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**Chairman:** Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL  
(Mauritius).

**Organization of work**

1. The CHAIRMAN: As members of the Committee are aware, at the conclusion of the voting on the various draft resolutions and amendments concerning the sea-bed item at our last meeting, the representative of Peru submitted to the Committee a new draft resolution which appears in document A/C.1/L.642. In submitting this draft resolution the representative of Peru invoked rule 125 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. In view of the fact that many representatives of the Committee had already left by the time the Peruvian draft resolution was submitted, I suggested that the matter be considered at a more appropriate time, perhaps at today's meeting.

2. In the meantime, some representatives have indicated to me that, as originally planned, the Committee should resume discussion of agenda item 35 and conclude the consideration of that item before taking up the new Peruvian draft resolution on the sea-bed item.

3. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Committee is agreeable to proceeding with the item on international security and I shall return to the Peruvian draft resolution at a later stage.

4. Mr. ARIAS SCHREIBER (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The only question that was left pending regarding agenda item 36 on the sea-bed concerned our proposed study, on which there exists a general understanding, and I think we could dispose of the matter in three minutes. Therefore, may I ask the Committee through you, Mr. Chairman, to allow us to conclude this matter first and then devote the rest of the meeting to the question of the strengthening of international security. I should like it to be noted that the study that we are requesting is one that the members of the Committee know about and have known about from the beginning of the session. It is certainly not something new or different; it is purely and simply a different presentation of the same question, therefore I do not think it would require a lengthy discussion. As I have just said, I have been told by those who at first opposed the study that there is now an understanding that if this is

submitted as a separate draft resolution it can be approved without any difficulty.

5. The CHAIRMAN: The representative of Peru has made a formal request that draft resolution A/C.1/L.642 be considered immediately. If no representative wishes to speak on this request, I shall put it to the vote. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union.

6. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to several facts.

7. First, today's *Journal* contains the agenda for this meeting and there is only one item listed, item 35 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. There are no other items on today's agenda.

8. Secondly, yesterday when closing the meeting, the Chairman declared that consideration of item 36 had been completed and that today we would consider the question of the strengthening of international security.

9. Thirdly, today, at this meeting only, a new draft resolution has been circulated on agenda item 36 [A/C.1/L.642]. I believe this draft resolution was read out by the representative of Peru yesterday but it was not distributed. We were not able to study the text even this morning because the Secretariat did not distribute the verbatim records of the meetings of the First Committee on 7 December. Therefore the Soviet delegation was unable to inform its capital of the appearance of a new draft resolution on the question of the sea-bed. Consequently we are unable to take part in any vote today since, as I have said, the text of that document has been distributed only today and not only could we not obtain instructions, we were even unable to inform our capital of the appearance of that document.

10. Finally, I should like to remind the members of the Committee that at the beginning of its work there was a consensus that we would consider for four days the problem of strengthening international security, then for five days the question of the sea-bed, and then the Committee would consider each of these items on alternate days.

11. Therefore, the Soviet delegation proposes that we do as the *Journal* says we shall do and consider the problem of strengthening international security, and the new draft resolution of the Peruvian delegation can be considered on Monday.

12. To conclude, the Soviet delegation would like to make a request. The Soviet delegation is unable to take part in

the vote, not having any instructions, and requests 24 hours in order to obtain instructions on the draft resolution.

13. Mr. JAYAKUMAR (Singapore): My delegation has just seen draft resolution A/C.1/L.642, sponsored by Peru, and our remarks are as follows.

14. First, I think I should make it clear, in relation to what was said yesterday, that what I had said on behalf of the sponsors in the preceding day's debates was that we would urge the sponsors of two of the amendments to our draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.632/Rev.1—the amendments of Canada and Kenya—to withdraw those amendments and move them as separate draft resolutions and not use them either to kill our proposal or to add greater dimensions of scope or cost to our study. That was what I said on behalf of the sponsors. In other words, the sponsors did not give a commitment, as such, to support any proposal in all circumstances.

15. Therefore, I cannot speak now for all the sponsors as regards their views on this new draft resolution since none of the amendments to our proposal was withdrawn and since, in fact, the sponsors of those amendments voted against our proposal.

16. In the following remarks, therefore, I am speaking only on behalf of the delegation of Singapore. My delegation has consistently maintained that it is desirable to have a maximum amount of information for the conference and we have also said that information of a factual nature can never be prejudicial to, and indeed will aid, decision making. My delegation, consistent with this position, will therefore have no difficulty in supporting the Peruvian draft resolution, subject to the following observations.

17. First, we should like to suggest that our colleague from Peru consider making two slight modifications. In the preambular paragraph . . .

18. The CHAIRMAN: I cannot allow discussion of the draft until I have decided whether it is going to be discussed today.

19. In view of the statements made by the delegations of the Soviet Union and Singapore, I invite the representative of Peru to offer any comments he may have, and at the same time I would ask if he insists that this draft be taken up today.

20. Mr. ARIAS SCHREIBER (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have listened to the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union with great attention, and in fact this is not a different study from that which the Committee took note of at previous meetings. So far as I can see, if delegations have followed the debates closely it should be perfectly simple to take a decision. All that is involved is something that was suggested, that is, that draft resolution A/C.1/L.632/Rev.1 should be discussed separately. We are confronting some difficulties because some delegations have experts here who are going to leave in a few days, and we should like to take advantage of their presence here to conclude work on this one draft which is a request for a study. However, of course we will leave it to the Committee

to decide whether we can dispose of this question immediately or whether the Committee prefers to wait until Monday to do so.

21. Mr. NJENGA (Kenya): I was also going to support what the representative of Peru had said. I think that yesterday, when the representative of Peru informed us that he intended to raise this question today, the Chairman allowed him to do so. In fact, at the end of the meeting, when the Chairman said that we had concluded debate on this item, after he had been reminded by the Secretariat of the request by Peru, he went on to indicate that this question would be on the agenda this afternoon when we met again. In the light of the foregoing, therefore, my delegation is rather surprised that the agenda is now being quoted to oppose what was accepted by the Committee yesterday. If the item is not on the agenda, it is not the fault of the Committee. It is the fault of the Secretariat for not having followed closely what was accepted here by the Committee.

22. So, in the light of this clarification, I think that we should take up this item now. But if my colleague from Peru is willing to postpone it until Monday, we will not press this point any further. As the representative of Peru has said, he has not suggested anything new; this is a matter which has been before us for the last three days or so, if not longer. Anyone who wanted to receive directives from his Government could have obtained them by now, and it is just delaying tactics to say "We are waiting for further instructions from our Government".

23. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Kenya for his statement. However, I do not believe that it is very fair for him to say that the fault is the Secretariat's if no mention has been made of the item on the sea-bed in the *Journal*. The delegation of Kenya will recall that this matter cropped up very late yesterday afternoon, in the early evening as a matter of fact, and the notice had already been sent to the printer. It is not always very practical to have last-minute corrections. I hope the delegation of Kenya will agree with me on this.

24. Mr. KEDADI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I can only express the agreement of my delegation with what was just said by the representatives of Kenya and Peru. The discussion on item 36 had not been entirely concluded; the Chairman himself had suggested that this question would be taken up again at this afternoon's meeting. However, I shall not insist that this matter be discussed this afternoon. As the representative of Peru pointed out, this is left to the Chairman to decide, whether we discuss it this afternoon or later, but at least we should allow other delegations to express their views on item 36.

25. It is therefore a procedural question. I believe that item 36 is still on the agenda of the First Committee and the Committee will have to decide whether we are going to discuss it this afternoon or at some future meeting. I do not believe that all members of the Committee agree as yet on the procedure to be adopted. There are formal proposals submitted. Some delegations seem to agree with them, and I think it would be perfectly natural for the Committee to allow its members freely to express their views on item 36.

26. The CHAIRMAN: First of all I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that the draft resolution introduced by the delegation of Peru, contained in document A/C.1/L.642, is a new draft, and it is not a reconsideration of proposals. Therefore it does not fall under rule 125.

27. Secondly, I would agree with the delegation of the Soviet Union that the programme of work of the Committee is somewhat disorganized. It is rather sad that this should have happened towards the end of our work. What I actually said yesterday was that we would consider the proposal of Peru at an appropriate time, perhaps this afternoon. But I have already stated that I have received suggestions from other delegations that it might possibly be deferred until Monday.

28. The Committee is master of its own rules and therefore I propose to put it to the vote, if the Committee has no objection.

29. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): May I ask the Chairman to appeal to the representative of Peru to agree to the deferment of the consideration of his draft resolution until Monday? It would then not be necessary for us to go through the painful procedure of voting.

30. The objection raised by the representative of the Soviet Union is quite reasonable and, while I appreciate the concern of the representative of Peru to have his draft resolution voted upon today, I do not think that a vote on it necessitates the presence of experts. It is a straightforward matter, and even simple-minded persons like myself could vote on it at any time; but we must defer to the objections raised by the representative of the Soviet Union, and I am quite confident that the representative of Peru will not raise any objection.

31. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Sri Lanka for his very constructive suggestion. At his request I appeal to the representative of Peru to consider whether it would be possible for his delegation to agree to defer consideration of the draft resolution until Monday.

32. Mr. ARIAS SCHREIBER (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although the Committee might itself have taken the decision on this matter, out of a sense of friendship and consideration for the delegation of the Soviet Union—which I trust will be reciprocated in future—I am quite willing to go along with the suggestion that it be discussed next Monday.

33. The CHAIRMAN: I am most grateful to the representative of Peru for the co-operation he has shown to the Chair and to the Committee.

34. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I should like to express my gratitude and friendship to the representative of Peru and draw the attention of Committee members to the existing good understanding between Peru and the Soviet Union.

### AGENDA ITEM 35 (*continued*)\*

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

35. The CHAIRMAN: Before I give the floor to the first speaker, I shall call on the representative of Zambia to introduce a draft resolution.

36. Mr. MUSUKWA (Zambia): My delegation had an opportunity on 24 November 1972 to participate in the current general debate concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. I have asked for the floor in order to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 on behalf of 44 delegations that have sponsored it. As will be noted from the document, which was distributed to all members of the Committee by the Secretariat on 7 December 1972, the sponsors include the majority of non-aligned and Latin American countries. However, I am happy to announce that, in addition, the delegations of Poland, Mongolia and Czechoslovakia have joined the list of sponsors.

37. The draft resolution that I have the pleasure and honour to introduce on behalf of the sponsors is really self-explanatory. Therefore, I shall not unduly take up the precious time of this Committee by commenting on it in detail.

38. The adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], during the twenty-fifth anniversary session of our Organization, was an achievement of historic importance. It was only fitting that after the United Nations had existed for a quarter of a century Member States should reaffirm their commitment, desire and determination to respect the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

39. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and resolution 2880 (XXVI), adopted last year, contain indispensable guidelines for the fulfilment of the obligations spelled out in the Charter.

40. Although encouraging trends and developments have taken place since the adoption of the Declaration, there are still many problems which continue to plague us all in our international relations. In this connexion, many delegations, in their statements in the plenary meetings and in this Committee, generally expressed the belief that implementation of the Declaration in its entirety by Member States would certainly go a long way towards achieving international peace and security.

41. The sponsors of the draft resolution are therefore convinced that we must all direct our efforts towards the implementation of the Declaration.

42. Let me now deal with the provisions of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640.

\* Resumed from the 1902nd meeting

43. The first and second preambular paragraphs are self-explanatory; they remind us of the Declaration itself and of resolution 2880 (XXVI).

44. The third preambular paragraph takes note of the very encouraging trends and developments which have taken place among States through bilateral, regional and multi-lateral contacts. Such trends are significant, since they certainly make a positive contribution towards international security, and, as I pointed out earlier, many delegations have welcomed these developments in their statements.

45. The fourth preambular paragraph highlights the fact that, despite the encouraging developments which have taken place recently, there are other situations, such as armed conflicts, taking place in different areas of the world which require the urgent attention of the international community in order to take appropriate action for their elimination.

46. The fifth preambular paragraph recognizes the need for a more co-ordinated approach by the United Nations in dealing with connected problems such as the strengthening of international security, disarmament and development, including the evolving concept of collective economic security. A case in point was the discussion in the General Assembly of the item on the non-use of force in international relations, whereas all other related matters were being discussed in the First Committee.

47. The sixth preambular paragraph reaffirms that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is a cardinal principle for the strengthening of international security.

48. I now turn to the operative paragraphs.

49. Paragraph 1 solemnly reaffirms all the principles and provisions of the Declaration, and reaffirms also the urgent appeal to all Member States to implement consistently and without delay the provisions of the Declaration in its totality.

50. Paragraph 2 expresses the hope that the present favourable trends in bilateral, regional and multilateral relations, including the creation of zones of peace and co-operation in various parts of the world, will not only continue, but that Member States will also intensify their efforts in that direction.

51. Paragraph 3 urges all States to take measures to eliminate armed conflicts, which continue to pose a threat to international peace and security. It also urges the elimination of colonialism, racism, alien domination and other situations, which continue to persist in many areas of the world, preventing people from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

52. Paragraph 4 reaffirms that any coercive measures directed against any State while exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources is a flagrant violation of the principles of self-determination and non-intervention as set out in the Charter.

53. Paragraph 5 expresses the belief that one of the ways of enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations is through co-ordinated consideration of related issues. It would contribute greatly to more effective action if such issues as, *inter alia*, disarmament, peace-keeping and strengthening the role of the United Nations were dealt with as issues closely related to each other.

54. The sponsors are convinced that the provisions of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, although by no means exhaustive, would make a meaningful contribution towards the strengthening of international peace and security. It is also the view of the sponsors that it is relevant to cite armed conflicts, colonialism, racism, alien domination and other such situations since these are contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter and therefore have an adverse effect on the search by the international community for permanent peace and security.

55. As I have just pointed out, these measures are certainly not exhaustive, but they are constructive recommendations made in a spirit of co-operation and accommodation, as can be seen from the large number of sponsors. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to commend this draft resolution, on behalf of the 47 sponsors, to this Committee and I hope that it will be adopted by an overwhelming majority.

56. While I still have the Committee's attention, I should like to announce that Trinidad and Tobago has joined the list of sponsors.

57. Mr. de SOUZA E SILVA (Brazil): My delegation is pleased to be an original sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, which has just been introduced by the representative of Zambia with the brilliance and competence to which we have grown accustomed. As a country that has always shown a keen interest in the question of the strengthening of international security, Brazil, together with other Latin American and non-aligned countries, this year once again participated in the negotiating process that led to the draft resolution now before the First Committee. In this sense, the draft resolution is a product of persistent efforts on the part of the Latin American and non-aligned countries, which, following the pattern established in earlier years, took upon themselves the task of drafting a resolution likely to reflect the consensus of the First Committee, or at least the views of a large majority of its members.

58. I will refrain from commenting in detail on the contents of the present draft, since this has been done by the representative of Zambia. I would merely indicate that the emphasis of the present draft is on procedures; indeed, its substantive paragraphs are limited to a dispassionate description of international facts and trends and to a general reaffirmation of principles and provisions already contained both in the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and in resolution 2880 (XXVI) on its implementation.

59. This approach was adopted as a result of the evolution of international events in the last few months and has the virtue of providing a breathing spell while the United Nations and the General Assembly prepare to respond

positively and effectively to the changing political reality. We are convinced that during the coming sessions we shall have to devise ways and means better to integrate and co-ordinate the consideration of political items of a general nature before the Assembly. More specifically, we should do our utmost to avoid a repetition of what happened this year: that is to say, we should prevent the consideration of those items in a diffuse, somewhat disorganized and even overlapping manner.

60. Both the fifth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 5 of the draft clearly reflect this concern. In fact, the sponsors of the draft resolution are persuaded that the enhancement of the political and diplomatic effectiveness of the United Nations is a most pressing task, that we should take concrete steps to adapt the work of the Organization and the General Assembly to the new and positive trends emerging on the international scene, and that the consideration of the general political items on the agenda of the General Assembly should be better co-ordinated. Such issues as disarmament, peace-keeping, strengthening the role of the United Nations, the strengthening of international security itself, and, in the view of my delegation, the updating of the Charter of the United Nations should be considered, evaluated and negotiated upon in the light of the over-all issue of the strengthening of international peace and security, the maintenance of which is the primary purpose of our Organization. This does not mean that all those issues should necessarily be put under the umbrella of the present item, but it certainly implies that the consideration of all those issues, including the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, should be dealt with and co-ordinated so as to enable the General Assembly to achieve as many results as possible in so vital a question as the maintenance of international peace and security.

61. My delegation is particularly interested in ensuring that during the next session of the General Assembly the First Committee will give the requisite priority to consideration of the item on the implementation of the Declaration, which, after all, is at present the only political and security item of a general nature on the agenda of the political and security Committee of the General Assembly.

62. The fact that the world seems now to be entering upon a period of relaxation of tensions should be one more reason for intensifying our political work in the United Nations and utilizing to the fullest its diplomatic capabilities. This is, in the view of my delegation, precisely the fundamental aim of the present draft.

63. That was the statement I wished to make concerning the draft resolution just introduced by the delegation of Zambia.

64. I should now like to raise two points for clarification. The delegation of Zambia has announced that we have a few more sponsors of our draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. That draft resolution was circulated first in blue print with the names of the original sponsors, and now we have the same draft in black print with new sponsors. We noticed that among the new sponsors are Czechoslovakia, Mongolia and Poland. At the same time, there is an earlier draft resolution on the same item [A/C.1/L.627], of which the

same three delegations are sponsors. As I am not an expert on questions relating to rules of procedure, I should like, if possible, to have two clarifications.

65. First, is it possible for a delegation to be at the same time a sponsor of two different draft resolutions on the same item? In the view of my delegation those two drafts exclude each other. Secondly, according to the reply to that, I should like to know also, if possible, whether those delegations are withdrawing their sponsorship of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627 since they are sponsoring draft resolution A/C.1/L.640.

66. If I put those questions as an original sponsor of this new draft, it is because the sponsors of the new draft did not find draft resolution A/C.1/L.627 satisfactory in dealing with the problem of international security. I think it is only fair to know in what spirit the new sponsors are joining the original sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640.

67. The CHAIRMAN: The representative of Brazil wants some clarification about the fact that the three new sponsors of the new draft resolution are also sponsors of an earlier draft resolution. So far as I know—and the Secretariat agrees with me—there is nothing in the rules of procedure which prevents any delegation from being a sponsor of more than one draft relating to the same item.

68. Regarding the second part of his question, I cannot pronounce on that; it is for the new sponsors to answer. Perhaps we can leave this matter in abeyance for the moment until they make up their minds whether they want to make any reply on this.

69. Mr. LUDWICZAK (Poland): In connexion with the remarks made a few minutes ago by the representative of Brazil, I should like to make a brief statement.

70. My delegation, on behalf of the eight countries sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627, would like to inform you, Mr. Chairman, and the Committee that we are not going to press the text to a vote in the light of the new draft now before the Committee, which was so ably introduced by the representative of Zambia and which is sponsored by the delegations of three socialist countries, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia and Poland.

71. The CHAIRMAN: I think that the position is clear now that the representative of Poland has announced that draft resolution A/C.1/L.627 will not be pressed to a vote by the sponsors.

72. Mr. de SOUZA E. SILVA (Brazil): After that explanation, I should like to say on behalf of my delegation that we warmly welcome the three new sponsors of our draft resolution.

73. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): The annual debate on the strengthening of international security which began at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly has proved in retrospect to be more useful than many of us had foreseen. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted during the twenty-fifth session [resolution 2734 (XXV)] not only reaffirmed the validity

of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to which States must adhere but also laid down practical guidelines for ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security. It is no exaggeration to say that the Declaration, by stimulating our thoughts on the many ways of maintaining international peace and security and thus ensuring the survival of mankind, has become the father of many ideas and proposals whose ultimate aim is peace and security. Thus, we find that during this session of the General Assembly there can be counted among the items directly related to the implementation of the Declaration on International Security, the following: the move for a world disarmament conference, the item on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the item on the non-use of force in international relations, and the efforts aimed at a review of the Charter to make it more responsive to present-day realities.

74. What is even more encouraging is that since the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted some positive trends towards its implementation can be discerned. The polarization resulting from the Second World War has been bridged at a far more rapid rate over the past two years. East/West relations have improved greatly, so much so that preparations can be commenced for a conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Contacts between the two super-Powers reached a significant stage in May this year when the Moscow agreements on the Limitation of Strategic Arms were signed. Apart from the more direct effect of those agreements on arms reduction, attention must be called to the equally beneficial effect of super-Power contacts on areas of conflict, particularly in South-East Asia. Talks are going on aimed at ending the war in Viet-Nam so as to enable the Viet-Nameese people to enjoy much-needed peace. The two Koreas have established bases for meaningful negotiations aimed at resolving the fratricidal conflict among the Korean people. My delegation hopes that these developments will be given the chance of succeeding and that a just and equitable solution based on the rights of peoples to determine their own fate will emerge.

75. While noting these hopeful developments, we cannot but express great disappointment at the lack of improvement in the situation in other areas where the threats to peace and security are no less real. It is a sad blow to the prestige of the United Nations that, 27 years after the Charter was adopted and 10 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], large numbers of people in Africa and elsewhere are still being denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

76. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security called upon all States to desist from any forcible or other action which deprives peoples, in particular those under colonial domination, of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. We find that, rather than complying with this provision, Portugal and the illegal régime in Zimbabwe, as well as the Government of South Africa, have intensified their oppression of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea

(Bissau) and Cape Verde, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The genocidal war which is being waged against the people of these Territories has even been periodically escalated into attacks on neighbouring independent African States. Thus, colonialism in Africa does not only deprive peoples of their right to self-determination and independence; it constitutes a positive threat to the peace and security of the independent African States. In the circumstances, my delegation wishes to draw particular attention to that part of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which called upon all States to render assistance to the United Nations and to the oppressed peoples in their legitimate struggle in order to bring about the speedy elimination of colonialism or of any other form of external domination.

77. Equally dangerous to the peace and security of Africa is, in the words of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, "the criminal policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa". Not only must we condemn *apartheid* in its various manifestations; we must support all measures designed to combat this evil policy.

78. The Government of South Africa has become the backbone of the imperialist and racist conspiracy against the peace and security of Africa. Those who continue to support and patronize that Government, therefore, are active collaborators in the subversion against the African peoples.

79. The contribution which is being made by the Organization of African Unity to the strengthening of international security is being frustrated by these racist régimes. The spirit of reconciliation demonstrated at the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Rabat this year must be allowed to bear fruit.

80. The lack of progress in resolving the situation in the Middle East has continued to cause great concern. Yet, paragraph 5 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security does contain important principles which, taken together with Security Council resolution 242 (1967), can help in providing a solution to that grave situation.

81. The close link between the strengthening of international security and economic development was articulated in the debate on this item during the twenty-sixth session. In paragraph 8 of resolution 2880 (XXVI) the General Assembly:

"Declares that, in view of the close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and development, the United Nations should evolve a concept of collective economic security designed to promote the sustained development and expansion of national economies and, moreover, affirms that a substantial portion of the savings derived from measures in the field of disarmament should be devoted to promoting economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries".

82. Unfortunately, the attitude of the developed countries has not given much evidence of a realization of the danger

of the existence of an island of prosperity surrounded by a sea of poverty and misery. Collective economic security has to be seen as implying the general prosperity of all. Perpetuation of the division of the world population into the haves and the have-nots is a potentially explosive condition which this Organization has to strive to improve. The reluctance of the developed countries to meet some of the minimum requirements of the developing countries, as contained in the Lima Declaration,<sup>1</sup> cannot create the necessary conditions for bridging the gap in relative development. The world economy must be regulated in the interest of all, and peoples in developing countries must be given the opportunity to utilize their natural resources for the improvement of their economic and social conditions.

83. One cannot emphasize too strongly the necessity for this Organization to develop its peace-keeping capabilities if it is to fulfil adequately its principal purpose of maintaining international peace and security. My delegation, as a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, recognizes the difficulties in reaching agreement on the delicate issues involved. However, we are also painfully aware of the continued paralysis of our Organization by this deadlock. It is therefore the earnest hope of my delegation that the necessary spirit of compromise will be demonstrated, so that when we come to consider the item on the strengthening of international security next year we may record as part of our accomplishment substantial agreement on peace-keeping operations.

84. The CHAIRMAN: I should like to announce that Liberia and El Salvador have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640.

85. Mr. ATTARD KINGSWELL (Malta): Two years have passed since the General Assembly adopted, by a virtually unanimous vote, the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. During these two years the United Nations, together with the world of which it is the reflection, has experienced far-reaching developments which we hope will lead us to more relaxed international relations based on an ever-growing confidence and co-operation between States. These past two years have, in fact largely coincided with the process of *détente* to which our Secretary-General refers in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization.<sup>2</sup>

86. The Secretary-General rightly discerned two encouraging trends in international affairs. Apart from the development of *détente* among the great Powers, he mentions the efforts by the international community to co-operate in tackling, through the United Nations system, some of the great long-term problems of our planet. Even to attempt to solve these problems requires a climate of peace and security, and it is by no means surprising that the item on the strengthening of international security should, for the past four years, have struck such a responsive chord in this Committee, and especially amongst the represen-

tatives of the smaller and medium Powers. The first and foremost principles of the Charter of the United Nations speak of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and of maintaining international peace and security. These principles are also the spirit animating the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

87. If, 25 years after the founding of the United Nations, it was necessary for the General Assembly to reaffirm such basic principles in the Declaration, the reason is obvious. The history of those 25 years does not reveal too faithful an adherence by States to the principles to which they were pledged. Perhaps perfection is a goal we must continuously strive towards, yet never attain. If so, it is very necessary that the ultimate goal, the ideal, be constantly held up for our inspiration. It was in this spirit that my delegation welcomed and co-sponsored General Assembly resolution 2880 (XXVI) adopted last year on the item before us. That resolution not only reminded us all of our basic obligations but, as befits a dynamic and living Organization, rightly sought to refine and to interpret so as to indicate with greater precision the obligations of States under the growing concept of international morality. For international security can be strengthened only in the same measure that international morality gains ground. As the Secretary-General says in his report on the item in question:

"If we expect the United Nations to play a crucial and meaningful role in the complex relationship among States, then we must exert greater efforts to make it more relevant to the manifold social, economic, political and security problems of our times." [*A/8775, para. 7.*]

In the same report, the Secretary-General goes on to say:

"The implementation in its entirety of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security would certainly bring a decisive contribution to the establishment among all States . . . of new relations based on equality and mutual respect towards each other . . ."  
[*Ibid., para. 10.*]

88. The paramount importance with which the strengthening of international security is viewed by Member States is shown clearly, not only by the exhaustive debate which this Committee has conducted again this year but also by the parallel, though wider, debate which has taken place in plenary meeting with regard to the new item, first proposed by the Romanian delegation, concerning the strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations, and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States. My delegation warmly welcomed that initiative, for we clearly perceive that the strengthening of the role of the United Nations is the best guarantee towards ensuring the full implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

89. Some days ago in this Committee the Chairman recalled to our memory the ninth anniversary of that tragic day in November which saw the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. If I may, I should like to adapt one of

<sup>1</sup> Declaration adopted at Lima on 7 November 1971 by the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven Developing Countries.

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

the most quoted utterances of that world statesman and urge States Members of the United Nations, large or small, to be guided in our attitudes towards the Organization not so much by asking ourselves what it can do for us, but rather what each and every one of us can do for the Organization. Too often in the past have promising opportunities been lost because national self-interest, narrowly conceived, was placed before the international well-being.

90. Many speakers before me have attempted to draw up a balance sheet, as it were, of the state of international security by listing the positive events of the past 12 months and weighing them against the negative elements. I shall not bore the Committee by repeating this well-known analysis, and I shall confine myself to observing that the list on the debit, or negative, side—though varying from one speaker to another—always comes out longer than the credit or positive side. Whatever the composition of the negative list, those long-standing hotbeds of conflict and tension—Indo-China, the Middle East and southern Africa—always figure prominently. When speaking of the strengthening of international security, let us not forget that to the peoples of these areas international security is still an empty phrase. First priority for these peoples lies in the cessation of bombing and shelling, of the aggressive policies of colonialism and *apartheid*, and in the return of usurped lands, accompanied by the establishment of recognized borders. While the ultimate aim of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is the better enjoyment of the fruits of peace, it cannot even begin to be implemented so long as millions continue to groan under the horrors of war and conflict and to languish under the heel of colonialism and *apartheid*. In this shrinking world of ours, international security is not clearly divisible. It must extend to all or to none at all; there is no half-way stage.

91. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is a carefully drawn up document which constitutes, in its totality, an effective blueprint for the achievement of the necessary conditions to permit all nations to live together in harmony and peace. Because of that, the view may perhaps be held in certain quarters that the last word has been said on the subject and that any further resolutions would be superfluous. My delegation does not share this view. We believe that, in accordance with the dynamics of international life, the United Nations should not shrink from the duty of continually reaffirming and, where necessary, stressing and clarifying certain principles which—in the light of the prevailing situation—appear to require particular attention. Such perhaps is the case with regard to paragraph 19 of the Declaration, which recognized the close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and economic development, and of paragraph 25, which commended the promotion of regional, subregional and bilateral co-operation among States. With regard to the first, I would recall that resolution 2880 (XXVI), adopted last year, specifically mentioned, in paragraph 8, the important principle of collective economic security, in recognition of the fact that the security of nations cannot be divorced from their economic well-being. Moreover, it again stressed the connexion between disarmament, international security and development, and affirmed that a substantial portion of the savings derived from disarmament measures should be

devoted to promoting economic and social development. It is therefore appropriate that this Committee should have taken up the item on the strengthening of international security immediately following our exhaustive debate on disarmament matters.

92. With regard to the promotion of regional co-operation between States in the context of efforts aimed at strengthening international security, it is obvious that this aspect is today becoming more widely recognized. The Declaration adopted at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown from 8 to 11 August 1972, which carries considerable importance as voicing the preoccupations of the great majority of mankind, specifically endorsed regional collective efforts. With specific reference to that part of the world where my country is situated, the Mediterranean, the Georgetown Declaration also stressed that efforts to lessen tension and increase co-operation among European countries could not acquire real significance unless it also took into account the situation in the Mediterranean, which is the pivotal link between the European continent and one of the remaining hotbeds of conflict and tension, the Middle East. My Government is fully cognizant of this link, and it has in fact repeatedly stressed the necessity of including the problems of the Mediterranean in the current talks taking place in Helsinki on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

93. In my statement at the present session of the General Assembly, in the general debate, I stated

“... it is our conviction that European security will not be completely achieved unless it is extended to the entire Mediterranean basin and accompanied by economic co-operation with all the countries of the region.” [2061st plenary meeting, para. 225.]

The part played by Malta in promoting regional co-operation between Mediterranean States is also evident from the initiatives we have taken this year, first in convening last July a meeting of Mediterranean States members of the United Nations sea-bed Committee to discuss matters of common concern with regard to the Mediterranean, and again last month in acting as host to a meeting between the Foreign Ministers of Italy, Libya, Tunisia and Malta to discuss a number of common problems affecting us all as Mediterranean States. Further meetings between these four States have been agreed to and the first such meeting will in fact take place in Malta during the next few days. In addition, of course, Malta has for the past three years been the host of the *Pacem in Maribus* conferences, which have, it is hoped, made a valid contribution to the future elaboration of international law concerning the seas.

94. During this debate certain delegations have also referred to the call emanating from the Georgetown Conference regarding the question of foreign military bases in various parts of the world, particularly those established or maintained against the express wish of the countries concerned. In this connexion I should like to emphasize that my Government fully shares the sentiments expressed by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries. If in the meantime we continue to provide military facilities on Malta itself to a foreign Power, let me repeat that, as my



Prime Minister has stated publicly on several occasions, we do so because of dire economic necessity and not from ideological conviction. After having been economically dependent for centuries on the provision of military facilities for the occupying Power, it was simply not possible to transform our economy overnight into one based exclusively on industrial and commercial activities. The provision of military facilities by Malta is in fact envisaged as coming to an end in 1979, and it is the confident hope of my Government that by then we shall have sufficiently developed our infrastructure and expanded our peacetime economic activity to the point that we shall no longer have to rely upon foreign subventions in exchange for the provision of military facilities.

95. I must stress that a token of our intentions was given last year already when we requested, and obtained, the removal from Malta of the former NATO headquarters there. Moreover, in recent weeks a foreign broadcasting service which has a relay station in Malta was made to remove that installation in view of our policy of strict neutrality in the Middle East conflict. All this reflects my Government's deep concern that Malta should never be an instrument of discord in the Mediterranean, but always and exclusively a promoter of peace.

96. I have referred to the modest contribution which my country, within its very limited capacity, has made and continues to make towards the strengthening of international security. Certainly, however, we are among the first to realize that all regional efforts—and there are many other instances, of which perhaps the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace are the most topical—must be complemented by a universal striving on the part of us all to explore every possible avenue so that the cause of justice, freedom and international security will eventually prevail.

97. It is in that spirit that my delegation has decided to add its name to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, which has just been so ably introduced by the representative of Zambia.

98. The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will note that Malta has now become sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640.

99. Mr. MABATHOANA (Lesotho): The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] is a matter of fundamental importance for all States, whether large, medium-sized or small. Perhaps it is of particular importance to the medium-sized and small States because the Declaration recognizes the right of these States to participate in the international political system.

100. This is a departure from the rigid bipolar system which assigned roles to the so-called super-Powers and none at all to the medium-sized and small States, except as mere pawns in the power game. The recent agreement between the two Germanys, the beginning of talks between the two Koreas, and the multilateral preparatory talks for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Helsinki are but a few examples of the opportunities for peace which have arisen since the abandonment of the rigid

bipolar system. It is possible that we now stand at the threshold of a completely new era in relations among nations, in which all States and all regions can participate equally in the decision-making process.

101. My delegation has always been of the opinion that the view from the mountain top must somehow overlook some important details which could be observed from the bottom of the valley. For over 20 years issues have been viewed from the pinnacles of Moscow and Washington. We are convinced that there must have been distortions arising from a lack of perspective. We are equally convinced that international peace and security would remain unattainable if any State or group of States sought to impose its views on the rest of us without regard to the principle of the sovereign equality of States.

102. In our view that is one of the most significant features of the Declaration, as it recognizes this fundamental principle of the equality of States provided for in the Charter.

103. Several delegations that have spoken before me have expressed disappointment at the slow pace of the solving of issues relating to international peace and security. My delegation shares their concern. We believe that we must continually remind ourselves that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security constitutes an organic whole which needs to be implemented in its entirety through the full use of United Nations machinery and capabilities, as stated in General Assembly resolution 2880 (XXVI).

104. While we recognize the importance of recent initiatives in the areas of disarmament and regional security agreements, we are disheartened at the relatively low priority which is accorded the over-all question of racial discrimination in the world today. Racial discrimination is truly one of the great cancers within States and in relations among States. We feel constrained to insist that it would be futile to pursue broad questions of disarmament, peace and security if we do not at the same time intensify our efforts to rid the world of racism. New acts of international terrorism today derive specifically from policies of racism, and unless we eliminate the causes of this cancer it is doubtful whether any effective control of terrorism will be found.

105. Similarly, our Organization has to look at the unresolved questions of colonialism in southern Africa with a renewed sense of urgency. In particular, sufficient pressure should be brought to bear on all parties to accept offers of peaceful change. The recent Security Council resolution on the question of Territories under Portuguese domination [*resolution 312 (1972)*] deserves the active support of the Members of this Organization. It must not be allowed to remain unimplemented, as has happened to so many other United Nations resolutions concerning colonialism.

106. The burning questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the *apartheid* policy of South Africa cry out for solutions, and the failure to respond positively and constructively threatens international peace. Of one thing we can be sure, namely, that so many men and women

cannot be expected to acquiesce in the denial of their fundamental human rights. While on the problem of decolonization, I should like to state categorically that my Government is totally opposed to the acquisition and retention of any territory by force of arms.

107. In our approach to the strengthening of international security, we have always recognized the close links between peace, disarmament and economic development, especially of the developing countries. Just as inequitable distribution of wealth in any one State could give rise to tension, inequitable distribution of the benefits of development can be a source of international friction. We are concerned that economic development should be viewed in a genuinely co-operative fashion. International peace and security demand that the agreements made between developed and developing countries should be scrupulously fair and equitable. It is just as important that, as we chart new frontiers of economic activity such as the exploitation of resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, we should seek to give concrete meaning to the sound principle that these resources are the common heritage of mankind.

108. While on the subject of economic activity, my delegation would hope that more serious attention will be given to direct major industrial activities towards peaceful activities rather than the production of war materials. So long as we have industrial systems which are dominated by military industrial complexes, we can look forward to recurring periods of turbulence on the international scene.

109. We believe that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security provides an appropriate framework for the further pursuit of general and complete disarmament.

110. There are certain types of weapons on which my delegation cannot compromise. In this category we would include nuclear weapons as well as bacteriological and chemical weapons such as napalm. We welcome the progress that is being made in the efforts first of all to limit the production of, and secondly to eliminate, bacteriological weapons. We hope that corresponding success will be attained with regard to chemical weapons and with nuclear weapons. We shall always support resolutions on the substantive question of disarmament, but we would at the same time stress the need for the creation of conditions which will provide for all parties concerned the feeling of absolute security and freedom from fear.

111. My delegation considers that one of the cardinal principles of peace and security is the preparedness of

States either individually or collectively to accommodate to change. Rigid adherence to positions that are no longer tenable can hardly be expected to foster peace. It is therefore important that there should always be an opportunity to identify specific areas which are ripe for change within the context of comprehensive debate and universal participation. To this end my delegation would support steps towards the convening of a world disarmament conference. Peace, international security and disarmament are in our opinion indivisible and inseparable, and we believe that the best chance of success is in pursuing all the relevant elements stated in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and in the Charter of the United Nations.

112. It would be a very serious omission, Mr. Chairman, if, when concluding my address, I did not congratulate you on the magnificent and skilful manner in which you have guided our deliberations. Your sense of humour has rightly contributed towards the lessening of tensions in the First Committee. I would also like to pay the same tribute to the other officers of the Committee, whose efficiency has contributed greatly to the smooth running and rapid progress of our Committee.

#### *Organization of work*

113. The CHAIRMAN: As members of the Committee are aware, we had hoped to conclude our work today. Since this has not been possible, and taking into account the work remaining to be completed, I should like to propose that we hold two meetings next Monday and two meetings on Tuesday. If the Committee is not able to complete its work by the afternoon meeting on Tuesday, we shall definitely have a night meeting on that day. I am sure that with the co-operation of members it will be possible to avoid a night meeting on Tuesday.

114. With regard to the Peruvian draft resolution on the sea-bed item, I would suggest that we consider it at the end of the morning meeting on Monday. The representative of Peru has stated that it can be dealt with in two or three minutes. However, I shall be glad to allocate 30 minutes to the consideration of that draft resolution.

115. If I hear no comments, I shall take it that this programme is acceptable to the Committee.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 6 p. m.*