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

AGENDA ITEM 32

Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security: report of the Secretary-General (A/7922 and Add.1-4, A/7926, A/C.1/L.513 and 514)

1. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Today the First Committee is starting its discussion of one of the most important questions before the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly—the question of the strengthening of international security, which has been included on the agenda for the present session in accordance with a decision taken by the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2606 (XXIV)*].

2. As is known, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics took the initiative of raising this question in the United Nations.¹ The Soviet delegation considered it appropriate at this session of the Assembly to make a statement at the very beginning of the debate.

3. First of all it must be noted that consideration of the question of the strengthening of international security is being resumed in a year of special significance.

4. This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the defeat of the fascist aggressors who unleashed the Second World War, the most terrible and destructive war mankind has ever experienced.

5. The United Nations was born in the crucible of this victorious war over the most evil enemy of mankind—fascism—and was designed to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security, to affirm the equality of large and small nations, to promote the development of friendly relations between States and to ensure the co-operation of the States of the world in solving economic, social and humanitarian problems.

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

6. The commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations provides us with an occasion for drawing up a balance sheet of the activities of this Organization, and for assessing the effectiveness of the United Nations in the performance of its central and most important task—the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security.

7. During this session of the General Assembly references have of course been made—and will be made—to the services rendered by the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

8. However, in the context of the discussion of the problem of strengthening international security, efforts should be concentrated not so much on the delivery of eulogies to the United Nations but rather on an attempt, in the course of a businesslike and constructive discussion, to ascertain how States Members of the United Nations envisage the main problems relating to the strengthening of international security and what specific measures must be taken for the purpose of intensifying United Nations activities in maintaining peace and increasing its effectiveness in the strengthening of international security.

9. The problem of strengthening international security is at the present time becoming particularly acute and topical, because the international situation continues to be unstable and tense, and because dangerous hotbeds of armed conflict, which threaten world peace, continue to exist in many parts of the world.

10. The aggression against the peace-loving Viet-Nameese people has been continuing already for several years, and has spread to the whole Indo-Chinese peninsula. The Soviet Union has frequently pointed out that a realistic basis for a political settlement of the Viet-Nam problem would be the ten-point programme of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Recently, these proposals by the Viet-Nameese side have once again been elucidated convincingly and in detail and clarified in the eight propositions set forth by the head of the delegation of the Republic of South Viet-Nam on 17 September in Paris. This new peace initiative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has met with the approval of public opinion throughout the world as an act of great positive significance for the cause of peace in South Viet-Nam. It is evidence of the good will of that Government and of its unswerving efforts for a peaceful solution of the Viet-Nam problem. The Soviet Union fully supports this new initiative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. The matter now depends on the United States.

11. The situation in the Middle East is also fraught with danger for world peace.
12. Israel's aggression and its occupation of the territories of Arab States, which has continued already for over three years and is accompanied by ceaseless provocations on the part of Israel against those States and by its refusal to accept a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East, are a direct challenge to the United Nations.
13. The establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be ensured at the cost of rewarding the aggressor in any way whatsoever. The basis for a Middle East settlement must be consistent and complete implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 in all its parts and provisions. The Soviet Union will continue to make all necessary efforts for the achievement of such a settlement.
14. It will soon be ten years since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], but the world has still not rid itself of barbarous vestiges of the past such as the maintenance of colonialism and the wars of the racists against peoples which are striving for their freedom and independence and waging a just struggle for their sovereign rights. In Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia the colonialists are trying by force of arms to crush the just struggle of the African patriots for the freedom and independence of their peoples—a struggle which has been recognized as legitimate by the relevant decisions of the United Nations. The use of armed force to keep the peoples of colonial and dependent countries under colonial domination, the pursuit of the inhuman policies of racism and *apartheid* and the maintenance of shameful colonial régimes—all these inevitably create a threat to international peace and security.
15. The state of international relations cannot be regarded as satisfactory and normal from the point of view of providing peaceful conditions for the existence and development of all peoples, so long as there is a continuation of the arms race which is being imposed on the peoples by the military-industrial complex of the Western countries, and so long as the work of millions of people and the outstanding achievements of science and technology are used not for the benefit of mankind or for transforming life on earth, but for military purposes.
16. Thus the situation in the world arena makes it urgently necessary for the United Nations and all peace-loving countries and peoples to take effective and concrete measures to eliminate sources of international tension and hotbeds of armed conflict, which are fraught with extremely dangerous consequences for the cause of peace and the fate of the peoples.
17. In its approach to the question of the strengthening of international security. The Soviet Union has been and still is guided by those fundamental principles for the development of the relations between States which were elaborated by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, who proclaimed the policy of peace and co-operation among all peoples on a basis of equality as the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.
18. This year the whole of progressive mankind has solemnly celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that great genius of our time, who devoted his whole life to the struggle to create a new society in which there is no place for exploitation, oppression, violence or wars.
19. The influence of Lenin's ideas and of Lenin's practical work on the course of human history is enormous. The name of Lenin is linked with the creation of the first socialist State in the world—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose emergence laid the foundation for a new world system, the system of socialism.
20. A deep interest in peace and the safeguarding of international security is inherent in the very nature of socialist society. It contains no social groups or classes which are interested in the arms race or are making profits out of arms deliveries and wars. The struggle for the strengthening of international security is the basic foreign policy line of the socialist countries and of the entire socialist community.
21. Expressing the wishes and aspirations of the whole Soviet people, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev stated recently in a speech on 28 August at Alma-Ata:
- “As regards the Soviet Union, faithful to the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples, it will continue to do everything in its power to help repel the aggressors, eliminate hotbeds of war and military danger and strengthen international peace.”
22. The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, has constantly and consistently been taking measures to reduce international tension in various parts of the world and to settle international conflicts and disputes by peaceful means. The socialist countries have consistently been following a policy of unmasking and undermining the designs of the imperialist aggressors, and of consolidating in international relations the principles of the peaceful co-existence of States, regardless of differences in their social systems.
23. The Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in three environments,² the Antarctic Treaty³ and the Treaty on outer space,⁴ with their provisions on the demilitarization of these new spheres of human activity, and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]⁵—this is the widely known list of practical measures to limit the arms race, measures in whose formulation a major contribution was made by the socialist States.
24. Today the task of creating a reliable security system in Europe is attracting increasing attention. The initiative in this respect has been taken by the socialist States of Eastern

² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964).

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402 (1961), No. 5778.

⁴ Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (resolution 2222 (XXI), annex).

Europe, which have put forward the idea of convening a pan-European conference on questions of security and co-operation. The programme they have put forward provides for the renunciation of the use or threat of force, recognition of the territorial *status quo* in Europe which was established after the Second World War, and the development of mutually advantageous trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural relations between all European States. The achievement of agreement on these lines would also be of tremendous importance for the fate of world peace, in view of the role and place of Europe in the system of international relations.

25. One important initiative for easing international tension and strengthening international security was the signature on 12 August 1970 of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of the heads of delegations who have spoken in the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly have noted the great importance of that Treaty from the standpoint of international politics.

26. The discussion of the question of the strengthening of international security at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly showed that States Members of the United Nations attach great importance to this question and regard it as especially significant and topical. The content of the replies sent in by more than fifty States Members on the question of international security [A/7922 and Add.1-4] also shows that the timeliness and significance of raising this question are well understood.

27. The delegation of the USSR is deeply convinced that at the present session of the General Assembly there is a real possibility of adopting a detailed resolution on the substance of the problem under consideration which would meet the aspirations of the peoples for peace and would effectively help to strengthen international security.

28. The socialist countries—the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—which are consistent advocates of peace, and are interested in the adoption of effective measures for the strengthening of international security, are submitting for consideration by the General Assembly a draft declaration on strengthening international security which has been distributed as document A/C.1/L.513. It is the firm conviction of the socialist countries sponsoring this document that the discussion on the question of international security at the present anniversary session of the General Assembly must be crowned with the adoption of a comprehensive declaration on this question.

29. The draft declaration we are proposing has been drawn up with due regard for the views and opinions expressed by the delegations of many countries during the discussions at last year's session of the General Assembly. It also takes account of the observations and proposals of States Members of the United Nations submitted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV) and published in the report of the Secretary-General [*ibid.*].

30. In preparing this draft declaration, the sponsors took the view that it was essential above all to include in the draft a number of specific requirements whose fulfilment would have some practical significance in strengthening international security. In this connexion, particular attention was given to the point that the provisions in the Charter which have a direct bearing on the question of the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security must be utilized to the fullest possible extent.

31. It is proposed that the list of measures whose implementation would contribute to the strengthening of international security should start with an appeal to abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and, in particular, the principles of the sovereignty, equality and territorial inviolability of each State, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their social system.

32. Respect for these principles is an indispensable and essential condition for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security. Flouting of these principles results in international tension and aggressive acts, and leads to armed conflicts and wars. Hence, the particular urgency and importance of reaffirming these principles of the Charter in a declaration on the question of the strengthening of international security.

33. It is also proposed that the draft declaration should include, as an essential component—a fundamental provision of the United Nations Charter, contained in Article 2, paragraph 4—namely, the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

34. Observance by States of the prohibition of the threat or use of force, as proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, is a decisive factor in the strengthening of international security.

35. The cessation and prohibition of acts which directly threaten international peace and security will undoubtedly be a most important measure for the strengthening of international security. In this connexion, it is particularly important that a declaration dealing with the strengthening of international security should state directly and unequivocally that military occupation and the acquisition of territory as a result of war or the use of force, in violation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, are inadmissible.

36. The draft declaration should also include, as essential components, provisions designed to enhance the role and effectiveness of the Security Council which, under the United Nations Charter, has been entrusted with primary responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

37. Of all the organs of the United Nations, only the Security Council is empowered to take enforcement action, including even the use of armed force, for the purpose of maintaining or restoring international peace and security; and, in discharging its obligations, the Security Council is acting on behalf of all Members of the United Nations

which, on their entry into this Organization, agree to abide by the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out.

38. However, not all decisions of the Security Council are being complied with.

39. With a view to enhancing the role and authority of the Security Council, it is proposed that a provision should be included in the draft declaration calling for full implementation of the decisions of the Security Council on the peaceful settlement of armed conflicts and the withdrawal of forces from territories occupied as a result of such conflicts, and also, of other decisions of the Council aimed at the maintenance of international peace and security. The same purpose underlies yet another requirement in the draft declaration, to the effect that States must comply, in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, with decisions of the Security Council taken in exercise of its powers to suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

40. In the interests of strengthening international security, the socialist countries are proposing that the declaration of the General Assembly should include a provision requiring the cessation of all military and other action for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial or racist domination and also a provision calling upon Member States to provide active assistance to all these peoples in attaining their independence in accordance with their inalienable right to self-determination.

41. The adoption of this provision follows logically from the irrefutable fact that, as long as colonial wars continue and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is not fully implemented, the tasks confronting the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security cannot be considered as having been fully discharged.

42. The objective of strengthening international security would also be served by the implementation of another fundamental principle in the Charter—namely, the provision requiring that all disputes between States should be settled exclusively by peaceful means. The special feature of the wording used in regard to this question in the proposed draft declaration is that it contains an appeal for fuller use of the procedures and methods provided for in the United Nations Charter, including those methods for the settlement of disputes which, in accordance with the Charter, may be applied by the Security Council.

43. The draft declaration takes full account of the wishes expressed by many delegations during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly for the inclusion in the text on the strengthening of international security of a provision concerning the need for solving, as soon as possible, questions relating to the limitation of the arms race and disarmament.

44. The formula we are proposing on this question spells out with absolute clarity the need to contribute in every possible way to the attainment of agreement as soon as possible on general and complete disarmament under strict

international control, and the adoption of nuclear disarmament measures by all nuclear States, and also agreement on regional and other individual measures to limit and end the arms race and to achieve disarmament.

45. Another question of major importance in connexion with the strengthening of international security is the question of intensifying the activities of States on a regional basis, whether in Europe, Asia or other regions of the world, with a view to solving problems relating to the maintenance of international peace and security on which action on a regional basis is, under the United Nations Charter, both appropriate and possible. Such action must, of course, be based not on the mutual antagonism of military blocs, but on joint and constructive efforts by all States in each of the regions of the world.

46. These requirements are fully met by the wording of the draft declaration submitted by the socialist countries to the effect that it is necessary for States to endeavour to develop international co-operation on a regional basis for the purpose of strengthening security in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter, with the participation of all States in each region.

47. In order to increase the effectiveness of United Nations efforts to prevent breaches of the peace it seems necessary to affirm, in the declaration on the strengthening of international security, the need to accelerate the attainment of agreement on a definition of aggression and on United Nations peace-keeping operations, on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter.

48. It is well known that special committees of the United Nations are dealing with each of these matters; they must redouble their efforts with a view to submitting their proposals and recommendations as soon as possible.

49. The elaboration of a legally clear and generally acceptable definition of aggression would help substantially in increasing the effectiveness of United Nations efforts to prevent breaches of the peace. The existence of such a definition would effectively assist the Security Council in discharging its responsibilities with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

50. The attainment of agreement on the organization and conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter would also represent a considerable contribution to the strengthening of United Nations machinery for the maintenance of peace and security. The Committee of Thirty-Three⁵ has taken some—as yet only initial—steps towards a practical solution of the question of peace-keeping operations. It is essential that it should speed up its work.

51. The effectiveness of the United Nations in strengthening international security would be increased substantially by the full and comprehensive implementation of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. This principle forms the very basis of its Charter. Membership of this Organization should be open to all States which accept the obligations contained in the Charter and are ready to fulfil those obligations.

⁵ Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

52. Nevertheless, as a result of the position taken by a certain group of States, this important international principle is not yet being observed and not all sovereign States are permitted to take part in the work of the Organization. The practice of discrimination against a number of socialist States, which was imposed during the years of the cold war, still lingers on in the United Nations system. As a result, the principle of the universality of the United Nations is being disregarded, the Organization's prestige is being impaired and its possibilities of discharging the functions entrusted to it under its Charter—particularly with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security—are being weakened.

53. In this connexion it would seem necessary to reaffirm in the declaration the need to ensure full implementation of the principle of the universality of the United Nations as a major factor in increasing its effectiveness in strengthening international security. The draft we have submitted contains a provision dealing with that question.

54. Another important element in the draft under consideration is the provision dealing with the relationship between the problem of strengthening international security and the problem of economic development and the increased well-being of peoples.

55. The solution of the problem of strengthening international security—as a result of which the immense resources now being squandered for military purposes would be released—would contribute substantially to the social and economic progress of all peoples, including the peoples of the developing countries. As a result of the solution of this problem, more favourable conditions would be established for overcoming the economic backwardness of the developing countries and closing the gap between the development of different States which is a direct consequence of the period of colonial domination.

56. Conversely, the extent of the social and economic development of peoples and the degree of progress made in this field are bound to have an effect on the solution of the question of strengthening international security.

57. The draft submitted by the socialist countries lays particular emphasis on the close relationship between the strengthening of international security and the problem of the social and economic development of peoples. The strengthening of security will contribute to the social and economic progress of all peoples. The social and economic progress of all countries, including the developing countries, will in turn contribute to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations and co-operation among nations.

58. These are the basic provisions of the draft declaration on the strengthening of international security submitted by the socialist States.

59. The struggle for the removal of the dangerous tension at present existing in the world, and for the elimination and prohibition of international conflicts, demands that all States and peoples unite their efforts to the maximum extent possible to strengthen international peace and security. It is precisely with this in mind that the socialist

countries are appealing to the Governments of States Members of the United Nations to consider with due attention, at the current session of the General Assembly, the question of the strengthening of international security and to adopt a unanimous decision on the substance of this question which is vitally important for all peoples. On the solution of this question hinges the successful settlement of many other problems facing mankind in the political, economic and other spheres. The adoption of such a decision would be in the interests of all States, both large and small, and of all countries irrespective of their social or political systems.

60. The delegations of the socialist countries hope that the draft declaration they have submitted will receive widespread support from all States Members of the United Nations which are interested in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace.

61. The peoples of the world are entitled to expect, indeed to demand, that the United Nations at this anniversary session of its General Assembly should adopt a declaration on strengthening international security which would be in keeping with the aspirations and vital interests of all peoples. The fulfilment of this task is a direct duty of States Members of the United Nations, dictated by its Charter.

62. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): It would hardly be possible to overemphasize either the importance or the timeliness of this item at this moment of marked insecurity. National security stands for States as the instinct of life preservation stands for men as individuals. Nations give priority to their security over their other interests, just as men value their lives over their particular actions. Security has therefore become a prerequisite for the existence and the development of States. International security is the prerequisite for the normal operation of the community of nations, which should not be downgraded to a community of fear or apprehension. National security and international security are impossible and to no avail if the arbitrary use of force is not precluded.

63. The theme of our debate is therefore a basic one, and if we do not make some progress in this field, all eventual progress or advancement in other areas might be altogether meaningless and futile. We cannot conceive of a more vital and crucial issue on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of this organization. That is why we should discuss this problem—and it is a problem rather than a question—without any mechanical preoccupations which might entail curtailment of debate; for if, at this session, we do not have the time to consider and thoroughly ponder this problem, then we do not have time for anything at all. In a nutshell, this is the problem confronting the United Nations: namely, the problem of security.

64. In his statement of 17 September before the General Assembly [1841st plenary meeting], the Foreign Minister of Brazil had occasion to allude to the frustrations and shortcomings of this Organization in the field of international peace and security. He pointed out that, on too many problems, in too many areas and in too many situations, this Organization has become the silent and impotent witness to too many violations of the Charter.

Furthermore, he pointed out that there is a very discernible trend to shun debate and forgo consideration of some questions which strike us as too difficult and too controversial. A curious philosophy is slowly gaining ground, to the effect that a debate in the United Nations will only poison the political atmosphere and ultimately render solutions more remote and more unattainable. This has had a significant influence on the agenda of the Political and Security Committee—our Committee—in recent years. This year, as last year, we have, however, the opportunity for a political debate within the framework of the Political Committee. Let us seize this opportunity, and let us not give encouragement to the misleading proposition that, this being a year of festive commemoration, we should carefully avoid consideration of matters of a controversial or contentious nature. The United Nations was created to deal with crises and controversies, and any step to depoliticize it is a blow against its very existence. We do not accept the theory that, unable to cope with world political problems, and thus unable to preserve international peace and security, the United Nations should content itself with preserving its own peace.

65. Our aim should be peace and security in the world, not peace and security under the roof of this glass building on Turtle Bay. There is no sense in or justification for transforming the United Nations into an island of peace amid a sea of turmoil. If present trends are allowed to go unchecked, this may well be the last peaceful place left on the planet or, in other words, the only place unhampered by political problems. For our part, we would rather have a contentious and tumultuous United Nations actually paving the way for a peaceful world. All men, not only the representatives accredited to the United Nations, should be entitled to immunity from war and to the privilege of peace. We run the risk of becoming peace-loving for our own sake and for our own tranquillity. If the world is going to be saved, it will be saved by the political will of States; by change and evolution, not by immobility; through policy, not through omission; through debate and discussion, and not through silence. This spirit of free discussion and this spirit of evolutionary change should be our guideline and inspiration in this year of the twenty-fifth anniversary. That is why, in the General Committee, my country strongly advocated the discussion of the item “Need to consider suggestions for a review of the Charter of the United Nations”. It is pertinent to point out that heretofore opposition to the debating of issues has been voiced. Now objections seem to have been extended to the mere listening to or hearing of suggestions.

66. It is precisely to counteract this trend toward silence and oblivion, which might otherwise prevail in the seventies—or in 1984 for that matter—that the problem of revision should be posed right away on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary.

67. We certainly favour an early revision of the Charter of the United Nations, with a view to making the mechanism of our Organization more responsive to the need of effectively implementing the purposes and principles of the Charter.

68. However, we are the first to concede that a meaningful revision of the Charter is not likely in the impending future.

It is even possible that, conditions having deteriorated and dreams and illusions having been dispelled, the Charter of the 1970s might be still more “realistic” than the Charter of the 1940s.

69. Today the immediate problem confronting us is that this all too imperfect Charter is not being uniformly respected or observed. It is distressing, for instance, to notice that the major Powers often show extreme reluctance to undertake commitments which fall short of the obligations they assumed under the Charter. It is a known political fact that the nuclear-weapon States refused to include in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] a clause whereby they would preclude the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon countries, while under the Charter they are already juridically committed and obligated to refrain from the threat or use of force against any State. Instead, we have been offered “security assurances”, by unilateral declarations, in the context of a Security Council resolution, on which Brazil abstained. Why should nations be so cautious and reluctant to assume obligations under any specific bilateral or multilateral pact, while the principle of non-aggression is already more than a principle and, is, in fact, part and parcel of positive international law? The only valid conclusion, and a sad one, is that multilateral obligations under the United Nations Charter—and the Charter is a solemn treaty—are taken less seriously than bilateral or multilateral obligations undertaken through specific treaties. We should carefully analyse this and probe into why obligations become less solemn, less forbidding and less mandatory in the inverse ratio to their degree of universality. Why should an obligation to the community of nations be less binding or less mandatory than a commitment to any particular State or to any group of States?

70. We feel that the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter are as much a part of the Charter as the provisions which enforce the rule of unanimity of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Why should some sections of the Charter be more respected than others? Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that even when the Security Council is paralysed by veto or even when it is immobilized by consensus, or even when a subtle, hidden veto prevents action by the General Assembly, the purposes and principles of the Charter still stand as actual obligations undertaken by all the States Members to this Organization. An act of aggression or a violation of territorial integrity is always a gross violation of the Charter, whether or not the Security Council has been in a position to react, whether or not political conditions have permitted action by the General Assembly. The implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the obligations they imply and the commitments they represent, are not dependent on or contingent upon the conclusion of the agreements envisaged and contemplated in Article 43 of the Charter. No State is entitled to use force or to violate the Charter just because Article 43 has not been implemented, or because the Security Council was blocked in its attempt to act, or because the General Assembly has been reduced to silence or inaction. The respect for the purposes and principles which constitute a positive obligation, not only a moral commitment, cannot wait for the implementation of Article 43 or the establish-

ment of any machinery for enforcement. We fully share the view of the Government of Canada which, in its reply to the Secretary-General's consultation [*see A/7922*] in the context of resolution 2606 (XXIV), stated:

"The Charter recognizes the sovereign equality of States. It also reflects political and economic realities by providing for the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council. These responsibilities confer special powers on the permanent members. They do not confer exemption from observance of the principles which are binding on all Member States; nor do they entitle the permanent members, any more than other members, to impose their will in disregard of the interests of less powerful States. The Charter has proved realistic in acknowledging the inequalities of power among States. It does not sanction inequality of rights."

For our part, we have very little to add to this important view set forth by the Government of Canada.

71. In the United Nations a new theory is slowly and gradually developing: the theory to the effect that resolutions, even non-binding resolutions, should be adopted not by a consensus, not even by a two-thirds majority, but by unanimity. This argument was invoked in the context of General Assembly resolution 2574 D (XXIV) on the moratorium or freeze on the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. This goes far beyond the requirements of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter. We cannot accept this theory which, if adopted, would be tantamount to extending the so-called right of veto from the Security Council to the General Assembly. Furthermore, with the respect we feel for the United Nations, and the importance we attach to its proceedings and, what is still more relevant, the commitments and obligations assumed under the Charter, we do not accept the characterization of the United Nations as nothing more than a foundation which every year, in the autumn days in Manhattan, holds a seminar on certain selected international matters with the understanding that there will be a summing up which does not commit anybody to any given conclusion. This is not an academy for the study and examination of some practical problem of science and technology, this is a political body and should remain a political body if it is to perform its duties and meet its responsibilities.

72. We come here as representatives of sovereign States to set forth the views of our Government, not only to debate but to negotiate, to transact, to arrive at specific decisions or recommendations. We do not come here as a group of experts or of wise men who for the very reason of their wisdom are prone to forgo action and resign themselves to the *status quo*. This is an assembly of diplomats, not a gathering of professors or wise men.

73. All of us, I sincerely believe, are committed and pledged to peace. But it is obvious by now that the word "peace" does not hold the same meaning for the super-Powers as it does for the major Powers or for the ordinary run of nations. For the super-Powers, peace means quite simply the absence of a deadly world-wide confrontation with a whole range of nuclear overtones and under conditions of unstable bipolarity. Only in this context can

we say that we have managed to preserve international peace and security for the twenty-five years that separate us from the close of the Second World War. And only in this very limited context can we say that peace has been preserved upon the premises of a balance of power or upon the scales of a balance of terror.

74. For the super-Powers, peace has gradually come to mean the survival of mankind. For the major Powers, as distinct from the super-Powers, peace implies a stage of relative normalcy, subject to the vicissitudes of power politics but without military operations which might demand an effort of nation-wide dimensions.

75. But for the medium and small Powers, peace is identified with security and means, quite simply, immunity from aggression and the preservation of their sovereignty and their territorial integrity. For them, peace is disrupted every time force is used, every time a threat is brandished, every time power asserts itself as the only yardstick to gauge the actions of nations and to gauge the acts of men. By their very nature and because of their very helplessness, the smaller nations cannot afford to espouse sophisticated concepts of peace and sophisticated concepts of power. The instinct for self-preservation and the simple needs of their survival as sovereign nations compel the medium and small nations to define peace and security along the lines of the purposes and principles contained in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and along the lines of the generally recognized, but not uniformly observed, principles of international law. For those nations, which in their vast majority are developing nations, peace and security are vitally linked to their fundamental right to economic development. The fulfilment of the aspirations of the developing countries, the narrowing and the eventual closing of the economic gap between themselves and the industrialized nations is an essential dynamic condition of international peace and security, which cannot be confined to the unacceptable perpetuation of present imbalances in the world economy.

76. We should therefore make an effort to reach precision and understanding in this field of language and in this field of semantics if we wish to secure a firm ground on which to stand in our search for new practical measures to strengthen international peace and security. Otherwise we shall be implementing three different categories of peace and three, and possibly more, types of security, in a process of mere stabilization, not elimination, of power and of regulation, not prohibition, of the use of force. We cannot accept the idea of a "tolerable condition of warfare" as a substitute for peace; neither can we accept the idea of a "tolerable arms race" as a substitute for disarmament.

77. We have repeatedly insisted on the notion that any efforts in the field of international peace and security should be coupled with and paralleled by efforts in the field of disarmament. If force cannot be used, why should nations insist on accumulating weapons, to the tune of \$200,000 million a year? The assumption for the present arms race—let us be frank and honest about it—is that someday, somehow, somewhere, force will be used or may at least represent a tangible threat. We have already pointed out that the word "disarmament" is being rapidly superseded by the terms "non-armament", "arms control" and

"limitation of armaments". We are paradoxically relegating general and complete disarmament to the realm of Utopia even while preparing to renew our allegiance to the purposes and principles of the Charter in the final declaration to be adopted during the commemorative session. We seem to forget that disarmament is a mere corollary of those purposes and principles we are supposed to safeguard and to reaffirm. For we cannot abandon disarmament without forsaking the principles.

78. Furthermore, any sensible United Nations machinery for peace-keeping and even for enforcement must necessarily presuppose that nations will eventually be disarmed. For if individual forces remain in the hands of some powerful States and if United Nations forces are comparatively insignificant it is obvious that such machinery for peace-keeping and enforcement can only be used to discipline relations between small Powers, but not as an instrument for the security of all nations.

79. Today the question really remains: Are nations prepared or not prepared to forgo the use of force? In other words, are nations prepared or not prepared to respect and observe the purposes and principles of the Charter? Until a satisfactory answer is given to this question, we have no basis on which to proceed. To a large and considerable extent, the strengthening of international security does coincide with the strengthening of the United Nations.

80. As we have said, the problem of security would be magically settled, and in a permanent manner, if the answers to those two questions were in the affirmative, for how can international peace and security be strengthened when nations maintain force as the *ultima ratio*? As the defence of civil rights and freedoms are the concern of men rather than the concern of States, the defence of the purposes and principles of the Charter is the concern of the smaller nations rather than the concern of the major Powers. It is the interest of the smaller nations to strengthen the Organization and to seek a reaffirmation of those purposes and principles, which remain as valid today as they were in 1945, even if some of the mechanisms and machinery devised by the Charter have become outmoded or obsolete. Those principles should stand in any revision of the Charter. They call for observance and implementation, not for revision. As we have said, they constitute a true "Declaration of Rights" for the States and peoples of the world.

81. The Government of Brazil has studied with great attention and the utmost interest the replies given by States to the Secretary-General [A/7922 and Add.1-4] in accordance with operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2606 (XXIV). Those replies, together with the statements made last year in the First Committee during the discussion of this item, constitute a very significant collection of definitions of policy and contain various suggestions of interest for the future of this Organization and for the future of the whole community of nations.

82. From the study of the replies of States a number of basic points clearly emerge. Among them, the following seem to merit special mention for their importance and wide support. First of all, it is clear that the Members of the United Nations attach the greatest importance to the

question of the strengthening of international security. They further agree that the observance of the principles and the implementation of the purposes of the Charter are the essential prerequisites for the maintenance of world peace and the ensuring of security for all nations regardless of their physical size or military power.

83. Moreover, Members of the United Nations in general recognize the necessity to reinforce the Organization and to provide it with the required means to deal effectively with the problems and carry out the task entrusted to it. In this sense, it was highly significant that the vast majority of States which replied to the Secretary-General's consultation displayed a great degree of political flexibility and an unequivocal readiness to search for new approaches for the improvement and development of the collective security machinery of the United Nations.

84. It was generally considered that this effort to revitalize the United Nations' capabilities in the field of international peace and security can be two-pronged: the development of the United Nations machinery in the field of the pacific settlement of disputes and the establishment of adequate mechanisms for the utilization of the Security Council enforcement powers under Chapter VII of the Charter. Many delegations noted that two complementary avenues are open for the realization of those objectives: first, the full utilization of the powers already enjoyed by the Organization under the Charter of San Francisco, second, the revision of the Charter in order to provide the United Nations with new and more effective machinery to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

85. As we said before, we recognize that, owing to the prevailing political situation, a revision of the Charter cannot be expected to take place in the near future. Consequently, we believe that for the moment we should concentrate on promoting the full utilization of the machinery already available in the Charter. As the Foreign Minister of Brazil stated at the opening of the general debate in this Assembly [1841st plenary meeting], "... let us use our Organization and let us apply the Charter..." and I could not think of a better operative slogan for this twenty-fifth anniversary session. This, in the opinion of Brazil, should be the focal point for our present efforts in the search for the strengthening of international security, for it is the course most likely to produce early results. Let us apply the Charter.

86. We wish to commend the decision taken by the Security Council, on the initiative of the Government of Finland, on the holding of periodic meetings. This measure, which was suggested by the three Secretaries-General of this Organization, might well be an example of the actions that can be taken by the United Nations to strengthen its capabilities and to increase its efficacy within the limits of the Charter as it now stands. It is to be hoped that those periodic meetings will bear fruitful results, that the Security Council will seize this opportunity to discuss and study in depth the problems of peace and security in the world of today and will be able to agree on a systematic approach to the prevention of the emergence of situations which might endanger world peace and security.

87. In the same vein, the Government of Brazil suggested in its memorandum dated 3 April 1970 that the Security

Council consider, in each specific case, the desirability of establishing *ad hoc* committees for the pacific settlement of disputes. This suggestion, which was reiterated by our Foreign Minister in the General Assembly, is, I am sure, well known to the representatives here assembled. I shall therefore refrain from repeating it in detail and will limit myself to referring the Committee to document A/7922. I wish, however, to say that my Government was gratified to see that this proposal was supported, explicitly or implicitly, by a large number of delegations. We believe that its adoption by the Security Council would have an immediate positive effect on the capabilities of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security. It should prove helpful in promoting the solution of some of the questions of which this Organization is seized and in attracting to the United Nations important international problems which have not heretofore been brought before it.

88. We feel, therefore, that it would be proper for the General Assembly, in accordance with Article 10 of the Charter, to recommend to the Security Council that it consider the desirability of establishing such *ad hoc* committees in every specific case in which an international dispute is brought before it. It is clear to us that nothing permanent or significant will be achieved simply by the implementation of a procedural device. It would be misleading to think that the present institutional crisis of the United Nations—for we are faced with an institutional crisis—can be settled by procedural or structural changes alone. It is ultimately a question of ends and means and the establishment of the *ad hoc* committees we now envisage would make sense only as a step in the pursuit of the objective of rehabilitating the United Nations as a political institution. We aim at inserting efforts towards *détente* and efforts towards universal peace into a United Nations context, as we feel that this is the only possible way to ensure that solutions and settlements eventually achieved will be consistent and compatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and not the product or the projection of power politics or “political realism”. Real *détente* can only be based on justice, not on the vicissitudes of power. Real *détente* can only be based on the purposes and principles of the Charter, not on so-called political realism. The balance we should preserve in this twenty-fifth anniversary year is the balance and the scales of justice, not the balance of power. And as has been pointed out, we should aim not only at a *détente* among the major Powers, but at a *détente* among all the members of the community of nations. Real *détente* cannot endure forever in a community of fear and apprehension.

89. This was the reason why my delegation joined the fight in the last General Assembly to add the concept of “Justice” to the motto of the commemorations of the twenty-fifth anniversary. We should aim at permanent peace based on justice, not only at provisional arrangements which perpetuate the conditions of war. Bringing major and minor problems back into the United Nations fold means for us, quite simply and quite directly, bringing problems and questions back into the realm of positive international law, of which this Organization is a part. We have failed in the field of peace-keeping, but at least we have been trying. But what really have we attempted so far in the field of peace-making? Imperfect as it is, the Charter is a whole, not devoid of inner conflict but devised to be applied in its

entirety. Let us not make it still more imperfect by discriminating against some clauses and provisions in Chapter VI, which should provide the basis for the settlement of disputes.

90. For its full implementation the Brazilian proposal would not require any revision of the Charter or even any change, however small, in the provisional rules of procedures of the Security Council. It would only require political determination on the part of all Member States to live in practice what they have accepted in theory. Our proposal is based on the assumption that international commitments under the Charter will prevail.

91. It is based on the assumption that the Governments here represented will not permit the United Nations to fall into disuse or obsolescence or to delegate its specific powers and prerogatives to a sub-committee or, should we say, to a “super-committee” of two. It is based on the assumption that the Security Council, blocked by veto or immobilized by consensus, should be something more than a registration office for the registration of claims and counter-claims. It is based on the assumption that the problems brought to the attention and consideration of the Security Council are political problems, not problems of drafting, not problems of language. It is based on the assumption that the Organization can still be used and that the Charter can still be applied. That is why we request and we expect prompt action by the General Assembly on this proposal for “the diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations”.

92. Furthermore, this is really nothing but a plea for diplomacy, a plea for negotiation, a plea for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

93. We have already despaired of too many things. We appear to have despaired of peace in favour of *détente*, we appear to have despaired of disarmament in favour of non-armament, we appear to have despaired of development and industrialization for the sake of the preservation of the environment. We appear to be resigned to the downgrading and scaling down of the principles and ideals which presided over the establishment of our Organization twenty-five years ago, at San Francisco. There is, however, no valid reason why we should abandon the tools and instruments for action, for diplomatic action I mean, under the Charter. There is no reason why, after renouncing so many things, we should renounce diplomacy. We repeat: the gist of the Brazilian proposal is a renewed plea for diplomacy, a plea to keep diplomacy alive in this building. Diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy is the last hope we have for peace. It is in the light of these considerations that my delegation will consider the two drafts which have been submitted. I refer to documents A/C.1/L.513 and A/C.1/L.514 and we reserve our right to present a draft resolution incorporating our own ideas and concepts.

94. The United Nations is a political body integrated by representatives of States which come to this forum to arrive at political decision through negotiation and mutual understanding. It is basically a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

95. Before concluding my statement, there is a point I should like to touch upon. It has sometimes been implied

that to criticize the failures and shortcomings of this Organization, to bring into the open some of its contradictions or to insist on a more effective role for it is a disservice to the cause of the United Nations and even a threat to the very existence of the Organization.

96. For our part, we could not disagree more with these views. Quite to the contrary, we believe that this is very constructive criticism, which comes from those who see the United Nations as it should and was intended to be, as an effective organism growing with the needs of the world community and capable of ensuring the realization of the purposes and principles under which it was created.

97. This Organization is dedicated to great ideals and entrusted with enormous tasks, and therefore it is only natural that on its way it should meet with great difficulties and serious crises. But let us not try to improve the United Nations record by downgrading our expectations, because that would mean downgrading the United Nations itself, and ultimately downgrading ourselves.

98. It will not be by pretending that all is well in the best of all possible worlds that we will be serving the cause of the United Nations. What we should do, what we ought to do is to identify, examine, study and analyse all the problems confronting the Organization, so as to remove the roadblocks that stand between us and the full implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter. We must bring the United Nations to realize its full potential and render it capable of performing all the tasks entrusted to it. And this is what Brazil committed itself to do when it signed the Charter of San Francisco.

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser,
President of the United Arab Republic*

99. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have to announce that a dispatch from Cairo has been received announcing that the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser, died at 5.15 p.m. Cairo time.

100. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): The sad and heavy news that has just been heard, and that you, Mr. Chairman, have confirmed to us, has caused considerable emotion among the delegations in the United Nations.

101. I believe that, regardless of any geographical, political, social or religious groupings and regardless of our differences, we would first of all want to address to the United Arab Republic delegation and to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, as well as to the Arab world in general, our profound sorrow and our sincere condolences.

102. We believe that since President Nasser was the Head of State of a Member nation, we should show our sense of mourning and sorrow by adjourning this meeting, and it is for this reason, that, on behalf of a number of delegations. I now propose the adjournment of this meeting.

103. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): It is with deep sorrow that the

delegation of the Soviet Union has learned of this tragic occurrence. We wish to express our heartfelt condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, and we mourn with it the death of an outstanding statesman of that country and of the whole Arab world. President Nasser was a great patriot, an ardent crusader for the just cause of the peoples of his country and for the just cause of the whole Arab world. He was a staunch advocate of the development and strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union. The peoples of the Soviet Union had the deepest respect for him as an outstanding political figure of our times. I personally had the honour of meeting President Nasser on many occasions, and he impressed me as a gifted statesman with deep insight, an immense and profound understanding of international problems and political realism in the solution of those problems. We share the grief of the great people of the United Arab Republic; we understand the full seriousness of his loss and, together with this people and its representatives here, we express our deepest sorrow at this tragic occurrence.

104. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): My delegation was shocked beyond words at the tragic news of the sudden death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. President Nasser was an outstanding world personality of our age and one of the greatest freedom fighters of our century. He freed his country from its shackles of colonialism and foreign domination and restored a sense of dignity to its people. To the people struggling against colonialism, racism and imperialism, he was a source of inspiration and strength.

105. In personal life, he was a man of peerless character. His death is a terrible blow to peace in the Middle East and in the world.

106. Today, the people and Government of Pakistan have been plunged into deepest mourning. We offer our respectful and deepest sympathy to the people and Government of the United Arab Republic and to all the Arab nations which stand bereaved by his death. President Nasser's name and his deeds will be a shining example for future generations throughout the world. As a great poet has said:

“He whose heart has been kindled by the fire of love for humanity cannot die. His name will always live in the book of life.”

107. May I say that I have been instructed by the Chairman of the Pakistan delegation, Mr. Rashid, to announce that, in respect to President Nasser's memory, the reception for delegations at the Pakistan Mission this evening has been cancelled.

108. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): On behalf of the Latin American delegations, I should like to express to the United Arab Republic delegation our deepest sympathy and consternation at the news we have just received of the passing of the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser. My country has always had the closest relations with the United Arab Republic and the other Arab nations, and the present loss and bereavement of the Arab countries will be sincerely felt in my country, where there are so many citizens of Arabic origin.

109. For all these reasons, my delegation concurs with the proposal made by the representative of France to the effect

that this meeting should be adjourned as soon as the voices of concern are heard from other speakers who have signified their intention to speak on this sorrowful event. We reiterate our sense of sorrow and our sense of distress to the United Arab Republic and the whole Arab community.

110. Mr. YOST (United States of America): May I associate myself with those who have spoken and expressed the very profound condolences and sympathy we feel for the Government and people of the United Arab Republic. It was with the deepest shock and consternation that we heard this tragic news a few moments ago. President Nasser was a great leader of his people for almost two decades, in times of triumph and in times of tragedy. He has been one of the leading and most conspicuous personalities of the world. His place cannot easily be filled, particularly at this time of difficulty and turmoil in the Middle East. He will be profoundly missed.

111. Mr. ZEMIA (Czechoslovakia): Permit me to associate the Czechoslovak delegation with those who have expressed their grief over the untimely and unexpected death of a great Arab leader and statesman, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic. We feel this tragic event will be a great loss to humanity and to the cause of peace in the whole world. Czechoslovakia has maintained long-standing good and friendly relations with the United Arab Republic, which have been steadily developed in all spheres.

112. Our people had a great admiration for the late President of the United Arab Republic. We admired his political wisdom, statesmanship and skill. At this time, when the Egyptian people have suffered a great loss, we wish to express through you, Mr. Chairman, our sincere and deep sorrow and condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, and, at the same time, to the family of the late President. We are sure that the memory of President Nasser will remain alive, not only in the United Nations, but in the whole world.

113. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Chairman of the Latin American group, Ambassador Araújo Castro, has already spoken on behalf of the Latin American countries but on behalf of Chile and of my delegation I wish to join in what he said.

114. The death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser is a loss not only for the United Arab Republic—but also, for the Africa that saw his birth and the Arab world. It is also a loss for the entire international community of countries represented here as well. I am sure that the delegation of the United Arab Republic will convey to the people of Egypt the deep sorrow of the Chilean people and its delegation.

115. The personal career of President Nasser becomes one with a most fundamental period in the history of his great people. His patriotism and devotion stand as a symbol for generations to come. If one were to define President Nasser in a single line, it is that he became one with his nation and set for it the clearest example of what a governor and leader should be: to become as one with his own people.

116. May the personal and single God, whose worship and history both Moslems and Christians share, receive him. All honour to the late President Nasser.

117. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has only just heard of the death of the illustrious President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser. With profound emotion our delegation addressed its condolences to the delegation of that country, which is so closely linked to the history of Spain, and with which we maintain a traditional relationship.

118. President Nasser was an eminent visitor to our country, and just recently, not even ten days ago, he sent his Foreign Minister, Mr. Riad, to visit the head of our State and our own Minister for Foreign Affairs.

119. At this sad time through which the United Arab Republic is passing, my delegation, on behalf of all Spaniards as well as on its own behalf, wishes to offer its most sincere condolences to our sister nation.

120. Mr. KUIAGA (Poland): It is with the deepest shock and grief that my delegation has learned of the untimely death of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic. It is indeed a tragic event that will mark 28 September 1970 as a day of universal mourning. A great world statesman, an eminent son of a great people, an Arab leader commensurate with the problems of the twentieth century, has passed away. We bow our heads in his memory.

121. Poland will mourn the memory of Gamal Abdel Nasser, who has become identified, in the eyes and hearts of the Polish people, as a great human being, a great Arab leader, a great architect of the constantly growing friendship and co-operation between the peoples of Poland and the United Arab Republic. Poland will mourn him as a leader who allied love of his people with determination to ensure its advancement; who allied political vision for the future of his people with political vision on a world scale.

122. Let me offer to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, and through it to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, the expression of our shock and grief and our most heartfelt condolences at the untimely loss of their great leader.

123. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The news of the untimely death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser has come as a profound shock to my delegation. The President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Somalia will no doubt—if he has not already done so—communicate to the people and the Government of the United Arab Republic the expression of Somalia's national grief at the loss of Africa's foremost leader and statesman. His death comes at a most crucial time in the history of the United Arab Republic, but we know that his nation will rise to the occasion and continue to pursue those remaining objectives to which he so selflessly dedicated his life and for which he accomplished so much during his service to his country.

124. As to my country—and I am sure that I speak for the majority of Africa—we shall never forget his unparalleled and unstinting service in the cause of freedom, justice and liberty in our continent.

125. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): As Chairman of the group of Western European and other States, I should like to tell of the emotions we

feel on learning of the brutal and untimely death of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic.

126. I should like to offer to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, to the Government of that country, to the Arab delegations and peoples, our most heartfelt and sincere condolences. The death of President Nasser comes at a time when the region of the Middle East is going through a difficult period and it cannot be doubted that his death will not facilitate the solution of the problems of that area.

127. I should like, Mr. Chairman, to associate myself with the suggestion of the Ambassador of France that this meeting be adjourned, as a sign of mourning, as soon as all delegations have given expression to their grief and offered their condolences.

128. Mr. SEN (India): The news of President Nasser's death has so stunned my delegation that I find it difficult to speak in a coherent manner. We should like only to say that our sympathies naturally go to the people of the United Arab Republic for the tragic loss they have so suddenly suffered.

129. We should like also to take this opportunity to say publicly that there are, perhaps, very few leaders who have contributed so much to peace and security in the world as a whole. The Middle East has unfortunately been troubled by many factions, many wars, many aggressions, but President Nasser nonetheless towered over the situation and maintained a degree of peace that could not conceivably be maintained by lesser men.

130. I do not wish to say very much. All the official mourning and ceremonies will of course be undertaken, all the social receptions will be cancelled, and we shall go through the usual ways of showing our condolence; but what our hearts feel cannot be expressed, even in many words, at this time.

131. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The tragic news of the sudden passing away of President Nasser has caused the most profound shock and grief to my delegation, my Government and the Cypriot people. President Gamal Abdel Nasser was a great patriot and fighter for the freedom of his country, in the liberation of which he played so distinguished and important a part. President Nasser has left the indelible mark of his dynamism and dedication to noble causes and is a shining example of intellectual integrity, honesty and humility. Gamal Abdel Nasser was not only a great leader of his country, not only an outstanding world leader, but was also a great man. The people of Cyprus profoundly grieve his death and are mourning at this moment the loss of a true friend and supporter of their just cause throughout the years.

132. On behalf of my delegation, the Government and the people of Cyprus I wish to convey to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and through them to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic our profound condolences on this tragic occasion.

133. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): The untimely, sad and tragic news of the death of President Nasser has brought

great sorrow to my delegation. He was a great hero, a soldier and one who fought for the freedom of peoples and, most expressly, for the freedom of the Arab world. Speaking therefore on behalf of one of the oldest Republics in Africa, I wish to express to the Government and people and to the delegation to the United Nations and, through them, to his family, our deep sorrow.

134. May the principles for which he fought and died unite the people of the Middle East, for his death was untimely and we all agree that those who love peace and are dedicated to peace in the Middle East will mourn his loss. May the principles for which he stood unite them for peace and may we all join in expressing deep sorrow at the passing of so great and stalwart a patriot.

135. Mr. CHRISTOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Bulgarian delegation at this sad moment, I wish to tender to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, to the friendly people of that country and to the entire Arab nation the deep sympathy and sincere condolences for the great sorrow that has just afflicted them in the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. This news is so cruel and brutal that it is difficult at this moment to express all the feelings and the thoughts that assail the Bulgarian delegation at the loss of this great soldier and statesman whose name was, and will always be, linked to the living action he placed at the disposal of the great cause of the Arab people and of all the great causes of our time.

136. Mr. RACZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): The Hungarian delegation has learned with deep emotion the news of the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. It is difficult for me to find words on this tragic occasion, not only because of the well-known ties between Hungary and Egypt but also because I had the honour to know President Nasser personally since I was Ambassador of my country in Egypt for several years.

137. The Hungarian people valued in Gamal Abdel Nasser the patriot who fought for his people, who in his person became the incarnation of the man fighting for social and economic progress in his country, for its national independence and for peace in the area.

138. Mr. Losonczi, the Chairman of the Presidential Council of Hungary, recently had the honour to pay an official visit to Egypt and we were able to see how much President Nasser was loved by his people and how eager he was to continue working and fighting in the interest of his people and in the general interest of the Arab world.

139. In the name of the Hungarian delegation and on my own behalf I should like to present our condolences and express our most sincere sympathy to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, the people and the Government of that country.

140. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): The nations of the Nordic countries—Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark—share the grief of the people of the United Arab Republic in the tragic loss they have suffered with the untimely passing away of their great leader President Nasser. We ask the Mission of the United Arab Republic to convey to the people and Government of the United Arab

Republic, as well as to the family of the late President, our deepest sympathy and profound condolences.

141. Mr. MOJISOV (Yugoslavia): On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia I should like to express our very deep condolences and sincere sympathies to the delegation of the United Arab Republic at this tragic news of the sudden death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. President Nasser was not only the most eminent leader and great son of all the Arab countries but was also one of the most outstanding leaders of the non-aligned countries in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and for freedom, independence and development.

142. President Nasser was the most appreciated and greatest political figure for the peoples of Yugoslavia. We met him in Yugoslavia so many times and admired his personal courage, his strength and his dedication to the principles of independence and the equality of all peoples in the world.

143. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): My delegation would like to associate itself with the expressions of sorrow at the untimely death of President Nasser. We extend our deep condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and, through them, to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic. There is little that I can add to what has already been said in this chamber but as one who has served in Cairo I have myself witnessed the affection in which he was held by his people and all that he had done for them. He will be greatly missed.

144. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): It was with great shock that we learned of the tragic and untimely death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. On behalf of the Malaysian delegation I should like to associate myself with others before me in expressing our profound sorrow and grief at the death of so great a man.

145. President Nasser was not only a great patriot and leader of the United Arab Republic but he was also an international statesman of great stature. His death will be a great loss to the cause of peace and freedom not only in the Middle East but also in the whole world.

146. We in Malaysia have very close ties with the United Arab Republic, and President Nasser was a very well-known personality in my country. His death will surely be a great loss to and mourned by the people of Malaysia. On behalf of my delegation I should like to convey, through the delegation of the United Arab Republic, to the Government of that country and also to the relatives of the late President our profound condolences and sympathy.

147. Mr. BHOI (Kenya): The delegation of Kenya was shocked by the untimely and unexpected death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. It is an irreplaceable loss to the entire world.

148. He was an outstanding statesman and a great patriot. His love for humanity for peace and progress was well known and well evidenced by his many heroic achievements. His name will always enjoy a proud place in the annals of world history.

149. The Kenyan delegation offers its deepest condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and, through it, to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic at the passing away of so great a personality.

150. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): The delegation of Ceylon has heard with deepest sorrow the sad news of the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. President Nasser was a colossus in the Arab world, the embodiment of the aspirations and hopes of the Arab nation. He was the architect of sweeping economic and social changes in his country which took it out of the feudal and monarchical era into the modern era of technological advancement and social justice. He won the greatest award that any leader could get: the love of his people.

151. We extend to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, and to the family of the last President, our sincere condolences.

152. Mr. BEAULNE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): The Canadian delegation, on behalf of the Government and people of Canada, wishes to express its profound condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic. The death of President Nasser, a man who for so many years played an important role in the international arena, is a tragedy not only for the Egyptian people and for the Arab nations, but it fills us all with sorrow and concern at a moment in history when we were hoping to count on his abilities as a leader and statesman to guide towards peace a region that has been sorely beset by prolonged strife. We mourn the loss of one of the great figures of our day.

153. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): May I, on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, associate myself with all the many previous speakers in expressing my shock and grief at the tragic news of the sudden and untimely passing away of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. We most profoundly mourn his death. We express to the United Arab Republic delegation and to the people of the United Arab Republic and to the entire Arab world our very sincere condolences.

154. The poet wrote that it is as natural to die as it is to be born. May I say that good men like President Nasser do not die: they live forever.

155. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): Barely three weeks ago, the Head of State of Nigeria had the privilege of paying a State visit to the United Arab Republic, and for four days he enjoyed the hospitality that was characteristically President Nasser's. The joint communiqué which was issued at the end of the visit loudly proclaimed the closeness of relations between our two countries. I therefore hardly need to say how shocked my delegation was at learning this afternoon of the death of President Nasser.

156. I am sure that this news must have plunged my whole country into mourning, because President Nasser occupies a special place in the hearts of Nigerians, who remember the noble role he played in strengthening the relations between our two countries.

157. On an occasion like this it is very difficult to know what aspect of the many qualities of such a great world

figure as President Nasser one should mention. Suffice it to say that my delegation associates itself fully with the many tributes that have been paid to the memory of that great statesman. My delegation conveys its condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic; we join the people of the United Arab Republic in mourning the untimely loss of that great leader of theirs, and my delegation wholeheartedly supports the proposal that this meeting be adjourned after all interventions have been made.

158. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan) (*interpretation from French*): The sad news of the demise of the President of the United Arab Republic has left the Japanese delegation with a feeling of deep consternation. There is no need for us to say how much the whole Japanese people admired President Nasser, that great statesman of the Arab world. May I avail myself of this occasion to present to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and, through it, to the people and Government of the United Arab Republic and to the family of the lamented President the deepest sympathy of the delegation of Japan and our heartfelt condolences in this tragic moment.

159. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*translated from Russian*): On behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic I should like to express our most heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the delegation of the United Arab Republic on this tragic loss, the untimely death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

160. Our people knew and respected the late President as an eminent son of an Arab nation, and as one of the outstanding political figures in the world. President Nasser was also a great champion of the just cause of freedom, justice and the progress of peoples. The death of President Nasser is a tragic loss not only for the people of the United Arab Republic but for the entire Arab world and for all Africa. The just cause to which the late President devoted the whole of his active life will live on in the struggle and deeds of the people of the United Arab Republic and of all peoples fighting for freedom and the progress of human society.

161. Mr. OUSSEINI (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): It was with great shock and deep sorrow that we heard of the brutal and unexpected death of this great son of Africa, President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Today all Africa mourns, and will continue to mourn, the loss of this great man who stinted neither time nor efforts to obtain the liberation of his continent. On behalf of the African group, over which my delegation at present presides, I offer the sister delegation of the United Arab Republic our most heartfelt sympathy and condolences.

162. Mr. ECOBESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): It is with deep emotion and immense consternation that the delegation of Romania has just learned the sad news of the premature and unexpected death of that great statesman of the Arab world, the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser. I would like to join the delegations which spoke before me in expressing to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, its Government and its people, the most sincere condolences and the deep sympathy of the Romanian delegation.

163. Mr. ANAS (Afghanistan): On behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan I express my sincere condolences and

deep sympathy on the occasion of the great loss which has occurred to our friends, the people of the United Arab Republic. We mourn and regret the loss of Gamal Abdel Nasser, particularly as his demise is detrimental now to the peaceful settlement of the turmoil which is encircling the Middle East and which jeopardizes peace in the whole world. The holy Koran says "We are from God and return to God". Gamal Abdel Nasser returns to God; may his soul remain in peace.

164. Mr. EREN (Turkey): The sense of shock that the news of his death induces in this chamber testifies to the greatness of the man. President Nasser was without doubt one of the outstanding personalities of our time. His death is a great loss to his country, but I am sure that the new sense of destiny he endowed his people with will sustain them at this hour of their great tragedy. In the name of my delegation I would like to extend my heartfelt condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, to the people of the United Arab Republic and to its Government.

165. Mr. NIMON (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): The time is not for words, but for acts. The Togolese delegation also has the honour to request you, Mr. Chairman, and everyone here, to be good enough to stand and observe a minute of silent tribute to the late great statesman, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

166. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): If you will allow me, I would suggest it might be better to hear the other speakers on the list, then at the end as I already intended, I shall invite the Committee to stand and thus pay tribute to the memory of President Nasser.

167. Mr. VINCI (Italy): My delegation and I personally have been deeply shocked and grieved by the tragic news of the untimely death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. It is a great loss, not only for his country, but for all Arab countries and the continent of Africa, as well as for the cause of peace in the Middle East. President Nasser was a great statesman, an outstanding leader of his people, and of the Arab people. This loss will be deeply felt, especially at one of the most critical moments for the Middle East and for the Egyptian people, an area and a country with which my country has always had the closest relations, with which it shares so many memories which form so many of the glories of the civilization produced in the Mediterranean. President Nasser will have, we are sure, a permanent place among the leaders and heroes of Egypt in all its thousands of years of history. I speak for my Government and the Italian people when I say that the grief and sadness of the Egyptian people will be fully shared and felt by them. I would respectfully request the delegation of the United Arab Republic to accept these expressions of sincere sympathy and grief I am expressing on their behalf as well as on behalf of the Italian people. I would request our Egyptian friends to convey these condolences to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, and to the family of President Nasser.

168. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): My delegation joins the previous speakers in expressing deepest sympathy to the Government, the people and the delegation of the United Arab Republic on the grievous loss of their President and leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser. The loss is not only to the

United Arab Republic, but to the whole world, if we take into account his eminent qualities as a statesman, patriot and fighter for the freedom of his people. His achievements on behalf of his country will long be remembered; for these achievements we mourn his passing.

169. Mr. STEINER (United Republic of Tanzania): It was with great shock that the Tanzanian delegation has learned of the untimely death of one of the greatest leaders Africa has ever produced, His Excellency President Gamal Abdel Nasser. This is a cruel and brutal occurrence, especially in the light of the circumstances in which the United Arab Republic now finds itself. President Nasser was a great man both in actions and physique, and he will be very difficult to replace. His death is a loss for the whole of Africa and the Arab world; words cannot adequately express it. Tanzania and the United Arab Republic enjoy a special relationship, and at this moment my delegation can only request the United Arab Republic delegation to convey to the Government, the people and family of the late President the deepest condolences of the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania. May his soul rest in peace.

170. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran): It was with a great shock and a deep sorrow that we learnt of the tragic and untimely death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. As an outstanding personality and a leader who has more than any other man influenced the course of events in the Arab Middle East, his loss will be greatly felt and mourned not only by the Arab world but by peoples everywhere. He was a great statesman and a great leader. His loss will deal a heavy blow to the cause of peace and tranquillity in the area. I should like to associate myself with the tributes paid him by various delegations in this hall. On behalf of the Iranian delegation I should like to express our deep condolences and respectfully request the delegation of the United Arab Republic to convey our condolences and sympathies to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic and to the family of the late President.

171. Mr. SOW (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Deeply moved by the sad news of the brutal death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the delegation of Mali would like to address its sincere condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and the sister nation of the United Arab Republic. For the people and Government of Mali, President Gamal Abdel Nasser was a great friend. He represented not only for the people of the United Arab Republic and the Arab people as a whole, but also for the peoples of the non-aligned world and the people of Africa the symbol of a constant struggle against all forms of domination and injustice, for the freedom and dignity of man. The delegation of Mali shares the grief of the delegation of the United Arab Republic and wishes to express to it its heartfelt sympathy.

172. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although the Chairman of the Latin American group spoke very eloquently, personally I should like to speak some very deeply felt words at this moment when we have just heard of the sad demise of President Nasser.

173. In very few areas of Latin America was President Nasser admired as much as in Panama. The Panamanian delegation feels that his death is a grievous loss to this

people and to mankind. His patriotic struggles have been a source of inspiration in Panama where he was identified with very deeply rooted aspirations of his people which he helped to bring to fruition. The great Egyptian leader will always be remembered in this part of the world as a brave man who struggled for the liberation of his people.

174. To the Government of the United Arab Republic, to its delegation to the United Nations and to the bereaved family we offer our deepest condolences.

175. Mr. SASRADIPURA (Indonesia): On behalf of the Indonesian delegation, permit me, Sir, to associate myself with previous speakers in expressing our sorrow and grief at the untimely and unexpected death of President Nasser. The Indonesian delegation extends its most heartfelt condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, the Government, the people of the United Arab Republic and the bereaved family.

176. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): I have the painful duty of echoing the profound feelings that have been voiced at the news of the premature and untimely death of President Nasser who was a great political leader, a great patriot and a champion of freedom. His place in the history of the region to which my own country belongs is already ensured. We share the sorrow of the noble Egyptian people and of the Arab world and request the delegation of the United Arab Republic to accept our profound condolences and our feelings of deep affliction.

177. Mr. PROHASKA (Austria): It is with deep shock and emotion that my delegation has learnt the sad and terrible news of the passing away of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The leader of the Austrian delegation, Ambassador Haymerle, has instructed me to express to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, and through it, the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, our deepest sympathy and condolences at this tragic loss.

178. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): I should like to associate the delegation of Ireland with the expressions of shock and grief which have been voiced here today by so many delegations on the death of President Nasser. In Ireland we recall that fifty-odd years ago the country President Nasser so eminently represented was an associate of Ireland in struggling for freedom and seeking recognition of independence at the Versailles Conference. Therefore, his sudden death will be mourned particularly in Ireland. I should like to convey the expression of condolences of my delegation to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, to the United Arab Government and through the delegation to his family. If I may, I would also echo the words of the representatives of Afghanistan and Tanzania and express the hope that his soul may rest in peace.

179. Mr. BOHIADI (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): It is with deep emotion that we felt this brutal shock and learnt of the tragic death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. If the United Arab Republic loses a patriot, a leader, Africa as a whole loses one of its leaders, one of its fighters and main defenders. In the name of my delegation and in the name of my Government I should like to present the most

sincere condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic, to its Government and its people.

180. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): All that I should like to say on behalf of my delegation at this tragic moment has been said—and said with great eloquence—by our first speaker, the representative of France. Sir, his conviction that the shattering news of the death of President Nasser would be received with grief and with consternation by men and women of every nation, every race and every religion has, I believe, been amply borne out by all that has been said here since he spoke. On behalf of my delegation I should like to convey our most profound condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Republic and through it to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic.

181. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I say a few words to express the profound shock and deep emotion with which I heard the news of the death of His Excellency the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

182. For all peoples of the world this is a most grievous loss, a loss that occurs at a time when we were all counting upon him as a statesman, as a great leader of a great people, upon the fruit of his wisdom, and upon his far-sightedness for the solution of very complex problems of which we are all aware.

183. In tribute to the memory of that great leader, of that great statesman, I would now request members of the Committee to stand and observe one minute's silence.

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

184. Mr. EL-ERIAN (United Arab Republic): Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and the representatives who have taken the floor on this sad occasion—the death of our great leader, President Gamal Abdel Nasser—for the expression of loss, sympathy and condolences which you and the representatives have conveyed. His homeland, the United Arab Republic, has lost a valiant son who fought for its liberation. The Arab nation has lost a staunch fighter for its unity and progress. His continent, Africa, has lost a freedom fighter who was steadfast in upholding the rights of the African peoples and the solidarity of their great continent. The non-aligned countries have lost a dynamic leader. The United Nations and the world at large have lost a statesman who was a valued believer in the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and an unswerving worker for world peace, justice and progress.

185. The delegation of the United Arab Republic will convey to the people and Government of the United Arab Republic your kind sentiments and your feelings for them in this hour of loss.

186. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning the meeting, as was proposed by the representative of France and supported by other members of the Committee, I wish to announce that the next meeting of the Committee has not as yet been scheduled since, in accordance with what was decided by the Committee, our meetings are not to coincide with meetings of the Plenary of the General Assembly. Therefore, for any information regarding the next meeting of the Committee, I would request representatives to refer to the *Journal of the United Nations*.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.