease-fire line by its very nature is purely fortuitous. It merely reflects the balance of military forces at a particular time and place. Should such a line be raised to the status of an international frontier—and it will be so raised if its violation is considered equal to the violation of an international frontier—what will then happen to the principle of inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force, or to the right of self-determination of the peoples that may be involved?

98. That is just one example of the damage that can be done to our objective of evolving a generally acceptable declaration on strengthening international security if we try to import into it concepts and principles that are more appropriate in some other context. My delegation therefore notes with satisfaction that none of the three draft resolutions suffers from that defect.

99. I should now like to offer a few comments on certain specific things that have been included in or omitted from the three draft texts.

100. First, it is the merit of the socialist and Latin American draft resolutions that they recognize the fact that international security can be strengthened only by the concerted efforts of all States. On the other hand, the Western draft, if I may be permitted to so call it, confines such efforts to Member States alone. That the People's Republic of China, which has been excluded from the

Organization, has an indispensable role to play in the strengthening of international security is self-evident. Yet, unlike the socialist and Latin American drafts, the Western draft omits to call for universality of representation in the United Nations.

101. Turning to the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes, we see that the three draft resolutions are broadly similar. We feel that they could have gone further and made more concrete suggestions within the framework not only of Article 29 of the Charter but also of the provisions of Chapter VI. In that context may I quote from the statement of the Chairman of my delegation to the General Assembly on 29 September suggesting that the Security Council may be invited to consider such steps as:

"meeting from time to time to review the status of implementation of its own resolutions; reviving the practice of establishing subsidiary organs under Article 29 of the Charter for the purpose of investigation or fact-finding in the case of situations which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute; establishing subsidiary organs for the purposes of enquiry, good offices, conciliation and mediation in the case of disputes, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Should such methods and procedures not bring about the easing of a dispute and the parties do not agree on a method of pacific settlement, the Security Council should embark on conciliation or mediation, and, if these fail to bring about a solution, call upon the parties to submit their disputes to arbitration or judicial settlement." [1853rd plenary meeting, para. 68.]

102. I must, however, emphasize that the establishment of subsidiary organs under Article 29 must not be treated as an end in itself but, as it is meant to be, a means to an end, namely the pacific settlement of the dispute in question. In other words, the Security Council should ensure that the establishment of a subsidiary organ under Article 29 is invariably followed by continuous efforts by that organ and the Council aimed at bringing about a definitive settlement of the dispute.

103. I may add here that while making these suggestions we are not unmindful of the viewpoint strongly expressed by the representative of Canada [1727th meeting] that an imbalance should not be created by placing repeated emphasis on the powers of the Security Council and neglecting those of the other principal organs. However, the provisions of the Charter which define the functions of the different organs clearly place primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council. In the matter of security, which is what we are now concerned with, there is no balance, no parity between the Security Council and any other organ, including the General Assembly. A kind of balance has no doubt emerged which is due only to the failure of the Security Council to discharge its functions fully. It is a balance of impotence. Surely the declaration on security must help to change this state of affairs. It must aim at the realization by the Security Council of its inherent potentiality under the Charter.

104. All three draft resolutions call for compliance with the decisions of the Security Council. However, it seems to

us that the Western and Latin American drafts are wider in scope because they also call upon Member States to respect the resolutions of other competent United Nations bodies. In regard to Security Council decisions, there is an element of uncertainty as to whether they can be taken only when the Council is taking action under Chapter VII of the Charter or also when it is acting under Chapter VI. It would appear from Article 27, paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Charter that the word "decisions" is used in a manner admitting a broad rather than a restrictive construction. Also, this interpretation is not unwarranted in the light of what was said and done in regard to Article 25 of the Charter at the time of its framing in San Francisco. In our view, the question whether the Security Council, in acting under Chapter VI of the Charter, is merely making a recommendation or is taking a decision is more a matter of policy than of law for the Security Council.

105. Let us take, for example, resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. That resolution was adopted under Chapter VI, though in our opinion action was called for at that time under Chapter VII. Nevertheless, is not resolution 242 (1967) a decision of the Security Council demanding the compliance of all parties concerned? Hence, is it not essential to international security that resolutions of the Council adopted under Chapter VI be respected by Member States and fully implemented when they relate to the peaceful settlement of armed conflict? In that respect, is their implementation not necessary to the maintenance of international peace and security?

106. Another basic consideration my delegation would stress relates to the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by military conquest. That principle is a direct corollary of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, which places on Member States the obligation to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. That is the law. Since a breach of law can create no rights, does it not follow that acquisition of territory through the use of force is inadmissible? It is the merit of the socialist draft resolution that that basic principle finds inclusion, as does that of the withdrawal of forces from territories occupied as a result of armed conflicts.

107. We are aware of the fear expressed by certain delegations that since this principle is one of the several elements of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), its inclusion, without those other elements, in the draft declaration on strengthening international security might weaken the force and validity of that resolution. We think that there is no real ground for such a fear. It is evident that the declaration will be of a general nature, while Security Council resolution 242 (1967) relates to a specific conflict. It is a well-known principle of legal application that where both a general and a specific rule are applicable the specific takes precedence over the general.

108. We are now concerned with evolving general principles of international security which can serve as guidelines for action in future conflicts should they unfortunately arise. Surely we cannot conceive of the task in which we are engaged as being one that must be circumscribed by the framework of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The task in which we are now engaged is that of spelling out the principles of inadmissibility of acquisition of territory

through the use or threat of force and of withdrawal of military forces from occupied territories. If necessary, suitable language, different from that used in resolution 242 (1967), can be found. Finally, let us not forget that those principles—namely, inadmissibility of conquest of territory and withdrawal of military occupation forces—did not originate with resolution 242 (1967).

109. I need hardly emphasize that these principles are the heart of the matter. When we consider international security, let us be clear as to which are the nations that need it most. The great Powers create their own security. Also, those that are mightier than their neighbours are not prey to the insecurity that haunts the weak and the small. My colleague from Brazil dwelt so eloquently—and so rightly—on the different meanings of peace to States that are at different power levels. To the smaller and the weaker States, peace means freedom from the fear of aggression. It means freedom from the fear that their territory can be usurped, that they can be deprived of their rights because they have not the physical means to withstand aggression and assert their rights. It is these States that, more than others, need to be given the assurance that the proposed declaration on security should convey. Can there be any doubt that the present international situation demands that the principle of the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by force and the withdrawal of military forces from occupied territories should be given the maximum stress? There are no other principles whose articulation can comparably serve to lessen the current feeling of insecurity among the weaker States.

110. I have mentioned only some basic considerations which, as I said before, govern our approach to the draft resolutions before us. Since discussions are to be held outside the Committee to evolve a text which might attract a consensus, I would prefer to suggest certain amendments in an informal working group rather than in this Committee.

111. I shall conclude by saying that Pakistan has a stake in the Organization as large as that of any other Member State. We know from direct experience what insecurity means. We are acquainted with the danger posed to non-nuclear-weapon States which still lack an assurance of freedom from nuclear attack. We realize the essential link between security and development, on which the representative of Chile, Ambassador Piñera, placed such appropriate emphasis. It is from that background that we will assess the relative merits of the various draft declarations on the strengthening of international security. Our hope is that the declaration that is finally adopted will illumine avenues of action for the political organs of the United Nations. No legal elaboration of principles can by themselves strengthen international security any more than the Charter itself has done. Even the most impeccable text may give rise to different interpretations and thus fail to preclude controversies and disputes. It is action, action in conformity with the Charter, which is required. To us, the purpose of the proposed declaration is to facilitate such action.

112. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to thank the representative of Pakistan, Ambassador Shahi, for his very kind words about the officers of the Committee.

113. Mr. WARNER (United Kingdom): What I have to say today will be very short. My compliments to yourself, Mr. Chairman, and our officers will also therefore be very short. My delegation is delighted that all three of you were elected; we do not feel that better officers could possibly have been chosen, and we will give you our most loyal support.

114. Anyone here today who took part in the corresponding debate last year cannot fail to be struck by the difference. In the interval we seem to have come a long way towards the possibility of reaching agreement on this difficult, intractable but overwhelmingly important subject. We have had time to ponder last year's debates. Some of us have studied the views put forward in reply to the Secretary-General by some fifty Members of the United Nations [A/7922 and Add.1-5]; others have also studied the views put forward some fifty years ago by Lenin. We therefore all come to this debate well prepared, and the results show in the drafts before us.

115. On the one hand, the declaration of the eight socialist countries [A/C.1/L.513] has evidently been most carefully thought out. The language, if not always reflecting the Charter as closely as its sponsors claim, is uncontentious and very different in tone from their draft of last year. We must thank them for having listened so closely to what many Members had to say in last year's debate. On the other hand, the West Europeans and some of their friends, who had no proposals on the table last year, have produced for us in the form of a draft resolution [A/C.1/L.514] the results of their very careful studies. It is not surprising that they should do so. We all know that a global war would be disastrous for every country on this earth and that no man would be spared its suffering. But it is in Europe that the worst disasters might be expected to occur. That is presumably the reason why both the draft of the socialist countries and the so-called "Western Draft" have been prepared principally by European States.

116. Besides these two drafts, we have that of the Latin American group [A/C.1/L.517]. Then there is a fourth draft which has been hovering around this committee room for several days and we hope that it will soon settle on our Chairman's desk. We can then set about our consultations to reconcile all this valuable material. Now, can it be reconciled? Obviously not all of it. But I hope that we will take as our *mot d'ordre* the wise words of the representative of France in this debate [1728th meeting] to the effect that our obligation is to be "mindful, above all, of that which unites us". In this twenty-fifth anniversary year the elaboration of certain documents has been characterized by a spirit of confrontation rather than of reconciliation. The subject of peace and security is different, for without reconciliation peace and security cannot exist. It is therefore reconciliation that we must seek in this Committee.

117. What is it then that does unite us? First and foremost we have the seven principles of the Charter. These are the seven hills on which our Eternal City should be built. Our Organization has carefully identified them, studied them and commented on them in the declaration on friendly relations which we shall be adopting finally on 24 October. We ought to set them at the head of our

resolution on international peace and security—all of them together and in the language to which we have become accustomed. Only in this way can we be sure that all our decisions help to build up a coherent body of United Nations doctrine and practice, that we do not create ambiguity or contradictions, do not distort the emphasis of the Charter, do not give grounds for false interpretations. Above all, this will make clear that renunciation of the use of force must lead automatically to the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

118. For as far as my Government is concerned this is the basic assumption underlying the work of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security—that renunciation of the use of force must lead automatically to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. We do not always understand the attitude of delegations who speak of this, who underline the predominant role of the Security Council and even submit resolutions on the subject but who nevertheless sometimes impede the organs of the United Nations from assisting in the search for peace. How can we explain the fact that a most disastrous war has been raging for six years in Viet-Nam, but that the subject has not come before the Security Council? How do we explain the fact that a country like Cambodia, which suddenly finds itself overrun, is not able to bring its complaint before the Security Council? One could draw attention to many other examples. We know that difficulties are always likely to arise in this way so long as great States are excluded from this Organization, the People's Republic of China, for instance. But, if we are to condemn the use of force, we must be willing to insist on the search for peaceful settlements.

119. Secondly, we have in common the many provisions of the Charter which flow from those principles and from the nature of the organs of the United Nations: things like peace-making, peace-keeping, conciliation, disarmament and so on. Let us make sure that we extract the maximum agreement on those matters from our experience of the past 25 years.

120. Let us take peace-keeping, for instance. We never stop reminding one another that the failure to agree on methods of peace-keeping has been one of the worst offences of our Organization. On the other hand, we know how delicate are the endless negotiations on which Members are engaged. Let us deal as fully as we can with this subject without disturbing the sensitivity of those engaged in the negotiations and thereby making more difficult what we all hope and believe will be the successful outcome of their task.

121. Let us take disarmament also. Every speaker has mentioned the importance of disarmament. Let us give a very clear direction to future work on disarmament, avoiding empty expressions and leaving no room for evasion. Are not many of those Governments which are constantly calling for an end to the arms race in fact increasing their annual arms expenditure?

122. Above all, let us remind Members of the great variety of means open to them under the Charter for resolving their disputes peacefully: the Security Council, conciliation and arbitration machinery of all sorts, the role of the Secretary-

General—which has already helped to resolve at least one potentially dangerous situation in Bahrain this year—and the role of the International Court of Justice. We are pledged to resolve our disputes by peaceful means. These means are so prolific that there can be no excuse for the use of force.

123. The third source of our common ideas lies in this very debate here, last year and this year, on peace and security. We all know how difficult it is to think up new ideas; and even when we do the ideas are not always as new as they seem but only remind us of what we have been neglecting or have forgotten. Nevertheless, already out of our debate has come the decision to hold periodic meetings of the Security Council. My delegation also hopes that agreement may be reached on the most interesting proposals put forward by the representative of Brazil for subsidiary groups of the Council to bring together parties to a dispute and assist them to reach agreement. We should also not overlook the United States suggestion for making use of "fact-finders" and the Panel on Inquiry and Conciliation.

124. Fourthly and finally, we must seek agreement from among that body of ideas to which the representative of Pakistan has just been referring, which, while not specifically stated in the Charter, appear to derive from it and fulfil its intentions. Some of them have been recently developed in the Declaration on Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>6</sup> If I call them ideas rather than principles, it is simply because I do not wish to confound them with the basic principles of the Charter. I am afraid it is in this region that most of our disagreements and difficulties lie. For instance, let us take the withdrawal of troops from occupied territories. This is something that sounds all right in principle, but in this debate we have never been offered a satisfactory general formulation. Those who have put forward formulations have sometimes seemed concerned to deal with limited situations while safeguarding the presence of their own intruders elsewhere. The Organization has, rightly, not agreed to that. No one will be satisfied with a proposal which allows certain Powers to exempt themselves from its effect. If we wish to reach agreement on some document this year, therefore, we shall be wise to avoid such traps. All the same, there are a number of other such ideas which have acquired great importance and on which we should be able to reach agreement provided they are properly presented and balanced.

125. It follows naturally, I think, from what I have said that my own delegation prefers draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 to the draft declaration in document A/C.1/L.513. The former—the Western draft—really does seek to gather up all the common material from the great range of ideas expressed in the Charter, in last year's debate and in the replies to the Secretary-General. Reading it, one can recognize ideas from many different sources. This is surely the way in which we want to bring about a final text. Some speakers have said that the draft is too lengthy, too diffuse and too general. It may be that that is true and that it could be tightened up or that by common consent one or two

points might be omitted or consolidated. Equally, it is clear from the debate that there are one or two concepts to which a number of Members attach great importance but which do not appear in the draft. Our consultations will no doubt concentrate on these to see whether they could be generally adopted. But the general feeling of my delegation is that the draft in question is a good one which provides a very good start for our work and could embrace the views of all parties.

126. It is really for the same reason that the draft of the socialist countries seems less satisfactory. It seems to us to neglect a good deal of what has been put forward on international peace and security during the course of the past year. It appears at first sight to be rather selective and to concern itself sometimes more with particular situations than with directing the attention of Members to the ways in which they can fulfil their obligations under the Charter. I am assured by some of the sponsors that that is not their intention, and of course we note that, but I should like to give one example. There is operative paragraph 9, which puts a strait jacket on regional organizations by stating that regional co-operation must take place with the participation of all States in each region. As the representative of Canada has pointed out, some States have stronger ties than direct geographical ones, while it seems strange to suggest, for instance, to independent African States that they should enter into such an arrangement with the Republic of South Africa at this stage of events. And how would this pattern apply in the case of Asia? We cannot resist the conclusion—perhaps an unfair one—that this passage has been drafted not with an eye to the general requirements of Member States but rather to meet the drafters' views on the future of Europe.

127. Then, again, there are two paragraphs in the socialist draft which would appear to be a form of restatement of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) on the Middle East. It is absolutely clear that any resolution that is adopted on international peace and security should be such as to assist a settlement in the Middle East and to bring it closer. No resolution or declaration which could not be applied to the Middle East would be of any value to us. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether this is the right place in which to address oneself so specifically to such matters, and we must be careful not to let the Assembly cut across the work of the Security Council in this respect.

128. Next comes the draft resolution submitted by the Latin American and Caribbean countries [A/C.1/L.517]. This has one outstanding virtue: it is extremely clear in its ideas and recommendations. Unlike so many of the documents with which we deal, it is not merely a jumble of ideas put together but a well constructed intellectual argument. It does, however, omit a number of matters to which the sponsors of the Western draft—and my delegation also—attach great importance, such as the measures to be taken under Article 33 of the Charter, the role of the Secretary-General and the International Court of Justice and so on. No doubt other delegations also find matters which appear to them of importance to be missing from it. We look forward to discussing this draft further during our consultations.

129. I also mentioned earlier the further draft that we hope to receive from another group. The Committee will

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*.

not have sufficient time to discuss that in the general debate with the care it will deserve. However, we should be very happy to express our views on it later in the course of consultations, for we should like to be included in any such consultations. Many speakers have referred in the course of the debate to the importance of the role of the permanent members of the Security Council, and we believe that one way for the United Kingdom to fulfil that role would be by associating ourselves as closely as possible with reaching agreement on the important matter we are debating.

130. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom very much for the congratulations he addressed to the officers of the Committee.

131. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): Since this is the first time that the Austrian delegation has taken the floor in this debate, may I begin by extending to you, Mr. Chairman, our warmest congratulations on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. We are happy indeed to see that the work of this Committee during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly will be conducted under the chairmanship of a man who has won admiration not only as a diplomat but also as a professor of law, and who has served as Minister of Justice of his country.

132. Our congratulations go likewise to Ambassador Farah of Somalia, our Vice-Chairman, and to Ambassador Cerník of Czechoslovakia, our Rapporteur.

133. Addressing myself to the subject under consideration, let me recall briefly the position we have taken with regard to this item and indicate the considerations which this year also will determine our attitude towards the problem of strengthening international security.

134. It is the principal objective of each nation's policy to safeguard its security and independence. This is true of all States; it is particularly true of a country like Austria, which is committed of its own free will to a policy of permanent neutrality and thus does not belong to any military alliance. Its national security being closely related to the degree of international political stability, Austria has a direct and vital interest in the strengthening of international security and in all initiatives advanced in this respect.

135. It is for that reason that Austria welcomed the debate at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the item dealing with the strengthening of international security, in which it took an active part. In effect, the Austrian delegation was one of the sponsors of what was to become General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV).

136. In accordance with that resolution we have conveyed to the Secretary-General our position and proposals on this item. Our views were reflected in the report of the Secretary-General [*A/7922 and Add.1-5*]. In view of the circulation of our reply to resolution 2606 (XXIV), together with the submissions of other countries, and following suggestions made earlier in the debate, we would not find it appropriate to repeat here the Austrian comments, our primary task now being the elaboration of a concrete resolution or declaration on the strengthening of international security.

137. If you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, I should like, nevertheless, to give this Committee additional information regarding the implementation of last year's resolution as far as my country is concerned. Specifically, I would wish to refer to the last part of operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2606 (XXIV), where member States were requested to inform the Secretary-General of any measures they might take for the purpose of strengthening international security.

138. Austria, which, as I tried to explain before, has a natural interest in a *détente*, holds the view that peace on our planet will be attainable only if each individual State makes its contribution to that end by endeavouring to solve all problems arising with its neighbouring States and within its region. We therefore welcomed the proposal to hold a conference to deal with questions of security and co-operation in Europe.

139. During recent months Austria has endeavoured to make its contribution to the creation of a generally acceptable basis for such a conference, and has in furtherance of that objective engaged in a series of bilateral talks with interested States. Furthermore, we have outlined our position and proposal in a memorandum which was addressed to all interested States. We have done so in the hope that the efforts of all States concerned will eventually lead to a positive result and that relations among European States will be able to develop in an atmosphere of security and *détente*, thus contributing to the strengthening of international peace and security on a global scale.

140. Turning back to our immediate task, the elaboration of a declaration or resolution on the strengthening of international security—a task which we consider a very important one—we are gratified to note that several very useful suggestions to that end have indeed already been put forward, formally and informally.

141. In the view of the Austrian Government, any such resolution, in order to enhance the objective of international security, would have, in the first place, to contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations as the most important institution for the preservation of world peace and to support it in the fulfilment of its task.

142. Any such declaration should, furthermore, take into account all elements essential to the maintenance of international peace and security. It should not be restricted to the immediate aspects of international security, but should also give due consideration to the underlying causes of insecurity in our time.

143. Special attention should be given to the importance of the peaceful settlement of disputes. Indeed, by outlawing the use of force by States the Charter has also pointed out the significance of peaceful procedures, which are to provide States whose rights have been infringed with adequate means of redress.

144. Among the draft resolutions submitted, I should like to refer first to the concise and interesting document [*A/C.1/L.513*] containing the draft introduced by Ambassador Malik of the Soviet Union [*1725th meeting*], who initiated this debate on the strengthening of international security. The valuable efforts of the Soviet delegation deserve careful consideration and should be studied closely.

145. The second draft proposal to be introduced was submitted by the representative of Italy [1726th meeting], on behalf of six countries, in document A/C.1/L.514. That document certainly constitutes a commendable and elaborate effort on the part of its sponsors to contribute to the constructive outcome of our debate.

146. Finally, 23 countries of Latin America have combined their skills and submitted the other day through Ambassador Araújo Castro of Brazil [1731st meeting], a draft resolution [A/C.1/L.517] which indeed merits careful scrutiny and consideration.

147. Last but not least, the group of non-aligned countries is preparing a document which we await anxiously, and which certainly will give new momentum to our discussions.

148. We are convinced that it should and will be possible, at the end of this debate, to adopt an instrument that will reflect the best of our endeavours. It is our further belief that it would be fitting and appropriate to try to work for the adoption of such a declaration in time for the commemorative part of our session.

149. If I may be allowed to stress one more point before concluding, let me say that any resolution adopted as the result of our deliberations, would be of significance only if it were adopted with unanimity or quasi-unanimity; only then could it be interpreted as setting forth the declared common intentions of all Member States and and thus be considered an effective contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security.

150. It is in the light of these considerations that my delegation supports the suggestion put forward earlier in this debate by the representatives of France and Thailand—namely, to set up a working group or consultation group that would have the task of drafting such a common declaration on the basis of the very valuable documents submitted so far. My delegation, a sponsor of resolution 2606 (XXIV), stands ready to give all its co-operation to that end.

151. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Austria for his congratulations to the members of the Bureau.

152. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): At no time can this item have greater relevance than at this session of the General Assembly when, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, attention has been focused on assessing the performance of this Organization. In examining the successes and failures of the United Nations, the yardstick has to be the degree to which the Organization has fulfilled the promises of its Charter.

153. In the view of my delegation, the maintenance of international peace and security is the hub around which revolve all other aims of the Organization. This fact underlines the importance of this item. Unfortunately, what we find today is an increasing dedication to selfish national interests without adequate regard to the repercussions on the general security of the international community. International law, which should regulate rela-

tions between nations, is most flagrantly violated on the basis of "might is right". All the carefully prepared clauses of the Charter of the United Nations are daily torn to shreds through the actions of those who should be the custodians of the document.

154. We in the developing countries cannot therefore feel secure in these conditions. We are afraid of the so-called "balance of terror" between the super-Powers. The development of nuclear power has reached a level where, between them, two countries have enough of the deadly weapons in their arsenals to destroy the world several times over. Yet the race to acquire more of those weapons has not stopped.

155. The United Nations has directed its attention to the problem of disarmament since 1946; and, in greater detail, the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which is now known as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, of which my country is a member, has been working continuously for eight years. While my delegation is not unmindful of the "progress" that has been made, I believe that the need for international security demands greater willingness on the part of the two super-Powers to bring themselves to the level of the nuclear underdeveloped and underprivileged. International security will be enhanced by the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty; as long as the rest of the world continues to exist at the mercy of the nuclear Powers, those Powers may enjoy security, but the rest of us cannot be said to be secure. It is in the light of this that my delegation believes that intensification of the efforts towards general and complete disarmament should be urged on the super-Powers. This is the first step towards security for all.

156. My delegation sees the cessation of the arms race as contributing in more ways than one to the strengthening of international peace and security. It is likely to free resources now spent on armaments for the more productive channel of economic development; for as long as the world is divided into the present two categories of "haves" and "have nots", as long as the great mass of the people of the world are poor, so long will a sense of insecurity haunt the rich few.

157. The United Nations has recognized the danger in the unequal sharing of the benefits of modern life, and in order to bridge the gap it launched the First United Nations Development Decade, among other steps. The target set by the First Development Decade was not realized, and the gap which was to be bridged keeps on growing wider. It is very sad to observe that, judging by the fate which the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade is suffering, the urgency of taking effective steps to correct this situation has not been appreciated. Yet, as the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries declared after their third conference, held at Lusaka in September 1970, "It is intolerable today for some to enjoy an untroubled and comfortable existence at the expense of the poverty and misfortune of others".

158. One of the most urgent measures for strengthening international security is the eradication of colonialism and racial discrimination. Those two evils are combining to create a most explosive situation in southern Africa, an area



of special interest to my delegation. Twenty-five years after the adoption of the Charter, and 10 years after the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the indigenous people of southern Africa are being denied basic human rights, guaranteed by the Charter, and are being exploited under oppressive régimes, promoted by States Members of this Organization. What is even more disturbing is the willingness of some Security Council members to supply arms to the oppressors, while denying similar assistance to the oppressed. This is an intolerable situation which cannot continue for long without disastrous consequences for international security.

159. To arrest the potential disaster, the United Nations ability to enforce the collective will of the international community must be strengthened. The Security Council, which has a special responsibility in maintaining international peace and security, should be more willing to assert the authority it has under the Charter.

160. The concept of the sovereign equality of States is one of the pillars on which this Organization was built. It is meant to guarantee the peaceful development of each country according to the will of its people, without interference from other countries, however strong and powerful. The majority of the membership of the United Nations consists of countries that are struggling to establish their identity after years of exploitation. Advantage should not be taken of this situation to seek to interfere in matters within the exclusive competence of those independent and sovereign nations.

161. One should not minimize the importance of regional arrangements in the maintenance of international security. The effectiveness of those regional organizations and their capacity for promoting peace would be further strengthened if the United Nations were to support their decisions on regional matters. The United Nations itself, as an Organization dedicated to the maintenance of international peace and security, cannot afford to continue to exclude from its membership a substantial percentage of the world populace, particularly the People's Republic of China. It is the view of my delegation that the cause of international security would be better served if we were to bring into the international community such a potential force which for so long has been treated as an outcast.

162. Members of this Organization should unreservedly commit themselves to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and should refrain from the threat or use of force in settling their differences with other countries. It is the hope of my delegation that, in this important year for our Organization, Member States will rededicate themselves to the strict observance of the provisions of the Charter. In the opinion of my delegation, strict adherence to and observance of the tenets of the provisions of the Charter constitute insurance for the strengthening and the maintenance of international peace and security.

163. Are the provisions of the Charter deficient? Strong resistance has been shown by the big Powers, and particularly by the permanent members of the Security Council, to the suggestion of a mere review even, not a revision, of

the Charter. It appears to my delegation that if the Charter of the United Nations is all-embracing and sufficient for the needs of the world 25 years after it was drafted, then the supporters of the United Nations should not be afraid of a review of that Charter. If there is no likelihood of some loopholes, omissions or deficiencies being detected, then we should all, as loyal Members of the United Nations, be prepared to take another look at the document. I am aware that there may be some difficulties in the translation and that in some languages the words "review" and "revision" mean the same. Is this a case of somebody who suspects that he is suffering from cancer and is afraid to see the doctor for fear of hearing what he most dreads, that his suspicions are confirmed? Even the healthiest person decides on his own to go periodically for a medical check-up. Why not our Organization? How much more is this the case then for an institution which was born of and is nurtured and being run by human beings.

164. We owe it and are in duty bound to the world, if we are truly to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to tell ourselves some home truths.

165. Mr. YOST (United States of America): First of all, Mr. Chairman, I am happy to join my colleagues who spoke earlier and to express to you my hearty congratulations and deep personal satisfaction on your election as Chairman of this Committee. You have already demonstrated here the high qualities of leadership which we have long known to be characteristic of you and we are convinced that we can count on your continued vigorous leadership and wise guidance in assuring that we take constructive action on each of the important matters before us.

166. Grave concern about international security has been expressed by a large number of representatives speaking in this Committee in the past 10 days. Speaker after speaker has taken the floor to voice his nation's fears and to plead that those fears be heeded. Speaker after speaker has urged other nations to listen, to understand and, above all, to respond to their deeply felt concerns. Obviously, the most fundamental concern of every nation is its own security, and this is natural and proper.

167. The United States considers, however, that international security is as indivisible as peace and justice. We consider that the security of each nation is bound up with the security of every other nation. No nation can be truly secure if its neighbours are, or feel themselves to be, insecure. To strengthen oneself without due regard for the security of one's neighbour diminishes rather than increases one's own security. It is central to the foreign policy of the United States that in our dealings with other States we consider the vital needs of their security to be basic to our security. This principle applies without regard to the size, social system, or military and economic power of the nation concerned.

168. No nation can afford to disregard the sovereignty, equality or independence of any other State. This is true not only for idealistic reasons but also on the pragmatic ground that such disregard will weaken the structure of world security and in so doing undermine the security of the offending State.

169. In so far as the United States is concerned, President Nixon reaffirmed our long-standing policies in this regard only two days ago when, in putting forward new peace proposals on Indo-China, he said:

"In my talks with leaders all over the world I find that there are those who may not agree with all of our policies. But no world leader to whom I have talked fears that the United States will use its power to dominate another country or destroy its independence. We can be proud that this is the corner-stone of America's foreign policy.

"There is no goal to which this nation is more dedicated, and to which I am more dedicated, than to build a new structure of peace in the world where every nation, including North Viet-Nam as well as South Viet-Nam, can be free and independent with no fear of foreign aggression or domination.

"I believe every American deeply believes in his heart that the proudest legacy the United States can leave during this period when we are the strongest nation in the world is that our power was used to defend freedom, not to destroy it; to preserve the peace, not to break the peace."

170. The Charter stands as a testament to the idealistic and the realistic need to treat security as indivisible. The purposes and principles contained in Chapter I of the Charter lay down a code of conduct among nations which we have all accepted and which it is in our highest interest to maintain. We are all met here on this twenty-fifth anniversary to rededicate ourselves to the Charter and this code of conduct. We are also met to try to find ways, at this session and hereafter, to strengthen international peace and security in a concrete and effective manner.

171. The United States Government is taking, and is determined to continue to take, such concrete and effective action. As I have noted, President Nixon two days ago announced new proposals for bringing peace and security to Indo-China. Earlier this year my Government undertook an initiative designed to promote a peaceful settlement in the Middle East pursuant to Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We are supporting efforts to reduce tensions and reinforce security in Europe. We believe that these initiatives are responsive to the concerns expressed by many representatives in this Committee. We hope they will receive the support not only of those States directly involved in the areas of conflict but also of other States around the globe.

172. The indivisibility of security is also fundamental to other specific concerns which have been voiced here. There is a clear concern about the problems of economic development, self-determination and human rights. There is concern to find international agreement on methods of peace-keeping and peace-making. We share these concerns and are working earnestly in other Committees of this Assembly to make progress towards resolving them.

173. That is why we have made, and will continue to press, concrete proposals to make United Nations peace-keeping more effective, to activate and improve our

procedures for peaceful settlement, to encourage resort to the International Court of Justice, to establish a United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, to forbid the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed, and to set up an international régime for the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed for the benefit of all mankind. These are the sort of concrete actions which, if taken in common by all of us or most of us, would indeed go far towards strengthening international peace and security in a real sense.

174. The response that my Government submits to the expressions of concern we hear in this Committee is not only that the United States rededicates itself to apply in the strictest sense the Charter principles for the maintenance of international peace and security, but also that we will work in every appropriate organ of the United Nations and its sister agencies to achieve internationally acceptable solutions to the specific problems in this field which confront us. When I spoke to the General Assembly last week, I suggested that those nations which feel their security threatened and are appealing to us for help would be ill served if the only answer to their call were still more declarations restating the purposes and principles of the Charter.

175. As we are all aware, a number of Committees of the Assembly are at present engaged in endeavouring to formulate broad declarations, some of them overlapping and expressing the same thought in different language. Moreover, attempts are being made to introduce into these declarations language designed to deal with particular problems and to engage the United Nations on one side or the other in particular disputes. For this purpose we see one part of a provision of the Charter quoted and another part of the same provision omitted, one part of a carefully balanced Security Council or General Assembly resolution referred to and another part ignored. This process seems to me disingenuous, confusing and wasteful. As we are all aware, the simple man in the street in all countries thinks that we at the United Nations talk far too much and do far too little. I suspect all of this exercise in drafting declarations, most of which are much too long to be read by most people, will not improve our image in this respect.

176. I should like, therefore, to appeal to all of my colleagues to unite in this Committee on a simple resolution clearly based on the Charter, the whole Charter and nothing but the Charter, omitting controversial and divisive elements. Controversy is unavoidable when it comes to the resolution of particular disputes or problems, but a declaration such as the one we are working on, designed to show our common determination to strengthen international peace and security, will have value only if it is supported by practically our whole membership, and therefore only if it avoids language which seeks to commit us on one side or the other in pending disputes.

177. Of course we must deal concretely with concrete disputes, specifically with specific problems. But let us do that under the appropriate items of our agenda: peace-keeping, disarmament, the Second United Nations Development Decade, *apartheid*, human rights, the Middle East, and so forth. And let us, in regard to our present item, unite on what unites us and put aside, for the moment at least, what divides us.

178. It seems to the United States delegation that there are two draft resolutions before us which meet this criterion. The first is the resolution sponsored by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Japan and the Netherlands [A/C.1/L.514]; the second is the resolution submitted by a number of American States [A/C.1/L.517]. Both of these resolutions are comprehensive in that they touch upon all of the interrelated facets of international security; both are designed to satisfy the concerns of all regions, all groups and all factions in the United Nations; both are loyal to the Charter and avoid distortion or one-sidedness; finally, both are non-partisan and non-polemical.

179. I will not at this time go into detail concerning other drafts before us or in preparation. Suffice it to say that my delegation would apply the criteria which I have just mentioned to any resolution on strengthening international security. We believe that it would be useless and perhaps damaging for a resolution to be adopted unless, by meeting these criteria, it could command the quasi-unanimity of the United Nations membership.

180. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the United States for his words of congratulation to the Committee's panel of officers.

181. Mr. AKE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Ivory Coast is particularly pleased, Mr. Chairman, at your election to preside over this important Committee. Accordingly, it is with genuine pleasure that we associate ourselves with the delegations who have spoken before us, in conveying to you our warm congratulations and best wishes for your success in conducting the work of our Committee, and we assure you of our full and complete co-operation.

182. The election of the representative of Somalia, Ambassador Farah, to sit beside you as Vice-Chairman is a source of satisfaction to all delegations and particularly to the African delegations. We also wish to convey to him, as well as to Ambassador Cerník, our Rapporteur, our sincere congratulations.

183. My delegation takes this opportunity to define the position of the Ivory Coast Government on the question of the strengthening of international security; no one is unaware of the importance of that issue.

184. The strengthening of security affects each and every one of us; it affects not only the great Powers, but, even more, the small Powers, which constitute the great majority of States and which, more than any others, have need for their security and independence to be assured and guaranteed against all violations from whatever quarter they may come.

185. Peace continues to be our main objective: first of all, peace within our respective States, and particularly within the young African States, which, for the most part, are this year celebrating the tenth anniversary of their accession to independence. This peace is indispensable to us, on the one hand, to enable us to consolidate our national unity through the harmonious and peaceful integration of the different ethnic groups that make up our State and, on the other, to further the economic, social and cultural development of our countries.

186. Peace abroad is equally indispensable to us, since without it there can be no internal peace, for the fact is that the two are inseparable.

187. It is for this reason that the Ivory Coast, which remains profoundly devoted to peace, will support any initiative aimed at safeguarding peace and will firmly oppose all recourse to the use of force as a means of settling disputes, or any action which may, in the end, lead to war or endanger international peace and security.

188. While we may be gratified to note that the international situation is relatively satisfactory and that the rapprochements that have been brought about between the great Powers contribute to the relaxation of international tension, we must at the same time concede that peace is far from being established on this earth.

189. In fact, peace and security are still precarious in many parts of the world where war and tragedy become more oppressive and burning problems than ever before—war and tragedy that we have not succeeded in ending because of the divisions among us and our desire to preserve certain selfish interests. We should redouble our efforts to further the settlement of these conflicts and to damp down the crises, rather than add fuel to them by indulging in demagogic rivalry in which, very often, economic, ideological, strategic and other interests take precedence over the legitimate interests of the peoples involved.

190. While many peoples once under foreign domination have since acquired their independence, sometimes at the cost of heavy sacrifices, others still live under foreign oppression and see their rights as human beings denied them by racist white minorities or by backward régimes which desperately cling to an anachronistic and obsolete policy. The complete liberation of those peoples and the recognition of their right to self-determination and independence constitutes one of the conditions for peace in Africa. Everything possible must be done to prevent the situation prevailing in southern Africa from degenerating into a conflict capable of endangering international peace and security.

191. In his recent message to our nation, President Houphouët-Boigny declared:

“Mankind would undoubtedly feel more at ease, more confident, if the despair born out of the unfair distribution of wealth between the affluent and the poor did not continue to exist—and if we did not still witness this coexistence of poverty with abundance which can never remain a peaceful one. Can we contemplate without bitterness the unequal burdens each must bear in the world and the cost of living and dying and is it not infinitely sad that the most popular and at the same time the most costly competition is not in international mutual assistance but rather in armaments and military budgets?”

192. Indeed, the stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction by certain Powers, in defiance of the unanimous desires of the international community, is a source of great unrest even if one may believe with reason that no one will ever use these weapons.

193. Security cannot be strengthened until the day we commit ourselves resolutely to the course of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control when we will succeed in dispelling the fear and terror which seem to surround us and in creating a climate of confidence and security for all. Then the vast fortunes swallowed up in stockpiling these weapons could be released and partially devoted to helping these thousands of men, women and children who are dying throughout the world from hunger and disease and who are living in poverty and the darkness of ignorance. But before these desires become a reality we think that the immediate step to be taken, particularly by the wealthy countries, should be to agree in greater measure than in the past to accept the sacrifices necessary to facilitate and accelerate the development of the poor countries so that the gap dividing them from the latter does not one day shatter the fragile balance of this world. The ever-increasing disparity between the poverty of one group and the prosperity of the other threatens to introduce elements of unrest and discord into international relations for, as President Houphouët-Boigny has pointed out, "Deterrence will result more from a democratization of abundance than from fear of the bomb, and the true provocation remains that of opulence and selfish interests."

194. Assistance to development in all its forms will certainly constitute a notable contribution to the strengthening of international security. My Government hopes, in this connexion, that the wealthier and industrialized Powers, whether they be from the West or the East, will become aware of this problem and will work to ensure the full success of the Second United Nations Development Decade which will be solemnly proclaimed by the General Assembly.

195. So long as concrete and practical solutions are not provided for the problems we have just touched on, we think it is illusory to talk sincerely about strengthening international security. My Government is in large measure in accord with the ideas expressed by the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report about measures for the strengthening of international security [*A/7922 and Add.1-5*]. It notes with satisfaction that these ideas are shared by most Governments.

196. For its part my Government considers that the strengthening of international security can be assured through the scrupulous respect by all States, large and small, of the principles of the Charter—*inter alia*, the sovereign equality of States, the right of peoples to self-determination, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the prohibition of recourse to the threat or use of force, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and international co-operation.

197. Among these principles, intervention in the domestic affairs of States—particularly by armed force or subversion—constitutes, in our opinion, the most serious danger threatening peace, security and the territorial integrity of States. Accordingly, we would hope that the rule of arms and political, economic and military pressures could be supplanted by the rule of law. To bring this about States should ensure that they never have recourse to the threat or use of force in their relations and, above all, that they settle

the disputes that may arise between them by peaceful means, that is, by negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, and, lastly, by recourse to the International Court of Justice, which continues to be the principal legal organ of the United Nations.

198. In this connexion the Charter proclaimed a whole ethic which, if it were followed, could help considerably to improve the international situation. Since war or force has never settled anything definitely, we consider that all conflicts—whatever they may be—can be settled by means of negotiations and dialogue.

199. That is why my delegation is gratified to note the various initiatives that were recently taken here and there to try to find a peaceful, negotiated solution to the serious conflicts of the day. Whatever the difficulties, the mistrust and the suspicions, we should support these initiatives and encourage the parties concerned to "commence these negotiations in a spirit of dialogue, a spirit which requires that they surpass themselves in making concessions in order to bring about the settlement of these conflicts".

200. The United Nations, which was created to preserve future generations from the scourge of war, should not remain indifferent or hide behind legal technicalities in the face of certain conflicts. We consider that the noble ideal, which is to avoid human suffering, should induce the United Nations to act promptly to put an end to these conflicts and to come to the aid of the victims in the name of human solidarity. Like the Secretary-General, we consider that the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should invoke more frequently the provisions of Article 34 of the Charter to investigate such situations and take the necessary measures.

201. Accordingly, it is important to strengthen the very authority of the United Nations and its principal organs, particularly the General Assembly and the Security Council, in order to enable them to play an even more important role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

202. While the Security Council remains the principal organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, we think that the General Assembly should play a similar role, particularly when the Security Council finds itself paralysed by the opposition of the great Powers. In this connexion we can only express regret that certain great Powers should have distorted the right of veto to convert it into an instrument of their policy instead of placing it at the service of peace in conformity with the spirit of the Charter.

203. In the circumstances the General Assembly, which has greater moral authority, should be able to compensate for the deficiencies of the Security Council.

204. In any event, the United Nations should be in a position fully to discharge its responsibilities. That can be ensured only by close collaboration between the General Assembly and the Security Council to the extent that their respective responsibilities are not in opposition but rather complementary.

205. Member States should here and now commit themselves to respect and apply the decisions of the United Nations. Respect for these decisions and their application should not be the lot of the smaller Powers alone but also that of the great Powers.

206. This leads us to express our regret that when these great Powers are involved in a dispute or are parties to it they continue to avail themselves of their prerogatives to paralyse action by the Security Council. We consider that they cannot be both judge and party. Thus, it seems to us essential to revive the provisions of Article 27, paragraph 3, which says that a party to a dispute whether or not it is a permanent member of the Security Council, shall abstain from voting, on any decision concerning that dispute.

207. With respect to peace-keeping operations, we may regret that we have still not reached an agreement that would make it possible to provide the United Nations with an effective tool for the maintenance of international peace and security. We would like to hope that, with goodwill we shall reach this agreement in order to give fresh vigour to the United Nations in this field.

208. What is more, we realize that we must take account of the opinions of the great Powers without whose agreement a solution to certain problems appears difficult. However, the increasingly marked tendency of these Powers to try to remove the great problems from the competence of the United Nations in order to discuss them among themselves, to conceive of international relations and the maintenance of international peace and security only in terms of their own security and their own national interests alone, to the detriment of those of the international community, this tendency, I say, helps to create a feeling of frustration and uneasiness among the small nations, which is not likely to strengthen international security. It is, therefore, important that these Powers should be more attentive to the concerns of these countries by associating them in their deliberations. They should not concern themselves only with their own interests—which are, of course, legitimate—but should have close to their hearts the task of assuming the special responsibilities that they should discharge in all circumstances vis-à-vis humanity by setting an example of tolerance, equity, justice and respect for other nations.

209. The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations does of course provide us with an opportunity to seek the causes of the inability of the United Nations to find a solution to certain problems, to draw up a balance sheet of past activities, to lay the foundation for future action to strengthen the effectiveness of the Organization so that it may become a real instrument in the service of peace and not a passive bystander at the unleashing of passions and acts of violence.

210. Many proposals along these lines have been made but whatever may be the measures which might be taken they will change nothing in the current situation if the Governments of Member States are not prepared to make the necessary effort effectively to apply the measures envisaged.

211. The elaboration and reaffirmation of purposes and principles, new and old, will remain ineffectual if Govern-

ments are not inspired with the political will to act in accordance with these principles and to attain the objectives thus established—in other words to work to bring about a world of peace in social justice. This political will does exist. The statements we have heard confirm our opinion on this. It is up to us, therefore, to translate these good intentions into reality, into facts, because it is by our deeds that history will judge us.

212. The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations thus gives each State and Government an opportunity to renew its faith, support and devotion to this Organization and its ideals.

213. The maintenance of international peace and security should be our daily concern, for the world we want is a world of peace, and not of terror, a world of brotherhood and justice, not of hate and injustice; a world where progress benefits all and is not the sole prerogative of a minority.

214. If we all try to conform strictly to the principles of the Charter and act in accordance with those principles, if we accept in good faith to combine our efforts to achieve the purposes of the United Nations then no dream is impossible and the future will be full of promise for the generations of today and for those of the future.

215. It is in the light of these considerations that my delegation will take its position on the various resolutions before it.

216. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Ivory Coast for his generous remarks addressed to the officers of the Committee.

217. Mr. DE LA GUARDIA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I first express my delegation's satisfaction at the fact that it should have been a distinguished Latin American, like Ambassador Andrés Aguilar of Venezuela, who was elected to preside over our work and I should like to congratulate you, Ambassador Farah of Somalia, on holding the position of Vice-Chairman and Mr. Cerník of Czechoslovakia, on being our Rapporteur.

218. The Argentine delegation attaches great significance to the item we are discussing and as was pointed out by some of the delegations which have already taken the floor we feel that it should not be dealt with only in conjunction with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations but rather that the Organization should tirelessly pursue its efforts to work out the adequate measures and procedures to enable us to strengthen international security. Accordingly it is prepared now to support the request formulated by the representative of Brazil [*1731st meeting*] to the effect that this item should be included in the agenda of the session next year.

219. While in recent years the conditions for such a task have been tentatively mentioned, the task will not be easy so long as all Members of the Organization are not fully aware of the need to carry out in good faith the obligations assumed under the Charter. Despite the encouraging experience of the past 25 years in which mankind has seen itself freed of the scourge of world-wide conflagrations, we are

witnessing with great sorrow the existence of armed conflict in various regions of the world, while the United Nations stands by impotent.

220. We must emphasize that in the attainment of this vital objective we should observe a balance of responsibilities and obligations between the great Powers and the other States which make up the international community. In this connexion we are gratified to note the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France during the general debate in the Assembly [*1842nd plenary meeting*], when he referred to the spirit in which his country assumed the role which devolves upon it as a permanent member of the Security Council.

221. The draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/L.513 and A/C.1/L.514 have been submitted for the consideration of this Committee together with the valuable suggestions from various delegations. These are all important elements for reaching an understanding on this subject. However, my delegation, like the other members of the Latin American group, considered it essential that the General Assembly should categorically reaffirm the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations in the light of the decisions of the Organization itself at the same time as it brings out all those situations which undermine international peace and security and the effectiveness of the system. Following logically upon this conviction, we have co-sponsored the draft resolution which appears in A/C.1/L.517. This attitude reflects the decisive support of the Argentine delegation for the concepts and considerations set forth in that document.

222. A few days ago, in another organ of this same General Assembly, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations was adopted unanimously.<sup>7</sup> These principles in general terms proclaim that nations shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the sovereign equality of all States, the obligation of States to co-operate with each other in accordance with the Charter, equal rights and self-determination of peoples without detracting from the principle of territorial integrity and the duty of States to carry out in good faith the obligations they have assumed.

223. It is very easy to note the similarity of concept in the principles approved by the Sixth Committee and in the plenary, and the draft of which we are co-sponsors. This parallelism should not lead anyone to view this as a piling up of effort upon effort but rather as a confluence of purposes, for the aspiration for peace is an overriding obligation of the international community and security is the natural framework in which peace can be conceived as possible, strengthened as a reality, and maintained as a precious common heritage.

224. No one is unaware of the fact that at present peace is merely the absence of widespread conflicts, achieved partly

through the balance of terror and partly because man still preserves, if only through instinct, his modicum of reason. This situation exposed as it is to the vagaries of any impulse or even human error or some mechanical defect, being thus precarious, is impossible to accept as the hallmark of our time.

225. In various international meetings, Argentina has pointed to the serious threat which the armaments race, particularly in its form of vertical proliferation, constitutes for peace and international security. On various occasions my delegation has emphasized that the political trends of the world of today are tending to lead the international community to what we would describe as the disarmament of the disarmed inasmuch as those who bear the prime responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security continue firmly set upon the increase of their war potential by having recourse to new and more sophisticated techniques of destruction.

226. The arms race, besides extending to all nations the sombre prospect of a world conflagration of unforeseeable consequences, consumes economic resources in an amount which is an insult to those peoples who lack urgent necessities.

227. Without overlooking the efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, we should note that so far they have been limited to the adoption of measures of non-armament. My delegation is convinced of the need to progress in the negotiations in order to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

228. After disarmament, the draft that we have the honour of co-sponsoring refers to the Second United Nations Development Decade. As a matter of fact, disarmament and development are the two responses that the Organization should provide to the present uncertainty. Disarmament and development equally constitute sources of international security.

229. We believe that security should be guaranteed not only in general terms, at the level of this Organization, but also at the regional level. Regional agreements serve a dual purpose: to maintain peace in a specific geographical area and to ensure to Member States the protection necessary in the face of pressures and threats from countries outside the zone. Moreover, the regional system should characteristically display a flexibility that would permit States participating therein to have recourse to the collective security of the United Nations when they have exhausted all means of recourse in that limited regional framework, and have not found sufficient guarantees there.

230. Paragraphs 14, 15 and 16 of the Latin American draft resolution refer to new procedures for ensuring peace, which include a recommendation to the Security Council on the advisability of establishing subsidiary bodies as provided under Article 29 of the Charter. That recommendation is not incompatible with the traditional position of my country, which opposes the creation of new organs and the duplication of effort, for my delegation considers that such an initiative could very well be carried out following the practice of other organs of the United

<sup>7</sup> *Idem*.



Nations within the framework and resources of the Council itself.

231. My delegation, in making this modest contribution to the work of the Committee, has done so on the understanding that the measures adopted by the General Assembly, if they are to be effective, should have the decisive support of the political will of the States that constitute our Organization.

232. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Argentina for his words of congratulations to the officers of the Committee.

233. Mr. HARBI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, in electing you to the chairmanship of this Committee, we have entrusted the conduct of our business to a calm and courteous authority. We thus welcome this choice and we are convinced that, with the assistance of Ambassador Farah and Ambassador Cerník, it is a capable group of officers that our Committee has appointed.

234. By placing the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization under the aegis of peace, justice and progress, the United Nations wished to stress the close and direct relationship among the facets of this three-fold slogan. If there is one subject that has stood out among the many concerns of the community of nations, it is that of international peace and security. The great human hopes aroused by the creation of the United Nations, the promise that it would preserve future generations from the scourge of war and create better conditions of life in larger freedom have unfortunately faded over the years.

235. The stormy and often tragic events of today's world force us to recognize that the United Nations bears a burden of unkept promises. It is the helpless witness to conflicts which rage essentially on the less developed continents.

236. We must not forget that one of the most justified reproaches that young people address to their elders is that they too easily accept the inconsistency of their words and their deeds. Neither should we forget that in the very year when the United Nations celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary colonial domination continues in Palestine, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, the people of Indo-China for more than 25 years have known nothing but the roar of bombs and the clash of arms, and that the armed intervention of American imperialism and its local allies in that murdered region is undergoing a fresh upsurge and increased vigour.

237. The origin of this situation is the confrontation between the will to liberation of the young nations of the third world and the attempts of imperialism to win back its lost positions or to win new ones. So dangerous an endeavour is every day a greater threat to the freedom, security and political independence of small countries.

238. While it may be maintained that the international community has succeeded in warding off the dangers of a world conflict, it is clear that it has done so essentially at the cost of persistent localized conflicts whose theatre is the third world.

239. The idea of limiting and localizing conflicts that has apparently found favour among certain Powers since the invention of the atomic bomb reflects in this regard a restrictive concept that can scarcely be expected to lead to genuine peace.

240. Here I should like to recall the statement made by our Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Conference of non-aligned countries<sup>8</sup> recently held in Lusaka:

"While we should welcome the easing of tension between the great Powers and the progress achieved on certain major problems, particularly in Europe, we must recognize that this trend is far from prevailing throughout the world, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the imperialist forces are carrying on a veritable war of extermination."

241. Peace is a benefit for all peoples, not the privilege of developed nations. The principles underlying peaceful coexistence should, we believe, govern relations not only among the great Powers, but also between the great Powers and the medium-sized and small Powers.

242. Through the apparently inextricable skein of current events we must learn to distinguish the essential from the inessential. Wars of aggression quite obviously militate against the calm and objective consideration of such a question by sterilizing true political problems and the interminable discussion of marginal problems. A collective move towards lasting solutions must necessarily be stripped of conjunctural concerns and of great-Power chauvinism.

243. For us, a real policy of peace is one that calls for a halt to American intervention in Indo-China and the exercise by the peoples of Indo-China of their right freely to determine their own destiny in conformity with their legitimate aspirations and their own special genius.

244. A real policy of peace is one that demands the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied following the Israeli aggression of 1967 and recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to national existence.

245. A real policy of peace is one that advocates assistance to the liberation struggle of peoples under colonial domination and a halt to the assistance furnished by the Western Powers for the strengthening of colonial régimes in Africa.

246. A real policy of peace is one that calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, which calls for true disarmament and recognizes the right of all developing peoples to economic and social progress.

247. In other words, the establishment of international peace and security demands that we return to the source, namely the Charter, and to strict and scrupulous observance of its principles by all countries without exception.

248. If we really wish to move towards peace we must learn how to read in the mirror of our Organization what its requirements and its conditions are.

<sup>8</sup> Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

249. Since its inception, our Organization has had to fight an enemy whose incarnations have been many but whose essence is one. In Africa, peoples are oppressed by the repugnant policy of foreign minorities armed and financed by Western Powers. It is not sufficient to proclaim that these situations are a threat to peace. Measures must be taken to eliminate them. And measures have been prepared in various United Nations bodies—particularly the Security Council—but they have encountered the systematic hostility and opposition of the Western Powers. One need only recall the recent debates of the Security Council on Southern Rhodesia to see who is blocking the solutions proposed by the United Nations and who is responsible for the crisis of authority of the United Nations. In this specific field that we have just mentioned we are seeing international action prompted by the majority of States aimed at a certain effectiveness, and the policy of a minority which still has unshakable faith in its privileges and intends to apply them with increased determination and in defiance of the will of the majority.

250. To transcend these difficulties, it is not surprising that the international community—for that is its natural duty—should come to the assistance of all those movements which, despite the weakness of their means, are determined to apply the ideals that we ourselves accepted when we adhered to the Charter.

251. Other explosive situations are alerting and disquieting world opinion. In the Middle East, if the facts are not viewed as belonging in a long series of causes and effects, and if the real problem continues to be isolated from its colonial context, we shall continue to bask in the greatest of illusions. That is why the Middle East problem must be seen in a light more appropriate to its nature. The problem began with Palestine, and any solution must necessarily start with Palestine.

252. Many speakers have emphasized the necessity for genuine disarmament. We have repeatedly set forth Algeria's position on this question. I must remind members that the basic problem remains that of general and complete disarmament. All efforts made thus far have been essentially characterized by a dualistic tendency on the part of disarmament diplomacy, being aimed primarily at maintaining the balance of armaments which, in turn, is intended to consolidate the *status quo*. Despite the praiseworthy and meritorious efforts of the non-aligned countries, the disarmament picture has hardly changed, and it must be seen in the perspective of general and complete disarmament with the participation of all the nuclear Powers.

253. Some, moved by a generous and praiseworthy intention, have put forward the idea of a transfer of resources liberated by disarmament, for investment in international action for economic development. These people are realizing today that this is an illusion because disarmament remains hypothetical.

254. We believe that economic problems confronting our world are a standing danger and may lead to a breach of the peace at any time if an attempt is not made to establish international economic and trade relations on a footing of co-operation profitable to all.

255. In this regard one could hardly exaggerate the importance of the work done by the group of 77 developing countries at the conference held at Algiers in October 1967. The document it drafted on that occasion—the Charter of Algiers<sup>9</sup>—remains a basis for frank discussion with the wealthy countries. The theses of that document are a faithful expression of the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter.

256. While political decolonization has enabled many countries of the third world to join the great United Nations family, the structures of their economies and of their trade are unfortunately still under the control of the financial powers of the former metropolitan countries. One way of putting an end to this anachronistic situation, which is leading to a constant deterioration in the terms of trade, seems to us to be the proclamation of the principle of the sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources, which should henceforth help to eliminate the disjunction between the developing countries and the privileged countries. We will thus have helped to solve one of the problems threatening international peace and security.

257. Having experienced a long war, Algeria is deeply attached to peace. We are ready to join in that long march which will reveal to all men of all peoples their true human condition.

258. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Algeria for his very kind words of congratulation to the officers of the Committee.

259. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait): Mr. Chairman, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on your unanimous election to preside over this body. My country has been co-operating very closely with Venezuela in international organizations, where we have always defended the same ideals. Moreover, we have great confidence in your wisdom, tact and ability, which augur well for the deliberations of our Committee.

260. I should also like to congratulate the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Abdulrahim Abby Farah of Somalia, who must be aware of the admiration and esteem we entertain for him. We are also gratified to see the representative of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Cerník, making a worthy contribution to the work of our Committee as Rapporteur.

261. The United Nations was founded 25 years ago to save—so at least it was hoped—succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to establish conditions in which justice and peace could be maintained. During all that time, however, the world organization has been handicapped by the tension and lack of mutual understanding that have characterized relations between big Powers and by policies based on and inspired by power politics.

262. In the Charter, peace and justice are inextricably linked together. It cannot be otherwise, since peace can never be lasting unless it is based on justice. Hence, the United Nations, in all its endeavours to establish and

<sup>9</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.D.14), annex ix.

promote peace, should always act in accordance with the dictates of justice, which should be a paramount factor in all international relations.

263. An objective look at the history of the United Nations during the first 25 years of its existence and a profound analysis of the Charter will not reveal the existence of any inherent defects in its provisions. The apathy of the United Nations is not so much caused by the wording of the law as by the absence of a political will that can turn norms into binding obligations.

264. The main cause of the failure of the United Nations to maintain and strengthen international peace and security is the lack of political will among the big Powers to rise above national interests and ideological rivalries and to live up to the letter and spirit of the Charter. Nevertheless, the Charter can still be amended in the light of the fertile experience of the United Nations, which has revealed the dangers implicit in the present pattern of international relations and the limitations which are imposed by the conduct of some Members.

265. A careful review of the record of the United Nations will show that the role that the Organization has played in the field of international security has been rather ineffective. The disrespect shown for the purposes and principles of the United Nations and disregard for its resolutions have deprived our Organization of efficacy and turned it into an impotent organ which is not able to play the role assigned to it for the maintenance of international peace and security.

266. The Security Council has been acting solely on the basis of the provisions of Chapter VI. Its resolutions, as we all know, have been frequently flouted by recalcitrant States. We cannot escape the conclusion that appropriate sanctions under Chapter VII are sometimes needed if we wish to restore the rule of law in international relations by asserting the authority of the Security Council.

267. Cases in which resolutions of the Security Council have been ignored by Member States are numerous. South Africa, Portugal and especially Israel have time and again challenged the authority of the Council and refused to comply with its resolutions. The persistent crisis in the Middle East is recognized by all as a major threat to international peace and security. Israel and those that support it bear a heavy responsibility for undermining the authority of the United Nations and preventing the Security Council from discharging its functions. However, we cannot free the Security Council from blame for its failure to adopt coercive measures so as to compel Israel to abide by the rule of law and withdraw its troops from the territories of three Arab States that are independent and sovereign Members of the United Nations.

268. There has been some controversy over the respective roles of the Security Council and the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security. In the view of my Government, the specific responsibilities and powers conferred upon the Security Council, on the one hand, and the General Assembly, on the other, should be considered complementary rather than contradictory. Article 24, paragraph 1, states that the Members of the United

Nations confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Article also explicitly states that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on behalf of the Member States, thus underlining the principle of collective responsibility. Moreover, the special responsibilities assigned to the permanent members of the Security Council were never intended to give the big Powers a mandate for promoting their own interests, nor was it intended to give them the opportunity of imposing their national policies on the international community.

269. Suggestions have been made to restrict the membership of the Security Council to a certain category of Member States. Such a trend is not only incompatible with the political realities existing in the world today but is also contrary to the principle of the equal sovereignty of States embodied in the Charter. We cannot envisage the Security Council as an exclusive club whose membership would be reserved to certain Member States that claim for themselves the right to exercise a more or less exclusive trusteeship over the international community. We believe that, as a counterpart to giving special rights to permanent members, no further restrictions should be imposed on the election of other States to the Council, so that a permanent balance may be maintained between those that defend entrenched positions and those that wish to bring about a healthy change in the pattern of international relations. Peace and security are a privilege to be enjoyed by everyone, and everyone, therefore, should be allowed to make a contribution.

270. My delegation is pleased to note that the Security Council has decided to hold periodic meetings at a cabinet ministerial level. We hope that these meetings will strengthen the authority of the Council and will have a decisive effect on its future actions with a view to reducing international tension and avoiding situations of armed conflict.

271. During the nineteenth session of the General Assembly the United Nations was threatened with collapse in view of the controversy over the mode of financing peace-keeping operations as well as their composition. Though peace-keeping has been for some time one of the main preoccupations of the Special Political Committee and of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, my delegation will not hesitate to broach the matter here, because of the strong bearing it has on international security. My delegation has a specific suggestion in this respect which it will not fail, in due course, to elaborate in greater detail before the competent body. We suggest establishing a permanent fund for peace-keeping operations. Contributions to such a fund should be compulsory. The main financial burden should be shouldered by the permanent members of the Security Council, the rest to be met by other developed countries and to a smaller extent by developing countries, whose contributions should not exceed their economic means. The Security Council, by virtue of the responsibility assigned to it by the Charter, 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. Special procedures should be adopted for recruiting the peace-keeping force and training its staff to a level commensurate with its international duties. Permanent teams of military officers, internationally recruited, should also be trained so as to be immediately available for dispatch to any area of conflict, either as observers or as commanding officers of military contingents.

272. We believe that the projected declaration on international security should reaffirm the commitment of States to abide by the provisions of the Charter and should give a prominent place to the provisions 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.<sup>10</sup> In view of the serious and dangerous conditions now prevailing in our region, my delegation attaches special importance to the provision which states:

“The territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter. The territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force. No territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal.”

The concept embodied in that provision should constitute, in the opinion of my delegation, a fundamental element of the declaration on international peace and security which the General Assembly is expected to adopt during this twenty-fifth session.

273. We have touched upon the responsibilities of the Security Council and the General Assembly in the field of international security. We should not forget that the Secretary-General must play an important role in order to make the actions of those organs more coherent and effective. Accordingly, my Government believes that the Secretary-General should be given wide powers in accordance with Articles 98 and 99 of the Charter so as to give effect to the principles of the Charter and prevent their infringement. The assumption of greater responsibilities by the Secretary-General will not only enhance the prestige of the United Nations, but will also enable it to perform a more effective role in the maintenance of international peace and security and in effectively coming to grips with the most difficult international problems.

274. Furthermore, my delegation believes that legal disputes that arise among States can best be settled through international legal processes and that such a trend will entail better utilization of the International Court of Justice.

275. Moreover, improving the processes of fact-finding is essential for an objective and impartial assessment of a given situation, to prevent distortion and reveal to the international community the inequities perpetrated with impunity by certain States.

276. Before I conclude, I should like to stress the view that economic and social development are closely linked to

the strengthening of international peace and security. Apart from being dedicated to the cause of complete and general disarmament my delegation believes that disarmament will release valuable resources that can be more effectively used in bridging the ever-widening gap between the developed and developing countries.

277. It has been stated during this debate that there can be no progress without peace, and no peace without justice. My delegation would like to express the hope that the United Nations, in the coming years of its existence, will devote all its efforts to progress, justice and peace so that all men and women all over the world may have a better life.

278. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Kuwait for his very kind words of congratulation to the members of the Bureau.

279. Mr. TSEGHE (Ethiopia): Mr. Chairman, may I, at the outset of my participation in the discussion of the vital issue to which the Committee has given priority, extend to you and to Ambassadors Farah and Cerník the sincere felicitations of the Ethiopian delegation on your elections to the respective offices which each one of you so ably occupies.

280. In associating my delegation with the laudatory sentiments already expressed by those who have preceded me regarding your high competence for the arduous duties of your office, I am not, Mr. Chairman, attempting merely to conform to tradition. But I seem to have the rare good fortune to be speaking from the vantage point of awareness of the admirable manner with which you have thus far conducted our business, saving us valuable time by averting the usual procedural wrangles.

281. Coming to the substance of the timely subject of our present discussion, my delegation is considerably encouraged by the earnestness and seriousness of purpose with which the subject of the strengthening of international security has been handled throughout our deliberations. While thanking the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for having had the item inscribed on the provisional agenda of the preceding session of the General Assembly,<sup>11</sup> I should be remiss if I failed to express the appreciation of my delegation for the initiative taken by various delegations in formulating a number of draft resolutions for consideration by this Committee. I say this because I am convinced that all of us here are fully aware of the propitiousness and enormity of the problem, and appreciate the intricacy of formulating generally acceptable measures for action.

282. In the present era, when we address ourselves to the strengthening of international security we are perhaps much more fortunate than our predecessors in that we are not starting from a void. Without delving too deeply into the remote past, we have as our starting point the Charter of the United Nations, signed in San Francisco in our lifetime. That historic document sets forth, in unambiguous terms and in clear language, the purposes and principles of the

<sup>10</sup> For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

United Nations under whose auspices we now seek to strengthen the shaky security of each and all nations on our planet. Lest we make a mockery of the Charter, and of our own past and present efforts under its aegis, I should like to underline the fact that when we in Ethiopia speak of international peace and security we mean peace and security for one and all—not a partial or discriminating peace and security in favour of any exclusive Powers or groups of nations.

283. The first words of the Charter of the United Nations express the determination of the peoples of the United Nations “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...”. But what has actually been achieved in the interval between that solemn day in June 1945 and the present moment?

284. I believe we owe gratitude to our colleague the Ambassador of France for enlightening us on that score with characteristic resourcefulness. At its 1728th meeting on 5 October this Committee was solemnly informed “that between 1945 and 1969 fifty-five wars of significant scope, duration and intensity took place”. If any of us here could have any illusions about the state of international peace and security under which we have subsisted in the last quarter of a century, this single revelation has probably given us considerable food for thought.

285. What has actually been achieved in the last 25 years, if put in a nutshell, would thus be reduced to this: the avoidance of yet another global conflict of incalculable magnitude. The balance of terror, coupled with the influence and facilities of the United Nations has, I must affirm, earned us this remission. Since this aspect of qualitative and quantitative peace and security was already handled with penetrating insight by the representative of Brazil at the 1725th meeting of the Committee, we will say no more on the matter except to remark, in passing, that the state of international peace and security, falling as it does far short of the purposes and principles of the Charter, must remain of grave concern for the world community of nations. That concern is grave in direct proportion to the means of power at the disposal of States.

286. Time does not allow me to proceed to deal with the rest of the high ideals, purposes and principles of the Charter, from the Preamble to the relevant Articles and Chapters, from beginning to end. But, as has already been brought out in one way or another by all the representatives who have participated in our debate so far, as well as in the general debate at plenary meetings of the General Assembly, encroachment on the Charter has persisted with a depressing consistency. Time and again, each and all of the ideals, purposes and principles of the Charter have been subjected to assault from right and left, so much so that the effectiveness of the United Nations as the instrument of peace, progress and justice has been only too often seriously undermined, and the very existence of the Organization at times jeopardized.

287. Not only have the provisions of the Charter and the resolutions of the principal organs been either flouted with impunity or left unimplemented but, in respect of their primary duties and responsibilities, both the Security Council and the General Assembly have also accomplished

much less than the authors of the Charter had envisioned. In some instances the very wide powers either exclusively reserved to the Security Council or jointly shared with the General Assembly have so drained the strength and effectiveness of the United Nations that, because of its crippling timidity, the world still languishes in a state of precarious peace and elusive security.

288. In our view, those are briefly the fundamental problems we have to face in considering possible measures for the strengthening of international peace and security. The success of our endeavours in finding solutions to those problems will, we are convinced, truly herald a new era in international relations—a period of genuine serenity and durable peace for all nations without exception. The time is indeed propitious to begin a fresh chapter in the chronicles of the United Nations.

289. Such being the case, I can hardly believe that there is any subject too sacrosanct, or ways and means too delicate or difficult, to be rendered immune from exploration and scrutiny by the First Committee. In my understanding, we are here, among other matters, to grope and grapple with every feasible idea in order to achieve the common objective of a strengthened international peace and security.

290. The Ethiopian delegation has closely and carefully followed the debate on the subject under consideration both last year and during the current session. I am happy to state that we are broadly in agreement with a number of the ideas, suggestions and proposals advanced by many of our colleagues.

291. I wish briefly to recapitulate the salient features of some of those points without implying any order of importance. First, we fully support the idea of rededication to the purposes and principles of the Charter and, to borrow the Secretary-General's apt terminology, we should “live up to” them. In this context, we also share the conviction of many in these halls to the effect that the first prescription for the ailing security of nations should be the scrupulous observance and energetic implementation of all provisions of the Charter by all nations.

292. International peace and security are an indivisible whole, just as the Charter itself has an organic unity. This, in effect, would mean that to achieve the common objective of a strengthened international peace and security we would have to observe and implement all the purposes and principles of the Charter as an organic whole—not piecemeal or by portions. The acute need for the universality of the United Nations is also clearly indicated herein. We must strongly reaffirm the Lusaka Declaration made at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in September 1970, to the effect that recognition and acceptance of the principle of universality in terms of its membership is a vital necessity for the effectiveness of the United Nations and, hence, for the strengthening of international peace and security.

293. Furthermore, to the extent that all the different organs of the United Nations have their clearly defined responsibilities under the Charter, we consider it high time that those responsibilities were fully met and effectively

discharged, especially by the permanent members of the Security Council, without in any manner restricting the competence and functioning of the other organs.

294. But over and above the strict adherence to and active implementation of all the provisions of the Charter, my delegation strongly feels that if States refrained from putting unnecessary obstacles in the way of the various machineries of the United Nations that would greatly facilitate our moving in the right direction. We believe that greater and wider utilization of those machineries is indispensable to the strengthening of international security.

295. Secondly, living as we do at a time when there is an unprecedented spiral of the arms race and armaments build-up, absorbing an ever-increasing proportion of national wealth, no device of peace and security will be complete without an arrangement for genuine and effective measures in the field of disarmament. There is no denying the fact that, meagre as they may be, the present efforts in disarmament negotiations have slowly begun to show some positive results.

296. Nevertheless we still remain far from the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. That is why we must persist and redouble our efforts to continue negotiations, in good faith, to arrive at meaningful measures in the field of disarmament. In this connexion allow me once more to welcome the preliminary talks already under way between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the limitation of the defensive and offensive missile systems, on the results of which depend much of the negotiations of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament.

297. Thirdly, my delegation fully subscribes to the view that, in the final analysis, the basis of a strengthened international peace and security is the inner peace and prosperity of the individual. We firmly believe that, as everyone knows, poverty, disease and ignorance are no less vicious and deadly than the most sophisticatedly destructive weapons in the arsenals of some nations. To strengthen international peace and security we must, therefore, launch the strongest possible co-ordinated offensive against those ancient enemies of mankind, which know no geographical boundaries. The pursuit of those enemies of man and their eventual eradication is by no means an easy task; but win the victory we must.

298. Coupled with the measures I have just indicated, the development ventures of the developing nations must be intensified with the injection more effectively of higher doses of resources and technical know-how. The liberalisation of international trade, the full achievement of the objectives of the Disarmament Decade and the United Nations Development Decades are, in our view, some of the essential ingredients in this venture. Since it would be naïve to think of strengthening international peace and security while the vast majority of mankind still lives in squalid misery, let us be sufficiently realistic and strengthen the machinery of the United Nations in the areas of economic and social development.

299. Fourthly, while the achievements in the fields of decolonization and the protection of human rights are quite

impressive, obsolescent imperialism still continues to fight its last colonial wars on the soil of the African continent and a handful of minority settler-groups still hold millions of my fellow Africans in degrading subjugation. I do not believe that anyone can think seriously that world peace and security can be strengthened while such colonial wars are still being fought in the last ditches and repugnant racialism in the form of *apartheid* is still being practised and spread. In the interest of international peace and security and rudimentary justice, strong measures, long overdue, must therefore be taken speedily.

300. Finally, so long as vicious wars rage in South-East Asia and the situation in the Middle East remains a paramount preoccupation, it appears to us somewhat ironic that we debate ways and means of strengthening international peace and security. If we are to solve the problems under discussion systematically, then the restoration of genuine and durable peace in those regions is certainly of utmost urgency.

301. Ethiopia recognizes that the problem of strengthening international peace and security is as complex as it is urgent. While my delegation does not pretend to have any single magic formula for attaining the end in view, we believe, as do others, that the basis for strengthening international peace and security must be, in the first instance, the Charter of the United Nations. Let each and every State Member of this Organization faithfully fulfil all the obligations it has undertaken freely. Then, and only then, will we have come closer to the solution of our problem and, in the process, the United Nations rendered far more effective as our common instrument of peace, progress and justice. To that end, the political will of nations large and small must match the magnitude of the problem.

302. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Ethiopia for the very kind words of congratulations that he has extended to the Chairman and the members of the Bureau.

303. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. Chairman, I wish briefly to offer my congratulations to you and the other officers of the Committee on your unanimous election to these high offices. We are especially privileged this year to have such a distinguished and experienced team of Ambassadors as officers.

304. I turn now to the item before us. The question of strengthening international security is one in which my delegation has taken particular interest since the very first days of our joining the Organization, not merely because we were conscious of the need of international security for the protection of the independence and the territorial integrity of small countries like my own, ensuring thereby their economic development in peace and security, but also because we felt that without international security there could be little progress towards peace in an orderly world.

305. The importance of international security in relation to disarmament was emphasized by my delegation at the 1965 session of the Disarmament Commission. We then stressed the close interdependence between international security and disarmament and the need of parallel efforts in



both fields, for we cannot hope to demolish the machines of war without proceeding to build the instruments of peace. Regrettably, however, during the long disarmament negotiations over the years, there has been no parallel effort to develop international security through the United Nations.

306. Similarly, at the twenty-third session we stressed the need to develop international security and we proposed that there should be a study of the interrelated problems of international security and the peaceful settlement of disputes in their relations to disarmament.

307. On those occasions the question being dealt with was disarmament; there was no item on international security. It was therefore with particular interest that we welcomed the inclusion of the present item in last year's agenda, with which full discussion of this important subject was opened.

308. Very important statements have been made in this Committee from all sections of opinion and draft resolutions have been presented. The common denominator in those draft resolutions is that they emphasize the need to reaffirm faith in the principles of the Charter, in Members carrying out their obligations under the Charter, and also the fact that certain aspects of the Charter should be given special emphasis.

309. It has been said—and it is certainly true—that it is not merely by resolutions and declarations that international security may be attained, but by the will and determination of the Member States to comply with their obligations under the Charter and to be really concerned for the common interest of international security rather than their short-term national interest in each case.

310. Now this is a common premise. We all agree on that. But the question arises of how this General Assembly can act in order to achieve this common determination and will for the promotion of international security.

311. This emergence of a common determination and will for international security depends on many factors. One important factor is that the development of the world situation will emphasize the need for international security, and of course a resolution which reaffirms faith in the Charter principles brings a new awareness of the need to conform with the principles of the Charter. Also it is an occasion for enlarging the scope of those principles by a judicious interpretation of certain parts of the principles, and also by emphasizing other parts that are very important. For instance, we notice that one of the drafts reaffirms "the obligation of all Member States to resolve international disputes by making use of the means and procedures of peaceful settlement enumerated in Article 33 of the Charter". It is in regard to this that I want to point out that although the means for the peaceful settlement of disputes are provided in outline in the Charter, the procedures and modalities for their application have not been developed, or even studied, on any of the many occasions that have arisen for doing so. Since the establishment of the United Nations many committees have been established for the discussion of disarmament or, even more

recently, United Nations peace-keeping operations, but no committee has ever been established for developing the procedures of peaceful settlement of international disputes. And I submit that this is an aspect very closely related to international security, because unless there is a peaceful settlement of disputes there is very little hope of having international security.

312. Moreover, in the reaffirmation of the unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter, it is emphasized that one of the most important principles is the prohibition of the threat or use of force.

313. Next, in most of the draft resolutions, there is a reference to the peaceful settlement of international disputes in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. Therefore, as the Charter points out, international security depends greatly upon the peaceful settlement of disputes.

314. My suggestion in this Committee—and I put this forward as a proposal—is that a committee should be set up by this General Assembly to study the interrelated problems of international security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. In this examination, incidentally, the question of disarmament may arise but the most important aspects are the interrelated problems of international security and peaceful settlement of disputes. This is why I wanted to intervene early to say that I hope that an agreement will be reached on a common draft resolution based on the many draft resolutions that will have emerged, and I should like to see in that draft resolution not only a reference to the peaceful settlement of disputes but a provision for a committee to study and develop the modalities. For instance, we speak about mediation, conciliation and inquiry, but there are no rules of procedure whereas such rules could be very important and very useful. The provision of the means of settling international disputes helps towards that settlement and that helps the strengthening of international security.

315. Another aspect that I wish to emphasize also is the reference to the preponderance of the Charter principles over other treaty obligations. This is a matter of which Member States have to be reminded because it is very often forgotten—namely that the Charter obligations are paramount. And just as Charter obligations are paramount under Article 103, the United Nations interest is paramount over the national interest of any one Member on matters of common dangers and needs that affect the interest of the international community as a whole.

316. These are the particular points that I wanted to raise as early as possible with regard to the matter before us—international security—and I hope I may be able to introduce at the proper moment our amendment concerning the nature of the committee to be set up in relation to the development of the peaceful means of settling disputes.

317. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have come to the end of the list of speakers for this afternoon. Before we adjourn I should like to tell the Committee that for Monday, in order to conclude the

debate on this item, we still have 38 speakers. In order to enable us to hear these delegations, three meetings have been scheduled for that day—one in the morning at 10.30,

one in the afternoon at 3 o'clock and a night meeting at 8.30.

*The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.*