

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



FIRST COMMITTEE, 1728th
MEETING

Monday, 5 October 1970,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 32

Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) (A/7922 and Add.1-5, A/7926, A/C.1/1003, A/C.1/L.513-516)

1. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the first speaker on my list for this afternoon's meeting, I should like to point out to the Committee that documents A/C.1/L.515 and A/C.1/L.516 have been circulated. They contain the draft amendments submitted by the delegation of Thailand to the draft declaration in document A/C.1/L.513 and the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.514.

2. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): As a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514, my delegation feels it might be helpful if we made some comments on the general philosophy underlying the document at present before our Committee for consideration and clarified some relevant paragraphs of the operative part.

3. As Ambassador Vinci stated in his speech on Saturday last [1726th meeting], the draft resolution co-sponsored by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Japan and the Netherlands in fact is a compromise that takes up ideas, comments, suggestions and proposals made both by the sponsors and by many other countries that have been meeting in *ad hoc* working groups since March of this year to seek some formulation of a general consensus on a programme of action that might strengthen international peace and security. Moreover, the drafters of the document, desirous of submitting an objective, complete and impartial document, and aware of the need to express the concern of all peace- and justice-loving Member States, did not confine themselves to an analysis of the communications submitted by the members of the Working Group alone, but studied the communications received from all Governments in which they express their views and proposals on the strengthening of international security, in accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 2602 (XXIV) [A/7922 and Add.1-5]. Together, we made a sustained and concerted

effort to give this important problem a solid and wide base. Document A/C.1/L.514, therefore, does not contain a purely European or Western draft resolution, since we believe that it reflects the suggestions and the aspirations of the great majority of our Organization.

4. The draft that the six countries have the honour to submit for the consideration of the Committee is still, however, one that is open to all suggestions, all proposals, that might improve or complete it.

5. Apart from its outstanding characteristics inspired by the desire to seek new international solidarity, the draft resolution also seeks to establish a sense of perspective. In fact the strengthening of international peace and security constitutes a complex problem, calling for comprehensive solutions. At a time when political orientations in each continent widen their objectives over the entire world, the formulation of choices, of priorities and of measures for the establishment of lasting peace must obviously rest upon a comprehensive vision and an over-all understanding of the needs involved. To those delegations that might query the length of our text, we would reply that all the ideas expressed in it are interdependent and indissolubly linked. Furthermore, we feel that the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations offers an appropriate occasion for submitting for the approval of the General Assembly a series of substantive, consistent and lasting measures that might strengthen the machinery best indicated for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, for the elimination of sources of conflict, for the appeasement of rivalries and antagonisms—in a word, for the creation of a true era of understanding and peace.

6. The great changes that have occurred in human societies since the end of the Second World War have opened up new horizons. These transformations, which each day take on wider dimensions with the advance of technical progress, call for new steps. The authors of the draft did not yield to the temptation to rewrite the Charter of the United Nations or merely to quote its text; the draft was prepared within the limits set by the Charter itself. We have noted with satisfaction that the dominant trend of the general debate in the Assembly was the consent expressed by statesmen and diplomats on the appropriateness and timeliness of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the necessity to respect them scrupulously. Moreover, a unanimous opinion was manifested that there should be an implementation of the means of action that the founders of our Organization had advocated in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

7. Obviously, the new steps will find their dynamism in the creative originality with which we are able to render

operative certain provisions of the Charter or improve the implementation of others.

8. As the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 did not yield to the temptation to rewrite or simply restate the purposes and principles of the Charter, so too did they abstain from commenting on specific resolutions of the Security Council of the General Assembly. The text we have submitted responds to the sole concern of bringing to reality on the political level a group of measures which, adapted to the new conditions brought about by the changes that have occurred since 1945, seems to reflect the aspirations of all Member States and allows us to fulfil the mission entrusted to us in Article 1 of the Charter.

9. International security constitutes an indivisible concept, becoming part of a world context. It could not be limited by geographical borders or racial or economic divisions. Therefore, the approach to the problems raised by it must also be global. For this reason we have deemed it appropriate to make a solemn appeal to the General Assembly to reaffirm the unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the universal obligation to observe them strictly.

10. However, such a reaffirmation would appear empty so long as it is not accompanied by an expression of the political will of Member States to put an end to antagonisms that place them in opposition, to reduce the disparities that separate and divide us and to defuse the crises that threaten us. Surely it is now for us to create such a spirit that no nation, no geographic region and no continent will consider war inevitable or even probable. The initial basis on which this spirit must rest is, obviously, still the degree of credibility to be attached to our commitments and our pledges.

11. Some delegations may have wondered why a number of European countries appear among the authors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.514 and why there is such insistence on the problem of regional arrangements or organisms. Since March last we have been exchanging views on the question of the strengthening of international peace and security and in so doing Europe has recalled that twice within 30 years it was the main theatre of wars, from which it suffered more than any other region of the world. Moreover, it recalled the paralysis in which the antagonisms and rivalries between States had plunged it. Since 1945 the concept of European solidarity has appeared to us as the last chance.

12. In the light of the regional vacuum between the two wars, we are now witnessing the growing of multilateral ties that have nothing dangerous or destructive in them. On the contrary, this multilateral solidarity constitutes a network compatible with the United Nations. The system of co-operation and alliance between the countries of Western Europe, the United States and Canada has put an end to the great disquiet and the cyclical confrontations and has now become a guarantee of coexistence between opposed régimes.

13. Furthermore, this type of co-operation has allowed the smaller and medium-sized nations not only to reaffirm their sovereignty but also to participate more actively in the

formulation and implementation of decisions concerning the organization of security.

14. Very often Belgium has indicated its desire to see achieved a regional security organization for all Europe. That is the ultimate goal, which we shall achieve only after the intermediate steps have been taken, that is, the extension to all Europe of agreements to renounce recourse to force, such as that concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, the progressive and parallel reduction of regional armaments, stationed and national, in Europe, and the multilateralization of bilateral agreements for economic and social co-operation among countries with different systems of government.

15. However—and I wish to stress this very important clarification—Mr. Harmel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, stated very explicitly in his statement in the general debate in the Assembly on 1 October that “if a security agreement for the whole of Europe were to be concluded some day, it too would not replace the task of the Security Council, nor would it remain subordinated to it through the links provided for in Article 54 of the Charter”. [1856th plenary meeting, para. 202.]

16. Pursuant to that line of thought, I believe it useful to add that my Government will give every support to any step or proposal tending to strengthen the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council. Moreover, it is along that line of reasoning that the co-sponsors of the draft resolution have included a number of paragraphs in the operative part that might ensure a sounder recourse to the possibilities offered by pertinent provisions of the Charter.

17. Thus, for example, paragraph 14:

“*Recommends to the Security Council that consideration be given to making use of Article 29 of the Charter with a view to creating appropriate subsidiary organs for the pacific settlement of disputes and for monitoring and restraining the flow of armament towards areas of tension or conflict.*”

We believe that this paragraph is particularly important, since it embodies a procedure intended to solve disputes among States through negotiation and, if necessary, through arbitration in the presence of all the interested parties. Here again we do not *a priori* exclude the idea of the regionalization of subsidiary organs.

18. The stress that we have placed upon the strengthening of the Articles of the Charter and the giving of more substance to those that deal with the specific mission of the Security Council in the strengthening of international peace and security must not be interpreted as showing a diminished interest on the part of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution in the important role that the General Assembly can and should play in this field. The active participation of all those who have contributed to the drafting of document A/C.1/L.514 constitutes, in my view, the best proof of the importance that we attach to associating our Assembly with efforts undertaken to maintain peace and stability in the world.

19. In concluding this statement, may I recall the words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium pronounced last

Thursday when he addressed the General Assembly. He said:

"No doubt each of us, before coming up to this rostrum, wonders about the usefulness or futility of the speech. Must we still speak when our voices are drowned out by the mournful cries of so many victims of the world's disorders? Our reply is yes, provided that in listening to each other, we become more deeply convinced of our responsibilities. For our part, we shall not extol the successes of the United Nations, nor shall we allow ourselves to be discouraged by its failures. A world-wide order of peace and justice cannot be built in 25 years." [*Ibid.*, para. 176.]

20. May I then add to those words by saying that in their efforts to present to the members of this Committee a consistent, balanced and complete text, the authors of the draft resolution never abandoned their concern to express the common aspirations of all States making up our Organization. But over and above our differences, that this draft resolution should be able to commend itself to the unanimous agreement of the Committee is the ardent hope of the six co-sponsors at this moment.

21. My delegation reserves its right to speak again in the debate, and particularly when the Committee proceeds to the examination of the various provisions of the drafts which have been submitted for its consideration.

22. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, speaking for the first time in this Committee, I should like to begin by adding my voice to that of my colleagues who addressed to you their warmest congratulations, as well as to our Vice-Chairman and our Rapporteur.

23. The French delegation, Mr. Chairman, has known you a long time. It knows of your eminent personal qualities, your competence and your devotion to our international community. We are happy and proud to have you as Chairman. Knowing your desire to speed up our work, I shall stop right here, but rest assured that those brief remarks are only a summary of the high esteem that we have for you.

24. Last year the General Assembly decided by acclamation to inscribe on the agenda of the present session the question which we are discussing today. The adoption of resolution 2606 (XXIV) reflected, no doubt, the unanimous awareness of the need for and the timeliness of a common reflection upon the means of strengthening international security.

25. What moment could be more propitious for such a reflection than the one when our Organization is about to draw up the balance sheet of its first quarter of a century? Twenty-five years ago, the peoples of the United Nations, "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", joined their efforts to set up an international organization whose first objective was to "maintain international peace". Indeed, from the hope to the reality, there was a gap which the past quarter of a century did not make it possible to bridge, but the need for

the maintenance of international peace and security—or should I say the maintenance of peace through international security—is ever more urgent. During those tumultuous years, mankind has indeed been spared a planetary holocaust. But its terrible threat has not been definitely eliminated. The balance of terror—that is to say, the mutual fear of nuclear annihilation—paradoxically made easier the birth of geographically limited conflicts with conventional weapons. Blood has constantly flowed, and ruins have never ceased accumulating. A recent study revealed that between 1945 and 1969 "55 wars of significant scope, duration and intensity" took place. That is to say that on the average, every five months since the signing of the Charter a conflagration has started which might have degenerated into a generalized conflict.

26. The peoples of the United Nations cannot resign themselves to accepting as inevitable this disturbed existence. There is probably no more urgent task for us than to seek honestly and objectively how we can respond to their aspirations for peace and carry out the task entrusted to us by the Charter. If the objective is clear for all, the lengthy debates of last year, those that have just begun and the answers sent to the Secretary-General by more than 50 Governments [*A/7922 and Add.1-5*], show that opinions are not always the same with respect to the ways to achieve that objective. Reflecting the diversity of political, economic and social concepts as well as the specific concerns of each State, those differences are neither surprising nor shocking. But under the provisions of the Charter, our Organization must be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends". This is the harmonizing which we must seek in searching for what my delegation called last year the common denominator of our necessary unanimity; in other words, by working out a document which we shall propose to the General Assembly, mindful, above all, of that which unites us. We should put aside for future debates political situations or topics likely to pit us against each other.

27. The report of the Secretary-General [*ibid.*] leads us to think that that which unites us is quite considerable. There is probably no Government among those whose replies are to be found in the report, which has failed to stress the need to reaffirm the principles inscribed in the Charter and the solemn undertaking of all Member States to respect the fundamental obligations to which they have subscribed by adhering to our Organization.

28. That is the point of view of the French Government which, in its letter of 13 May last [*see A/7922*] reminded the Secretary-General that "... the general conditions for international security are included in the Charter itself, which goes to the heart of the problem in setting forth the purposes and principles of the Organization".

29. These principles are essentially those of sovereignty, international co-operation, equal rights, territorial integrity, political independence, the right of peoples freely to determine their own social systems, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, non-resort to the threat or use of force, inadmissibility of acquiring territory by means of war and, finally, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States—that is, the domestic situation of States or their political or social system cannot be invoked by other States

to justify measures of pressure or other forms of intervention. These principles that I have just recalled constitute one complete whole, and there can be no hierarchy or order of priority among the various elements.

30. Let these principles, which are all solemnly enshrined in the Charter, be ignored, and anguish, fear and insecurity are born.

31. But security, as my delegation said last year [1657th meeting], is also involved when fundamental freedoms, which must be guaranteed without distinction as to race, sex, religion or language, are trampled underfoot, when in some parts of the world there is contempt for the rights of the majority by the minority, when there is social and economic stagnation condemning millions of human beings to poverty, hunger, humiliation and revolt.

32. To remind the Committee of the value of Charter principles to strengthen international security is therefore much more than a mere reaffirmation of our undertaking to respect them. It is also an expression of our will to seek and achieve with other members of the international community the general conditions which make it possible for every State to discharge its obligations.

33. These various obligations, which the signatory States undertook to fulfil in good faith, mean that they must achieve the conditions of genuine international security.

34. The first of those conditions, as France has often said, is a genuine and lasting *détente*, which presupposes a permanent will on the part of all countries to work together and to act in conciliation. That implies, of course, the repudiation of any policy of blocs and hegemony—in other words, the renunciation by some of the temptations of guardianship, by others of a spirit of abandonment which would lead them to abdicate their responsibilities and their rights under the Charter to the advantage of more powerful States. Therefore the existence of political and military alliances, agreements or regional organizations, recognized by Article 52 of the Charter, to the extent that this is compatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, must not prevent States parties from enjoying all prerogatives predicated upon their sovereignty and, in particular, from deciding in full freedom to adhere to, or withdraw from, such groupings.

35. The qualitative and quantitative arms race, the accumulation of means of delivery and bombs, constant technological progress in the field of defensive and offensive weapons clearly show that there can be no question of international security in the absence of a genuine effort towards general and complete disarmament. In the nuclear field partial measures already taken cannot dissipate the legitimate concern of peoples whose security will never truly be assured unless among the Powers possessing nuclear weapons there is an agreement on the destruction and prohibition of the manufacture of atomic weapons and means of delivery under appropriate international control. In the field of so-called conventional weapons, which as we have seen have never been silent in the last 25 years, conventional and balanced disarmament through successive stages must actively be sought together.

36. Everyone sees that the constant stockpiling of the most costly armaments is an obstacle to the general economic development effort and assistance to the third world. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization,¹ gave us most convincing figures in this connexion. The continuance of a situation where the abundance of some is an insult to the poverty of others, who make up the great majority, is in itself a factor of trouble and insecurity. The Second United Nations Development Decade would have true meaning only if it could be assisted by the use of savings effected as a result of effective disarmament measures.

37. To note that the strengthening of international security is, first of all, predicated upon the will of States does not mean that we underestimate the role of our Organization.

38. But it is quite clear that it cannot claim to reflect the opinions of the world community so long as China has not taken its place in it. Without dwelling on this subject, which is another item on the agenda, I would stress that our present debates certainly would have a much greater scope and effectiveness if the representative of a State, whose increasing weight in international life is well known to all, took part in them.

39. It appears to the French delegation that the condition of coherent action by the United Nations in the field of international security is the scrupulous implementation of Charter provisions. To question any provision of our common law would only weaken an authority which all of us wish to strengthen.

40. In the realistic balance established among the various organs of the United Nations, the Charter confers upon the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter VI grants it wide competence in the matter of the peaceful settlement of disputes, a field in which—although this is not spelt out in the Charter—we must include the good offices of the Secretary-General, of course with the agreement of the Security Council. By the same token and without underestimating the role of discussion and recommendation which the Articles relating to the powers and functions of the General Assembly vest in the latter, if we think of Chapter VII we must be mindful of the fact that action by the United Nations means action by the Security Council.

41. That is why the recent consensus among its members on the convening of periodic meetings of the Council under Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter could, in our view, open up interesting possibilities.

42. On the other hand, we do not think it possible for the time being to take a position on some proposals which, under Article 29 of the Charter, would set up subsidiary organs of the Council. It is, of course, for the Council itself, which is master of its procedures under Article 29, to evaluate the appropriateness of setting up new bodies to assist it in its task.

43. It would probably be useful, however, for the General Assembly, on the proposal of our Committee, to indicate

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

its support for some specialized committees under its responsibility, whose activity is linked directly to the strengthening of international security. I have in mind, among others, the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, the Special Committee on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

44. Since the reports of those Committees are presented to other bodies, we will not endeavour to analyse them in detail here. May I say, however, how desirable it seems to us for this session of the General Assembly to adopt a formulation of the seven principles which the Special Committee on friendly relations has had to codify.

45. On the other hand, with reference to peace-keeping operations, a topic whose priority was underscored recently by the Secretary-General, I wish to stress that the Special Committee dealing with this matter and its working group are actively pursuing their efforts to reach an agreement on some fundamental aspects of the problem. The negotiations appear delicate despite the evident desire of the participants to bring closer together positions that are rather far apart. In these conditions it would appear wise that on this specific point our Committee should abstain from any recommendations which might be construed as prejudging the result of careful and arduous work undertaken by the Committee. The same caution should inspire us in the field of aggression. It seems preferable for wordings on which we could agree to avoid the use of a term whose definition has not yet been agreed upon among us.

46. The preceding remarks are rather limited. My delegation wanted thus to proclaim its conviction that international security did not depend on an adjustment of texts or a change of machinery but rather of entire and sincere respect for principles and objectives of the Charter.

47. What would be the weight of resolutions, recommendations, reforms and new bodies or changes in them if we did not first measure the exact scope of undertakings which we subscribed to by adhering to the Charter, if we did not recall the whole magnitude of this act of faith? Thus, France wishes to stress the genuine will to apply these principles and fully to use the resources of our Organization. I fully share the feeling of others, such as the representative of Brazil [1725th meeting], to the effect that it is not enough to proclaim our objectives. It would be vacuous to determine an ideal if at the same time we shirked our responsibilities and refused, here in the Headquarters of the United Nations, to tackle the most serious and the most delicate topics, those that would clearly reveal our divergent interests. I mean divergent interests because on the substance, on the objective—namely, international peace and security—I persist in believing we are all agreed. But, for the rest, let us have the courage to recognize our oppositions and having identified and circumscribed our differences let us strive to suppress them. Nothing would be more nefarious for the cause we wish to defend than to be united in confusion. What we need in other words is to give anew to this Organization the feeling of its political duties, and use the possibilities provided for in the Charter but not yet explored.

48. That is what my delegation means precisely when we speak of reaffirming our adherence to the principles of the Charter.

49. The 25 years that have elapsed since San Francisco have made it possible for us to verify the constant actuality of those principles. This quarter century has also shown us what were the obstacles in the path of their implementation. Thus, it taught us what should guide our relations if we wanted the words "peace and security" not to be devoid of any meaning.

50. I specify these topics, which I would call the three Ds—*Détente*, Development and Disarmament. They must inspire our policy. The search for large-scale agreement will guide our attitude in the consideration of draft which are, or will be, submitted to this Committee. We must note at this stage that in those already submitted, there are many provisions which seem to be excellent and quite acceptable. The text which we will recommend to the General Assembly should exclude any polemics, any particular reference, which will not be the best expression of general opinion.

51. We are convinced that such an effort can rapidly lead to success and that the best chance for success will lie through unofficial consultations among all the delegations concerned. My delegation does not exclude the possibility of putting forward its own proposals and it is quite ready to take an active part in such exchanges of views—for instance, within a working group.

52. In the present debate there cannot be any question of confrontation, but rather of rapprochement, because in the final analysis international security means security of all with the support of all. It requires above all the agreement of all parties concerned. That is the goal we wish to attain and the example which we must give.

53. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of France for the congratulations that he addressed to the members of the Bureau. Personally, I am very grateful to Ambassador Kosciuszko-Morizet for the kindness and generosity of his words as well as for their brevity.

54. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, I wish to congratulate you very warmly on your election to preside over our Committee. At this session we are, under the symbol of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, considering questions concerning the peace and security of our peoples and we are happy that the direction of our work is in the hands of a person of the nature and calibre of the representative of Venezuela, Ambassador Andrés Aguilar, whose high intellectual and moral qualities we all recognize. Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, you represent a country very close in friendship to Greece in a region of the world whose people are tied to us by very close cultural roots. Our feelings for the Latin American people are very special.

55. We congratulate also the representatives of Somalia and of Czechoslovakia, Ambassadors Farah and Černík, on their election to the posts of Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee respectively.

56. Last year [*1656th meeting*], the Greek delegation expressed to this Committee our satisfaction at seeing included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly the question of the strengthening of international security. The great interest that my country attaches to this question dates back to the dark days of the Second World War when, side by side with our allies, we participated in the preparatory work for a world organization capable of ensuring international peace and security.

57. Signatory of the Inter-Allied Declaration adopted in London on 21 June 1941 by sixteen governments, signatory of the United Nations Declaration in Washington on New Year's Day 1942 by 26 allies, Greece, at the San Francisco Conference, expressed its unequivocal devotion to the ideal of international co-operation and its faith in the possibility and the need to create a community governed by a body of rules of international conduct.

58. It is true that the aims we set ourselves at the outset are still partly in the field of aspirations. World public opinion perhaps expected too much of the United Nations. Today it shows certain doubts regarding our effectiveness and attributes to us the role of the chorus in the Greek tragedies which always laments the sad fate of mortals, always prey to the super-power of the Olympians.

59. But, in the last analysis, the success or failure of our Organization can only reflect the way in which its Members are willing to fulfil their responsibilities; I say all its Members, but I mean particularly the great Powers, which have been given special prerogatives in the Charter.

60. The representative of Brazil, in the brilliant statement he made last week [*1725th meeting*], dwelt on this subject in a very realistic and objective way and we are sure that his findings will be borne in mind by all.

61. In its reply to the Secretary-General on 15 May in document A/7922, the Greek Government made known its point of view on the matter with which we are dealing. We placed specific emphasis on the need to respect the provisions of Chapter I of the Charter which, to a large extent, constitutes the code of ethics of States in their international relations. In fact, the best of security systems can function effectively only if it is based upon our will to respect the principles set forth in the Charter, including those of sovereignty, political independence, national integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by war, and so on.

62. Without wanting to establish a hierarchy among those principles, my delegation attaches special importance to that of non-resort to the threat or use of force, which is the cornerstone of any legally organized international community.

63. As my delegation stated the other day in the Sixth Committee, the principle of non-resort to the threat or use of force is in keeping not only with existing tenets of the law of nations but also with the most vital interests of the international community—if, of course, we admit that the most cherished ideal of any human society is peace.

64. May I parenthetically say that the Greek Government is in favour of a further consolidation, within the strict framework of those principles, of relations among neighbouring countries and we are happy to see that the concept of regional understandings and agreements was included in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.²

65. Furthermore, and more generally speaking, we agree with the Secretary-General, who, in paragraph 12 of his report [A/7922], stated that “regional arrangements may well contribute to the strengthening of international security provided the primary and overriding responsibility of the United Nations in this field is fully recognized and respected”.

66. But with whom does that responsibility lie in the United Nations itself? Some Member States remind us very often that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred by the Charter on the Security Council. That is only too true. It is equally true that each time the General Assembly has been seized of a problem linked to the maintenance of peace, it has been due to the inaction of the Council and, as it were, in desperation.

67. The Security Council has now been in existence for 25 years. It has done much to safeguard peace. But the Charter allows it to do even more, particularly so far as prevention is concerned. It can, for example, exercise the rights conferred upon it in Article 34 of the Charter and grapple with disputes before they degenerate into crises that directly threaten peace. And, in the event of a crisis, it can—most often on its own initiative—intervene without necessarily awaiting the calling for a meeting by one or other of the parties concerned. And it can above all intervene before it is too late in order to abort a crisis.

68. Once seized of a question, the Security Council should not merely content itself with doing what is most urgent. It must go further than provisional pacification, which, because it is provisional, is inevitably precarious.

69. That, we believe, is how the Security Council can contribute to the effort to strengthen international security. Nor should we minimize the General Assembly's role and the enormous moral value of its resolutions, which reflect the collective will of all its Members, expressed in the case of important questions by the two-thirds majority provided for in Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter. Among others provided for in the Charter, these questions include recommendations of the Assembly concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

70. Heading the executive branch of our Organization, the Secretary-General also has prerogatives in this field, and we should like to see his role strengthened. During last year's debate, my delegation stressed that:

“[The Secretary-General] is, of course, the chief administrator of our Organization; but in the spirit, if not the letter, of the Charter, he is more than that. He is an

² For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

observer, and from his impartial and objective position he can follow world trends and developments, foresee burgeoning problems, draw the attention of Member States to dangers resulting from a perilous course, offer, if need be, his valuable counsel or even his mediation, and act as an organizer and co-ordinator in the implementation of decisions or recommendations of the competent bodies of the United Nations for the safeguarding of peace.” [1656th meeting, para. 89.]

71. There is also the vast field of the organization of peace-keeping forces, as provided for in the relevant Articles of Chapter VII of the Charter. We could cite many examples from the past when such a United Nations force has been able to intervene—and with unquestionable success—as in the case of Cyprus. But those operations were all *ad hoc* and sometimes hastily improvised, when each second counted and the situation on the scene brooked no delay.

72. It is surely time, we believe, for us to progress towards the preparation of a contractual statute that would allow the competent organs of the United Nations to know which contingents they could call upon in urgent situations and to be able to mobilize those contingents as quickly as possible. Obviously, such an arrangement cannot be based upon voluntary contributions, and some form of equitable financing must be established.

73. We are fully aware of the difficulties that have confronted the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations thus far. But here, in this room, we have to return to this question. The question of the examination of measures to strengthen international peace and security has been raised. It would be absurd to contend that the organization of peace-keeping forces is not one of those measures, or even not one of high priority. It is satisfying to note in this context that in the Lusaka Declaration³ the non-aligned nations asked that measures towards that end be taken at the present session of the General Assembly.

74. Finally, the resolution to be adopted by this Committee on the strengthening of international security cannot overlook the need to eliminate any racial discrimination or any impediment to the free exercise by peoples of their right to self-determination. Nor should it underestimate the truth that international security cannot exist together with poverty and ignorance and cannot be ensured while there exist human beings suffering from need and want. Is that not the quintessence of the principle of equality of rights?

75. My delegation notes that the two draft resolutions submitted to this Committee thus far [A/C.1/L.513 and 514], though they are different in some ways, contain some common directives and concepts. We trust that our deliberations will lead us to a general agreement so that our conclusions will have indisputable moral strength.

76. In this anniversary year of the United Nations it is encouraging to note that the General Assembly is endeavouring to present to our peoples a triptych highlighting the rules of conduct of our Governments in their mutual

relations. I am referring to the declaration being prepared by the Committee on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary, the declaration on friendly relations among States adopted by our colleagues in the Sixth Committee, and finally the resolution to which I trust our work in this Committee will lead.

77. Generally speaking, that is the picture that will be shown and the message that world public opinion will receive from this commemorative session.

78. But given the precarious situation of peace in the world today, our peoples will demand more than mere statements of good intent. In a world that is constantly evolving, in an era in which everything is changing and progressing, the new generation in particular can no longer accept the frequent breakdowns of the machinery for the preservation of peace operating in New York. The youth of the world know where the fault lies, and they tell us so. They know that it is not the texts that are lacking but the will to apply them, our will to give international norms the same respect and force that we give our domestic laws, our determination to see that resolutions concerning peace and security adopted by the competent organs of the United Nations, and particularly those of the Security Council, are applied under the watchful eye of the international community.

79. Therefore, we must expect world public opinion to give no weight to our proclamations unless they are accompanied by a change of heart, a ripening of our common will to prove by deeds that the spirit of San Francisco still lives.

80. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Greece for the congratulations he addressed to the officers of the Committee and to me personally.

81. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): Mr. Chairman, it gives me much pleasure to be able to extend to you, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, most sincere congratulations on your election as Chairman of our Committee. My satisfaction is the greater as I have the opportunity to welcome you as a representative of a country with which Yugoslavia maintains traditional ties of friendship and co-operation. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Vice-President Ambassador Farah and Rapporteur Ambassador Cernik on their election.

82. The Yugoslav Government in its reply to the Secretary-General [see A/7922/Add.1] has outlined its fundamental position on the problem of international security, a problem which it holds to be one of the most important and the most urgent issues in international relations. Only through adequate solution of this problem will it be possible to ensure conditions for the realization of inalienable rights of all the peoples and countries to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and independent internal development, irrespective of their size, level of development and social system. Only a country whose security is not constantly subjected to threats can freely participate in international life and render its full contribution to the building up of a democratic international community. The basic viewpoints of my Government on security were also

³ Adopted at the Third Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

formulated by my Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his statement on 25 September 1970 in the General Assembly [1850th plenary meeting], while a wider elaboration of our concepts and outlooks was presented during the debate in this Committee at the twenty-fourth session.

83. The keen interest shown by almost all countries in the problem at present under consideration has convinced us that it is a matter of universal preoccupation and that it is high time to take substantive steps in the direction of the strengthening of international security.

84. This common preoccupation was also evident at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970, at which the problem of peace and international security figured as one of the central and priority issues. The Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations, which was unanimously adopted by States representing one half of the membership of the United Nations, is imbued with the feeling of urgency and the need to strengthen security, above all of the small and middle-sized countries and the developing countries. This attitude of the non-aligned countries is reflected in the statement on the United Nations contained in the Lusaka conference statement—expressing the view that the twenty-fifth General Assembly session should adopt a declaration on strengthening international peace and security. The statement said:

“This Declaration should be based on scrupulous respect for the observance in practice of the principles of the Charter, of peaceful co-existence and friendly relations among the States and would particularly emphasize renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-intervention in the internal affairs of any State, the inviolability of established frontiers, prohibition of aggression and non-recognition of territorial acquisition by conquest, respect for the sovereign equality of nations, peaceful settlement of disputes, disarmament including nuclear disarmament, and the promotion of economic and social development in particular of developing countries”.

85. We are aware of the fact that we are examining a very complex and long-term issue. We are aware that the security of the small and middle-sized countries is not ensured by a mere absence of confrontation or conflicts among great Powers or blocs, although we do not minimize the significance or the positive effect of *détente* in their relations. The independence and security of a number of countries is constantly threatened by attempts to prevent their unobstructed internal development and independent actions within the international community. The aggressive actions and hot-beds of crises and conflicts in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and in southern Africa are a clear evidence of such a state of affairs.

86. International security cannot rest only on the avoidance of an outbreak of a major war and on the basis of the balance of power. The balance of power, in addition to being the reflection of an understanding that some countries have a special role, presupposes the retaining of the existing structure of the international relations in the

world. This, in other words, means that those who are stronger retain the right arbitrarily to undertake economic, political and even military actions, to the detriment of third countries, for the purpose of preserving such a balance. The balance of power, in its very essence, neglects the role of other countries even though their active participation in international relations is indispensable to the solution of those problems upon which international peace and security depend.

87. The General Assembly, after having examined the problem of the strengthening of international security at the twenty-fourth session, adopted resolution 2606 (XXIV), expressing a desire that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be marked by new initiatives to promote peace, security, disarmament and economic and social progress for all mankind. It also expressed the view that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly should consider appropriate recommendations on the strengthening of international security. This provides a general framework for the exploring of ideas and for undertaking initiatives during the current debate on this question. Basing our judgement on the very extensive and constructive debate at the previous session in the First Committee, and on the replies of many Governments contained in documents A/7922 and Add.1-5, we have come to the conclusion that the time is ripe for adopting at this session an appropriate document of a substantive nature containing general principles and recommendations for promoting international security. This naturally is a continuing process demanding concerted international efforts and concrete actions in the coming years.

88. Kindly allow me now to present in general outline the concepts and viewpoints of my delegation regarding the possible substance of such a document of the General Assembly.

89. It is understandable that the recommendations presented by the General Assembly on peace and security must reflect the interests of the international community as a whole, and not of this or that narrow regional interest, or the interests of some Powers only. The lack of adequate performance by our Organization, in particular the absence of a system of effective collective measures—for reasons well known to all of us—makes it incumbent upon all to undertake essential and urgent measures which, if accompanied by the adequate participation of all States, will make it possible primarily to eliminate the existing source of instability and tension in various parts of the world. There can be no general security unless a complex approach is evolved for the settlement of outstanding issues such as—to mention only the crucial ones—disarmament, decolonization and development.

90. We are firmly convinced that the essence of the concept of security in the international community lies in the universal validity and applicability of the principles of the Charter in relations among all States without any exceptions and irrespective of similarities or differences in social systems. 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 and principles of the United Nations, can in no way be justified or legalized. In other words, motives of military-political,

economic, ideological or other nature cannot, in any circumstances, serve as a cause or pretext for legalizing the use of force.

91. When making reference to the principles of the Charter we have in mind those in Article 2, which are also further elaborated in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which, we hope, the General Assembly will adopt during its commemorative session.⁴ Those principles are: the sovereign equality of States, the prohibition of the threat or use of force, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the duty of States to co-operate with one another and the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and the principle concerning the fulfilment of Charter obligations in good faith. Their unconditional reaffirmation and strict observance in relations among all States constitutes an irreplaceable foundation of international security.

92. In that context we must always have in mind also those principles whose violation is directly associated with the threat of the very existence, sovereignty and independence of every State. This concerns the inviolability of established frontiers, the inadmissibility of military occupation and the acquisition of territories by the use of force as well as the non-recognition of territorial acquisition by conquest. The prerequisite for the application of this principle is the withdrawal from territories thus occupied. Its indisputable validity is obvious, especially in terms of the existing crises and armed conflicts in some parts of the world. Invoking the principles of the Charter is not sufficient, especially in conditions in which some States are flagrantly violating decisions and resolutions of United Nations organs or else are failing to apply them in practice, which constitutes a challenge not only to the United Nations but also to the international community as a whole. Consequently, one of the basic presumptions for the effective functioning of the United Nations security system is that the Member States respect and implement in practice decisions adopted in accordance with the Charter relating to the safeguarding of peace and security.

93. There is no doubt that the existence of strongholds of colonialism and racism, particularly in southern Africa, seriously jeopardizes international peace and security. This makes it essential for the General Assembly to call for the adoption of effective measures in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] in order to bring about the final liquidation of colonialism, *apartheid* and all other forms of foreign domination. Also, it is indispensable to abolish immediately all military and other measures serving for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples under colonial and racist rule.

94. As has rightly been pointed out by many delegations, the evolving of the system of international security is a complex process and under no circumstances should it be reduced to organizational or technical measures isolated from the context of international relations and the requirements of the contemporary world which is constantly

developing and changing. We are all agreed that the achievement of general and complete disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, under effective international control, is one of the most essential elements of international security, a goal towards which we hope the disarmament decade will greatly contribute. At the same time the undertaking of urgent actions is becoming an urgent need—actions, especially by the nuclear Powers, to curb the arms race and to dismantle military bases on the territories of other States, including the gradual reduction and withdrawal of foreign armed forces from those territories.

95. In all our debates we have stressed the close mutual link and the urgent need to find a solution to the problems of security and economic and social development. My delegation is of the opinion that there exists among us a substantial similarity of views and that this should be reflected in a document to be adopted by us. We feel that that document should accentuate the need to undertake, within the Second United Nations Development Decade and in the framework of the International Development Strategy for that Decade concerted actions towards the solution of the pressing problems of developing countries so as to uproot the sources of instability originating in deepening disparities in the economic and social development in the world.

96. After having outlined the concept of the strengthening of international security we are immediately faced with the question of the role of United Nations organs in this field. The entire orientation should be more than a static approach; it should invite dynamic action. Under the Charter the Security Council bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. That responsibility, as stated in Article 24, was bestowed exclusively for the purpose of ensuring prompt and effective action by the United Nations. In other words that responsibility is not exhausted with the primary mandate. The responsibility is of a functional nature, that is, it is conditioned to the discharging of the entrusted mandate. We hope that the recently adopted decision by the Security Council to hold periodic meetings in conformity with Article 28, paragraph 2, which we welcome, will contribute to the effective functioning of the Security Council precisely in implementing its numerous resolutions, which, regrettably, are void of any practical effect in the majority of instances.

97. Under the Charter the General Assembly is also called upon to play an important role in the field of peace and security. This is of even greater significance as it concerns an organ in which all Member States enjoy equitable representation. We wish to recall, for example, Articles 11 and 14 of the Charter, which provide for the active role of the General Assembly in considering questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and in recommending measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the Charter. We do not look upon the activity of these two main organs of the United Nations through the prism of a conflict of competence, but as a mutually supplementing action conducted in the spirit of co-operation and for the purpose of making the role of the United Nations more effective. Every organ entrusted

⁴ For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

with specific rights by the Charter should exercise these rights only in correlation with its obligations. Commitments do not cease to exist with the adoption of a decision but with its implementation in practice.

98. In order that the United Nations may effectively respond to its increasing obligations in one or the other area, it must not reconcile itself to the fact that a number of States are still absent from its membership, especially having in mind that these States can, in great measure, contribute to the strengthening of international security. When we say this we have particularly in mind the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Therefore, it is high time for the General Assembly of the United Nations to underscore the realization of its universality, as a vital measure to this end. In this way the United Nations would become, as stated in the Lusaka Declaration, "a more effective instrument against all forms of aggressive action and the threat or use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country".

99. In examining the concrete measures for the strengthening of international security, it seems to us that there exists a broad diapason of possibilities and potentials not yet fully perceived or tested in practice. The Charter offers us two main options: peaceful solution of disputes by resorting to the means referred to in Article 33—which obviously should constitute our main course of action—and compulsory measures under Chapter VII in situations of threats to the peace, breaches of the peace or acts of aggression. Both functions have as their aim to retain or restore peace and security. In the practice of the United Nations the peace-keeping operations have asserted themselves as a useful instrument enabling the United Nations to play a more effective role in preventing armed international conflicts. The peace-making and peace-keeping function of the United Nations—which in the present-day world is of exceptional significance in view of the fact that crises are inherent with dangers of unpredictable and far-reaching consequences for peace in general—should be further strengthened in the process of formulating and adopting concrete measures. Furthermore, the adoption of a definition of aggression could greatly facilitate the efforts of the United Nations to discourage the potential aggressors and to establish clearer criteria for United Nations action against aggression.

100. If during the current session we were to be satisfied only with the adoption of an appropriate document, while at the same time losing sight of the need to exert continuing efforts, we should be completing just a part of our task—merely the initial task—deriving from the very purposes and principles of the United Nations. Although Article 1 of the Charter clearly stipulates the basic task and mission of our Organization in maintaining international peace and security, we have only recently begun to examine in a systematic and comprehensive manner all that is necessary to equip the United Nations better for a more effective performance and the discharging of its duties. The least we can do, in our opinion, is to keep this question under constant review and to place it also on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly.

101. A number of Governments have submitted to the Secretary-General their views on international security. This

multilateral dialogue should somehow be resumed. A possibility should be provided for continuing exchanges of views and initiatives among us, for which the Office of the Secretary-General would be an excellent facility. Moreover, we should see to it that the agenda of the General Assembly offers a possibility for further constructive discussions and recommendations. The Security Council will, in all probability, on a periodic basis and in terms of its own responsibility, examine the state of international security. Presently under way also are regional undertakings which are intended to promote regional security and co-operation. These actions should also be integrated within the framework of universal actions under the auspices of the United Nations. There is no doubt, in our mind, that regional measures have wider justification and utility only if they take place within a strict implementation of relevant provisions of the Charter and if they include—on an equal footing—all States of a given region. This at the same time would constitute the best way of overcoming bloc divisions in some parts of the world. This, we believe, is even more important as it lends substance to the idea of continuity by integrating regional and broader processes into a common undertaking which cannot but enhance the universal role of the United Nations.

102. In conclusion I wish to state that my delegation is ready to make its contribution toward formulating a document which will meet with the widest possible acceptance of the General Assembly.

103. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the contribution he has made to our debate and for his very kind comments regarding the officers of the Committee.

Organization of work

104. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have no more speakers on my list for this afternoon's meeting, but before adjourning I should like to make some comments on the Committee's programme of work and on our plans for tomorrow in particular.

105. With regard to the general programme of work, bearing in mind the decision which the Committee adopted on the organization of work and which appears in document A/C.1/1005, I should like to suggest the following tentative time-table.

106. The item before us, dealing with measures for the strengthening of international security, will be examined over a period of nine working days—that is, from 28 September, when we began the discussion, to 13 October, the eve of the opening of the commemorative session. That would give us, I repeat, nine working days to devote to this item. For the next item, the invitation aspects of the question of Korea, in this tentative time-table we have allotted two working days after the commemorative session, namely, 26 and 27 October. For the next item, which takes in all the disarmament questions, we have allotted fourteen working days, that is, from 28 October to 16 November. Then, for the debate on the invitation aspects of the question of Korea, we have provided three working days, that is, from 17 to 19 November. For the fifth item, the sea-bed questions, we have envisaged eleven working

days, that is, from 20 November to 4 December. Finally, for the item on the peaceful uses of outer space, three working days have been planned, that is, from 7 to 9 December.

107. That necessarily very provisional scheduling of working days for the various items is naturally subject to revision in the course of our work.

108. In order that all members of the Committee will have as clear an idea as possible of this allocation of time, I should like to add that when I speak of working days I am considering the possibility of holding morning and afternoon meetings five days a week, from Monday to Friday, and, when necessary, night meetings or Saturday meetings.

109. We must also bear in mind that, since the target date for the adjournment of this session of the General Assembly is Tuesday, 15 December, the Committee must finish its work on Friday, 11 December. If necessary, the Committee could meet on Saturday, 12 December.

110. This provisional distribution of the time available to us includes two working days that have been reserved in case the time allowed for some of these items is insufficient. These are days which the Committee would have at its disposal and which it could use to consider any draft resolution or proposal on any of the items, particularly in connexion with the disarmament and sea-bed questions, which may require prolonged consultations. Thus, under this provisional time-table we should have available two days—10 and 11 December, and possibly Saturday 12 December—which, as I have just said, we could regard as a kind of reserve to be used, if necessary, to discuss draft resolutions or proposals that are pending or require consultations.

111. This tentative time-table of working days will be circulated as a document tomorrow and, therefore, any member of the Committee—now or after having consulted

the document—can make the observations or comments that he considers pertinent.

112. Finally, with regard to our work, I should like to inform the Committee what the situation will be tomorrow. We have only two speakers inscribed on the list for tomorrow. Therefore, unless any member of the Committee states now that he intends to speak tomorrow, we shall hold only one meeting, beginning at 11 o'clock and shall have no afternoon meeting.

113. For Wednesday, 7 October, in principle we have four speakers on the list for the morning and only two for the afternoon. For Thursday, 8 October, we now have four speakers on the list. For Friday, 9 October, we have four speakers on the list. Finally, for Monday, 12 October, we have only one speaker on the list.

114. Therefore I would reiterate the appeal I made on Saturday to all delegations that they make known their intention of participating in the debate on this subject and, have their names inscribed on the list as soon as possible, so that we may have a clearer idea of the way in which we shall allocate the time available to us. I would also repeat my appeal regarding the presentation of draft resolutions or amendments to drafts already submitted.

115. Finally, I wish to say that, if I have made no suggestions regarding the closing of the general debate, it is because, as members have probably noted, we are having at the same time a general debate and a discussion of the various proposals submitted. This time we have not made a clear distinction between what is normally termed a general debate on the subject and a discussion of specific draft resolutions. We are doing both at the same time, which I feel will considerably facilitate the work of the Committee.

116. If there are no comments regarding what I have stated to the Committee, I shall adjourn the meeting.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.