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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 and 514)

1. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the first speaker on my list I wish to inform the Committee that the delegation of the Netherlands has decided to co-sponsor the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.514.

2. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The more complex and difficult the problems entrusted to the First Committee, the more important is the choice of its officers. In offering you the congratulations of the Italian delegation, as well as my personal wishes, upon your well-deserved election, Mr. Chairman, I should like to say that it is indeed with great satisfaction that I see you in the Chair. No better choice could have been made: your personal qualifications, your unswerving attachment to the principles of the Charter and your intellectual integrity are assets on which we can confidently rely in our deliberations on the delicate items on our agenda and in carrying out the difficult and arduous work of the most important Committee of the General Assembly.

3. We are sure that with Ambassador Aguilar at our helm the high standards and traditions of our Committee will be upheld and enlightened. His unanimous election is also a tribute to the Latin American group as a whole and to his country in particular, a tribute in which my delegation rejoices. Venezuela is a loyal and staunch Member of the Organization since its foundation, a country with which Italy has enjoyed very close and friendly relations which are blossoming in all fields—political, economic and cultural.

4. It is also my pleasure to present my respectful regards and congratulations to my good friend Ambassador Farah

on his election to the office of Vice-Chairman. Our Somali colleague, who is an eloquent spokesman of Africa, has gained in a very short time the highest esteem and respect in the African group as well as in other countries. I have no doubt that the wide experience of Ambassador Farah, especially as Chairman of the *apartheid* Committee,<sup>1</sup> will be of great help for the successful accomplishment of the tasks which have been assigned to our Committee.

5. I wish also to express my warmest congratulations to Ambassador Cerník for his unanimous election to the post of Rapporteur of the First Committee. I have known our colleague from Czechoslovakia personally since his first term of office in the United Nations, and I had ample opportunities then, and also since he came back, to appreciate his talents and skill as well as his spirit of co-operation, which are so necessary in the important task of Rapporteur.

6. We are glad to see the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, and the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chacko, on whose experience and wide knowledge we have relied in the past and will confidently rely in our work this year. I should also like to say the same of all the members of the Secretariat whose co-operation we have always highly appreciated.

7. Before introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.514, which has already been circulated, may I start with a foreword. Thanks to the Turkish Government, a few days ago we had the privilege of admiring the reproduction of an historic document which probably represents the earliest peace treaty known to us. It came perhaps as a surprise to many that the contents of that covenant, signed in 1269 B.C. between Hattusilis III, King of the Hittites, and Ramses II, Pharaoh of Egypt, sound strangely familiar to all of us who deal with contemporary problems of the international community. It speaks of eternal friendship, of lasting peace, of respect for one another's territorial integrity; it pledges non-aggression and mutual help in terms which are so familiar nowadays.

8. In a word, that treaty reminds us that nations have been discussing peace and security for over 3,000 years at least and have been reaching for the very same goals. Does that mean that man's everlasting search for better international relations was and is an exercise in futility?

9. I think that nobody would accept such a negative judgement. Indeed, peace and security are not abstract concepts. They consist in the stability of given patterns of inter-State relations and, as such, they reflect situations

<sup>1</sup> Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

which evolve step by step with the historical changes of human societies. Now we all know that only a few years can basically change the conditions under which nations could feel reasonably if not thoroughly protected from injury, attack and infringement of their sovereign rights.

10. That is the main lesson we have received from the history of the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the end of the Second World War. There is no need for me to speak of past failures or to go over the reasons why all nations, big and small, feel insecure today. These failures and reasons are well fixed in our minds and, besides, they have been so eloquently illustrated by so many speakers more recently in the general debate that I would only repeat them in less forceful terms.

11. So let me just say that it is face to face with the rapid change of present reality that the main issues of international politics must be considered, assessed and solved. We agree that security must be our watchword. It cannot be otherwise in a world which witnesses the failure so far of all attempts to quell two ravaging wars and to extinguish other hotbeds of conflict; a world which is undermined by the mad momentum of arms races, by the increasing gap between rich and poor countries and by the ugly face of racism in some areas; a world which seems powerless before the spreading of the logic of violence from the activity of Governments to the revival of abhorrent forms of piracy.

12. That is why last year we sincerely welcomed the decision to concentrate this Committee's attention on the strengthening of international security as a constructive and timely initiative. But we were convinced then—and we are even more so now—that viable solutions can be found only on the sound basis of a factual assessment of today's international reality and of the existing interrelationship among States, which means that, whenever an issue raised in this Assembly is vital to all the Members of the United Nations, solutions can emerge only from a democratic process of polarization of the views and the wills of the widest possible majority of the membership.

13. I expressed last year the view—which I still maintain—that any attempt to propose or impose a ready-made answer even before discussing the issue would be considered by us and by many in this Committee as a survival of stone-age concepts of power politics. That does not mean that we wish to challenge the special responsibility entrusted by the United Nations Charter to any one of the permanent members of the Security Council in the pursuance of the basic statutory aims of maintaining international peace and security. Quite the contrary, we do accept it. We do not, however, consider that such responsibility is exclusive, especially when we gather to discuss the best ways and means to ensure peace and security throughout the world. In this case the whole membership, in our view, is vitally interested in giving its contribution.

14. We were therefore gratified that so many countries took an active part in the debate at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly and that so many documents were filed in reply to the note by which the Secretary-General, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV), requested the Governments of Member States to express their views and proposals on this subject

and on any measures they might take for the purpose of strengthening international security.

15. Last year's statements and the replies from Governments [*A/7922 and Add.1-5*] provided an invaluable documentation for the further consideration of this important issue, and it is on the basis of that documentation that the permanent representatives of a large number of Member States, not confined to any particular geographical area or alliance, engaged some months ago in regular exchanges of views and in a thorough preparation of the consideration of this item which we have just started. The delegations involved in this exercise were all moved by the sincere purpose of making a fruitful contribution to our common work and of starting our deliberations on the constructive basis of the broadest possible consensus. We were especially moved by the conviction that all of us around this table have one overriding common interest and objective: peace.

16. The draft which emerged from those consultations was made known, in the first instance, to the missions that had expressed a desire to exchange views on the issue and, a little later, to all geographical groups. We were in fact convinced that there was no reason to be exclusive or to raise a curtain of secrecy around ideas which did not belong to any special delegation but were, we felt, generally shared and thus possibly more capable of commanding approval by a majority.

17. Certainly we cannot and do not expect the text to be completely satisfactory to each single delegation around this table. It is not entirely so for us either. As a matter of fact, those who have worked on the draft have exercised a great deal of self-control and restraint, dropping some of their own favorite views or formulations in order to produce a text which could better reflect at least the common sentiment of the greatest possible number of Member States.

18. Considering the origin of the draft resolution I have the honour to present to you on behalf of the present six sponsors, I expect that delegations will not be surprised if they find in its text ideas or even words and expressions taken from their statements of last year or from the documents they have submitted to the Secretariat. In our exercise we did not leave out any of the replies given to the Secretary-General.

19. In so doing we tried to produce a text as objective and impartial as possible. We do not claim to have been completely successful in this attempt; far from it. Knowing our human limitations, we did not look for perfection, but we certainly tried our best in our earnest search for a common ground, and the preliminary remarks and comments on our text which were kindly and amiably offered by many delegations from all regional groups were heartening. They make us feel that we have somehow done some useful work and that compensates us for the time and energies spent in drafting the text now before the Committee.

20. In this same spirit, we do not consider our text final. We are open to suggestions and proposals which could improve our draft. Especially welcome, from my point of view, are those ideas which would help in bringing to life

parts of the Charter which have remained dormant or make better use of the means and the machinery available. If actions speak louder than words, this is exactly what the United Nations needs in order not to fall into irrelevance. We have on our part attempted to be as forward-looking as possible, having in mind that, however desirable it would be to have a new international order adjusted at once to present realities, wisdom commands us to run but not to rush.

21. On one point we are firm: the maintenance of those paragraphs which contain principles identical to those of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe in fact that it is in the common interest of all Member States to avoid any wording which could lead to a misinterpretation of the Charter or to a rewording of its principles *ad usum delphini*.

22. I have so far explained the origin and the general lines of the draft resolution that Australia, Belgium, Canada, Japan, the Netherlands and my own country have co-sponsored. I have also indicated how much we, and a great number of other delegations, have looked forward to reaching a consensus before the opening of this debate, and how much we are looking forward to it now and in the days ahead. I should like to add a short explanation of the contents of the draft resolution. Before doing so, I wish to express my gratitude to the delegations which have given their co-sponsorship and entrusted me with the important and delicate task of presenting the draft resolution. I now sincerely thank those delegations which will add their signatures to our document or offer it their valuable support.

23. The starting point of my remarks will be the preamble. It recalls, first of all, the background of the item, then goes on to underscore the connexion between the present international situation and the means and resources provided by the relevant provisions of the Charter in order to build peace and co-operation in the world.

24. The preamble then re-states, in the fourth and fifth paragraphs, the well-known but too often disregarded concepts that the political will of Member States and their strict observance of the principles and the provisions of the Charter, as well as their unconditional adherence to, and application of, international law, are of the essence in the field of international peace and security.

25. The text goes on to endorse the concern expressed by Member States over the slow pace of progress in the negotiation of agreements on arms control and disarmament under strict and effective international control, and over the delay in reaching agreement on a procedure for peace-keeping operations.

26. The urgency of adopting procedures for a just organization of peace in the world is also underscored in the eighth preambular paragraph.

27. The following paragraph recalls the role of regional arrangements for the strengthening of international security. But more will be said on this score and on the very important qualifications contained in the Charter when we come to the operative part of the draft.

28. The tenth preambular paragraph once again recognizes that the Charter is an integrated instrument, the various parts and provisions of which are interdependent. This would imply that selective interpretations or application of the Charter are not consonant with the interests of international peace and security.

29. The eleventh and thirteenth preambular paragraphs recognize that a similar interaction exists between the maintenance of international peace and security on the one hand, and economic and social development on the other, and that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization and the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade are excellent occasions for initiatives aimed at the strengthening of international peace and security.

30. The operative part of the draft resolution starts with a solemn rededication to the purposes and principles of the Charter. Some delegations may find the first three paragraphs somewhat lengthy and cumbersome, but I hardly need to recall that whenever statesmen or diplomats have, in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, elaborated on the crisis of authority that impairs the efficiency of the world Organization, they have been unanimous in asserting the need for a much stronger political will from the Governments of Member States to live up to the ideals of the Charter.

31. Hence the rededication, which has been so worded as to avoid any reinterpretation of the principles and purposes, as well as any attempt to establish a new order of priority among them. In this respect, I must particularly draw the attention of this Committee to two concepts embodied in paragraphs 2 and 3. The first is that the importance of agreeing on regional arrangements or agencies, to whose usefulness we do subscribe, should not overshadow the primary necessity to ensure that such arrangements or agencies, and the activities of the latter, are fully consistent with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter. The second is a reminder of the absolute equality of Member States in relation to the respect for their sovereign right. No State or group of States should any longer consider either the size or the political and social system of any other State as a possible waiver to the strict observance of the principle of respect of the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of each and every nation.

32. The following paragraphs aim at outlining a series of provisions and actions in furthering the strengthening of international security. Basically, they can be summarized along the following lines.

33. Seven paragraphs urge Member States to implement fully Article 33 of the Charter and to make a greater use of and enhance the existing United Nations machinery in the fields of peace-making and peace-keeping. In this spirit, paragraph 5 recommends the fullest possible utilization of the International Court of Justice. Paragraph 6 urges that greater advantage should be taken of the Secretary-General's good offices and that greater use should be made of improved methods of fact-finding and conciliation, including the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 268 (III) and 2329 (XXII). Paragraphs 9, 10, 11 and

12 stress the urgent need for more effective, dynamic and flexible procedures for peace-making efforts and peace-making operations, for increased efforts to agree on such procedures in the framework of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations for a reliable and equitable solution of the related financial problems on the basis of collective responsibility. We were generally inspired in these recommendations by the statement of the Secretary-General, in which U Thant urged Member States to make the force of law prevail over the law of force.

34. Other paragraphs refer to the effectiveness of the United Nations organs competent for peace and security and particularly of the Security Council. Paragraph 12 calls upon Member States to respect the resolutions of those organs and to abide by the decisions of the Security Council. While paragraph 13 hails the consensus decision of the Security Council to hold periodic meetings at the ministerial level, which, I hope, will permit it from time to time to review the situation in the world and foresee and prevent the insurgence of crises and conflicts, paragraphs 14 and 15 aim at strengthening the Council's efficiency. We believe that it is always extremely difficult, when a crisis arises, to set up subsidiary organs for the settlement of disputes or for monitoring and restraining the flow of armaments which represent the most powerful fuel in feeding and expanding fires wherever they occur. The Council, therefore, should constitute such organs on a geographical and permanent basis, enabling them to curb or slow down the rivalry for power and influence, bringing under control the main instrument used to that effect, or allowing them to act at the first signs of an impending crisis. As far as paragraph 15 is concerned, I think that it is hardly necessary to elaborate on the concept that the authority of the Security Council is commensurate also with the authority of its members. The stronger and more dedicated to the United Nations ideals its members are, the stronger the Security Council itself will be. The stability of the international order and of world relations would greatly benefit from the unceasing association with the work of the Security Council of those countries which are in condition, and willing, to ensure the greatest contribution to the maintenance of peace and security through collective measures.

35. Paragraphs 7 and 8 deal with disarmament. In this respect, I will simply recall the Secretary-General's assessment contained in the introduction to his latest annual report on the work of the Organization.

"The signing of the Charter took place only days before the explosion of the first atomic bomb, and ever since disarmament has been recognized as an essential condition for the survival and well-being of mankind. Although disarmament is one of the highest priorities of the United Nations, its achievements in this field hardly measure up to the needs."<sup>2</sup>

The widespread feeling of the urgent necessity to move on from agreements on the limitation of armaments to agreements of real reduction of armaments is enhanced by the equally widespread belief that only a comprehensive programme of general and complete disarmament can make

available the huge human and material resources indispensable to bridge the gap between developed and developing countries.

36. The problems of development are more specifically dealt with in paragraphs 17 and 18. We are deeply convinced that poverty, wherever it occurs or exists, leads to instability because human dignity commands equal opportunities for all mankind. A meaningful and successful Second United Nations Development Decade based on a global strategy is therefore, in our view, a prerequisite for the establishment of a peaceful international order.

37. The other equally important prerequisites are the early completion of the decolonization process, in full respect of the will of the peoples concerned and with the implementation of the principle of equal rights and self-determination, as well as the universal respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Charter. These propositions are outlined in paragraphs 16 and 19.

38. The last two paragraphs urge Member States to reaffirm their will to respect fully the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and recommend the continuation and intensification of efforts towards the progressive development and codification of international law.

39. The draft resolution I have just introduced can certainly be improved by this Committee. It may appear long and complex. But the issue before us is a complex one, because it practically involves all the major problems confronting the world on a global scale and commands, therefore, global solutions in the framework of a comprehensive, all-embracing plan of action.

40. Peace and security are the result of the interaction of many factors, each of which is equally important and essential. To achieve peace, the world needs stability in international relations, therefore a halt and reversal of the arm races aimed at modifying the balance of power among nations. But one can hardly hope to achieve a meaningful disarmament programme if the security of each and every State is not fully guaranteed. And one cannot have security if the body of international law is not widely developed and generally accepted and implemented and if the United Nations cannot rely upon an effective machinery of peace-making and peace-keeping. One cannot bridge the existing credibility gap in the United Nations if the Organization's main organs are not vested with adequate powers and if their decisions are not respected. International relations will never be stabilized and improved unless the standard of living rises quickly all over the world in such a way as to eliminate the glaring disparities still existing, which are an intolerable affront to human dignity. These are not only ideas of mine. They were much more forcefully expressed in the general debate by leaders of Latin American, African and Asian countries.

41. I sincerely hope that the draft resolution I have had the privilege of introducing will be considered as an attempt, however imperfect it might appear, to outline a global strategy of peace and progress. What we need, indeed, to this effect is a new start to far-reaching actions in

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, para. 17.

five fields: the strengthening of the United Nations, disarmament, peace-keeping, peace-making, social and economic progress. This is exactly what we try to provide: a new start, not solutions well prepared in advance. To do so would have been over-pretentious on our part.

42. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations offers us a unique opportunity—a political climate fully favourable to an earnest reappraisal of the achievements and the failures of the Organization in its basic tasks and to the enhancement of its capacity in maintaining peace and security. I sincerely hope that our draft resolution will be a meaningful contribution towards that end and towards the fulfilment of the three inspiring goals towards which this session of the General Assembly has been called upon to work: peace, justice and progress.

43. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to thank Ambassador Vinci, the representative of Italy, for the very kind words that he was good enough to address to the members of the Bureau and to me personally. I am also grateful to him for recalling the very close and cordial relations that I am happy to say exist between Italy, his country, and my own.

44. Mr. ZEMLA (Czechoslovakia): Mr. Chairman, before I start speaking about the subject under consideration, I should like to use the occasion of this first statement by our delegation in this Committee to express to you, as well as to your colleagues, the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Farah, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Cerník, our cordial congratulations on being elected to your respective posts. I am convinced that under your guidance, Mr. Chairman, the work of the First Committee will be successful and will yield positive results.

45. It is not fortuitous that the First Committee of the General Assembly unanimously decided that the consideration of measures aimed at the strengthening of international security would be the first item on its agenda. It is a reaffirmation and expression of the general recognition of the necessity to take effective steps which would contribute to the attainment of this significant task.

46. That is understandable since 25 years after the Second World War, which caused so much devastation, peace and security in the world have not yet been firmly and permanently ensured. Dangerous hotbeds of war arise in various parts of the world and acts of aggression are committed. The peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia are still the victims of a continuing imperialistic aggression, which has brought with it heavy losses of human lives, untold sufferings and enormous material damage. Similarly, there have been aggressive actions against the peoples of the Arab countries. At the same time, those hotbeds of aggression represent a permanent danger of the outbreak of a major or even a world conflict. A feverish arms race has been going on in the world, while, unfortunately, in the field of disarmament only the first steps have been taken. We have also witnessed the continuing suppression of fundamental human rights and the brutal oppression of the populations in the colonial countries, as well as condemnable manifestations of racial discrimination. Military occupation of foreign territories resulting from armed conflicts, particularly in the territories of the Arab countries, has been continuing.

47. In that situation the United Nations cannot be a passive observer. If we want to see the prestige of our Organization strengthened, we are in duty bound to exert every effort to ensure that the current session of the General Assembly focuses its activities primarily on those questions that concern international peace and security, as well as on all its important tasks.

48. We consider the fact that the deliberations on these questions are taking place at this anniversary session to be important and very significant. After all, the ensuring of peace and security in the world is among the principal tasks of the United Nations. Therefore, the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization is no doubt a good occasion to re-evaluate how the United Nations has so far fulfilled this main task. It is necessary to learn from the shortcomings and mistakes made in the past activities of the United Nations and to create solid foundations for its future work. It is not recriminations about the past, but primarily the future of the United Nations in which we are interested. The consideration of measures aimed at the strengthening of international security and the adoption of a relevant document is therefore, in this connexion, an urgent requirement of our times.

49. We regard as very positive the fact that the discussion of the question of international security was started, upon the initiative of the Soviet Union, at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup> The interest of Member States and their involvement in this exceptionally significant question are attested to by the course of the deliberations of the twenty-fourth session, as well as by the responses sent by Governments to the Secretary-General [A/7922 and Add.1-5] in accordance with resolution 2606 (XXIV).

50. An analysis of the answers shows that the question of the strengthening of international security arouses the deep interest of the States Members of the United Nations, which realize its exceptional significance. At the same time, it is gratifying that in their answers an overwhelming number of Governments ascribe a significant role to the United Nations in the fulfilment of this task, in harmony with the tasks laid down for the United Nations in this field in its Charter.

51. Similarly, the Czechoslovak Government, which is sincerely interested in the strengthening of peace and security and whose foreign policy is directed towards the attainment of these objectives, has proceeded from this fundamental prerequisite. In its answer to resolution 2606 (XXIV) [see A/7922] it emphasized *inter alia* that: "in the present complex international situation, it regards the United Nations as an important instrument for helping to solve urgent problems of peace and security".

52. We want to underline this aspect primarily because we are at the same time conscious of the fact that the United Nations has not so far utilized all the possibilities provided to it by the Charter. That was, after all, mentioned by a number of delegations during the general debate. We also heard voices claiming that in the past the United Nations had not been sufficiently effective in ensuring peace and

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

security in the world. Our task in the future years of the existence of the United Nations will be, therefore, to rectify that shortcoming.

53. We believe that precisely now, at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly, we have an exceptional opportunity to bridge the gap between the past and present activities of the United Nations, a gap of which we are all aware. That is how the Czechoslovak delegation sees the main purpose of the item now under consideration here. A practicable road towards the strengthening of international security in the present situation is, in our opinion, shown in the draft declaration [A/C.1/L.513] submitted to the First Committee by the socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, and introduced in detail by the representative of the Soviet Union at the 1725th meeting of the Committee on 28 September.

54. Let me raise the following question: how can we bring about a situation in which the United Nations could play a relevant role in the strengthening of international security? What is our objective when we speak about the necessity to deal with this question? We all comprehend that international security is not an abstract concept. Obviously, we are not interested in the adoption of a document as such. We have in mind the gradual materialization of an over-all system of effective measures and steps emanating from the Charter of the United Nations, measures and steps contained in the draft declaration of the socialist countries which, as a whole, on condition that they are consistently observed by States, would contribute to the elimination of hotbeds of conflict and wars in the world, to the reduction of tensions, and to the creation of conditions and firm foundations for wide international peaceful co-operation.

55. It is primarily the Charter of the United Nations and the consistency of all Member States in carrying it out and observing its principles—having signed it and solemnly pledged to observe it—that can show the way to strengthen international security. Consequently, in their draft the socialist delegations deem it necessary to secure the solemn reaffirmation and development of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the observance of which is a prerequisite for the gradual and even preventive elimination of the causes of international conflicts and aggravation of tension in relations among States. These cardinal principles include primarily the settlement of all disputes exclusively by peaceful means, and refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations.

56. The history of our Organization clearly demonstrates that violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, or its circumvention, has always led to great complications and situations of conflict and, in consequence, has resulted in a weakening of the prestige and role of the United Nations in international relations. The examples of past instances when the United Nations flag and forum were misused are well known. Their adverse effects are still being felt in the United Nations. We should not forget them when we discuss how to increase the role of the United Nations in the strengthening of peace and security.

57. In some statements made in the general debate, as well as in our Committee, we have heard the views that the

Charter of the United Nations, or parts of it, are out of date, that some of its principles are obsolete and that, consequently, it should be revised. Is that really true? We are deeply convinced of the opposite. The efforts aimed at the revision of the United Nations Charter will not invigorate our Organization but, on the contrary, will undermine not only its authority and prestige but also its very foundations upon which the United Nations was built and stands.

58. The Charter of the United Nations is not a dead document, nor does it impede development in the world. The Charter provides us with sufficient possibilities for a further creative development and concretization of its principles in harmony with the requirements of the present day and world. There are examples of a similar positive creative approach to the Charter and they represent a useful contribution to the activities of our Organization exactly because they proceed from the Charter and fully respect its principles. Several days ago, the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly adopted a draft resolution approving 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>4</sup> which will be one of the main documents adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. Most delegations which spoke on that occasion, appreciating the significance of that document as an important contribution to the development of peaceful relations among States, noted that its value lies precisely in the fact that it proceeds from the principles which are inscribed in the Charter and which are further elaborated and deepened in the declaration. We are convinced that this is in fact an approach worth following and that in dealing with the question of international security and in drafting a corresponding instrument we should proceed along similar lines. The draft declaration of the socialist countries is directed precisely at that objective.

59. When we consider the reasons why the United Nations has not so far played the role that nations have expected from it, we come to the conclusion that one of the reasons is that after 25 years of its existence the United Nations, which is to be the principal instrument of international peace and security, has not yet become a universal organization. After all, questions of peace and security concern all States in the world and it is therefore abnormal if some States have for years been denied their right to participate in its work.

60. If Member States of the United Nations agree with the principal mission of the Organization, which is “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”, then now is really the best time to recall, at this session once again, in a document which will be adopted, the principles of the Charter aimed at ensuring international security, to reaffirm solemnly their validity and to appeal to all States consistently to observe those principles in their international relations. No doubt such a step will be positively received throughout the world and will be favourably reflected in international relations. In view of the significance of such a document the Czechoslovak delegation believes that it should have the character of a declaration rather than that of a mere resolution.

<sup>4</sup> For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).



61. We consider it particularly important to recall the existing concept of the United Nations, in which—under the respective provisions of the Charter of the United Nations—the Security Council is the main organ having responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. To secure the implementation of its resolutions is, therefore, rightfully one of our most important tasks if we want really to achieve an increased effectiveness of the United Nations in the ensuring of international security. Likewise, the draft declaration [*ibid.*] of the socialist countries, which in paragraph 5 requests that a consistent application, particularly of Article 25 of the Charter, be ensured, follows this objective. We cannot allow decisions of the Security Council to be ignored as, for example, is the case with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, the implementation of which Israel has so far rejected.

62. Proceeding from the decisive role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, the draft of the socialist countries calls for a consistent implementation of its decisions concerning the peaceful settlement of armed conflicts and withdrawal of armed forces from the territories which were occupied in consequence of such conflicts. It is necessary to make full use of all opportunities which the Charter provides and to promote the application of those of its provisions which have not yet been fully utilized and which may contribute to the furtherance of the joint interest of Member States in the maintenance of peace and international security. In this respect, we also fully support the decision that the Security Council should meet periodically at the ministerial level in conformity with Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

63. Czechoslovakia, like the other socialist countries, is sincerely interested in the elaboration of universally acceptable rules for United Nations peace-keeping operations. Therefore, our draft emphasizes that it is necessary to finish the work aimed at the establishment of a firm and solid system of United Nations activities in this field, proceeding, of course, from the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, so that peace-keeping operations could also take a corresponding place in the complex of measures aimed at the strengthening of international security.

64. Proceeding from the Charter of the United Nations and from a number of already existing resolutions, our draft declaration also contains provisions under which States are bound to refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

65. In this connexion, more particularly, we must consider other provisions of the draft which require the cessation of all military or other actions taken to suppress the national liberation movements of peoples struggling against colonial or racist domination and the provision of active assistance to those peoples in the attainment of their independence.

66. Another provision of the draft declaration of the socialist countries also emphasizes, from the point of view of the strengthening of international security, the significance of general and complete disarmament under international control as well as of partial disarmament measures, particularly in the field of nuclear arms.

67. A world without wars, without arms and enormous military expenditures would, of course, be a world of general peaceful international co-operation in which significant work aimed at the social and economic progress of all countries, including the developing ones, could become a reality.

68. An inseparable part of the problem related to the strengthening of international security are the measures of a regional character which may in many respects positively influence or accelerate the completion of tasks aimed at ensuring security on a world-wide scale.

69. In this connexion, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, like the other States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, consider as being most positive all steps aimed at the creation of an effective system of security and peaceful co-operation of States of the European continent. The idea of convening an all-European conference which would mark the beginning of the process of the gradual solution of this urgent and significant problem—the idea which the States members of the Warsaw Pact brought forward in 1969—indicates, in our opinion, an effective way towards ensuring security in one of the most important areas in the world.

70. The present favourable development of the situation in Europe, as well as the wide support for the idea of convening the all-European conference received from an overwhelming majority of the Governments of European States, have created favourable conditions for the early convening of the conference. As is well known, the socialist countries have submitted for the agenda of the conference proposals approved at the Foreign Ministers' Meeting of member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization held at Prague in October 1969 and further elaborated in final documents at a similar meeting at Budapest in June 1970. In particular, we consider it necessary that talks concerning the convening of the conference should now evolve into multilateral contacts aimed at its early realization.

71. We are deeply convinced that progress in efforts to take measures aimed at ensuring security in Europe will be one of the corner-stones European States will place in the foundation of the building of a world system of international security.

72. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation the First Committee should do its utmost to ensure that the draft declaration on the strengthening of international security is elaborated in time for it to be approved during the solemn part of the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

73. If the main task of the United Nations is to ensure international peace and security, then on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations a document related to this complex of problems should be adopted at the outset.

74. The declaration to be adopted should in our opinion contain decisive measures conducive to the strengthening of international security and should not be watered down and burdened with any less important suggestions or measures.

75. Likewise it is necessary for the declaration to proceed from the realities of the contemporary divided world in which exist States having different social systems the interests of which must be taken into consideration. That is why, to give an example, insistence on some proposals and measures about which there are differing views among individual groups of States cannot yield good results. Such a procedure would only complicate our efforts to achieve the early adoption of the draft declaration.

76. As to the aforementioned requirements, we are convinced that the draft declaration submitted by the socialist countries corresponds fully to them, and in a better way than draft resolution A/C.1/L.514. The draft of the socialist countries covers all the main areas on which the common efforts of States to ensure international security should be focused.

77. In concluding, let me say that the principles aimed at the strengthening of world security contained in the draft declaration are considered by the Czechoslovak delegation to be a joint contribution by the socialist countries to the efforts to ensure a peaceful future for mankind. We are aware that the adoption of a declaration on the strengthening of international security will constitute only the first step and must be followed by positive acts so that the principles contained in the document can become a reality. However, it is important to take the first step, and, in view of its significance, the sooner the better.

78. Therefore the Czechoslovak delegation expresses the hope that on the occasion of the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations the foundations will be laid for the increased effectiveness of our Organization in the strengthening of security in the world. It would also be a significant contribution of the anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly to the strengthening of the prestige and authority of the United Nations in the world.

79. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Czechoslovakia for the words of congratulations he addressed to the officers of the Committee.

#### *Organization of work*

80. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the 1724th meeting, on 21 September, I informed the Committee that the commemorative part of this session would take place from 14 to 24 October. From conversations I have had with many delegations I understand that the majority of the members of the Committee, if not all of them, consider there should be no meetings of this Committee during that commemorative session.

81. Some members have told me privately, and in his statement the representative of Czechoslovakia has made the same comment, that if possible the Committee should endeavour to complete consideration of the first item on its agenda, concerning measures for the strengthening of international security, before the commemorative session begins, so that we can have a draft resolution or draft declaration ready for adoption on the day of the anniversary of the United Nations, that is 24 October.

82. The Committee has also taken into account the fact that there are many and complex items on our agenda and that the time available this year is even shorter than at previous sessions. Therefore I would suggest that the Committee make an effort to conclude consideration of this first item in the time remaining, before the commemorative session begins. I would urge delegations wishing to participate in the debate on this item to be good enough to inscribe their names on the speaker's list as soon as possible, and I would also request delegations wishing to submit resolutions on the item also to do so as soon as possible.

83. With regard to the time-table, I would announce also that we have scheduled two meetings of the Committee for Monday, 5 October—one at 10.30 a.m. and the other at 3 p.m. Are there any comments regarding these announcements on our programme of work? If no one wishes to make any comment, I shall take it that the Committee agrees with the targets I have proposed and the recommendations I have made.

*It was so decided.*

84. As representatives will recall, the Committee decided at the same meeting that the first item on our agenda to be taken up would be item 32. It was also decided that the priorities to be given to other items on the agenda would be considered at a forthcoming meeting after the Chairman had carried out the necessary consultations.

85. From the opinions expressed in the course of those consultations held with some members of the Committee—I have not yet had time to consult all members—it would appear that there is general agreement on the order of priority for the other items on the agenda.

86. Bearing in mind the consultations that have been held, I shall put before the Committee the following suggestions.

87. The first is that item 98, on the question of Korea, be taken up, as was done at previous sessions, in two parts. The first part would deal with the matter of the invitations to be issued, and the second part would be the substantive consideration of the question.

88. If that suggestion regarding the question of Korea commends itself to the Committee, the order of priority for consideration of the other items on the agenda might be the following. First we would take up the invitation aspects of the question of Korea. Secondly, there would be a general debate on the seven items on disarmament taken together—that is to say, items 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 93 and 94. Once the general debate on these items is concluded, the Committee might begin consideration of the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof. The Committee could decide subsequently on the priority to be given to proposals or draft resolutions on the other disarmament questions.

89. The third item would be the substantive aspects of the question of Korea. The fourth item would be item 25, relating to questions of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. The fifth and final item would be item 26, dealing with



international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. Does any representative wish to make any observations on these suggestions?

90. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): I do not know whether any attempt has been made to assess the time that is likely to be taken up by each item. I realize that one assessment has been made—for the item on international security—but it was more an expression of hope than a real assessment of the amount of time likely to be required to complete that item. This is only the second meeting at which the matter has been discussed.

91. Let us consider our possibilities for meetings. Between now and 14 October, when the commemorative session will start, we shall be able to hold fifteen meetings, including a Saturday morning meeting—and I do not see how at this session we can avoid meeting as a regular practice on Saturdays. Then, how many meetings are likely to be needed for the completion of the item on international security? I would say that all those meetings would be needed. Our work will then be suspended until the end of the commemorative session—that is, Saturday, 24 October—and we shall be able to resume our work on Monday, the 26th; that is, assuming that the captains and the kings will have departed by the 25th and that we shall not be required to pay any attention to them on the 26th and thereby delay the resumption of our work. From Monday, 26 October, to Saturday, 31 October, we should be able to hold another 11 meetings—excluding the possibility, of course, of night meetings. From 22 October until the beginning of the third week in November—that is, 16 November—we should be able to hold 22 meetings, including a Saturday meeting.

92. In the 48 meetings that could be held in October and up to and including Saturday, 14 November, how much are we likely to be able to achieve? To what extent are we likely, in that time, to cover the first three questions to which you have proposed giving priority, Mr. Chairman—namely, international security, invitation aspects of the Korean question, and the disarmament item? It seems to me that there is not the slightest prospect of completing these three items before the end of the second week of November.

93. That brings me to the reservation that I propose to make in regard to the organization of work thereafter.

94. As I stated on the last occasion on which we discussed the organization of our work, it is the wish of the delegation of Ceylon—and I think that wish is shared by a large number of members—that the item on the sea-bed should be taken up not earlier than the second week in November and not later than the commencement of the third week in November. If, as I said, there is absolutely no hope of completing the discussion of the first three questions—that is, international security, invitation aspects of the Korean question, and disarmament—before 16 November, I must reserve the right of my delegation to raise the question of the order in which the remaining items are to be taken up. But I must say that if we cannot complete the question of disarmament before 16 November, then I would propose that immediately after the disarmament question we should take up the sea-bed item and not the substantive aspects of the Korean question.

95. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. Chairman, I have listened very carefully to the observations of the representative of Ceylon, Ambassador Amerasinghe. Much of what he said deserves serious attention, but, as regards his proposal to rearrange the order of the questions of Korea and the sea-bed, I have serious doubts as to whether that would be proper or advisable. The fact is that the question of Korea is familiar to all of us. If one were to awaken Ambassador Amerasinghe at three o'clock in the morning, I am certain that he would deliver an hour-long speech on the question of Korea.

96. The situation with regard to the sea-bed item is somewhat different. The complex of questions relating to the sea-bed includes new problems which are contained in sub-items (c) and (d), and these matters require rather detailed study.

97. Secondly, Ambassador Amerasinghe himself, as Chairman of the sea-bed Committee, reported here to the Committee that the material would not be ready until the middle of November, if I understood him rightly. Some time will be needed to study this material. Accordingly, it is difficult to agree that so much haste is necessary in considering that important question. I think we shall have enough time later on. If attention is given to the problem of disarmament within the specific number of meetings that has been mentioned, the question of Korea will require that much less time. It would be advisable not to depart from established practice and tradition, in accordance with which the question of Korea is discussed third, after disarmament. Then, after properly studying all the material on the sea-bed and the law of the sea, we can give serious attention to that highly important question, with which all States, large, medium and small, are concerned.

98. It therefore seems to me that the order of consideration of the items proposed by our esteemed Chairman deserves our support and that we should agree on it and not revert again to the matter, wasting time in procedural discussions. The experience of some United Nations organs shows that more attention is sometimes given to organizational and procedural problems than to the discussion of substantive matters.

99. I think it would be advisable to support the Chairman, agree to the order of priority which he has proposed, and put an end to the organizational and procedural discussions so that we can go on to the substance of all the items. It seems to me that that would be the best approach.

100. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): Mr. Chairman, we have listened to your proposed order of work of the Committee, and we realize that you have consulted quite widely with the members of the Committee. For our part, we are entirely prepared to accept the proposals that you have made here this morning.

101. I should like to comment on the suggestion made by the representative of Ceylon. We regretfully could not agree with his proposal. We feel that the interval of time which is now provided between the invitational aspect of the Korean item and the substantive aspect is the maximum interval of time to which we could agree. Indeed it is somewhat longer

than has customarily been the case. So I would very much hope that there could be a clear understanding that this would indeed be the order in which the items would be taken up.

102. Mr. BEAULNE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, I agree with the suggestion that you made at the beginning of the meeting and, while bearing in mind the very pertinent comments made by the representative of Ceylon, I wonder whether we ought not to follow the order of priorities that you yourself indicated, that is, to start considering the questions of disarmament after the commemorative session, since at that time we will be better able to assess how much time we may require. The matter raised by the representative of Ceylon could be considered in a more cogent fashion at that stage of our work.

103. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I take it then that the Committee is ready to adopt as its decision the priorities that I submitted before it?

104. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sorry to interrupt you Mr. Chairman, but at the last meetings, when we discussed these procedural questions—which are always troublesome—I made a suggestion placing first, as we had already agreed, the question of international security, which will in the best of circumstances take up our time until the end of the commemorative session.

105. If many delegations intend to prepare a declaration for the commemorative session, we will be working until a very short time before Saturday, 24 October. Therefore, there would be flexibility enough for us to be able to work next week normally and then, during the week when the commemorative session begins, we may be able to hold some special meetings if these can contribute to our obtaining a declaration in the course of the commemorative session, which is something we all desire but on which we must come to an agreement.

106. I would therefore make a slight suggestion. Although respecting the fact that during the commemorative session there will be no meetings of the First Committee, one or two meetings, if justified, could be held.

107. Thus we come to Monday 26 October. I had suggested that we should immediately undertake consideration of the problem of the invitational aspects of the question of Korea, and I think the most appropriate time to do so would be after Monday, 26 October.

108. I recall that Ambassador Malik of the Soviet Union suggested that we allow ourselves some leeway and that for a few days we might interrupt our debate on disarmament. I agree with that. But to be realistic, the disarmament debate, which will centre on seven items, can hardly be envisaged as taking less than at least 15 days and might even go beyond that.

109. Therefore, I have the impression that the disarmament debate will probably not end before Monday, 9 November, and I would even dare to think that it might be Monday 16 November, particularly if we are to suspend the disarmament debate for a few days or for a few

meetings in order to deal with the invitational aspects of the Korean question. This matter will also take some time because, as the Ambassador of the Soviet Union quite correctly stated, the procedural aspects of the question of Korea, even if they are not themselves substantive, still do bring up certain substantive and conceptual aspects.

110. Therefore, the concern I feel and wish to voice is that we might not be able to start dealing with the problem of Korea substantively, and the problem of the sea-bed, before 16 November. The intention is—indeed it has been so decided—that 15 December is to be the date for the end of the General Assembly session. Therefore, between Monday, 16 November—I am trying to be realistic—and 10 or 11 December we should be taking up the questions of Korea and the sea-bed, without overlooking, of course, the item of outer space, which will also take some time.

111. To take an unchangeable position this morning would, I think, be inappropriate. The Ambassador of the Soviet Union agrees with the Chairman's proposal since, obviously, it is very similar to his own. Had it coincided with mine, I too would have supported it unconditionally. I see that the representative of the United States is also following the same line. That is fine. But the representative of Canada made a proposal that I believe should be entertained. However, I would change it slightly. Let us be realistic: we shall not get through the problems of disarmament and the situation in Korea before 16 November—perhaps a few days before, but certainly very few. Why not then work out a system of parallel meetings, dealing with the various items concurrently; and in any case, starting on 16 November, discuss the substantive aspect of the problem of Korea, and the question of the sea-bed.

112. We all know that we very often suspend our meetings for consultations. Therefore, provided there is agreement—and I do not wish to take a rigid stand, especially at a time when our Chairman has succeeded in bringing the two great Powers into agreement—I take the liberty of suggesting, despite this avalanche, that, starting on 16 November, we could, in principle, discuss the substantive part of the Korean question in the mornings, for example, and in the afternoons the problem of the sea-bed. And because sub-items (c) and (d), which are of interest to many delegations, particularly the proponents thereof, are included, we should have time between 16 November and the middle of December to take up the question of the sea-bed, with time also, thanks to the alternate meetings, for consultations.

113. I think this is to some degree along the same lines as the proposal of Ambassador Beaulne of Canada, and I dare to hope that perhaps you, Mr. Chairman, and the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union might also agree in principle that we leave ourselves this slight leeway that would satisfy all of us, starting with the Chilean delegation, which made a very modest suggestion, which it would not like to withdraw because it believes it to be based on various substantive reasons, with regard to both the substance of the problem of the sea-bed and the substance of the problem of Korea.

114. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): If I have correctly understood the statements made by the

speakers on this point, I do not think anyone has really made any formal proposal that differs from the suggestions I myself made. I wonder whether—taking into account the reservations, observations and suggestions made by the representatives of Ceylon and Chile—we might not take a decision right now on the order of priorities that I suggested.

115. I should like to add that at our next meeting I shall perhaps be able to put before the Committee a tentative time-table for the time we have available and the number of meetings we could allocate to each of the items; and at that time we could perhaps come back to consider some of the suggestions made here.

116. I would indeed prefer that we decide on our order of priorities right now, so that each delegation would know precisely what to expect with regard to the order in which the items are to be discussed, and be able to arrange its representation at the various meetings.

117. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): I would agree with that, provided it is understood that this is a decision in principle.

118. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I take it then that in principle the Committee approves the order of priorities suggested by the Chair?

119. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. Chairman, I should merely like to clarify one point. Ambassador Piñera has said that there is complete agreement between the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union. However, I am not quite sure of that. The point is that, as we agreed earlier, the question of inviting the Koreans to take part in the debate is to be discussed after we finish with the question of the strengthening of international security. If I am not mistaken and if I understood the interpretation correctly, the United States representative takes a somewhat different view; he would start the discussion of the question of disarmament and then interrupt it for discussion of the question of invitations. Is that correct? If not, then our positions do coincide.

120. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): I would like simply to confirm the fact that we did propose that the item concerning invitations to participate in the discussion on Korea be taken up immediately upon completion of the matter of strengthening international security. As for the rest of it, we seem to be in agreement with our Soviet colleague.

121. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Then I understand that the Committee in principle agrees with the order of priorities that has been set forth.

122. At our next meeting we shall consider the suggestion or tentative allocation I shall take the liberty of making with regard to the number of meetings to be devoted to each item. If I hear no comments, I shall take it that the Committee agrees.

*It was so decided.*

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Radhakrishna Ramani,  
member of the delegation of Malaysia*

123. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I adjourn this meeting, may I, on behalf of the Committee as a whole, offer our deepest condolences and the expression of our sorrow to the members of the delegation of Malaysia, to the Government and to the people of Malaysia, on the death, this week, of Ambassador Ramani, a distinguished member of the Malaysian delegation to the present session of the General Assembly. An outstanding jurist, who was president of the International Law Commission for the Malaysian branch and a member of the Legislative Council of his country, Ambassador Ramani served as Permanent Representative of his country at the United Nations for more than four years. During the period in which he so brilliantly represented Malaysia in the United Nations, he served on the Security Council, where he presided over many meetings. As Permanent Representative of Malaysia, he also served in various other United Nations bodies, among them the First Committee, where he made frequent and important contributions to its work.

124. May I request the delegation of Malaysia to be good enough to convey to the Government and people of Malaysia and to the family of Ambassador Ramani our feelings of sorrow at his passing.

125. I would now request the Committee to rise and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the late Ambassador Ramani.

*The members of the Committee observed a minute's silence.*

126. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): This Committee has paid its last tribute to the late Ambassador Ramani. May I in the dual capacity of permanent representative of Ceylon at the United Nations and chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, associate myself with the remarks which the Chairman has just made.

127. Ambassador Ramani was a member of the sea-bed Committee over the years that it has been in existence. As representative of Malaysia there he brought to our discussions a freshness and originality which was always challenging and interesting. We shall miss him very much. He made a vital and important contribution to our discussions there. I should like to extend our deepest sympathy to the delegation of Malaysia, to the Government of Malaysia and to the members of the bereaved family of the late Ambassador.

128. Mr. GALINDO POHL (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It was with real sorrow that my delegation, and particularly I myself, heard of the death of Ambassador Ramani. Ambassador Ramani gave lengthy service to the United Nations and to his country and also exemplary contributions to the Committee on the sea-bed and its Legal Sub-Committee. There Ambassador Ramani often presented his views, always in an imaginative way with great creativity and profound knowledge of the United Nations system and of the immense potential being opened to the international community with the future régime of the sea-bed.

129. Very recently in Geneva Ambassador Ramani participated outstandingly in dealing with some of the problems which we examined. I particularly recall his participation when we were weighing the problem of pollution of the seas. At that time, perhaps, Ambassador Ramani made some of his last statements in international affairs and some of them remain imperishably inscribed in the memories of his listeners.

130. To the Government of Malaysia, the people of Malaysia, and the family of this distinguished jurist, we address our deepest sorrow, particularly on behalf of my delegation, my country and personally. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for granting me the opportunity of paying

this last and well earned tribute to the memory of a distinguished Ambassador and friend, Mr. Ramani.

131. Mr. ARIFF (Malaysia): Thank you very much indeed for the warm tribute which you, Mr. Chairman and the Ambassadors of Ceylon and El Salvador and all the representatives in this room have paid to the memory of the late Ambassador Ramani. We shall convey the expressions of sympathy and condolences to the bereaved family of the late Ambassador, to the Government and to the people of Malaysia. Once again I thank you very much for the warm tribute which you and other representatives have paid.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*