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Chairman: Mr. Milko TARABANOV (Bulgaria).

AGENDA ITEM 34 (*continued*)

Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security: report of the Secretary-General
(A/8431 and Add.1-4, A/C.1/1015, A/C.1/L.566 and
567)

1. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): Before I start my statement I should like to express to the delegation of India my delegation's sincere condolences and sympathy in connexion with the natural disaster that has struck that friendly country. I am speaking of the cyclone and tidal wave that have caused such a loss of life and property. I hope that as usual the United Nations will see to it some help is channelled from this Organization, as we have done in similar cases.

2. I should also like to express our sympathy to the delegation of Romania regarding the coal-mine explosion in that country and the resultant loss of life.

3. Since this is the first time my delegation has taken the floor in this Committee I consider it a most pleasant duty to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your unanimous election to this very important post. During your service as the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the United Nations, our close friendship and collaboration gave me the privilege of personally witnessing your high qualities, which, I am sure, will direct our deliberations in this Committee towards a successful conclusion. At the same time I should also like to congratulate the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Ramphul, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo, whose unanimous election to office are further assurances of the success of our work.

4. Achievement of international peace and security for all nations, large and small alike, is the primary concern of mankind and it naturally constitutes the main task and objective of the United Nations.

5. As a guiding principle of its foreign policy, my country, Turkey, has always attached the utmost importance to the establishment of a lasting international order based on peace, security and justice. My delegation therefore welcomed with appreciation the initiative taken by the Soviet

delegation during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly for a comprehensive review of international security.

6. Our views on this question were subsequently expressed in the reply of the Turkish Government to the Secretary-General¹ and the importance we attached to it was highlighted in the following terms:

“The Government of Turkey believes that there is a close relationship between national security, which is the principal goal of each country's foreign policy, and the security requirements of the international community. Consequently, these two requirements should be harmonized and made to coincide to the greatest extent possible. It is for this reason that Turkey regards international security as contributing to its own security. It is also for this reason that the guiding principle of its foreign policy has been ‘Peace at home and peace in the world’.”

7. In line with that policy Turkey, as one of the founding Members of the United Nations, continued to do its utmost to further the cause of security by adhering scrupulously to the provisions of our Charter and helped, within its possibilities, to promote international co-operation in this field.

8. During the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly we had a further comprehensive discussion on the ways and means to strengthen international security. Those discussions culminated in the virtually unanimous adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which my delegation welcomed as an important step forward and an expression of the common desire and aspiration of Member States to further the cause of international security. In that Declaration the Secretary-General was asked to submit a report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly on steps taken in pursuance of the said Declaration. My Government's reply to the Secretary-General regarding some of the steps taken in line with the provisions of that Declaration are included in the report of the Secretary-General [*see A/8431*] and I shall therefore not elaborate upon them.

9. When we speak of such vital problems as international security, I think that an objective and realistic appraisal must be made of all the facts and developments connected with the problem. No matter how perfect and inspiring a document may be, an over-all look at the present world situation reveals that the realities lag, unfortunately, far behind our words. It is indeed a source of regret for us to observe that many principles of the Charter are far from

¹ See document A/7922.

being fully implemented. Territories acquired through the use of force, in violation of the Charter, still remain under foreign control. *Faits accomplis* are still resorted to in imposing unilateral solutions to international disputes. In spite of achievements in eliminating colonialism, many peoples are still deprived of their inalienable rights of freedom and independence and have to endure living under the yoke of colonialism and racial discrimination. More than that, under the cloak of the noble principles of our Charter, there exist—through their perversion, of course—open or veiled attempts to deprive peoples of their independence or to recolonize them.

10. However, not all parts of the picture are as gloomy as that. Despite the continuance of the unsatisfactory situation in the Middle East, we have witnessed positive developments in the political atmosphere in some regions of the world in general, and in Europe in particular. In this connexion, I should like to associate myself with the permanent representative of Iran, Mr. Hoveyda, who at the 1808th meeting very appropriately underlined the important and effective role that regional actions could play in contributing to better international co-operation, and hence to peace and security. In fact, as the representative of Iran mentioned, the positive results achieved by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan within the framework of the Organization of Regional Co-operation for Development are, I believe, good examples of such collaboration.

11. The potentialities of the United Nations in the maintenance and strengthening of international security still remain to be fully exploited. Furthermore, in our age, rapid economic, social and technological developments are having an increasing effect on international relations. These new dimensions in international relations not only urge us to make the United Nations a more effective instrument—so that the ideals of our Charter can prevail—but also offer our Organization an opportunity to assume a more responsible role. The achievement of universality is an essential element in strengthening the United Nations. In this respect the participation of the People's Republic of China, permitting the representation of one quarter of the world population, is a major step to this end. This development provides the United Nations with an opportunity to exploit its full potential in facing the challenges which I have touched upon very briefly.

12. From the debate that has taken place so far in the First Committee, it is clear that in order to eliminate the ills of international life we must abide sincerely by the purposes and principles of our Charter and give a wider chance of application to its provisions and to the provisions of the Declaration. I shall try not to be repetitious and shall therefore refrain from dwelling on the points which have been taken up in the interventions already made by representatives in this Committee. Allow me, therefore, to elaborate a certain aspect of the question which, I believe, requires further consideration and attention.

13. Ever since the Second World War the States have generally tried to solve their international disputes through political means; this is an observation. In most of the cases even disputes of a legal character are subjected to politically motivated actions. The present world situation, I believe, is evidence of our mistakes in adhering to such an approach in

the settlement of disputes. Indeed, peace and security are threatened by an increasing number of disputes, the solutions to which are quite remote. In such a situation, I think that it is time for all of us to consider carefully legal and juridical ways and means, instead of purely political ones, of finding solutions to the many disputes which beset the political scene. As in the domestic field, we should strive also in the international field to reach a stage of wisdom such as to give us a better chance of solving our disputes peacefully and according to objective international norms.

14. However, such an approach to the maintenance of peace and security necessitates, above all, an earnest acquiescence in the principle of the supremacy of law in international relations.

15. If we fail to replace power politics by the supremacy of law, if we fail to replace respect for power by respect for law, then I am afraid that all our intentions and efforts to achieve real international security will vanish in the wilderness of international disarrays, like building on sand. The principle of the supremacy of law is duly enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, to which we believe the time has come to pay closer attention. The Charter indeed reaffirms the determination of our peoples—the peoples of the United Nations—“to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained” and “to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security”.

16. However, peace and security based on the supremacy of law cannot be imposed by a certain authority, but can be created gradually through our harmonized efforts towards this end. To achieve this goal we should respect our obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law as required by the Charter. Failure in this respect will create chaos in which only the law of the jungle will prevail. Respect for international commitments is a prerequisite in the creation of an atmosphere of confidence that will ultimately lead the international community to a more orderly process, in which peace and security would be the foremost beneficiaries.

17. In this connexion I should like to emphasize the importance of the International Court of Justice as an instrument to promote international order based on law and justice. If the Court suffers certain weaknesses, it is mainly because we do not make use of it for the purposes for which it was founded. Indeed, it is disquieting to observe a decrease compared to the figures of the pre-war period, both in the number of States accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court and in the number of cases brought to the Court. In the Declaration which we adopted last year we pronounced ourselves in the following manner: “the Security Council in dealing with such disputes or situations should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court”.

18. My delegation most heartily welcomed this provision as a new impetus to revitalize the role of the International

Court of Justice in creating a world order based on law and justice.

19. In order to promote the role of the Court, we believe that a special committee should be formed to study the ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of this international institution. My delegation will elaborate its views on this specific question when it is taken up in the Committee dealing with its legal questions during this session.

20. Turkey, since the San Francisco Conference, has supported the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in accordance with Article 36 (2) of its Statute. It is my delegation's conviction that the establishment of an international order based on law would have been greatly assisted if all Member States had adopted a similar attitude vis-à-vis the Court and had shown the same degree of respect for international law and its sources.

21. As I mentioned earlier, the question that I have just dwelt upon is one of the important aspects which would serve the cause of international peace and security.

22. When I began my statement I emphasized the vital importance of international security. At this point it would be only appropriate—even at the risk of being somewhat repetitious—to mention the fact that the promotion of the cause of international security is closely linked with some cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, the implementation of which requires more than a mere rededication to them. It is simply imperative that they be implemented in good faith and without discrimination. Indeed, the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international security require, more than anything else, genuine respect for international law as well as the realization of general and complete disarmament, the closing of the economic gap between the developed and developing countries, elimination of colonialism in all its shapes and all kinds of racial discrimination, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the elimination of the threat or use of force.

23. Our deliberations on this agenda item last year were crowned with success by our adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which, while providing us with guidelines on all aspects of international security, at the same time reflected in its entirety the balance of the principles of our Charter.

24. I trust that in its wisdom our Committee's conclusion of this agenda item this year will equally reflect the unanimous dedication to the Declaration without altering its delicate balance and also the determination to exploit all possibilities for a full implementation of it.

25. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): The news of the tragedy resulting from the typhoon and flooding in India and the consequent loss of lives and property has been received by my delegation with deep regret and, on behalf of the Government and people of Liberia, we wish to extend our deepest sympathy to the Indian delegation and through them to the Government and people of India for this great loss.

26. Mr. Chairman, it gives me special pleasure, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you our sincere congratulations on your election to your high post. I wish to assure you that we all feel privileged to have you as the Chairman of the First Committee. Your many, very brilliant achievements as a distinguished diplomat and one who comes from a country of culture with very rich traditions, marked by the life work of great scholars and artists, and one who exemplifies a spirit of friendliness and a personality of good cheer by which you have endeared yourself to your many colleagues here at the United Nations, as well as your conscientious and unshakable devotion to the aims and principles of the United Nations, will, I am sure, enable you to guide the work of this Committee to a successful conclusion. I wish also to convey our congratulations to our brother and friend, Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius, and our colleague, Minister Migliuolo of Italy, on their election as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively; we pledge to you, Sir, and to them the full co-operation of my delegation. A word of thanks and appreciation is also extended to the Under-Secretary and to the entire Secretariat for their diligence and devotion to duty and to our interpreters without whom the work of the Committee could not proceed as efficiently as we would wish.

27. On 14 October, when we started the debate on item 34 in this Committee, my delegation shared the views expressed by our colleague, Ambassador Fack of the Netherlands, at the 1804th meeting that it did not seem necessary to introduce a new resolution at this time; that is why we requested that our intervention should be towards the end of the consideration of this important question, so as to give us some time to evaluate the situation. Our position was one of concern at the fact that the United Nations had over the past years adopted many resolutions of great importance and that most of these had not been fully implemented. We therefore felt that, in order to co-ordinate our efforts and give real meaning to some of the important resolutions adopted by this and other Committees of the United Nations, a study should be authorized to submit recommendations on priorities in order that we might be brought up to date on positive decisions which may now be necessary for consideration and prompt implementation. That report, we felt, should be submitted to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly for consideration. This view has, nonetheless, been greatly revised and heartened by events within the past few weeks. The Liberian delegation feels rather optimistic about the future and wishes to go on record, as we did at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly when, speaking on behalf of my delegation on disarmament, I said:

“We were all very pleased when the USSR, realizing the consequences involved, took the initiative and introduced at the twenty-fourth session an appeal calling for the strengthening of international peace and security. That initiative on the part of the USSR is most welcome and, we hope, will be unanimously endorsed by the General Assembly at the beginning of this decade as a historic step in endeavouring to build up the type of confidence to which I previously referred.” [1758th meeting, para. 170.]

28. While that debate was taking place, President Nixon announced that the United States would destroy all of its

bacteriological weapons; and since that memorable pronouncement not only have we witnessed a steady but gradual improvement in the relationship of the two super-Powers, but the United States has also committed itself and pledged itself to work constructively for the cause of international security and has worked towards the promotion of peace in the Middle East and South-East Asia. The involvement of the Soviet Union and the United States in varying degrees in trying to maintain world peace and security gives the smaller nations, in particular, added assurances that these great Powers, directly responsible for preserving world peace, conscious of their responsibility for the maintenance of the international *status quo*, will continue to set the guidelines and make firm their declared willingness to see the memorable Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] fully implemented and peace fully realized.

29. The unanimity in the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contributed to the historic end of the first 25 years of the founding of the United Nations and thereby made this Declaration one of great historical significance. Now that the Soviet Union has again introduced for further consideration the draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [A/C.1/L.566], we would wish again to give credit to it, as we did at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, for its continuing concern for world peace and security.

30. Our colleague, the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, in his opening statement at the 1804th meeting, quoted Mr. Kosygin as saying that the struggle for the implementation of the programme of peace was the focus of the Soviet State's international activities. This was most welcome news, thereby giving full support to the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. With these positive developments in the international situation we have followed with great interest and satisfaction the visits to foreign capitals of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the results therefrom. We were also pleased with the bold decision of President Nixon to visit both Peking and Moscow and the recent admission of the People's Republic of China.

31. These indications will in reality help to strengthen international peace and security, and on this occasion my delegation wishes to take the opportunity to extend a sincere welcome to the People's Republic of China and hopes that with its admission to the United Nations as the third big Power the United Nations can now turn its attention to the real issues of world peace and brotherhood.

32. Speaking on behalf of my country both as a founding Member of the United Nations and as a small nation whose peace efforts are well known, the late Mr. Tubman throughout his 27 years as President of Liberia advocated and fought for the promotion of peace and goodwill among all peoples. Happily, our new President, Mr. William Tolbert, has, like his predecessor, rededicated himself to continuing the search for peace and has pledged his efforts in advocating the strengthening of world peace and the universality of nations.

33. My Government's deep concern and full support for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening

of International Peace and Security with a view to the early evolution of a world order in which tranquillity and reasonable economic stability is based on justice and equality, is evidenced by President Tolbert of Liberia in a policy statement made on United Nations Day, when he said:

“Positive action may save the United Nations, for at such a time as this our responsibility to uphold the Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations through positive examples at home and abroad and through consistent action in the Councils of Nations must be fully appreciated, vigorously pursued and firmly renewed.”

He went on to say:

“We must seek to uphold and defend life, liberty, property and the basic freedoms and preserve human rights and justice. Let us and the nations of the world not forget that by overt, unlawful and hasty actions, which directly or indirectly violate the Charter, the United Nations renders itself woefully inadequate to prevent effective threats to peace. Thus it becomes incumbent upon us to bring moral persuasion on all nations, big and small, appealing to them to do all in their power to strengthen the United Nations in its efforts at warding off threats to world peace and to do nothing which will hasten the collapse of world order which may bring on mankind the scourges of an atomic avalanche that could destroy this and future generations of mankind.”

34. Shortly after his assumption of the office of President, Mr. Tolbert personally visited the three neighbouring countries, the Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone and Guinea, to re-establish and affirm a sincere brotherly relationship and to pledge his efforts in helping to maintain peace not only within this immediate area but throughout Africa and the world. Africa is aware of its role in the galaxy of nations and in the important field of peace and international security. Liberia has always played its part in seeking ways and means whereby peace and security can be brought to all areas of the world. This, as my colleagues have already mentioned, was fully supported at the recent meeting at Kinshasa and in the sub-committee set up by the last meeting of the Organization of African Unity, whereby four heads of State, including the President of Liberia, would go to the Arab Republic of Egypt and to Israel in an effort to find ways to resolve the Middle East crisis. The tension in Asia can very well be lessened by the visits of the Prime Minister of India to Britain and the United States, and President Nixon's visit to Peking early next year.

35. As we attempt to review some of the achievements since the unanimous adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at our twenty-fifth anniversary session commemorating the founding of the United Nations, we must admit that a great deal of progress has been made, by which we should be greatly heartened. The following are among the more important aspects of that progress.

36. First, the recent four-Power agreement on Berlin and the successful agreements negotiated between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the one

hand, and the agreement between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other, justify the expected normalization of West and East *détente* in Europe.

37. Secondly, the agreement of Mr. Brezhnev, during his Paris visit, to visit East Berlin in order to urge early ratification of the agreement between East and West Germany is certainly a hopeful sign and will doubtless help to reduce tension not only between those two countries but also between East and West Europe.

38. Thirdly, the statement by Ambassador Malik of the Soviet Union at the 1809th meeting to the effect that his country "will work for an end to nuclear weapons tests, including underground tests by everyone everywhere" is a great step in the right direction, and we all hope that this is just the beginning of more positive actions by the USSR.

39. Fourthly, His Excellency the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Winiewicz, at the 1805th meeting, when he tried to outline a blueprint for peace in Europe, said, among many other things, that the international situation in 1971 seemed brighter and that Poland, together with the USSR and other socialist countries, had been sparing no efforts to contribute, within its own means, towards the construction of permanent foundations for security in Europe.

40. Fifthly, the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations makes possible the complete involvement of the three big Powers to whom we look for the maintenance of peace and security in our world.

41. Sixthly, the anticipated visits of President Nixon of the United States to Peking and Moscow, which must not be underestimated in terms of importance to world peace and security, the easing of tensions between East and West and the development of a rapprochement, of better and mutual understanding on world problems, are definite signs that the anachronistic power politics of today's world can be abandoned in the future.

42. The Liberian delegation has elected not to go into detail on this item because the points I have just outlined speak for themselves. It is, however, giving serious consideration to this important matter and will make every effort to foster its realization. As the language of the Declaration suggests that urgent and concerted international action aimed at reducing as soon as possible the economic gap between developed and developing countries is essentially related to the strengthening of peace and international security, my delegation feels that this must be one of the prerequisites for easing world suffering and devastation.

43. The recent visit to Paris, on 25 October, of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, when he and President Pompidou of France—two great world leaders—reaffirmed their conviction that a conference on security and co-operation was important to ensure a peaceful equilibrium in Europe, an equilibrium based not on equality through terror but on equality through mutual knowledge, active co-operation and the rapprochement of men, not only in Europe but the world over, was heartily welcomed.

44. With these basic optimistic feelings of assurance I feel that, without the full recognition of the need to review the present structure of the Security Council, with special reference to Article 25 of the Charter and respect thereof in so far as the Council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security is concerned, it would, in the opinion of my delegation, be difficult to achieve the goals we are now seeking to attain.

45. In order to lay a more solid basis for peace on any planet we must avoid the unrealistic and sentimental approach to those grave problems which affect the rights of peoples everywhere.

46. As we come to the end of this important debate I repeat that my delegation wishes to urge and appeal to all Member States to do whatever is possible to help support and enhance this Organization, for without the United Nations, the only bastion of hope for the world, the efforts which we exert here and the many man-hours we spend in debating this and other important questions will be fruitless.

47. May the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly go down in world history, with the admission of the People's Republic of China, as the beginning of a new era of hope and the beginning of substantial progress in the reduction of tension and the promotion of world peace and brotherhood.

48. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Burundi is gratified at the decision of the Committee to elect you, Mr. Chairman. For a number of years we have had the pleasure of working side by side with you and have learned to admire you. We are therefore happy to take the floor now under your chairmanship. We also wish to extend our congratulations to our brother, Ambassador Ramphul, the Vice-Chairman, who I know is giving you invaluable assistance in your work.

49. We would also like to express our admiration for the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, who has very often, both here and in the Security Council, demonstrated his devotion to peace.

50. The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] is a matter of capital importance. The incomparable price that we attach to peace and security compelled us to devote to this subject an important chapter in our statement at the 1965th plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

51. Peace and security are incomparable treasures. Peace and security are such a treasure to mankind that no price can be placed upon them. Nothing in the world has given rise to such long-lasting and universal aspirations. A broad and planetary vision of peace and security is essential in order to galvanize world public opinion and channel efforts to cope with all sources of international conflicts.

52. The confrontation of nuclear behemoths creates a terrifying spectre. Thus, frightened by the possibility of a nuclear war, Albert Einstein was quite right when he

defended the principle of a world State, which he felt would be the only way in which the most terrible danger confronting mankind could be eliminated. But, alas, since that memorable profession of faith, mankind has been forced to learn to live with the balance of terror, and in order for that balance to be maintained, bombs have been stockpiled in the arsenals of the members of the atomic club.

53. A universal vision of peace and security demonstrates that true general and complete disarmament must not and cannot be limited simply to the elimination or reduction of stockpiles of nuclear or conventional weapons. It is equally important that we deal with other sources of regional, international or even national disputes. In the latter categories we would place racial and colonial wars. We would also include the economic abandonment of the third world and the technological nightmare. But in order to become a true panacea, the safeguarding of peace and security must cover five fields, which I shall enumerate and describe in my statement. The efforts made by Governments to ensure security, whether on an international or a continental level, are such as to deserve our praise, but in order to achieve our objective the resources required by such an initiative and the joint efforts must be considered in a five-fold front.

54. Security itself is both indivisible and universal; therefore the quest for peace becomes a joint undertaking which calls for universality in the acts and decisions of our Organization more than is required by any other of its missions. Mankind being the collective beneficiary of peace, or the collective victim of insecurity, we hardly need stress that all Members should participate in the creation of a world safe from the nuclear threat, as well as from any other evil. Therefore, any tendency towards exclusiveness in the search for security must be discarded and rejected, since it is doomed to failure. It would be equally wrong to advocate, as a right or a discretionary power, that some States be invited to negotiate peace and that others be debarred from doing so since man's destiny is an indivisible whole and as such calls for a contribution from all countries, both in the maintenance and in the restoration of peace. Therefore mankind must act in unison.

55. With respect to the axioms of international security, before and after the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security the Republic of Burundi took as the golden rule of its foreign policy the concept of peace at any price, both within and beyond our frontiers. Moved by a principle which we cherish and venerate, the Government of Burundi, although it does not possess nuclear weapons, considers that it is not essential to possess such weapons in order to uphold the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

56. In this general approach, any tendency to shirk the obligations contained in the historic text—because of not possessing nuclear weapons—would be an undeniable deception. There are other ways of undermining security, such as warlike attitudes which very often degenerate into open warfare, threats of war, hostile acts, open or covert obstacles to regional co-operation and foreign interference in matters exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of States.

57. The global offensive undertaken by my Government with the well-defined goal of safeguarding peace and security is better demonstrated not by the mere practice of a good-neighbour policy but by dynamic fraternization with all States near to us and by a close co-operation with those that are more remote.

58. Thus the Republic of Burundi has carefully nurtured a regional climate imbued with fraternal harmony in Central and East Africa. This, better than anything else, bears witness to our unshakable attachment to a peaceful balance among nations and is in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the objectives and the ideals of the Charter.

59. The part played by each country along these lines is important, but, in the last analysis, the overwhelming burden rests on the great Powers because of their nuclear panoply. They assume in the highest degree the moral obligation to stand as models in the strict respect of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Apart from their moral responsibility, the destructive potential contained in the nuclear Powers' arsenals surely indicates that they must be the first to launch the process of disarmament and military disengagement. Therefore, the denuclearization of our planet must be the top priority to which the United Nations must address itself. It is all the more imperative since the nuclear arms race is consuming resources and energies that should be devoted to other far more salutary fields of human endeavour.

60. Entangled in a strange paradox, man is thus absorbed in the accumulation of catastrophic weapons while at the same time shrinking from other scourges, such as the chronic under-development of the third world, the grave danger to the human environment and the ravages caused by colonization and racial fury in southern Africa.

61. The Declaration whose implementation we advocate may well remain a dead letter for all time if, side by side with their apparent zest for peace, Governments continue to rival one another in building their military establishments. The rapid growth of these arsenals, far from presaging concrete measures for international security, is rather tantamount to a retrograde movement contrary to any notion of peace. It is amazing to note the shortsightedness of this nuclear competition. This sad reality, as obvious as it is, seems not to have been noticed by the nuclear Powers. Do they pretend to ignore that, at the worst, this situation makes of them the main and direct targets of an eventual nuclear conflagration? Inter-continental ballistic missiles and nuclear warheads are, when all is said and done, aimed at nuclear States. But it follows that, *mutatis mutandis*, although the dangers incurred are identical for all of mankind, it is those who possess these fatal weapons that will suffer the most from any nuclear confrontation.

62. It would be a Utopian dream to seek security without satisfying economic needs. If we truly care for the third world, it is easy to establish a close relationship between security and economic development or between insecurity and want. Our future—and especially that of the rising generation, which has already begun to reproach us—is therefore already threatened by two catastrophes which a mere 50 years ago would have been unthinkable: the

atomic apocalypse and the revolt of a despairing third world. These are two tragedies towards which the world is apparently blindly moving.

63. How alarming it is to witness a striking paradox where famine besets inter-tropical countries while the Europe of the Six, shaken by rural unrest, launches a Mansholt Plan aimed at "harmoniously" reducing its agricultural production. That is but one example of many. In a world flaunting technical power and material glory in the face of humiliating penury, the world Organization must awaken the conscience of all States. A world wallowing in opulence may unleash a savage revolt in the world of the hungry—the planetary conflict that might well result from the widening of the gap separating the rich world from the poor third world. Has it not impelled François Penoux to advocate a global approach to economics?

64. If a series of useful measures are being envisaged to achieve disarmament, it is in order to save human lives from atomic hecatombs.

65. While the fact that nuclear weapons most threaten our species cannot be denied, they are not alone, however, in threatening human lives. Millions of human beings are the victims of natural disasters and political events, and they succumb either because they lack food, clothing or housing. These are conditions or causes of death—even worse, they decimate entire populations or obliterate vast regions.

66. Such tragic situations cannot but move even the hardest of hearts. It is true that cases in this category are, to a large extent, due to political or social circumstances of one country or another and are usually limited to a single continent. But if security is indivisible and if the sun shines on all equally, then all States, however far distant they may be from the scene of the catastrophes or human tragedies, cannot be excused from doing their share. To shirk that responsibility is the same as violating the principles laid down in the Charter of our Organization and in the Declaration on security adopted at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations.

67. I wish here to offer my sympathies on behalf of my Government to the Indian people who have just suffered the very type of natural catastrophe which I have mentioned.

68. But let us leave this field which some feel to be the monopoly of the despoiled world and let us consider the future of the United Nations. The United Nations is indeed the guarantee of peace and security. Because of its sublime mission, over and above the dictates of reason and self-interest it is imperative for those countries that are wallowing in opulence to salvage this Organization as soon and as generously as possible and not to haggle where peace is at stake. Yesterday it had to tighten its belt while today the Organization is fast becoming insolvent. Very soon it may reach the brink of bankruptcy particularly if those States that are living in luxury continue to reduce its means of subsistence and to cut off the sources of its financial sustenance.

69. I hardly need stress the obvious fact that without economic sufficiency the search for security will turn out

to be Utopian. How can we indeed alleviate the profound suffering of multitudes of our brothers if the countries of abundance do not cease to pour into their nuclear and military arsenals the immense economic resources at their disposal?

70. I come now to colonial and racial captivity. Today the African countries under the Portuguese and Southern African heel not only are seething with violence, but have actually become permanent firebrands of war. With figures and with facts we can prove the flagrant violation of our continent's security. South Africa's military budget amounts to £178 million. Pretoria moves heaven and earth to achieve nuclear and thermonuclear power. Since last year the first multiple-stage rockets were tested on the Atlantic Coasts of Namibia while the military airport of Caprivi, located on the extreme northern edge of Namibian territory, is equipped and designed so that from it any States of Africa south of the Sahara can be reached. South African support units carry out a war of extermination shoulder to shoulder with the Portuguese expeditionary forces in Mozambique. Ian Smith's régime is kept in place because of the military supplies received from Pretoria, in addition to the other means provided by Mr. Vorster. Namibia, a Territory which falls within the competence of the Organization of the United Nations, today languishes under the virulent heel of *apartheid* as do the black people of South Africa.

71. Surely it is time to stop giving in to the dreams of the stubborn champions of racialism and colonialism, but let us not lose hope that the freedom and dignity of man will ultimately carry to Salisbury, to Windhoek, to Lisbon and to Pretoria, through the United Nations probably, the knowledge that will be shared among all those oppressor régimes that they can no longer afflict these peoples and that they must come to a point in evolution that is compatible with the authentic concept of security. Then to all Africa, and by extension to the entire world, will be opened up expectations of peace in keeping with our capacity and our resources.

72. I turn now to the rescue of the earth: contemporary anxiety is added to another and equally serious danger that has just emerged and has given rise all over the world to recriminations and concern. The active interest we have shown in security forces us now to turn to man's environment. Our planet is constantly invaded by a series of pernicious elements the prolongation and diversity of which amaze us, and unfortunately the future holds some horrifying surprises for us if they develop as they are developing now in geometric progression. The nature of the extreme gravity we confront regarding impurities in the air and water were most clearly stated by Gordon Rattray Taylor in a book which was entitled, *Our Soon to be Unlivable World*. In that book he said:

"It perhaps is too late to avoid the immense famine which will confront a quarter of mankind in 1975, and very soon the earth may become a dead planet due to the joint action of population explosion and technical progress which generates as many monstrous dangers as it does short-term benefits."

73. In its quest for security the United Nations cannot relegate to the background the need to save man from a

lethal danger born of what Rattray Taylor called the technological nightmare. If we wish to apply them, the technical solutions are known and relatively available. Judiciously applied, these solutions would allow us to avoid, even to correct and do away with, the pollution of the air, the rivers and the sea and to protect ourselves against abuse of chemical products and the aggressions of which our psyche is a daily victim—noise, stress, enclosure and ugliness. Confronted by the rising tide of pernicious elements, we are at present defenceless due to the political, economic and social factors that surround us. In isolation any measure taken against these dangers is almost always futile. Surely it is for the sake of the salvation of all that we should adopt a general and collective attitude which, in order to be effective, must transcend the present national frontiers.

74. The generalized and multiple concerted offensive against armaments and pollution gives hope for survival. Thus, the initiatives being taken for the holding of a world conference on disarmament seem more and more appropriate and fall within the framework of the strengthening of international security. Negotiations are under way on the limitation of strategic weapons and also on the reduction of armed forces and armaments as well as on the destruction of nuclear stocks, at the bilateral as well as the regional level. They should be encouraged and continued.

75. A parallel world movement should also be started in order to create an international forum for decolonization and for development. On the horizon we see possibilities of military *détente*. In 1972 the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment will meet in Stockholm. To deliver a death blow to the bastions of colonialism and *apartheid*, to save the despairing third world, the United Nations cannot indefinitely turn a deaf ear to the appeals of man's conscience crying for a universal coalition at any cost against these degrading theories and doctrines.

76. The vocation and mission of the United Nations must be carried out through co-operation. Security and peace, if they are to meet the hope of mankind, must be based on five axioms and these five axioms are indissolubly linked: the denuclearization of the planet; economic development of the third world; the rescue of the human environment; the absolute racial and political equality of all; and, finally, co-operation among nations.

77. This co-operation to which all peoples aspire could relieve them from a troubled past and present and allow them to build their unity and independence and face the future with serenity. It is this vocation which the non-aligned nations have taken for themselves as their standard, as their main shield and defense. Colonization must become co-operation, and all peoples must join together and replace colonization by co-operation to develop human policies for human progress. It is thus that the United Nations will offer all nations of the world an example and encouragement.

78. In Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, many new States and many revived States have realized that their primordial need is to strengthen and organize rather than to rush into adventures or to fall under the dominating influences from outside. They see in this Organization an encouragement and a bulwark of their cause, provided the Organization remains its own master.

79. The return of the People's Republic of China to this world Organization symbolizes and embodies the dream of all the Member States. It opens up a new era which, if we wish it, could lead to security without frontiers.

80. Even the unfortunate countries bisected or trisected by foreign interference see in the salutary arbitration of this Organization a possibility of unity and peace, to which they have the right to aspire.

81. However, the very *raison d'être* not only of the United Nations itself but of all countries, transposed into the times in which we live, must be to express once and for all the mission and the genius of our race.

82. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The formulation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)] was an achievement that has perhaps not been equalled since the Charter itself was thrashed out and accepted at San Francisco. In the view of my delegation, the great significance of the Declaration is that it reaffirms the central role of the United Nations in matters of international peace and security—a reaffirmation that is particularly timely because of the current tendency in some quarters to belittle the role of the United Nations in international politics, and to reserve the political issues which threaten international peace for the so-called reality of big-Power politics.

83. This was never the intention of the framers of the Charter. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security therefore fills an important need when it re-emphasizes the collective responsibility of all Member States of the United Nations for the preservation of international security. There can be no doubt that the Declaration has been established as a powerful statement of the principles and practices which must provide the basis for United Nations action in all fields, be they political, economic or social.

84. Referring to the Declaration, the Somali Foreign Secretary said in his address to the General Assembly a few weeks ago:

“That resolution . . . summarizes the development of the thought of the international community on the most essential aims and functions of the United Nations. In doing so, it reaffirms and strengthens the validity of the provisions of the Charter. Every issue on the agenda of the General Assembly can profitably be debated in the light of the relevant provision of resolution 2734 (XXV).” [1943rd plenary meeting, para. 179.]

85. My delegation would like to point out today just a few of the issues for which the Declaration provides clear guidelines. Its paragraph 5 reaffirms, among other things, that the territory of a State should not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the Charter, that the territory of a State should not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, and that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force should be recognized as legal. The relevance of this paragraph to Israel's illegal occupation of Arab Territory as

a result of its aggression against Arab States in June 1967 is obvious. Israel has before it the clear choice of acting, on the one hand, in accordance with those precepts and principles of the Charter which are clearly defined in paragraph 5 of resolution 2734 (XXV), or, on the other hand, of continuing its intransigence, of turning back the clock and undermining the world order that must be built if our world civilization is to survive.

86. This is not an overstatement of the case. The delicate and difficult task of building a new world order demands a constant and scrupulous adherence to international law by all States. As we are all aware, there is an additional danger in the continuation of tension in the Middle East, since the results of another outbreak of violence in that area could well be a conflict of world-wide dimensions. Paragraphs 12 and 16 of the Declaration deal with the authority of the main organs of the United Nations, in particular of the Security Council, while paragraphs 18, 22 and 23 deal with questions related to racism and colonialism. Taken in conjunction, these paragraphs throw into clear relief the position of those States which flout or ignore Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on southern Africa. Those States are seriously contravening the rules of an Organization they are pledged to support. They are weakening its authority; they are acting against the express will of the international community; and their support of *apartheid* and colonialism in southern Africa represents a position of moral bankruptcy.

87. Those States too are turning back the clock by their support of systems which deny human rights on the basis of their racist philosophy and by their support of the practice of colonial domination. They too are contributing to the possibility of large-scale conflict by refusing to recognize that violent struggle, engendered by racial antagonisms in Africa, could well be transformed into an ideological war involving the nuclear Powers.

88. Paragraph 4 of the Declaration, which reaffirms the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, has a direct application not only to colonial territories but to the situation of divided States such as Viet-Nam and Korea. Foreign intervention, both overt and covert, in the affairs of those States has contributed not only to national disunity but also, in the case of Viet-Nam, to a long and bitter war of attrition involving States far removed from the Viet-Nam scene. There are signs that the psychological climate which produced the Viet-Nam war is changing, and this is a development that is particularly welcome to small States, which can only rely on the moral force of the provisions of the Charter and the collective support of Member States to maintain their security and national integrity.

89. Paragraph 24 of the Declaration expresses the conviction that the achievement of universality of the United Nations would increase its effectiveness in strengthening international peace and security. The restoration to the Government of the People's Republic of China of their lawful rights in this Organization was a tremendous step towards the goal of universality. Now that the United Nations has shown a sense of realism and of respect for the rule of international law in the case of China, it will perhaps be able to take further logical steps towards the goal of

universality. The United Nations would be taking such steps if it were to recognize and admit to full membership—should this be so desired—both East and West Germany, North and South Korea and North and South Viet-Nam.

90. As our Foreign Minister pointed out in his statement to the General Assembly, the question of reunification of these divided States "is a domestic matter which can be decided satisfactorily only by the peoples concerned." [*Ibid.*, para. 182.]

91. Paragraphs 19 and 20 of the Declaration deal with disarmament, a question which lies at the heart of the matter of international peace and security. General and complete disarmament has of course been a goal of the United Nations since the inception of the Organization. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has however added a new element to the question of disarmament by underlining the connexion between this goal and that of the economic development of countries. This is a recognition of the fact that the only wars which the developing countries are anxious to fight are those against poverty, ignorance and disease. They could be immeasurably aided in that struggle if even a small proportion of the \$215,000 million being spent on armaments each year could be redirected towards development.

92. As I indicated earlier in quoting the words of our Foreign Secretary, my delegation sees the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as a reaffirmation and development of the principles of the Charter. The process of development can be seen clearly in comparing the Charter's words with regard to development with those of the Declaration. The preamble to the Charter lists one of the fundamental aims of the United Nations as being the employment of international machinery for promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples. The Declaration sums up the thought of the world Organization on how this is to be accomplished. Paragraph 21 reiterates the need to undertake, within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade, urgent and concerted international action based on a global strategy aimed at reducing and eliminating the gap between the developed and developing countries, and this need is closely correlated to the strengthening of the security of all nations. The Second Development Decade which has just begun and the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held in April next year, will provide developed countries with opportunities for putting into practice the principles they accepted in theory when they approved paragraph 21 of the Declaration. When the developing countries seek better prices for the commodities which they exchange for high-priced manufactured goods, when they seek markets in developed countries for their processed or semi-processed goods, when they ask for aid that is unattached to political commitments or to unprofitable economic commitments, they are asking for the implementation of the global strategy. They are asking for the implementation of a strategy to which the developed countries say they are committed. But an attempt to establish a more equitable system of international trade and aid is being made in an atmosphere of uncertainty and pessimism brought about by recent developments in the monetary and international trading policies of the United States and by the recent action of the United States Senate

with regard to its contribution towards United Nations agencies.

93. Whether or not paragraph 21 of the Declaration will remain a dead letter, whether or not the Second Development Decade will be an even greater fiasco than the first, will depend on the willingness of the leaders of the developed countries to accept as a prerequisite for international security the necessity of closing the gap between the rich and poor countries. It will depend also on their willingness to use the means devised for this purpose by the collective judgement of the international community. In addition, they will have to provide the kind of international leadership necessary to educate their legislatures and their peoples so that they can gain their support for the kind of global thinking that has been called for by the United Nations.

94. If the thought and even the practice of the United Nations has shown development in some areas of international co-operation, there has been little sign of development in the vital area of peace-keeping and peace-making. Since its earliest days as a Member of the United Nations, my country has concerned itself with the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes and of the setting up of peace-keeping machinery, and we have in the past associated ourselves with initiatives aimed at bringing about some progress in these areas. Unfortunately, the potential for the peaceful settlement of disputes through the use of measures indicated in the Charter remains largely untapped, and agreement on the composition and financing of a permanent peace-keeping machinery is not in sight. My delegation will support any initiatives aimed at developing the peace-keeping potential of the United Nations which are based on the letter and spirit of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

95. The need to strengthen the authority of the main organs of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, is obvious in the context of the southern African situation. But the question of the authority of the Organization's executive and legislative bodies is a recurring theme that appears in many of the issues before the United Nations. In many instances it is clear what action should be taken in the light of the provisions of the Charter and of the accepted norms of international law. But the membership of the United Nations is often faced with two unsatisfactory alternatives: either to adopt a resolution which everyone knows will not be enforced because of the particular national interest of one nation or group of nations, but which at least would have some moral force, or to do nothing on the grounds that unenforced resolutions undermine the authority of the United Nations.

96. That difficulty will end only when all States, large and small, have accepted on the international level those principles—such as the rule of law, respect for the result of parliamentary process and respect for the procedures contained in laws of arbitration, negotiation and conciliation—which most States have come to accept as essential on the national level.

97. It is always a long and difficult process to work out forms of government best suited to single national entities with common national characteristics and aspirations; and

this process is a continuing one, after thousands of years of our so-called civilization. The effort to implement a political and legal system which would preserve peace among the nations of the world in their infinite variety is an even more difficult task. Our problem is that in these momentous and dangerous times we do not have thousands of years in which to establish the authority of custom and utility, and we have yet to agree on the establishment of an enforcement agency—and time is running out on us. We are faced with a situation where change of every kind—political, institutional, scientific and technological—is taking place more rapidly than in any other age in human history; and either we have not developed the new philosophies and systems to deal with changing conditions or, if we have developed them, we are obliged to wait for the time-lag between the demonstration of an ideal and its general acceptance and application.

98. In the Charter and in its reaffirmation and development through the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security we have devised the new philosophy, the new political-legal system, which is necessary in the changed conditions of our interdependent world. But if there is no acceleration of the process of learning to accept the laws and the duly constituted authorities which we ourselves have devised, then the survival of our world civilization will be in question—indeed, in jeopardy.

99. My delegation believes that that consideration must be central to our study of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

100. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Since this is my delegation's first intervention in the deliberations of this Committee I take the opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, upon your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee. Under your experienced leadership and wise guidance the work of this Committee will, I feel sure, be successful and fruitful. I also wish to extend our warm congratulations to Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius and to Mr. Migliuolo of Italy on their unanimous election as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively. We wish to assure you of our full co-operation in the performance of your tasks.

101. Secondly, I should like to express my delegation's condolences and sympathies to the Government and people of India over the tidal wave and cyclone, which during the past week-end resulted in the loss of thousands of lives and rendered homeless and destitute many more thousands. My delegation has received this news with the deepest sense of grief.

102. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], adopted by an almost unanimous vote, is one of the highlights of the twenty-fifth anniversary session and is indeed a historic document. Based on 25 years' experience of United Nations life, it reaffirms, amplifies and develops the principles of the Charter. It thus establishes a yardstick against which our yearly endeavours towards the achievement of a just and peaceful world can be studied and measured.

103. It is perhaps pertinent on this occasion to recognize our debt to the Soviet Union for its initiative in originally

bringing the item of international security to the General Assembly.

104. This Declaration, along with the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*] set standards of international morality and behaviour, as provided in the Charter, by which States Members should be guided in formulating their external policies and in meeting the challenges of international problems.

105. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is not only a rededication to the purposes and principles of the Charter but also a solemn undertaking by the Members of the United Nations to pursue continuous efforts for adherence to and implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. An annual review by the General Assembly of such measures of implementation and of their effectiveness is implicit in the Declaration if it is to fulfil, as it should, a meaningful purpose.

106. The need for establishing international security through the United Nations has now become all too obvious and compelling. The world is increasingly acquiring consciousness of the present-day realities that in a nuclear age nations can no longer depend on force and armaments for the security of their homeland and people and that it is only in common security, through international understanding and co-operation, that true security lies for all nations, whether big or small. At the same time, it must also be realized that international security is not realistically achievable outside a just and functioning system of world law and order, as indeed is envisaged in the Charter. World order and peace, however, can never reign among nations while Members claim the right to infringe the sovereignty, freedom and independence of other States.

107. There is, of course, no perfect model for world order. It must be built up slowly and painfully out of the mutual experience of meeting world problems in accordance with Charter principles. The way is long and arduous and there are no short cuts; but there is no excuse for not taking each next step as it becomes necessary. The first step certainly is the acceptance by all nations that international security is indivisible and that its maintenance can only depend on the common will implemented through the United Nations. Any other path rends the international fabric and commits nations to hostilities against each other. There is no such thing as unilateral maintenance of peace in the long run. And there is by the same token no alternative to assisting the United Nations to become the effective and preponderant agent of the common will in matters of common danger and common need.

108. The second necessity is to seek continuously, and especially at these annual reviews, those next steps which will lead to the full effectiveness of our world Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security. However, just as specific actions are required here in the United Nations, so is education of the public and official groups by the political and intellectual leadership in Member States, in order that the facts of international interdependence and the requirement for joint solutions to

problems of international friction and tension are widely accepted and understood.

109. The Declaration is a comprehensive and balanced document covering in order of sequence the more essential provisions of the Charter related to international security. In its operative part, after a general reaffirmation of and a call for adherence to, the purposes and principles of the Charter—paragraphs 1 and 2—the Declaration in its operative paragraph 3 solemnly reaffirms that, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of Member States under the Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter shall prevail. This important provision concerning the pre-eminence of obligations under the Charter has been judiciously given priority in the Declaration, having regard to its significance in the development of contemporary international law under the Charter—an element of such basic validity in establishing international order, security and peace.

110. Paragraph 4 reaffirms that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention or coercion, and that States must refrain from any attempt at the “partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State”.

111. This provision, appropriately, comes next in order in the Declaration, as it touches the very core of almost all of today’s dangerous problems, which constitute the gravest of threats to international security and peace. Twenty-five years of experience since the establishment of the Organization have fully demonstrated that the most explosive situations, involving perennial war and untold human suffering, are those of divided countries. We have only to look at the world around us, or even to glance at the headlines in the daily newspapers, to be convinced of this reality.

112. The Declaration in paragraph 5 reaffirms the duty of every State to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and also affirms the illegality and inadmissibility of military occupation or acquisition by a State of the territory of another State through the use of force in violation of the Charter.

113. The above provisions, in so far as they emanate from and express the cardinal Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, are of basic validity in the strengthening of international security and should be strictly observed and adhered to.

114. Paragraph 5 further provides, in a parallel way, that it is the duty of every State to refrain from organizing acts of civil strife or terrorism in any other State.

115. Of significance to the carefully studied pattern and order of the Declaration is the fact that the paragraph immediately following—paragraph 6—deals with the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is appropriate that the Declaration should have laid emphasis on the development of the Charter provisions for the peaceful settlement of any dispute likely to endanger international peace and security.

This aspect of the Charter is closely connected and interdependent with the immediately preceding aspect of the threat or use of force. Without doubt the aspect of the peaceful settlement of disputes is the most undeveloped aspect of our world Organization. Among the various suggestions made during the twenty-fifth anniversary session, a number of Member States urged the development and activation of procedures and methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes. At that time we remarked, as did others, that the Charter merely enumerates the means for peaceful settlement, namely, negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement. But the specific machinery has been lacking. Similarly, the provision in Article 29 of the Charter that the Security Council may establish subsidiary organs for the performance of its functions has hardly been developed or activated.

116. The lack of such a development is a serious setback in the effort towards the maintenance of peace and international security. Because the peaceful settlement of disputes is not being duly facilitated through the proper modalities, the tendency is encouraged to immobilize, to "freeze", a dispute without trying to achieve a just and enduring solution in accordance with the Charter. It is, therefore, important that the General Assembly, in reviewing the degree of implementation of the Declaration, should take account of the need for the development of procedures of pacific settlement, as provided in the said paragraph of the Declaration. The same paragraph also provides for the Security Council to take into consideration the fact that legal disputes should be referred to the International Court of Justice, thus pointing to the need to activate the legal arm of the United Nations in the promotion of international security. In this connexion we express the hope that efforts to improve the functioning and enhance the authority of the International Court of Justice may meet with general support.

117. We also welcome the initiative indicated during the past year in the use by the Security Council of duly established Security Council missions to help in the peaceful solution of problems. Surely this is a step, however small, towards the development of modalities to discharge more fully the responsibilities of the Council.

118. Mention should also be made of the accomplishments by way of accommodations reached through the good offices of the Secretary-General on an informal basis, which have been not inconsiderable and should be commended.

119. The need for an organized system of peace-keeping operations and for measures to suppress acts of aggression, with particular reference to steps for enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter, as well as the need for support by Member States of the efforts of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, are among the remaining recommendations of the Declaration, which also include recommendations on disarmament, economic development, international justice, decolonization and human rights. They are all elements of international security and peace; they are an interwoven fabric; their interdependence is total. If we are a free association of States focused in the United Nations as a model of world order, there is no alternative for us than to continue with

all vigour, and in spite of adversities, to make progress in all these areas. The time of world peace through world empires belongs irrevocably to the past. Fortunately for man's further growth and progress in freedom, an imposed earth *pax* is no longer a possibility. Therefore, there is no escape from the difficult and arduous task upon which we have entered for international security and peace by the common will and determination of a free association of nations and peoples within the United Nations.

120. Turning now to the world situation in relation to the effects of the Declaration, it is true to say that the crisis situations of a year ago are still with us; the Middle East situation is no nearer to solution and even new danger spots have emerged, such as the sad situation in East Pakistan.

121. However, there have been certain promising international developments which, although not directly connected with the Declaration, have no doubt been affected by its impact. Important among them are the substantial moves towards normalization of relations between the two German States, and the parallel steps in improving the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union. These moves have opened wide the possibilities for a successful conference on European security and for zonal disarmament. The outcome could hopefully be an unprecedented era of security and mutual co-operation in Europe. We have also, to a certain extent, been encouraged by some reported gains in disarmament during this year. But perhaps the most important of recent developments has been the significant move towards dialogue and accommodation between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The beginning of a new phase of realistic relations between the United States and the largest Power in Asia may avert at its inception what could otherwise become a dangerous threat of a new kind of "cold war" in the Far East.

122. The world community cannot but be appreciative of the constructive initiative by the leaders of these two great nations. By starting on a course of understanding and conciliation they are contributing to the emergence of a new and progressive spirit in international relations. It may still be a very small step, but one in the right direction, towards meeting the demands of a space age for new standards in human and international relations.

123. The astronaut, Admiral Shepard, speaking in this Committee as the United States representative [1812th meeting], drew a vivid picture of the smallness and singleness of our planet as seen from the moon, and of its fragile existence within the vastness of the cosmos. To meet the global dangers that face us all, there is a need not merely for peaceful coexistence, but also for harmony and co-operation among all nations on this planet, and more particularly among the leading world Powers, if there is to be survival.

124. By the People's Republic of China now joining the United Nations and by its impending participation in the work of the Organization, not only will the universality of the United Nations be most substantially enhanced, but we also hope and trust that an enlivening new spirit and a new dynamism will be brought to the Organization in its quest for international security and peace.

125. At this particular point in history, when many formerly rigid positions and divisions are becoming fluid, it should be possible to reinvest our energies and imagination in the perfecting of international machinery for the maintenance of world peace and security. We are under a heavy obligation to the world's peoples to make this renewed effort.

126. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I call now on the representative of India, who wishes to make a short statement.

127. Mr. N. SINGH (India): My delegation has asked to speak at this stage only to express its heartfelt thanks for the sympathy extended to India by several representatives who have spoken this morning on the disastrous cyclone that has struck the state of Orissa in eastern India. The dimensions of the tragedy are still unclear, but we are doing everything in our power to bring speedy relief to the victims. We are heartened by the words of sympathy expressed in this Committee.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.