

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**FIRST COMMITTEE, 1664th
MEETING**

Thursday, 23 October 1969,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 103: The strengthening of international security (<i>continued</i>)	1

Chairman: Mr. Agha SHAHI (Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 103

**The strengthening of international security (*continued*)
(A/7654, A/C.1/L.468)**

1. Mr. HAYMERLE (Austria): At the beginning of our debate our Chairman, Mr. Shahi, asked that we should not address congratulations to him and his colleagues. In respecting that appeal I should simply like to state how very happy we are to see such an excellent team presiding over our meetings.

2. The safeguarding of national security is the central point of each country's national policy. This is true for all States, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear. It is perhaps particularly true for a country like Austria, committed by its own free will to a policy of permanent neutrality and thus not belonging to any military alliance. Its national security being directly related to the degree of international political stability, Austria has a vital interest in the strengthening of international security, and in all proposals and initiatives advanced in this respect.

3. Considerations of security were very much on our mind when Austria, in 1955, immediately after the restoration of its complete independence and sovereignty, declared its neutrality and joined the United Nations.

4. It is indeed the main purpose of our Organization to maintain international peace and security. To that end, accepted rules of behaviour in international relations, which would enable all countries to attempt the solution of their problems by peaceful means, were established by the Charter of the United Nations. We have all subscribed to these principles.

5. Tomorrow the United Nations will observe its twenty-fourth anniversary and enter its twenty-fifth year of existence. This is perhaps a fitting occasion to pass in review the achievements and failures of the past quarter-century. Of course, many conflicts have been solved and many political problems brought nearer to solution during that period. The conclusion of the treaty re-establishing the full independence of Austria in 1955 is a case in point. Throughout these 24 years, in spite of numerous dangerous situations, an outbreak of world-wide armed conflict was

avoided. The great majority of peoples that were still dependent at the time of the founding of the United Nations achieved in these years their national independence and sovereignty. In most cases this was possible without violence and by an orderly and democratic process. The United Nations, we believe, has made a significant contribution to that development.

6. Yet, a realistic assessment will show that in many other instances we have not abided by the rules which we ourselves have made. The process of decolonization has not yet been completed. Racial discrimination and disregard of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights still persist in some areas. The gap between the industrialized and the developing countries continues to widen. Too many armed confrontations and open military conflicts testify that it has not yet been possible to establish firmly a system of collective security as envisaged in the Charter.

7. The Austrian delegation therefore, considers it timely to discuss in this Committee, entrusted with political and security questions, the problems of international security—problems which are vital to all our countries and to this Organization. It is for this reason that we welcome the initiative taken by the Soviet Union in placing on the agenda of our present session the item "The strengthening of international security". We have studied with great care the proposals made by the Soviet delegation [A/C.1/L.468] and noted with interest the comments and suggestions made by other delegations. We believe that the discussion in this Committee has proved both useful and constructive, and that once again it has provided us with an opportunity to focus our attention on the many facets of this problem.

8. It is our view that the General Assembly, in the light of this discussion, should, at the appropriate time and in the appropriate form—either in a resolution or in the more solemn form of a declaration or appeal—reaffirm the commitment of all Member States to respect the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter with regard to peace and security, and to act accordingly.

9. In our opinion, any decision of the General Assembly to this effect should contain all elements essential to international security. It should, above all, reaffirm the principles embodied in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular that "All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means", and that they "shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state".

10. The role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international security should be appropriately reflected.

This refers both to the General Assembly and, in particular, to the Security Council, entrusted in the Charter with special responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. We believe that the suggestion, made as long as two years ago by our Secretary-General and again this year by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [1756th plenary meeting], to make use of the possibilities provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter should be implemented.

11. It should also include appropriate reference to the importance of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Austria, as is well known, has participated in several of the United Nations peace-keeping activities and will continue to do so.

12. A number of other points, to some of which I referred earlier, should be included in a comprehensive statement on international security, among them, and not least appropriate, reference to the various aspects of the disarmament problem. The lack of progress in the disarmament efforts, and the continuing armaments race, particularly in the nuclear field, have a direct impact on the security of all nations, especially of the smaller countries. Their concern should find its reflection in the action taken by the General Assembly.

13. Above all, however, we feel that such a resolution by the General Assembly on the question of international security should reflect the unanimous desire of the entire membership. Its effectiveness would greatly depend on the very fact that it would be an earnest appeal made and supported by all Member States of the United Nations.

14. International security and the national security that flows from it do not result, however, from the mere adoption of resolutions, declarations and other documents. What is required is corresponding action taken by each individual Member country in the same spirit.

15. Security is, in the last resort, both an objective and a subjective phenomenon. In order to feel secure, nations must feel free from the threat of force. They must be able to live in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. To create that atmosphere, it is imperative that all States respect the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the rule of international law, and the sovereignty, integrity and independence of all nations.

16. Furthermore, it is necessary that concrete steps conducive to the creation of such an atmosphere be taken. In this connexion, we are thinking, for instance, of measures in the field of disarmament and arms control. We trust that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [see resolution 2373 (XXII)] will soon enter into force and that the obligations contained in its article VI, providing for further disarmament negotiations, will speedily be implemented. We believe that an early start in the long-delayed talks on strategic arms limitations, envisaged by the United States and the Soviet Union, would be extremely helpful in that respect.

17. With regard to Europe the convening of a European security conference, as suggested by several countries,

could, we are convinced, contribute effectively to the strengthening of security in our continent. Austria has therefore reacted favourably to the initiative taken by the Government of Finland and is at present engaged in preparatory talks.

18. In addition, we feel that each and every country should attempt, in a pragmatic way, to solve all problems in its immediate neighbourhood by peaceful means, and to take effective measures to reduce tension and promote co-operation. That indeed has always been the guiding principle of Austria's foreign policy. It has enabled us to establish and maintain friendly relations with our neighbours, as indeed with all Member States. We are determined to continue this policy. Austria is ready to support every practical step, any initiative, inside or outside the United Nations, designed to strengthen international security.

19. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Austria for the kind remarks he addressed to the Bureau.

20. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Mauritania, for the sake of brevity and out of respect for the fine motives underlying the Chairman's injunction when he opened the work of this important Committee, will gladly confine itself to joining in the tribute to his great qualities paid by delegations which have already spoken. With his competence, energy and characteristic efficiency, he has made a valuable contribution to our work whenever his important functions have made it necessary for him to act in the various United Nations bodies along the political lines laid down by the authorities of his great country.

21. It is a good omen that he should be holding the office of Chairman at a time when the spotlight is on as important a problem for peoples and nations as that of the maintenance and strengthening of international security. This is a new initiative taken by a country whose social and scientific achievements command admiration and whose contribution in the field of decolonization is a powerful factor in the struggle waged resolutely by peoples to have their dignity and their right freely to choose their destiny respected.

22. We are convinced that the Chairman will follow the noble example of those who have presided over the First Committee during previous sessions and will, with the co-operation of his colleagues on the Bureau, conduct our work with objectivity and success.

23. The main reason why my delegation decided to speak in the debate is that we believe that it is the duty of all Member States to express their views, for consideration by other Members, on a problem so important as that of the strengthening of international security?

24. In point of fact, the persistence of the threatening situation—fraught with danger—in which the world lives today has been the central theme of all the statements made in the course of the general debate. This is a disquieting problem, with multiple and complex aspects, over which the Organization is completely losing control, undermined as it is by the constant and unremitting defiance of Member States who commit flagrant aggressions

and every kind of serious violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

25. These violations are manifested in colonial wars that are rampant in Asia and Africa, in attacks against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States, in the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination applied through violence in southern Africa. The same violations also take the form of the maintenance of an international economic system based on exploitation and social injustice. Such a system creates formidable obstacles on the difficult road developing countries must take to achieve a decent living standard, to which all men are entitled.

26. We can easily understand, therefore, that a young country, having only a limited ability to protect itself, is bound to attach particular importance to the consolidation of the United Nations and the strengthening of international security. This was stressed by the Foreign Minister of my country on 7 October 1969 before the General Assembly when he said:

“The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, as a small country which belongs to the underdeveloped world, has every reason to be deeply aware of the need to maintain peace, stability and harmony among peoples...” [1782nd plenary meeting, para. 178].

27. The deterioration of the international situation, noted by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization,¹ is a source of grave concern for the United Nations and all those who realize what a third world war would cost mankind.

28. The gap between the basic principles of the Charter and the behaviour of those who attempt to maintain and develop their unjust and precarious domination through violence, and the arrogant treatment accorded to the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council contribute to the dangerous undermining of the prestige and authority of this Organization. This loss of prestige and authority and its growing impotence mean that the United Nations which should be an important factor for the maintenance of peace with justice is becoming so weak that the danger of a world conflagration is growing day by day.

29. In such circumstances, the peace-loving countries of the world, conscious of what the outbreak of a world conflict would represent for humanity, cannot but gratefully welcome the new and happy initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in proposing to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft appeal for the strengthening of international security [A/C.1/L.468]. Through that initiative the Soviet Union places before all States of the world a grave problem which must be solved by the implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In seeking this much-needed solution, we must also be resolved to act in good faith in making the adaptations which the development and changes that have taken place since the Second World War require.

30. No member of this Committee is unaware of the fact that, while wars persist in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the notion of security now being discussed will remain, in the eyes of those struggling for their liberation without finding the effective support that the Charter enjoins on each Member to give them, a purely academic concept, evoking a flow of words with no impact on the cruel reality experienced daily by those struggling for their freedom.

31. In that connexion, the delegation of Mauritania entirely shares the views expressed by several delegations which have spoken in the debate. Everyone must understand that for the African victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, for the Angolans or the Viet-Nameese, for the Palestinians that have been cast out of their land and reduced to the miserable condition of refugees having no homeland and no home, an organization that is scorned and that fails to react when its decisions are flouted loses most of its value. Can the victims of exploitation and colonialism objectively believe for a moment what is said in this house when those who have committed aggression against them and oppress them find understanding and support among the Members of the Organization whose fundamental principles they violate openly without encountering any resistance except that of those who sometimes are inappropriately called terrorists? These are bitter truths and it is inconceivable that they should be passed over in silence in a debate such as this taking place in this Committee. These tragic realities, as everyone knows, are the basis of the insecurity and instability that prevail in the world today.

32. Moreover, everyone realizes that it is impossible for our Organization to fulfil the essential conditions for any real action that might lead to even partial disarmament so long as the fundamental rights of one of the greatest Powers of our time are still unrecognized in this Organization. My delegation has already stressed the importance of respect for the principle of universality, an importance that is greater for an organization like the United Nations than it is for a country which, despite the flagrant injustice of which it is a victim, has been able to achieve a level of development and organization that has placed it among the greatest Powers of the world.

33. Starting from those premises the delegation of Mauritania finds that the content of the draft appeal for the strengthening of international security submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics contains a series of extremely important elements that deserve serious consideration.

34. When we try to forget certain prejudices and feelings of bitterness and the mistrust which explains some of our attitudes and reactions, we realize that the text before us has considerable advantages. First of all each of its elements is already laid down in the Charter, and if we remember the countless violations of the fundamental principles of our Organization, we realize full well the timeliness and usefulness of such an appeal. Secondly, a world organization like ours should echo the legitimate claims and aspirations to peace with justice of the whole world which are manifested through the reactions of the young and the persisting discontent that in general affects the greater part of the healthy elements of the population.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A.

35. The draft appeal presented by the USSR could, in the opinion of its authors themselves, be supplemented. In fact at the 1660th meeting of this Committee Mr. Malik said:

“... the Soviet Union can be expected to react favourably to the idea put forward by delegations that the document which will be adopted by the First Committee of the General Assembly on the strengthening of international security should include a provision concerning the need for a most rapid solution to the problem of disarmament.” [1660th meeting, para. 150.]

In the same statement Mr. Malik, recalling the great concern aroused by the economic situation of the developing countries, noted that his country “would be ready to consider ... concrete proposals ... on the interdependence of this problem [of international security] and the problem of economic development and the improvement of the welfare of all peoples” [ibid., para. 151]. This is a constructive attitude which we hope will facilitate the unanimous adoption at the present session of the draft appeal, thus supplemented, submitted by the representative of the USSR.

36. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania would view the approval of this important document as the adoption of a collective position whose impact on world opinion could not fail to be beneficial. The adoption of such a position is all the more urgent since the peoples, who are witnessing gross violations of the principles of the Charter, are beginning to lose interest in what is going on in this Organization, which is in general ignored by the world press, and more particularly by the newspapers and radios of the host country.

37. One can say, without undue exaggeration, that the unanimous adoption of the appeal for the strengthening of international security will help to accelerate the important work that is being done in the Committees dealing with the definition of aggression, the maintenance of peace and the elaboration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States.

38. The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Bureau I thank the representative of Mauritania for his kind compliments.

39. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic congratulates the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur on their election and wishes them success in their work.

40. The most important and timely of all the questions facing the United Nations today is the item on the strengthening of international security included in the agenda on the proposal of the Soviet Union [A/7654]. This is the primary, the central task of the United Nations. To the peoples on whose behalf the Charter was signed, this was the reason for the creation of the United Nations and it is the reason for its existence today.

41. It is no accident that the Charter begins with the statement that the peoples are determined “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. These words reflect the bitter experience of the past. The wars fought in this century have cost more than three times as many lives

as all the wars that took place on our planet in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries put together. To this must be added destruction of property, military expenditure and other damage caused by the imperialist policy of waging war, increasing international tension and perpetuating economic and social injustice. Let me cite but a few data from documents submitted to the recent international conference of Communist and workers’ parties in Moscow. Property destruction in the First World War amounted to some \$340,000 million, and in the Second World War to \$4,000,000 million. In consequence of both great and so-called small wars, military expenditures and economic crises and depressions, in the course of the twentieth century the peoples of the world have suffered damages in the amount of not less than \$6,600,000 million. Much more is being spent in the world on the arms race today than the sum total of the national product of all developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. If only one fifth of these funds were used for the development of the young States, the latter would reach the level of economic development of France or the United Kingdom within a quarter of a century.

42. Bearing these facts in mind, we believe that the Appeal to All States of the World on the strengthening of international security proposed by the Soviet Union makes a most relevant reference to recent history, presents a searching analysis of the contemporary international situation, and also points out the shortcomings and gaps in United Nations activity resulting from the failure of certain States to discharge their obligations under the Charter and to carry out United Nations decisions.

43. The present spirited discussion of the USSR proposals, in which an overwhelming majority of delegations have taken part, has brought into high relief the danger that would threaten mankind in the event of a widespread military conflict with the use of modern means of mass annihilation and destruction.

44. Two years ago, we all read the Secretary-General’s report on the dreadful effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons. This year, the report on the chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons tells us of the horrifying effects of their use on man, and the pernicious and irreversible effects on the balance of nature, and emphasizes that: “Were these weapons ever to be used on a large scale in war, no one could predict how enduring the effects would be and how they would affect the structure of society and the environment in which we live”.²

45. Consequently, we must all, in conformity with the Charter, undertake collective efforts for the strengthening of international security. A joint effort on the part of all States would represent a tremendous force on behalf of peace. We all know that whenever the States Members of the United Nations acted in concert, they achieved valuable results on a number of political, economic and social questions.

46. The very fact that the USSR Government proposed the item “The strengthening of international security”,

² *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use*, United Nations publication, Sales No. E.69.I.24, paragraph 375.

which was unanimously included in the agenda of this twenty-fourth session and which, as our discussion shows, has met with broad support, is a practical manifestation of that Government's desire for peace. The USSR proposals are of great importance for the cause of international peace and security; they are in the interests of all peoples, they are timely, topical, specific and useful, and they offer a rallying point for all those who are concerned with international peace and security.

47. My delegation is firmly convinced that the immediate realization, for example, of such a measure as the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of action by the armed forces of some States against other States and peoples defending the independence they have won as a result of the collapse of the colonial system, and their territorial integrity, would do a great deal to lessen international tension and strengthen international security.

48. In our time, when the national liberation movement is in full swing, the proposal concerning the cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule and the immediate granting of independence to all such peoples also acquires a special significance.

49. Equally important and timely, in view of the international situation today, is the proposal regarding observance by States of the decisions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of occupation troops from foreign territories.

50. In speaking of the need to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security, I would like to say a word on its achievements in this regard. The United Nations has been able more than once to put an end to hostilities which threatened to escalate, and to achieve a peaceful settlement of international disputes. By its resolutions in favour of general and complete disarmament, its adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, its resolutions against nazism, racism and *apartheid*, the United Nations has helped to maintain peace. The world's peoples have welcomed and supported all the measures and actions of the United Nations aimed at the maintenance of peace and international security. Today, they welcome the fresh initiative of the Soviet Union. No one will deny that the withdrawal—effected with assistance from the United Nations—of foreign troops from Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan, Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China, Algeria and the Congo, the struggle waged by peace-loving forces in the United Nations against various aggressive acts in Latin America, the cessation of a number of other military conflicts between States and the ejection of the colonialists from their former colonies served to strengthen international security and were in the interests of all peoples.

51. Since the Second World War, there have been more than 30 wars and hundreds of armed expeditions to suppress national liberation movements. Most of these crimes against national freedom and independence have become ancient history. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that today wars are still being fought, the national liberation movement is still being suppressed, and Security

Council resolutions on the withdrawal of occupying troops from foreign territories are still being disregarded, for unless a stop is put to such dangerous activities there can be neither a durable peace nor true international security.

52. We realize that it is no easy matter to put into effect the specific measures proposed by the USSR, but we must not allow ourselves to be deterred by difficulties. What is needed now is that the United Nations should adopt these proposals and summon the strength to implement them. It has the required capabilities. Those who refuse to withdraw their troops from foreign territories, who pursue a policy of suppressing the national liberation movement and who fail to comply with Security Council resolutions are clearly in the minority. Sooner or later their aggressive, annexationist policy will be frustrated, as has repeatedly occurred in the past, owing to the efforts of peace-loving States. However, so long as such a minority exists, it creates a threat to international security. That is why it is so urgently and vitally necessary today to give prompt effect to the measures proposed by the Soviet Union.

53. These proposals are a reaffirmation and elaboration of earlier United Nations resolutions and call for compliance with them. For example, the General Assembly has ruled, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that "all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease". This principle needs to be reaffirmed at a time when the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Oman and other territories is being suppressed by armed force, and when over 60 colonial territories with a population of some 40 million are still pining for independence in the shackles of colonial enslavement.

54. Not merely unfounded, but lacking in ordinary common sense is the assertion—made, it is true, by only one speaker here—that failure to carry out the measures set out in part II of the draft Appeal [A/C.1/L.468] is not a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. Suffice it to recall Article 2 of the Charter on refraining from the use of force, the relevant provisions of Chapters XI and XII on Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories, or Article 25 making it obligatory for the Members of the United Nations to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. Those failing to comply with these provisions are guilty of a flagrant violation of the Charter.

55. My delegation is convinced that international security would also be strengthened by regional security systems, based on the joint efforts of all States of the areas concerned, set up and acting strictly in accordance with the Charter.

56. My delegation has already had occasion, in the general debate in plenary session, to express its great interest in the creation of a collective security system in Europe [1783rd plenary meeting], an idea which has been meeting with growing support. More than two thirds of the European countries have by now responded favourably to Finland's initiative in calling for practical preparations for an all-European conference, the convening of which was, it will be remembered, proposed by socialist States. We are deeply convinced that similar measures would be highly useful in

other parts of the world as well. That can be seen, in particular, from our general discussion, in the course of which States Members of the United Nations have drawn attention to a dozen dangerous conflicts in different parts of the world. We feel certain that if all States of a given area come together to discuss the question of setting up and reinforcing a regional security system, they will be able to find the necessary ways and means, regulate existing conflicts, and draw up a programme for developing peaceful co-operation among States. Naturally, in so doing, they must be guided by the Charter provision that they must "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good and . . . unite [their] strength to maintain international peace and security". My Government has favoured this approach in its reply to the Secretary-General regarding the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, and I note with satisfaction that account has been taken of these proposals³ in the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations.

57. The proposal regarding regional security systems reflects existing trends. Moreover, it is based not only on the Charter of the United Nations, but on the provision in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity that "conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained", the Charter of the Organization of American States, which calls for strengthening "the peace and security of the continent", and other international documents.

58. The USSR proposal must not be interpreted as some—actually very few—speakers have done, that it allegedly limits the possibilities for multilateral co-operation of States both in a given region and in the world at large. It is conceivable, however, that some countries are not yet fully conscious or convinced of the need to set up regional security systems. It would therefore be useful to study the question of effective regional security systems with a view to adopting measures for their establishment, precisely as is proposed in the draft Appeal. I am sure that such study would bring to light new arguments in favour of establishing these systems.

59. The USSR proposals aimed at enhancing the role of the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, were supported almost unanimously in our debate. And indeed, it is important for the cause of peace that the Security Council should consider the general state of international security at its periodic meetings convened at the level of members of Governments or other specially designated representatives, as provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter, with a view to elaborating urgent measures to strengthen it, and should also take, where necessary, effective practical steps against acts of aggression, using, whenever required, the full powers vested in it by the United Nations Charter.

60. The measures that would strengthen international security concern such vital matters as the formulation of a generally acceptable definition of aggression, agreement on the principles of friendly relations and co-operation of

States, and ensuring that United Nations peace-keeping operations are always carried out in strict observance of the United Nations Charter. The importance and urgency of these questions are self-evident and are recognized by the overwhelming majority of States.

61. In the space of a single lifetime, the soil of Byelorussia was thrice invaded and occupied by foreign enemies. Hence my delegation attaches great importance to a definition of aggression and has been closely following the work of the corresponding special committee. Unfortunately, that work has thus far yielded few results. The Soviet Union has repeatedly submitted draft definitions of aggression, but the Western countries have prevented their being seriously discussed and adopted. At the February-March 1969 session of the Special Committee, the Western countries introduced a draft of their own, and we would hope that this is an indication that they too recognize that it would be useful to have a definition of aggression. Nevertheless, the matter is clearly being delayed. The General Assembly must instruct the Special Committee to formulate a clear and precise definition of aggression at an early date. Adoption by the Assembly of such a definition would help to restrain and reveal warmongers at the very start of the aggression and make it easier to take the necessary measures to preserve peace. The existence of such a definition would also be of great help to the Security Council in its activities to preserve and maintain international peace and security.

62. The defence of peace and the strengthening of international security are inextricably bound with seeing to it that all Governments without exception pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. My delegation deems it essential that, as proposed in the USSR draft Appeal, all the States of the world should be guided in their foreign policies by the vital interests of all peoples in preserving peace and strengthening international security, strictly abide in their international relations by the principles of peaceful coexistence of States irrespective of their social system—the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of each State, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the rights of all peoples freely to choose their social systems; and settle all disputes between them exclusively through peaceful means without the use or threat of force.

63. These principles are in the interests of all peoples, including those fighting for their liberation. They facilitate the strengthening of friendship and mutual understanding and the development of a fruitful political, economical, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation among all countries, including countries with different social systems, in the interests of world peace. The socialist countries have been consistently defending and putting into effect in their foreign policies Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. The implementation of this principle is a historical necessity in a world in which there are two opposed social and economic systems. This principle is also reflected in the Charter of the United Nations. That is a fact, despite the denials of the United Kingdom representative, who tried unsuccessfully to vitiate the principle of peaceful coexistence. Let me note that his country, despite occasional militant statements, has been willy-nilly complying with the basic idea of this principle since the failure of foreign intervention against the young

³ Document A/7690.

Soviet State. The principle of peaceful coexistence, far from rejecting, presumes the development of peaceful relations among all countries, including capitalist countries. As everyone is well aware, the socialist countries have made no little effort to ensure the triumph of the Charter principles in all international relations.

64. In the course of its existence, the United Nations has adopted a number of important documents—declarations and conventions—on political, economic and social matters, and these have proved their usefulness. For example, since the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization on the initiative of the USSR, 26 new countries have attained independence, and there can be no doubt that the Declaration has speeded up the elimination of colonialism. The Appeal to All States of the World on the strengthening of international security will be yet another important contribution by States to the realization of the principal task of the United Nations—the maintenance of international peace and security.

65. I cannot but feel concerned at the fact that a few representatives, some of them from the European capitalist countries, oppose on principle the adoption of a document on the subject under discussion. One of their arguments is that we have the principles of the United Nations Charter. However, they no sooner mention the Charter than they propose that it should be revised. They say that we have enough principles and what we need is practical action. Yet it is the fault of their countries that the United Nations has taken so few practical decisions. Some have even expressed the fear that a reaffirmation of the main principles of the Charter might result in minimizing the importance of the rest. In so saying, they conveniently forget that without international security most of the urgent international problems, including problems of economic development, cannot be solved. Attempts are being made to draw a distinction between the responsibility of the great Powers and all other States. That distinction of course exists and it is recognized in the Charter, but that fact in no way releases all the other States Members of the United Nations, even the smallest, from the responsibility to fight for the strengthening of international security, for the preservation and maintenance of peace.

66. Fortunately, such unfavourable remarks and reservations were few. An overwhelming majority of States have recognized the true worth of the noble initiative of the USSR and realized that the USSR proposals manifest a genuine desire for the strengthening of international security. They are eager to make a contribution and are helping to formulate more precisely or supplement some of the provisions of the draft Appeal, thereby making it impossible for its opponents to make capital of their unsubstantiated “arguments”. They understand that a perpetuation of international tension, of situations fraught with danger and of continuing international conflicts is of advantage only to those who are interested not in strengthening international security but in maintaining international tension and continuing the arms race. Unless steps are taken to arrest acts of aggression, restore peace in different areas, and stop the arms race, the world may have to face a harsh ordeal, and its peoples may be tried in the crucible of a thermonuclear war. All speakers in this debate have talked of peace and international security. That is

understandable. But mere talk of peace, no matter how high-principled, is not enough. We must jointly formulate and adopt practical measures to preserve peace and international security. All countries and peoples, great and small, must unrelentingly and perseveringly fight for peace. We cannot hopefully wait for some one State to ensure peace on earth. I would here stress the need for a maximum of concerted effort on the part of States and peoples to strengthen international security.

67. The constructive position taken by the majority of delegations during the discussion of this question affords grounds for including additional provisions in the Appeal, in particular, regarding the need for an early solution of disarmament questions and the connexion between the strengthening of international security and the solution of economic and social problems, and also a number of amendments aimed at strengthening the text of the Appeal and making it more precise.

68. The explanations given by the USSR delegation in this connexion were additional proof of the Soviet Union's good will and its sincere desire to seek an effective solution to the problem of strengthening international security.

69. It is therefore important that the text of the Appeal should be approved without any postponements and that at its next session the General Assembly, basing itself on information received from States, should discuss ways in which States can implement measures to strengthen international security.

70. From the first days of the existence of the United Nations, the Byelorussian SSR has consistently fought for the implementation by all States of the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations and for their development and practical implementation, and consistently worked for international peace and security, the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke, and social and economic progress. It will continue to do all it can to transform the United Nations into an effective instrument for peace and international co-operation.

71. The Byelorussian delegation regards the Appeal to All States of the World on the strengthening of international security, which is based on the purposes and principles of the Charter and in whose formulation the Byelorussian SSR actively participated, as a programme for practical action aimed at preserving and strengthening peace throughout the world. It appeals to all States Members of the United Nations to adopt the Appeal and, in the interests of all peoples, proceed to implement it.

Mr. Kolo (Nigeria), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

72. Mr. BOHIADI (Chad) (*translated from French*): I should like, from the outset, to assure our distinguished Chairman, Mr. Shahi, and the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, that my delegation will co-operate fully with them so that the outstanding officers our Committee had the wisdom to elect may discharge the great and important tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly with the greatest possible success. May we convey to you and to the other officers our warmest congratulations for the well-deserved confidence placed in you by the First Committee.

73. To turn now to the subject that is the object of our present discussion, we should like to express our satisfaction to the delegation of Soviet Socialist Republics for availing itself of the opportunity offered by the forthcoming commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization to place before the Assembly an item which will enable it to consider very seriously the results of its past action in favour of strengthening of peace, of engaging, as it were, in self-criticism and benefiting from past experience to work out future policy.

74. Indeed, can we find a better opportunity than that offered on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the tenth anniversary of the Declaration of the United Nations on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples or the Second United Nations Development Decade, to ask ourselves how our Organization has accomplished its task of seeking, maintaining and strengthening international peace and security?

75. Ours being a small country, both economically and militarily, and therefore weak in all respects, we place all our confidence in the United Nations so that we may live in peace and ensure the well-being of our population. But has the United Nations enjoyed at all the confidence of those to whom it has given the greatest responsibility to help it ensure peace and justice among men and nations? Anyone sufficiently aware of international problems is bound to give a very guarded reply to that question.

76. Can we seriously speak of well-being for our population when economic and social injustice have reached such proportions, when three quarters of the population of our planet live in poverty, hunger, ignorance and in the uncertainty of what tomorrow will bring, while the other quarter lives in an abundance that seems almost insolent? Can we speak of justice and peace when *apartheid* and racial discrimination reign supreme in whole areas and have at their service the banking institutions and financial interests of the most prosperous and most powerful countries of our planet? Can we objectively believe in true peace when the weak are so often the victims of incessant aggression and of occupation by the stronger? International security must guarantee to all peoples that they can live and develop in peace, free from all danger of war or aggression which might affect their lives, their integrity, their independence or their future.

77. Almost 25 years have elapsed since the Charter of our Organization was signed in San Francisco at the end of the Second World War. But what do we see with regard to peace and respect for the rights of peoples? While we speak of peace in New York, in various parts of the world men are killing each other. While we proclaim here the right to self-determination and independence for peoples and nations, millions of human beings remain victims of *apartheid*, of discrimination in all its forms, of colonialism and of the most inhuman forms of domination. While we proclaim the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, entire peoples are not protected against occupation by foreign armies or may often be the object of all kinds of pressures, interference or threats endangering their freedom. The arms race is giving a new impetus to its evolution towards disaster by granting astronomical sums for military purposes, while poverty, disease and ignorance are rampant

in all the under-developed countries because of a lack of technical and financial means.

78. Youth should not be pessimistic. My country is young, but is optimism possible in such circumstances? To us the kind of peace that is allegedly ensured us through the balance of terror is not peace. So long as we do not really achieve general and complete disarmament, no one can honestly speak of peace and security. So long as we are unable to bridge the unfortunate ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor, no one can objectively speak of true peace. So long as we do not rid this world of hunger and ignorance, war will always exist in men's minds and will feed on injustice until, in the end, the whole world is overcome by disaster.

79. Perhaps that is why we see the super-Powers always perfecting the art of destruction instead of disarming, and refusing obdurately to accept any clause calling on them never to use in any conflict whatsoever those perfected weapons while, at the same time, they ask countries that do not possess nuclear weapons never to possess them. My country has neither the means nor the intention of possessing nuclear weapons. But objectivity compels us to state our impression that the great Powers want us to accept forever the notion that "might is right".

80. A person was said to be in the clouds or on the moon when what he said belonged to the realm of dreams. Today, it might perhaps be more fitting to say that such a person believes in peace. In point of fact, through an irony of destiny, the moon which only yesterday, belonged to the realm of dreams, has become a reality, whereas peace, which appeared to be close to us, has ominously entered into the realm of dreams. Why? We leave it to the great Powers to tell us.

81. We must confess that we cannot accept that if the super-Powers have been able to arm themselves to the point they have reached today, it should not be possible for them to disarm to a level that would enable the international community to live in true peace, which all would recognize as such. Nor can we believe that if the intelligence of twentieth century man, his ingenuity, his will and his efforts, have enabled him to set foot on the moon, it should not be possible for him to win the struggle against poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease—in short, under-development and injustice on earth. We must in fact say, as the representative of Greece stated:

"It is rather strange that international agreement has been reached on standards for the sterilization of space craft designed for landing on the moon or Mars, where, so far as we know, human beings do not exist, while the arsenals of our planet are still stocked with deadly weapons of total destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological" [1656th meeting, para. 98].

82. We wonder therefore whether the super-Powers really want to disarm. If they sincerely do, we believe it is high time that they consider combining all the conditions that could lead to general and complete disarmament. In that case it would be necessary to set priorities, to establish a time-table and actively to associate the nuclear Powers which at present do not participate in the Geneva discus-

sions with the establishment of the process of disarmament, thus enabling us to achieve our common objective, namely, the realization of true peace and not the kind of peace that would ensure what is called the balance of terror.

83. We would also wish that they should show some minimum amount of confidence in each other so that a resolution unanimously accepted by them in the Security Council would at least no longer be subject to divergent interpretations at the moment of its implementation so that an important body of our Organization would not find itself in the unfortunate position of being powerless fully to exercise its prerogatives.

84. We have already asked ourselves whether the United Nations truly enjoys the confidence of all those who have entrusted to it the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world. Unfortunately it does not, and that is because those Powers have not succeeded in trusting each other. We believe that if there was confidence and love between peoples and nations, no one would have thought of manufacturing conventional weapons and nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, and the total destruction of those weapons would not be necessary because such weapons would not exist. If the United Nations had been able to create the necessary confidence among peoples and nations, the destruction of all armies and the use of the military personnel and funds for humanitarian purposes would have been an easy matter and today we would not be asking for the evacuation of foreign troops from territories occupied as a result of war, for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed on countries divided arbitrarily, for the recognition of the right of each people to decide its own destiny, or that our Organization should speak on behalf of all the countries of the world without distinguishing between political systems.

85. Men and nations have not renounced hatred. Wars, territorial claims, espionage, interference in the internal affairs of States, the denial of justice, and discrimination and *apartheid* exist in this world of men. On what, then, are we to build this peace which is so dear to all and which we all long for?

86. As we said at the beginning of our statement we place our fullest confidence in the United Nations and we shall defend as far as we are able the principles laid down in the Charter and the just implementation of those principles.

87. This is the only way we, the weak countries, have of aiding the United Nations in its efforts in favour of peace. Is it that our Charter requires a new interpretation or formulation or rather a sincere implementation in good faith of its provisions as they are at present, having regard to the realities of the international community today? That is the question we should ask ourselves. In our view, that is why the question that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had the very praiseworthy idea of putting before us is so important, and once again we wish to express our thanks to them.

88. In conclusion, we believe that while remembering the lessons of the past, the successes and failures which should serve as an example, our Organization must resolutely turn its eyes towards the future. Since the present trend is to let

the super-Powers agree on any crucial question of peace before the United Nations deals with it, we should like to know how these super-Powers intend to solve the many problems we have raised, problems which to us are of equal importance and constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

89. In truth the aim we pursue is so important because the problem of the strengthening of international security is so fundamental that we believe it would be possible in the course of this session to arrive at a declaration clearly stating the conditions under which a broad agreement could be reached. We believe that from our debates there should emerge a conclusion which would reflect the essential points in the constructive suggestions made by delegations by way of contribution to the discussion, so that the questions which preoccupy us could be better grasped by those whom we want to reach.

90. If, through the publication or application of the conclusion we adopt, greater confidence is placed in the United Nations, so that greater respect is shown for the recommendations which are always based on the principles of the Charter, we shall have made great strides in the cause of the strengthening of peace.

91. The CHAIRMAN: I am grateful to Mr. Bohiadi, the representative of Chad for his kind compliments.

92. Mr. THOMPSON (Guyana): Mr. Chairman, I respect your request that we restrict our congratulations to you and to the other members of the Bureau, conscious that you must be aware of the high regard in which we hold you all.

93. My Minister of State in his general statement delivered to the Assembly on 6 October [*1780th plenary meeting*] warmly welcomed the Soviet proposal that "The strengthening of international security" should form a separate item on our agenda. In reiterating that welcome, I should like to refer again to the view expressed by the Soviet Foreign Minister in his own statement to the Assembly—the view that it is insufficient simply to stamp out fires, that in fact it is

"...more important to take effective measures to safeguard the world in general from fires, and to remove in good time the centres of potential conflicts and complications" [*1756th plenary meeting, para. 135*].

94. This is the heart of the matter. We are only too painfully aware that there are some fires which have the potential for a universal conflagration the threat of which dramatically underscores the need for the development of adequate preventive measures, measures which have hitherto eluded us. At the same time we are aware that there are other fires which can more readily be guarded against. It is not from a desire to evade the issue of the nuclear arms race—that most serious contributor to international insecurity—that I wish to direct my thoughts on this occasion to fire prevention on less than a global scale. It is rather from a belief that there are first steps which can be taken towards establishing a régime which can, however slowly, contribute to the lessening of tensions among those States which are not involved in the struggle for world dominance,

tensions which nonetheless share the same impetus, the same motivation as those which characterize the race for nuclear superiority.

95. In its most basic sense international security today is threatened by the existence of the nuclear arsenals of the major Powers. In a less fundamental sense it is threatened by the incentive to imitate the postures of the great Powers on the part of many who are not so great.

96. The representative of Brazil in a statement [*1653rd meeting*] of great depth and clarity described power as "the most persistent and enduring of human passions" and he noted the concessions which were made to it by the drafters of the Charter. But equally—and many subsequent speakers have also referred to this—he emphasized that the principles enunciated in Article 2 of the Charter reflect an implicit conviction that so volatile a substance as power cannot serve as the basis for an equitable and lasting definition of relations between States.

97. The representative of Brazil asked the fundamental question: whether States are prepared to accept the principles of the Charter and to abjure the threat or use of force in furthering their objectives. The answer is so muted it can hardly be heard. One strains to hear it in the committees and conferences on disarmament where we have bent our efforts in an attempt to reduce the capacities of the nuclear Powers to use force, not only against each other but against all others. In these attempts the sad fact is that we have not met with any really marked degree of success.

98. It may be that in reversing the order which we have hitherto accepted as necessary in the search for a greater measure of international security—an order which still remains to be followed in our consideration of the disarmament items—and in working simultaneously under this agenda item towards a system of international protection, towards international machinery for the prevention of conflict on less than a global scale, we can contribute to a gradual lessening of the tensions and insecurity which vast power appears only to intensify. For it is a latter day phenomenon of military power that insecurity is invoked as the rationale for its acquisition, but that its acquisition serves only further to increase insecurity. The elaboration of measures for strengthening international security at this level—measures, that is, for general and complete disarmament—should not be held to be prior conditions for the establishment of machinery for maintaining the peace. Rather, they should be accompanied by determined efforts to establish procedures for the maintenance of peace and for the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

99. It is clear that there is a close relationship between the Charter's provisions for the maintenance of international peace and security and those provisions which are concerned with the peaceful settlement of disputes. Moreover, it is a sequential relationship: the two are not simply different sides of the same coin.

100. If the provisions for the maintenance of peace between States are ineffective, if international guarantees of the security of States do not exist, nations—as they have

hitherto—will hesitate to renounce the use of force for achieving their objectives and the Charter provisions for the peaceful settlement of disputes will remain undeveloped and unused.

101. It is, I submit, to the establishment of machinery for the maintenance of peace between nations—and the maintenance of peace requires the existence of machinery which may be brought into action in advance of conflict—it is to the maintenance of peace through proposals for the establishment of such machinery that the Soviet draft might have specifically addressed itself. That it has not is a source of great disappointment. This fundamental issue is in fact dealt with only by implication in section V of the Soviet proposal.

102. As far as paragraph 1 of section V is concerned we associate ourselves entirely with the comments made by the representative of Ecuador, Mr. Benites [*1658th meeting*] on the meaning of the Security Council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security—a responsibility which falls within an order of priority and which, while primary, is not exclusive.

103. We believe that under paragraph 2 of section V of the Soviet draft there could be submitted for the consideration of the Security Council more detailed recommendations for the strengthening of international security—at a preventive level—recommendations which might include the question of an international peace force and the question of arrangements for the use of such a force so as to ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of force in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter. This more detailed recommendation is drawn specifically from paragraph 7 of the McCloy-Zorin statement of September 1961.⁴

104. Without in any way derogating from the competence of the Committee of Thirty-Three,⁵ it could well serve as the basis for a new and sharper focus by the Security Council on the essential problem which is so tangentially touched on in the draft before us.

105. My delegation welcomed Mr. Malik's statement on 21 October in this Committee, concerning the Soviet readiness to consider concrete proposals on the strengthening of international security—in particular: "a statement to the effect that the solution of this important problem is interconnected with the problem of economic development" [*1660th meeting, para. 151*]. Mr. Malik went on to say in that statement that: "We take the view that the strengthening of international security will help to liberate funds for the economic development of all peoples and thereby promote the economic progress of the developing countries" [*ibid.*].

106. My Government considers this question of such fundamental importance that it wishes time to formulate its own proposals. The dilemma of development for defence is shared by many small countries including my own. It is a dilemma which only international action can solve. It is a

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

⁵ Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

dilemma which only international guarantees of the security of States can ease.

107. In conclusion, I wish again to commend the Soviet delegation for its initiative in advancing these proposals. I have chosen to touch on only two aspects of the draft before us and this indicates the need which my delegation feels for more time to study the many complex issues raised. We do not believe that we shall be in a position to adopt even an amended draft at this session. We feel that its importance merits much closer consideration and more time to formulate concrete proposals. We also feel that the relationship drawn between any draft and the work of the Special Committees on defining aggression, friendly relations and peace-keeping⁶ must depend on the results achieved by those Committees. This, too, will take time.

108. My delegation, therefore, would like to raise for the consideration of the Committee—and we are advancing an idea, rather than making a formal proposal—the possibility of establishing an *ad hoc* working group of this Committee, charged with the responsibility of working towards a final draft—a draft not simply of an appeal but of a stronger, more precise declaration on the ways in which all States, under the Charter, can affirm their conviction that international security must be strengthened—and a draft which would cite the specific ways in which this laudable intention can be achieved in fact.

109. Mr. MUGO (Kenya): Representatives have been asked to desist from paying compliments to the Chairman. I shall not dwell on this point and shall only say that my delegation is happy to see the deliberations of this Committee being guided by such an able and devoted team.

110. We have before us a draft appeal [A/C.1/L.468] submitted by the delegation of the USSR on the subject of strengthening international security. The Soviet delegation should be commended for the initiative it has taken in bringing this very important subject to the attention of Member States.

111. The whole world is more than ever before in need of peace. Every nation wishes to feel assured that its citizens are not living under the threat of annihilation. The young developing countries which have just emerged from long years of colonial domination and which have never enjoyed a high standard of living want to feel that the efforts they are making to achieve development will not be brought abruptly to a halt by a nuclear holocaust the threat of which is hanging over the world like a dark cloud today.

112. One of the purposes of this Organization is to harmonize the actions of nations with a view to maintaining international peace and security. It is true that our Organization has in these past years averted a third world war but, as we all know, our world is far from safe. We continue to live with tensions all around us which have the potential of bringing the world to total disaster. When we look around us we see that colonialism continues to exist,

oppression of man by man continues unabated, *apartheid* and racial discrimination are facts of our life today, the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen and the arms race continues to rob mankind of very useful and badly needed resources. Those things constitute grave threats to world peace and ways and means should now be explored to make the world a better place to live in.

113. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations will be celebrated next year and many delegations here have rightly felt that this will be an appropriate occasion to take stock of the successes and failures of our Organization. It is in that context that my delegation welcomes the Soviet draft appeal. Member States should now examine their consciences to see whether they have been an asset or a liability to this Organization.

114. In order to achieve international security we must identify those elements which have stood in the way of world peace and nip them in the bud. I wish now to mention a few of these. I have already pointed out that colonialism, an evil which deprives the colonized people of their human rights, continues to be with us today despite the debates and resolutions which have been passed yearly in this world body. One Member of our Organization, namely Portugal, has been a perpetrator of colonialism for over 400 years and has shown no intention of relinquishing that evil pursuit. As history has proved, no people in this world will submit eternally to an oppressive foreign Power and it is therefore clear that as long as colonialism exists, international security will always be under a threat. It is therefore imperative that if we are to achieve international security, those Members of our Organization which practice colonialism and *apartheid* should give up these diabolical practices and allow the people they govern to live as dignified human beings.

115. I now turn to the field of disarmament, an area in which, more than any other, there is a great threat to international security. This is an area which by and large concerns the nuclear Powers, to which the non-nuclear States look for initiation of disarmament measures. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya, speaking to the General Assembly of the United Nations on 30 September 1969, said that it was indeed disturbing to realize that:

“although this international body is just about to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, we have not even begun to disarm. All the measures that have so far been taken appear to be designed to freeze an existing situation—that is, to maintain the *status quo* in the level of armaments.” [1772nd plenary meeting, para. 157.]

116. We cannot strengthen international security in the absence of effective disarmament. The nuclear Powers should, therefore, show the world their genuine interest in international security by taking effective measures aimed at achieving total disarmament.

117. International security also has its economic and social aspects. The ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries is a situation pregnant with tension in international relations. The wider the gap the more the poorer countries will continue to depend on the

⁶ Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

richer countries for their economic development. The attendant consequences of this dependence is that the developing countries will become exposed to all kinds of pressure and interference from the richer nations. The developed countries have a significant role to play in bridging this gap. Their interest in international security in this sphere will be measured by the contribution they will make to the success or failure of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

118. As some of my predecessors have said, we are now living in an age where peaceful settlement of disputes is gradually losing ground and the emphasis is now being laid on military might. This is a very serious development which spells doom for the territorial integrity of the weaker States. It is a development which, if left unchecked, will set the world on the road to self-destruction. It signifies how much further away the world is moving from the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, thus contributing immensely to international insecurity.

119. My delegation has outlined a few areas on which we believe the strengthening of international security mainly hinges. We are fully aware that our list is not exhaustive and we have no intention of making it so, for the more we study the causes of international insecurity, the more we find ourselves drawn back to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. It appears to my delegation that the insecurity prevailing in the world today has arisen as a result of the open flouting and disregard of the Charter by some Member States. In addition to this defiance of the Charter, some States which are permanent members of the Security Council have tended to abuse for their narrow ends the veto privilege conferred upon them by the Charter. It is the opinion of my delegation, therefore, that if all States respected and strictly adhered to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we would go a long way towards strengthening international security.

120. Without going point by point into the Soviet draft appeal, my delegation regards the subject the Soviet delegation has raised as very timely and worthy of serious consideration by all Member States.

121. Mr. MUNIM (Pakistan): Mr. Chairman, the Pakistan delegation felt honoured at your unanimous election to the Chair. I would, therefore, take this opportunity to convey our gratitude to the First Committee. We are happy that you are assisted by Ambassador Kolo of Nigeria, whose deep understanding and knowledge of the issues to be considered by this Committee are well known to all who have worked with him in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States. The election of Mr. Barnett of Jamaica as Rapporteur is equally felicitous.

122. My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in obtaining the inscription on the Assembly's agenda of the item relating to the strengthening of international security [A/7654]. It is true that the question is all-embracing and that no pronouncement on it emanating from this Committee at the end of a debate, however extensive, can be regarded as final. This, however, does not detract in the slightest measure from the timely value of our present discussion. When the political organs of

the United Nations deliberate on issues of disarmament or deal with particular situations of conflict, they no doubt are concerned with international security. But in the process, the danger of not seeing the wood for the trees is ever present. Our current discussion is an attempt again to survey the wood as a whole, to recover an integral approach, to take an over-all view, to examine the reasons why international security is still precarious on the global plane and non-existent in certain regional situations. That the Soviet Union should have led us to undertake this attempt is surely a demonstration of its sense of responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council and a pillar of the United Nations.

123. The importance that Pakistan, as a developing nation, attaches to international security cannot be over-emphasized. As the Chairman of my delegation stated before the General Assembly on 2 October:

"Pakistan's loyalty to the Organization is not merely verbal. We have given tangible demonstration of it at two crucial moments in our history and with regard to an issue which has a direct impact on our life, our national integrity and our destiny. In that issue... we have wholeheartedly accepted the resolutions of the Security Council. By doing so, we have subordinated our claims to the decisions of the world community. We have put our trust in the strength of the United Nations. We suffer when that trust proves to have been entirely misplaced. We have, therefore, a stake in the United Nations as large as that of any other Member, far larger than that of some" [1775th plenary meeting, para. 152].

124. It is, however, an unfortunate reality that this dependence of the small nations presents a stark contrast to the attitude of the super-Powers which can, and do, at times function at cross purposes with the world Organization in pursuit of their global objectives.

125. The pursuit of national interests without due regard to the principles and purposes of collective security is not without danger. It was such a policy pursued 30 years ago in Europe that brought a major catastrophe to that continent. The representative of the Soviet Union, in his comprehensive statement before this Committee on 10 October [1652nd meeting] has graphically recalled the grim horrors of the Second World War. The fortitude with which the Soviet Union and the allied nations withstood the onslaught of Nazi aggression evoked and continues to evoke the admiration of all. The experience, nevertheless, emphasizes the inevitable need for preventing aggression and for suppressing it wherever it occurs. It is a sad commentary on the existence of the world Organization when a small nation has to bear an inordinate burden and make an unbearable sacrifice in resisting an aggression to which it has fallen victim.

126. There is no denying the fact that the question of international security is closely linked with disarmament. Today mankind seeks security from the dreaded, but still very possible, holocaust of nuclear warfare and from the devastation resulting from the use of ever new, ever more sophisticated conventional armaments. The damage caused by conventional weapons, though on a limited scale, is no less horrifying to the victims than that which can be wrought by nuclear means.

127. While nuclear armaments have the immense potential of total devastation, they are less likely to be used, because their possession by a few has led to a "balance of terror". Nevertheless, the urgency of assuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon States from the threat or use of nuclear weapons cannot be underrated. In order to strengthen such security Pakistan, along with other countries at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, suggested the need for a collective security arrangement which would operate independently of military alliances. This concept was fully explained at that Conference and in this Committee, at the twenty-third session [1610th meeting] by the representative of Pakistan. The useful and comprehensive exchange of views on this subject at that Conference underlined the need for the early development of such an arrangement. In the last analysis, it was recognized, there can be no perfect security from the nuclear threat except through nuclear disarmament.

128. Pakistan's stand on questions concerning aggression and security of States has always been consistent and in full conformity with the principles of the Charter. The records of the General Assembly and the Security Council during the debates in 1967, to give an example, are ample testimony of the fact that Pakistan has always opposed the use of force as a means of settling international disputes. We maintain that in situations of conflict the principle of inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war should be scrupulously upheld.

129. In addition to positive measures to strengthen international security in general, there is imperative need to defuse particular situations which can endanger the peace and tranquillity of a region and consequently of the world. We suggest that both these processes be pursued simultaneously. Consequently, the removal of foreign troops from territories occupied through force or on false legal pretexts, the granting of independence to peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke, the exercise of the right of self-determination of a people recognized as entitled to it by the United Nations, and the recognition of movements of liberation are some of the objectives which need concrete realization.

130. The reality also needs to be faced that today the right of self-determination is denied to certain peoples not only by colonial Powers, but also by some countries which have themselves achieved independence from colonial rule in recent years. Subjugation of a people by force and attempts to annex territories, against the wishes of their peoples, and in violation of solemn international agreements, have led on many occasions to armed conflicts. The continuation of such policies endangers not only regional peace and security but also world peace, as it poses a constant and serious danger to the world order based on international law, sanctity of international agreements and the right of every people with a distinct individuality to self-determination. The adherence, not in words but in action, to these principles by all States is, we believe, the essential concomitant of international peace and security.

131. Our experience since the inception of the United Nations has demonstrated that the Security Council has been able to fulfil only a limited role. At best the Security Council has prevented a bad situation from getting worse.

The cold reality is that it has not served to consolidate peace in any affected region. This does not fulfil the purpose of the United Nations which is: "to bring about . . . in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".

132. The Security Council, in its limited role, has been able, though not always, to restore and maintain the *status quo*. The perpetuation of the *status quo* is not necessarily the fulfilment of justice or the guarantee of durable peace. If, for example, the most powerful States today throw their combined weight in favour of maintaining the *status quo* even where justice demands a change in it, the United Nations will become the embodiment of a peace which will not redress grievances but will merely suppress them. It would be a peace seething with resentment. The best service that can be rendered to the cause of the United Nations is to bring home the distinction between the notion of security with justice and the notion of security without justice. It is only when the Security Council can effectively prevent or suppress aggression that we can hope to maintain the rule of law in the world. My delegation therefore believes it necessary to help the Security Council to discharge its preventive and corrective, as well as its enforcement, functions. In that context we support most emphatically the proposal of the representative of the USSR that strong action should be taken to guarantee the implementation of all decisions of the Security Council and the fulfilment of international agreements brought about by the Council's efforts.

133. The Chairman of my delegation has already, in the General Assembly, emphasized the need for implementing General Assembly and Security Council resolutions as a major step towards the strengthening of the United Nations and, through it, international security. We sincerely believe that if the world Organization showed as much zeal in implementing its resolutions as it demonstrates in adopting them, the security of this and succeeding generations would be greatly assured. Therefore, as a result, the need for great Powers to reduce the divergence between their policies and the resolutions of the United Nations cannot be stressed too much. Such a step would not fail to ensure the fulfilment of the decisions of the United Nations.

134. The role of peace-keeping as a means of strengthening international security is of considerable importance. In the words of the Secretary-General, peace-keeping operations are "instruments of pacification in order to police or keep under impartial scrutiny an over-heated and potentially violent conflict until the temperature could be reduced sufficiently for a solution to be sought". But it is quite obvious that these operations have to be accompanied or followed by resolute efforts towards achieving a just and final solution of the disputes involved. In certain cases no peace-keeping operation is possible. There are situations which demand enforcement action. This once again underlines the decisive role of the Security Council. The failure or hesitancy of the permanent members of the Security Council to undertake such action, where such action is the only way of removing threats to the peace, has in large measure led to the crisis of confidence in the United Nations.

135. I come now to the contents of the draft appeal [*A/C.1/L.468*] to all States of the world. The preamble, which constitutes section I of the text, could, I believe, be made generally acceptable with certain verbal changes. As regards section II, the text, it appears to us, is capable of being improved by adopting a more comprehensive formulation. My delegation would stress that "observance by States of the decisions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of occupation troops from foreign territories" is of an importance equal to that of the withdrawal of troops required by the termination of colonial rule. It is also to be understood that the term "decisions of the Security Council" does not connote only those decisions which are taken under Chapter VII of the Charter. It includes recommendations of the Council which have been accepted by the parties to a situation or dispute of which the Council has taken cognizance. We would like to see incorporated in this section the principle of inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by the use of force. We would also like to see included a specific reference to the importance and urgency of liquidating the colonial régimes and discriminatory practices in southern Africa, in the interests of justice and security.

136. As regards section III, the provisions are identical to the principles of non-alignment. Pakistan, needless to say, conforms to those principles within the framework of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

137. As the representative of Ceylon recalled this morning [*1663rd meeting*], Pakistan, together with Burma, Ceylon, India and Indonesia, sponsored the historic Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955. As you well know, Mr. Chairman, Pakistan played an active role in the formulation of the 10 principles of international conduct adopted at that Conference, and in particular on the question of abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big Powers and also in regard to abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

138. It is the adoption of policies based on scrupulous adherence to these Bandung principles of non-alignment that has enabled Pakistan to develop and progressively strengthen friendly relations with the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China at the same time. We certainly do not construe the provisions of section III as being applicable only to relations between States with different social systems. The principles of peaceful coexistence need to govern the relations of all sovereign States. With regard to the settlement of disputes exclusively through peaceful means, it is to be understood that the blocking by one party to a dispute of all means of its pacific settlement listed in Article 33 is a violation of the Charter no less grave than the threat or use of force.

139. With regard to the provisions of section IV relating to the establishment of regional security systems, my delegation would like its observations to be understood in the Asian context. We are convinced that the establishment of new military blocs should be avoided and that any regional security system must include all the States of the region and it should not be aimed against any one country or countries. It is also the opinion of my delegation that it

would be difficult to establish a regional security system in an area where recognized and serious disputes exist among the countries involved and where some countries refuse to honour their international obligations to settle their disputes in accordance with international agreements or resolutions of the Security Council.

140. If a regional security system is to have any value at all it is imperative that its establishment should be preceded by pacific settlement of disputes existing in the region. It also seems to us that it would be unjust to seek a guarantee of territorial integrity of States through the device of regional security systems in areas where some States have usurped territories in violation of international agreements and against the wishes of the peoples of those territories. Above all, my delegation is of the opinion that the strict observance of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations would in itself be an adequate guarantee for the security of States.

141. The provisions of section V are of special interest to Pakistan. We recall that similar suggestions have been repeatedly made in the past, including some by the Secretary-General. The task of maintaining peace is a continuous process. Article 28 of the Charter specifically requires that the Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously and that it shall hold periodic meetings. The proposal for periodic meetings of the Council at the level of members of Government or other specially designated representatives is therefore welcome to my delegation. The Council could at these meetings consider the general state of security and take necessary steps as provided under the Charter.

142. It is reasonable to assume that at such meetings the Council would ensure a review of the status of the implementation of its resolutions. Such a review would entail an examination of the commitments the Council has made for resolving international disputes and of the factors which have impeded the fulfilment of its undertakings. In that context we must reiterate that as long as the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China are not restored in the United Nations and in all its organs including the Security Council, discussions relating to the strengthening of international peace and security cannot achieve the global ends in view. It is becoming clearer with every passing day that the normalization of relations among the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China is a prerequisite for ensuring real peace in the world.

143. Section VI of the draft appeal suggests the need for a definition of aggression, for agreement on the principles of friendly relations between States and for achieving an understanding on United Nations peace-keeping operations. I have already referred to peace-keeping operations. The desirability of finding a simple, precise and universally acceptable definition of aggression is beyond doubt. However, our past experience has demonstrated that this concept has sometimes been a barrier, rather than a help, to a correct judgement of situations where a grave breach of the peace has occurred. The difficulty of evolving a definition of aggression which will obtain the unreserved acceptance of an overwhelming majority of Member States cannot be underestimated. That, however, does not mean

that the effort should be abandoned. But in making this effort it is necessary that unrealistic suppositions should be avoided.

144. At this stage I would like to refer to the following statement which our delegation made in the Sixth Committee during the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly:

“One of such suppositions is that it is the absence of an accepted definition which has been responsible for the failure of the Security Council to determine an act of aggression even where such an act, within the meaning of Article 39 of the United Nations Charter, has been indubitably committed. It is true that there have been several cases where the territory of a Member State was openly invaded by the armed forces of another. Yet even this most blatant form of aggression escaped a determination of responsibility by the Security Council. This was certainly not due to any lack of criteria, any presence of misunderstanding about open armed invasion constituting aggression or not. It was due to the lack of the necessary political will on the part of the Council.”⁷

145. Nevertheless, we remain of the opinion that a generally accepted definition of aggression would help us to concentrate on issues of international liability and responsibility and on the root causes of conflicts.

146. In regard to the views expressed in this debate on the need to include a call for nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament and also for measures to narrow the ever-widening gap between the rich and poor nations, we welcome the readiness of the Soviet delegation to make the necessary additions in the text.

147. We now come to section VII of the draft appeal. The Pakistan delegation is prepared to support the proposal to include in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly an item relating to progress in the implementation by States of measures for the strengthening of international security.

148. Much discussion has taken place as to whether the appeal should be addressed to all States of the world or only to the permanent members of the Security Council. There is no doubt that the great Powers play a pivotal role with regard to the strengthening of international peace and security. Their special responsibility is expressly recognized in the Charter. Unless they are willing to take greater account of the purposes and principles of the United Nations in the entire range of their policies and to use the world Organization as a major instrument for promoting peace and security, the United Nations cannot play the role envisaged for it. At the same time, the responsibility of the smaller Powers cannot be gainsaid.

149. My delegation has an open mind regarding the specific action that should be taken as a result of this debate. We are prepared to discuss with other delegations any proposal which is likely to command the consensus of the Committee. I must, however, stress that while we

support in principle the issuance of the appeal to all States of the world, we cannot help but point out again that the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations is not conducive to the strengthening of international peace and security. The restoration of the legitimate right of that Government in the United Nations is absolutely necessary in order to promote the objectives of the Charter.

150. Mr. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): Mr. Chairman, my delegation has no difficulty in acceding to your request to refrain from congratulating the members of the Bureau, all the more because of the general awareness of this Committee of the excellence of the team which is guiding our affairs.

151. The question of international security is not one which is to be lightly regarded by small States. It is therefore natural that we should have examined the Soviet proposal [A/C.1/L.468] with considerable care, with a view to determining whether or not a formula had at last been found for removing, once for all, the ever-present fear which small nations must have for the maintenance of their independence and territorial integrity, with all that these terms imply in the modern world. We were heartened also by the fact that this Organization, which is dedicated to peace, is looking forward to celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary and we had hoped that the Soviet initiative, so well timed, would provide the basis for a giant step forward in the direction of the achievement of our common goal.

152. Many of the delegations that have spoken before us have expressed disappointment in one way or another with the Soviet proposals. We too are somewhat disappointed, for although we did not and do not expect perfection, we did not find that the draft appeal contained anything that has not been said before, nor did it prescribe any new remedies for the old problems. We expected more than a mere reiteration of the principles contained in our Charter—and an appeal to abide by them—principles which in so many instances have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance; principles furthermore which have been interpreted, at convenience, in different ways by different people at different times.

153. Apart from this, my delegation is not entirely clear as to either the meaning or the intent of some of the passages in the Soviet document nor the reasons for the omission of many things therefrom. This may be due entirely to a lack of comprehension on our part since Ambassador Malik gave us quite a detailed and lucid explanation of the document and the motives behind it [1652nd meeting]; yet my delegation remains puzzled.

154. The Soviet document suggests an appeal to the Security Council by the General Assembly to act in the matter of international security under Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter. At first glance it would appear that a recommendation of the kind would have been more appropriate in the Security Council itself. An exhortation by the General Assembly in a matter of that kind would not appear to have much importance or even relevance. The same applies to any recommendation from the General Assembly that the Security Council take effective and practical steps against acts of aggression.

⁷ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Sixth Committee, 1080th meeting.

155. The permanent members of the Security Council lose no opportunity to insist that, according to the Charter, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security; and there is a great reluctance on the part of some members to allow the General Assembly any participation in that function. The General Assembly, on the other hand, has never failed to urge the Security Council to take firm measures to redress wrongs and even to protect the honour of the United Nations itself. It is the Security Council which has failed to respond to these appeals, regardless of the size of the majority by which the resolutions have been adopted.

156. This failure of the Security Council is due almost entirely to the built-in power of the veto enjoyed by every permanent member and employed without compunction on a number of occasions. If in the recent past it has been used with less frequency than formerly, it is not because of any change of heart on the part of the permanent members, but because of a change of method. Resolutions are now watered down to the point where they are innocuous enough to guarantee, if not support, at least abstention, which no longer counts as a veto. This is what Ambassador Castro, the representative of Brazil, referred to in his very brilliant intervention some ten days ago [*1653rd meeting*] as blocking by consensus.

157. Almost the entire membership of the United Nations today recognizes the need for revision of the Charter. The principles of our Charter are unexceptionable, but they fail to be implemented because those who have or aim at power steadfastly refuse to contemplate revision of the structure, the constitution of the Charter, and put every obstacle in the way of its consideration. The veto is power, if only in a negative sense, and people who enjoy power, as the history of the world has shown, are ever reluctant to part with any facet of that power. But it is that very emphasis on power that is strangling the United Nations and threatening its very existence.

158. Any progress that has been made towards implementation of the lofty aims and ideals of the Charter has been achieved, not because of that power, but in spite of it. No one can deny with any semblance of honesty that a shift in emphasis must be made if this Organization is to fulfil its purpose. It is time that the evil and corrupt goddess Power be hurled from her pedestal and Justice given an opportunity to guide the destinies of mankind.

159. An examination of the Soviet document and the supporting speech of Ambassador Malik shows quite clearly how widely the Soviet approach to the question of international peace and security differs from the needs of the majority of small and not so small States which do not possess an arsenal of nuclear weapons—nor indeed any significant armed forces—and which have no indefeasible membership of the Security Council and the power of the veto. Such States must of necessity have far more rigorous concepts of the requirements for achieving international security than a super-Power would.

160. Consequently, it is to be expected that, from our point of view, any document put forward as a basis for strengthening international security at this time, could not possibly omit reference to the need for dismantling current

nuclear stockpiles, for a halt in the production of bacteriological and chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stocks and for rapid progress towards general disarmament.

161. None of this appears in the Soviet document which, by preference, rivets attention on the results of the Second World War and bitterly complains that there are people who insist on trying to revise these results. This may not, perhaps, be the proper time and place to assess the results of the Second World War or the terms imposed by treaty or otherwise by the victors on the vanquished; but it does appear to my delegation that it might be unwise to adopt an inflexible attitude in these matters. Few people today would deny that the harshness of the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War was in some measure responsible for the resurgence of militarism in Germany and the ultimate rise to power of Hitler and his Nazi party. The Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and finally the Polish Corridor, all were swallowed up in the outward surge of this militarism and it took six years of the bloodiest and costliest war in history to stop what should never have been started in the first place.

162. No eyebrows are raised today when the United States of America and Japan enter into a dialogue on the question of the return to full Japanese sovereignty of islands in the Pacific occupied or utilized by the United States by treaty agreement after the Second World War. There should therefore be no cry of *revanchism* when others contemplate a similar dialogue in respect of European territories. Unilateral abrogation of treaties, where these exist, can never be justified, but there should be no refusal to reconsider problems and positions in the light of the changing needs of the world after 25 years.

163. The Soviet document refers to peoples still under colonial rule. Here again the remedy lies squarely with the Security Council which has steadfastly refused to apply effective coercive measures to effect decolonization in southern Africa. It is not to be expected that a mere appeal from this forum will have any effect on that body.

164. Most of the newer States of the United Nations know only too well the ravages of colonialism and the traumatic and devastating consequences for our societies and our economies. Any effort to strengthen international security, it would seem to us, must therefore inescapably concern itself with these consequences and with measures for their remedy. Our Charter itself recognizes the importance of socio-economic factors in the maintenance of peace and in paragraph 3 of Article I it refers to: "International co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character".

165. When we talk of peace, we must mean more than the mere absence of a shooting war. That sort of peace is only partial and may even be potentially more dangerous than open hostilities. The racist régime in Pretoria claims that there is domestic peace in South Africa, but it is the peace of a concentration camp where the guards are armed to the teeth and suppress with savage violence any attempts to gain freedom.

166. There are some things worse than death and one of them is slavery. There are things better than a phony peace

and one of them is freedom. If peace is necessary for the full realization of freedom, then let us strive by all means to achieve that peace, even if it means taking up arms to put an end to régimes which offend against justice and persist in the application of policies which degrade human nature and are an offence to mankind. This was done in 1939, for the alternative was the destruction of all those values which enhance the dignity of man and making living worthwhile.

167. We are seeing today, in one form or another, in one country or another, total or partial suppression of those values and the slow but steady debasing of one human being by another. We see it in South Africa in its most vicious form. We see it in Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau). We see it also in those countries where freedom of speech and freedom of assembly are forbidden by law or inhibited in practice. We see it in countries where the democratic processes are corrupted and in those countries where national or regional security is used as a cloak to cover aggression.

168. Do we speak of peace? Let us look into our consciences for once and ask ourselves how many of us are really prepared to work for that true peace which means the brotherhood of man, rather than the subjugation of man by man; which means equality of all before the law, rather than discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed; which means justice for all, rather than the naked play of power politics; which means respect and mutual help, rather than patronage and exploitation. If, in our innermost hearts we recognize the need for that sort of peace and are prepared to work for it, then I submit we will have made the first real step towards strengthening international security.

169. Mr. MENDOUGA (Cameroon) (*translated from French*): Mr. Chairman, may I first of all say to the members of your Bureau and to you, since this is the first time I have spoken in this Committee, that the delegation of Cameroon will give you its full co-operation in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities as Chairman of our proceedings. It is in this spirit that I shall defer—though I find it difficult to do so for many reasons which concern you personally and our respective countries—to your request that we should refrain from extending to you the congratulations you so much deserve. I shall therefore merely say that the Cameroon delegation regards your election and the outstanding and dignified manner in which you are directing our discussions as an earnest pledge of the positive results which we expect from the work of this First Committee.

170. The strengthening of international security, which is linked to the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world, is the fundamental objective of the United Nations and the reason for its existence. It is therefore essential that we should be able from time to time to go beyond the discussions which the various bodies of the United Nations hold in a sometimes, though not necessarily, fragmentary way, and consider the problem as a whole and see what our Organization is doing to pursue that objective.

171. Thus we shall be able to work out what lessons and what measures can help to bring to the peoples of the world, all of whom basically yearn for peace and security,

the proof that our Organization remains an essential instrument for the satisfaction of their deepest aspiration; thus we shall be enabled to overcome the short memory and the selfishness of man who, despite his creative genius and his power to gain ever greater control over the universe which he is so spectacularly conquering at breath-taking speed, is still happy to walk along the beaten track which has invariably led to war and destruction. We shall thus be able to develop the ideas which gave rise to the Organization, bearing in mind the realities and requirements of the international society of today. Furthermore, such an examination should lead us to a better understanding of the joint efforts we must make to usher in an era of peace and security in all its dimensions.

172. Thus my delegation welcomes the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, which has called upon us to undertake this most useful examination by proposing the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [A/7654].

173. Indeed, at a time when a murderous war still goes on in Viet-Nam, when as the result of an explosive situation a climate of insecurity and tension persists in the Middle East, when colonialism and racism are cruelly enslaving the African peoples, and two thirds of mankind are suffering from hunger and poverty, while those who enjoy to the full the fruits of modern civilization cultivate their fear of self-destruction through an intolerable arms race, it is imperative that we should assess our situation and, noting the growing powerlessness of our Organization, that we should breathe new life into it.

174. As has been said, the United Nations is a product of war: a world shaken by the horrors of several military conflagrations looked to the United Nations as a way of ensuring its salvation. This goes far to explain the predominance which was accorded to the concept, now discarded, that security was the absence of armed conflict. What is more, the fact that the trials and the horrors of which the United Nations is the outcome involved the great Powers explains for us that, if we look at security from a purely military standpoint, the primary, but not exclusive, responsibility for the maintenance of peace should have been entrusted to the great Powers.

175. Nevertheless, it would be rejecting the lessons of history and human facts if we failed to recognize that every war is rooted in man's determination to satisfy his own needs as opposed to what his fellow-man wants, whether those needs are morally justified or, as is sometimes unfortunately the case, completely irrational demands attributable to the basest human instincts.

176. This means that we must in the world today give the concept of security its true scope and dimensions. It means that to strengthen world security we must remove the very seed of conflicts—the seed which finds fertile soil, on the one hand, in non-respect for human rights as recognized by the universal conscience and, on the other hand, in the failure to respect the rights of States as defined by the Charter of our Organization and by international law, for the codification and acceptance of which we have all of us made our own particular contribution.

177. What security is there for men who are deprived of their most elementary rights? What security is there for men who are oppressed, tortured, and even murdered because they aspire to exercise their inalienable rights as recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its corollary, the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples? What security is there for the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), peoples that Portugal, in its vain efforts to maintain a colonial empire in Africa, is endeavouring to subject by all possible means?

178. What security is there for the people of Zimbabwe, for the people of Namibia and for the African population of South Africa whose humanity their *apartheid* masters continue to deny with growing arrogance? What security is there for any Africans of the southern part of the African continent?

179. The reply to these questions is to be found daily in the press, in the proceedings of our Organization and in the conscience of the international community: there is no security for them. Yet, they must have security if we wish to talk of world security.

180. Two thirds of mankind are suffering from material want. Even their most fundamental right is in doubt—the right to life. Today, faced with hunger, thirst and disease and uncertain of any means of livelihood, they must wonder whether they will survive until tomorrow. Furthermore, weighed down by their increased awareness of everything that modern civilization can bring to mankind for his comfort and well-being, these people know how vain for them is the right to economic, cultural, social development as recognized in the Charter of Algiers⁸ and in the declaration now being drafted—the declaration of our Organization on social progress and development. No matter what aspect of security we consider, it is quite obvious that two thirds of mankind live in the insecurity of material want, and since, as I have said earlier, history teaches us that every war originates in the determination of man to seek to satisfy his needs, it requires no feat of imagination to see in this situation, which characterizes what by general agreement is called the “third world”, the seed of a crisis which will have dangerous consequences for the security of the whole world.

181. The poignant irony of all this is that to this insecurity resulting from material want and deprivation of the most elementary rights is added, in the case of the countries of the third world, the insecurity resulting from armed conflicts usually called “localized conflicts” which involve encouragement from abroad and foreign intervention, though these are prohibited by the Charter of our Organization.

182. As if to indicate that they have a kind of solidarity with the peoples that suffer hunger, the wealthy peoples, for their part, live in insecurity of another sort—that of fear resulting from the fact that man now has available means of mass destruction that his creative genius has led him to invent and which he continues to improve with each day that passes.

⁸ Adopted on 24 October 1967 at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77.

183. If our world is sick because it has no security, the failure to respect human rights which I have mentioned goes hand in hand with the failure to respect the rights of States as the situation deteriorates. The rights of States, which are the very basis of the Charter of our Organization, are constantly being flouted as far as their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are concerned, though the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs should be respected by one and all.

184. Mr. Chairman, in view of the realities which I have just outlined, the strengthening of international security or, more accurately, the institution of a climate of security in the world requires as a priority measure the strengthening of the United Nations. This means that there must be renewed faith in the Organization on the part of its Members, greater respect for its decision and a real determination on the part of all to make their policies conform to the principles set forth in the Charter.

185. There are, therefore, a number of factors essential for ushering in an era of peace and security throughout the world. First of all, respect for human rights will ensure for everyone the enjoyment of what is most human and personal in the individual. Conscious of himself as a full human being, the individual will better participate in the development of his own personality. This factor, naturally, covers the granting of independence and the right to self-determination for the peoples of Africa in the territories still under Portuguese domination, as also for those of Rhodesia and Namibia. Also included here is the recognition of the humanity of the Africans of South Africa by the masters of *apartheid*, a political doctrine which the General Assembly regards as a crime against humanity; because as Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, the current President of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, said in the General Assembly [1780th plenary meeting] on 6 October last: “. . . in denying human value to a single man, the dignity of all men is under attack.”

186. The development and the economic, social and cultural progress of the underdeveloped countries undoubtedly constitutes an inseparable factor of this work of strengthening international security. The universal awareness of the fundamental solidarity of men undoubtedly seems to have reached a level in the world which justifies greater interest in the problems of development. But we would have to recognize that this interest has not yet borne sufficient fruit, as the results, which were in some ways disappointing, of the efforts made during the first Development Decade show. What must therefore be done is to translate the general declarations of good intentions into a real policy so that development is given its proper meaning as a factor of justice and peace within the framework of the collective security system on which the United Nations rests.

187. As a necessary condition for the progress of development and as a factor which should contribute to the climate of political and psychological security which we are seeking, disarmament—and I mean general and complete disarmament in the full sense of the term—is more than ever necessary.

188. Cameroon, for its part, has made a positive response to all initiatives taken thus far to move toward that objective. However, it is difficult to reject completely the concern of those countries which, like Cameroon, are disturbed at the fact that the enthusiasm thus far felt for this cause has confined itself to measures to disarm those who are the least armed and often those who are more concerned with problems of development than of armament. It is therefore time for all countries, and more particularly the great Powers, to show their real will to disarm. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Cameroon said in his statement at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly:

“Such proof would come through the extension of the Moscow Treaty⁹ on nuclear tests, the cessation of the manufacture of all nuclear weapons, the destruction of existing stockpiles, and abstention from using or possessing those weapons.” [1700th plenary meeting, para. 53.]

189. Thus the various stages in the progress towards the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament will not be justified merely by the fact that an agreement has become possible each time that a particular arms programme no longer seems either necessary or capable of giving one of the interested parties any substantial advantage over the other in the arms race.

190. We must not hide from ourselves the fact that one of the main causes of this trend in the disarmament process lies in the absence of real and mutual trust among States. We must establish a climate propitious to progress in the cause of disarmament and to the strengthening of international security. We must forever banish the argument of the use of force in international relations, an argument which is still so often used in all kinds of ways, whereas the Charter calls for the equal sovereignty of States, friendly relations among States and the settlement of their disputes by negotiation and peaceful means.

191. There can be no security in the world so long as the right of force has not definitely yielded to law and justice.

192. I have confined myself to general observations on the question before us in order to state what, in the view of my delegation, constitutes the essential factors for creating a climate of security and for promoting peace in the world.

193. In thus bringing about a debate on the basic question with which our Organization has been concerned since its inception, the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, it seems to us, has already led to one very useful result. My delegation will in due course make the appropriate comments on the specific proposals put forward in the Soviet document, which we have studied in a completely objective manner. But what is more important is that that initiative should bring about concrete results for the greater good of all mankind, and my delegation will therefore support any proposals to that end.

⁹ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

194. In Cameroon we shall celebrate next January the tenth anniversary of our independence and we shall look back over the road we have covered and evaluate the tasks still to be accomplished. Our experience over this first decade coincided with the United Nations Development Decade, which helps us particularly to appreciate peace and security, without which harmonious development and man's full prosperity cannot be achieved. That shows how much importance we attach to the strengthening of international security and how we welcome the fact that, at this stage, the international community has been given an opportunity to search within itself and to consider the problem of its survival in the new context of the new international society. For as the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, who was then President of the Conference of Heads of State and Governments of the Organization of African Unity, said in his address to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly,

“It is only fair to acknowledge that mankind has always been aware of the need to safeguard the dignity of man through his material conquests. This awareness became more imperative after the Second World War which showed clearly that mankind had a single destiny. It is implicit in the Charter of our Organization and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights...” [1780th plenary meeting, para. 10].

195. When we shall combine the principles laid down in the Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with a full determination to respect them, apply them and defend them, the world will have peace and security.

196. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): I have asked for the floor to make a very brief clarification in connexion with the record of the 1661st meeting yesterday morning, distributed today and containing the verbatim of my statement.

197. My delegation will put in a correction in the usual way; but for reasons I shall now explain I feel justified in making this clarification for the benefit of the Committee. In paragraph 129 of the provisional verbatim record of the 1661st meeting, the words “the Committee on Disarmament” should read “The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament”. That was the term I used in my statement yesterday morning, as both you, Mr. Chairman, and all the representatives will recall.

198. My reason for doing so was twofold. First because my delegation considers that the reports of the Committee in question to be taken into account in drafting any appeal on the strengthening of international security should be not only the report for the current year, when at the request of the two co-Chairmen, the Committee began a mere two months ago to be called simply the Committee on Disarmament, but also all the reports of past years. Secondly, and this involves a point of substance, because I deliberately wanted to stress what was our position of principle on this question, as stated by the Mexican delegation for the record at the 431st meeting of that Committee on 26 August 1969, when the new title was

officially used for the first time. Our statement on that occasion was as follows:

“As all the members of the Committee are aware, the delegation of Mexico objected from the start to the procedure followed for enlarging its membership.”¹⁰

The objection, incidentally, was made in verbatim records PV.416 of 3 July and PV.424 of 31 July of the Committee. The statement by our representative continues as follows:

“As a logical consequence of our position in regard to the enlargement itself, we must also record our objection to the change in the name of the Committee, which is a corollary of its enlargement. We do not think that it is essential to change the name now, before giving the General Assembly an opportunity to pronounce its opinion both on the enlargement of the Committee and the name itself.

“I have no objection as regards the name itself, suggested the other day by the co-Chairmen, but I should like to have it put on record that my delegation takes exception also to the name being changed now before allowing the General Assembly to pronounce its opinion on the subject.”

199. The statement made at Geneva ends there. I should merely like to add that our objection in principle to the procedure followed for enlarging the Committee did not and does not in any way imply an objection on our part to the entry of any of the eight States by which the Committee was enlarged. Quite the contrary; we were genuinely pleased that they were coming to add their

efforts to those of the original members in favour of disarmament.

200. We are nevertheless still convinced that at the present session, when the appropriate moment arrives, the General Assembly will have to take a decision on these questions, since it was the Assembly that set up the Committee in 1961 under resolution 1722 (XVI), which is closely linked with resolution 1616 (XVI) adopted earlier.

201. The CHAIRMAN: There are no other speakers on the list for this afternoon. At the request of two delegations I am asking the United Nations Press Office to issue a correction reflecting more accurately the statements made yesterday afternoon in exercise of the right of reply.

202. There are 17 delegations remaining on the list of speakers. There is a possibility of that number being reduced by two or three. There is only one meeting scheduled for tomorrow, in the morning, due to the United Nations Day concert in the afternoon. I would hope that we shall be able to hear as many of the remaining speakers as possible at the morning meeting. In this connexion I should like to appeal to all delegations to be on time so that we can start our meeting at 10.30 a.m. Members are aware that in the past few days it has not been possible to start the meetings on time.

203. I had also hoped that the general debate could be completed by tomorrow. It now appears that at the end of tomorrow morning's meeting a few delegations might still be left on the list. It is my intention to consult the Committee at the end of that meeting concerning our future programme of work.

¹⁰ See document CCD/PV.431, paras. 4 and 5.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.