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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. Mr. GROSEV (Bulgaria) (*translated from Russian*): On behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, I congratulate you most sincerely on your unanimous election to the office of Chairman of the First Committee. I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Farah of Somalia and Ambassador Cerník of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on their elections as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively.

2. One of the most important questions on the agenda of this session has been allocated to the First Committee. We find it quite natural that the question of peace and the strengthening of international security should be the central and most timely issue before the Committee. We are confident that, under your leadership, a business-like and creative atmosphere will be established for the arduous and very responsible work of the Committee, so that we shall achieve the beneficial results which are expected of the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

3. The Bulgarian delegation approaches the discussion of the question of the maintenance of peace and strengthening of international security with the greatest seriousness.

4. Like the vast majority of representatives present here, we are convinced that this question is extremely important and decisive for the entire work of the United Nations and that it is the most burning issue of our time. For this reason, it is quite right that we should start by considering this question, to which we must devote all our attention and efforts.

5. We are extremely glad that everything said on this matter so far confirms beyond doubt the importance which the world community attaches to the strengthening of peace and international security. I am referring to the discussion held last year at the twenty-fourth session of the

General Assembly, when this item was proposed by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,¹ to the replies received to the letter sent by the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV) [A/7922 and Add.1-5] and to the statements made during the general debate in the Assembly, which ended last week.

6. As everybody knows, the basic and permanent task of the United Nations is to assist in preserving peace and to take the necessary measures for the strengthening of international security. I would venture to point out, however, that on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations this task more than ever before assumes absolute priority, because of the tense international situation which prevails and the recognition of the vital need for decisive measures to prevent a further deterioration in the international situation and to promote the strengthening of international security in order to achieve lasting peace.

7. The commemorative session provides an opportunity to take stock of what the United Nations has done over the past twenty-five years. Some of the achievements of the Organization are already part of the history of this stormy period in the development of human society. A number of shortcomings have also come to light, which to this day are a painful reminder of the difficulties facing the United Nations as it tries to achieve its lofty purposes.

8. The most important and perhaps the most reliable yardstick for measuring the success of the United Nations is the contribution it has made to the struggle to preserve international peace and strengthen international security. What is and what can and should be its role in this regard? The answer can be found in the Organization's main purpose, which was widely proclaimed on the day of its birth: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace and security. The answer can be found in today's complex international situation and in the heavy demand which States Members of the United Nations and peoples are making on the Organization.

9. The international situation is still extremely unstable and this is posing a constant threat to international peace. This semi-permanent state of tension is contaminating the atmosphere of international relations and, as a number of recent events have shown, may at any time lead to a sudden deterioration in the international situation with the obvious risk that events may get out of hand.

10. Throughout the 25 years which have elapsed since the Second World War, certain countries have through their

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

aggressive actions been constantly fomenting hotbeds of war in various parts of the world. Some of these are a sword of Damocles hanging over international peace and security. The peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos are the victims of imperialist aggression. The shameful and universally condemned war against the heroic Viet-Nameese people is not only continuing but is expanding. After concentrating on maintaining the artificial division of Korea, the aggressive imperialist forces are maintaining a state of tension on the borders of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

11. In the Middle East, the aggressive expansionist policy of Israel, inspired and supported by its influential allies, is creating in this region and throughout the Mediterranean basin—the meeting-point of Europe, Africa and Asia—a hotbed of tension which is very dangerous for international peace and threatens to explode at any moment.

12. On the African continent, the colonialist and racist régimes, which are relying on external material and military support, are defiantly and blatantly violating the elementary human rights of millions of Africans and thus creating a threat to the peace and security of neighbouring African countries.

13. Power politics and the aspirations of certain imperialist States to play the role of international policeman are involving large and small countries in the arms race. This in turn is fomenting an atmosphere of mistrust in relations between States, aggravating the feeling of insecurity and creating a threat to peace.

14. On the occasion of the commemorative celebrations, reference is frequently made to certain weaknesses of the United Nations, but such criticism does not always go to the root of the problem. We very often hear criticism of the Charter, but not of violations of the Charter and of those who commit them. Regret is expressed at the decline in the authority of the United Nations, but no condemnation is voiced of those who are undermining the Organization's authority by all their actions, by the international policy which they pursue and by their entire behaviour in the United Nations itself, which disregards both the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the Organization's principal organs, including the Security Council.

15. It seems that it would be clearer and more correct to put the questions in this way. What are the aggressive hostilities against the peoples of South-East Asia, which are resulting in the annihilation of innocent people and the destruction of villages and towns, if not a complete violation of the principles of the Organization and of the Charter? What is Israel's predatory policy, its military occupation of other territories and its failure to implement resolution 242 (1967), adopted as long ago as November 1967, if not an absolute violation of the decisions of the Security Council? What is the policy of *apartheid*, racism and cruel colonial oppression pursued by the Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon régimes, if not complete and flagrant disregard for the principles of the United Nations? What was and still is the violation of the principle of universality which consists in denying a number of States the right to take part in the work of the Organization, if not a blow to the authority and strength of the United Nations?

16. It is well known that there are States which wish to become Members of the United Nations and to take part in its work. Let us take as an example the German Democratic Republic which stated, in document A/C.1/1003 circulated to the General Assembly at this session on 2 October:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic again expresses its firm determination to actively support all measures conducive to strengthening international security and maintaining world peace and to work with all peace-loving States of the world for their implementation."

17. The reduction of international tension, the strengthening of international peace and security and the enhancement of the authority of the United Nations are inextricably linked. For this reason, the discussions held here should, in our view, help to enhance the prestige of the United Nations. The decisions which we take should open up new vistas for the Organization and provide it with new means enabling it to play the role for which it was created.

18. The main question facing us now is what should actually be done and what measures we should in fact take for the effective strengthening of international security.

19. A clear-cut answer to this question is given in the draft Declaration submitted by the socialist countries [A/C.1/L.513], of which the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a sponsor. This document was introduced by the Soviet Union representative at the 1725th meeting, held on 25 September, and I shall therefore confine my remarks to a few additional comments on the basic provisions of the text.

20. First of all, I should like to stress that the entire document is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and is yet another striking proof of the inexhaustible possibilities offered by the Charter as a basis and source of truly effective measures to preserve peace and strengthen international security, to prevent threats to the peace and any aggressive acts, to guarantee a free and sovereign existence for all States and broadly to develop peaceful co-operation between all countries.

21. In full conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter, the draft envisages specific measures. These are in fact a set of specific measures reflecting the lofty purposes of the United Nations and the countless appeals for compliance with its principles. The socialist States, which submitted this document, call on all States to be guided by these purposes and to respect these principles, including the principles of sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their social system and abstention from the threat or use of force.

22. The measures recommended in this connexion would instil new life into the Charter principles and encourage their application in international relations, in order to prevent any violation of those principles. This is absolutely essential in order to improve the international situation and prevent acts which threaten peace and security. Here the socialist countries are abiding by the spirit of the Charter in

their draft, since it is obviously impossible and inadmissible not to consider and eliminate any flagrant violations of the principles of the United Nations, if we are not to turn our back on these very principles.

23. The most important provisions in the socialist countries' draft are those which stress the role of the Security Council and the need for strict compliance with its decisions on the peaceful settlement of all problems created by military conflicts and in general with all decisions of the Council aimed at the maintenance of international peace and security. We are not underestimating the work of the other organs of the United Nations or trying to give the Security Council any new powers. We want to ensure the effective exercise of its rights and obligations under the Charter, which confers upon the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security. The reply from the Bulgarian Government to the letter sent by the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV) [see A/7922/Add.1] states:

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria will support all proposals based on the Charter which will enable the Security Council to take more effective steps against acts of aggression than those adopted thus far, using the full powers vested in it by the Charter."

24. In the same spirit, paragraph 7 of the draft declaration proposes measures for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and paragraph 10 voices hope for the acceleration of the attainment of agreement on a definition of aggression and on United Nations peace-keeping operations.

25. We attach particular importance to the demand for the cessation of all action for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial or racist domination and the obligation to provide active assistance in the struggle of those peoples for the attainment of independence. The contribution made by the United Nations to the process of the elimination of colonialism is one of its greatest achievements. But its numerous decisions and resolutions on this question still have to be followed through. By adopting the new proposals contained in the socialist countries' draft, the United Nations will further enhance its prestige and bring nearer the elimination of the shameful relics of colonialism.

26. The socialist countries have always given much thought to the problem of the acceleration of the process of disarmament. For this reason, the draft Declaration advocates the conclusion of an agreement as soon as possible on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, the adoption of nuclear disarmament measures by all nuclear States and the achievement of agreement on regional and other individual measures to limit and end the arms race.

27. The Bulgarian delegation is particularly interested in the proposal that efforts should be made to develop international co-operation among States on a regional basis and to solve certain problems of international peace and security at the regional level, as advocated in the Charter. The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches special im-

portance to such regional measures. At a time when peace is indivisible, efforts by individual countries or by a group of countries to promote the solution of certain problems affecting two or more countries in a particular region on a bilateral or multilateral regional basis have a good influence on the whole range of contemporary international relations. It is sufficient to mention, for example, the treaty on co-operation and non-aggression concluded recently between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany.² We take this opportunity to welcome this treaty as a major contribution to the improvement of political climate in Europe. Another example is the widespread response evoked in all interested countries by the idea put forward by the socialist States of Eastern Europe for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe and the convening of an all-European conference for this purpose. The task of strengthening the security of the peoples of the European continent by renouncing the threat and use of force and by developing and expanding commercial, economic, scientific, technological and cultural ties in order to promote political co-operation between European countries is without any doubt becoming one of the greatest magnetic and motive forces for the future development of Europe.

28. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is doing everything in its power to promote a favourable solution to this problem of vital importance for the European peoples. It should be noted that the parliament of the People's Republic of Bulgaria made an appeal to the parliaments of all the European States concerning the convening of a conference on the problems of European security.

29. Our delegation is convinced that the adoption of the Declaration on the strengthening of international security will stimulate the adoption of new and positive measures to promote the solution of certain important problems in various parts of the world. As a socialist State, pursuing constantly and unswervingly a peace-loving foreign policy and a policy of good-neighbourly relations with countries near and far, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is continually making efforts to strengthen friendly ties with all countries, especially the Balkan countries. These efforts on the part of Bulgaria and the good will of other countries have already paid off by creating an atmosphere of understanding, co-operation and good-neighbourliness.

30. We know from the experience of our own country the importance of economic development and improvements in the well-being of peoples and how closely this is linked with the strengthening of international security. For this reason, it is quite right that the draft Declaration should mention this problem among those requiring a speedy solution.

31. With the tension existing in the world today, to wait passively for even some of the most pressing problems to be solved smacks of optimism and blind faith in human wisdom, which refuse to admit that man will not find the way out or at least the way to a way out of these difficulties. Only specific and decisive measures such as those suggested by the socialist countries and only their adoption can in fact radically transform the international situation, strengthen peace and security in full compliance with the principles of the Charter and create the pre-

² Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

requisites for the solution of the problems worrying mankind. International security is certainly not an abstract idea, since it can be strengthened only by concrete measures. Yet the approach to be adopted should not consist simply of pious hopes for compliance with the United Nations Charter. Everyone knows how the Charter has been respected and so nobody should be surprised at the results. More important is how it will be respected in the future. The Charter offers sufficient scope for its principles to become really binding and to be respected by all States. The draft declaration submitted by the socialist countries advocates precisely this approach to the Charter. Thus we do not have to think about changing it now; we must think of its strict implementation and of how it can be used as an effective and extremely important instrument.

32. Before concluding, I should like to stress that the adoption of the draft declaration submitted by the socialist countries will not only give all 126 Member States an opportunity to reaffirm their faith in the lofty principles of the Organization but will also make it possible to devise a comprehensive system of specific measures for the achievement of the noble purposes of the Organization. This would have a tremendous moral and political impact. The solemn adoption of such a declaration by this commemorative session will enhance the prestige of the Organization and, as the supreme expression of the will of the peoples, will enable the United Nations actively and effectively to contribute to and participate in the solution of international problems for the sake of the preservation of peace and the strengthening of international security.

33. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Bulgaria for his kind congratulations.

34. Mr. BHOI (Kenya): My delegation attaches the greatest importance to the question of strengthening international security. It is grateful to the delegation of the Soviet Union for having taken the initiative to inscribe this item on the agenda for consideration by the present commemorative session of the General Assembly. No moment could be more propitious nor more pressingly urgent in the context of international relations today.

35. Although much stands to the credit of the United Nations in the first 25 years of its existence, numerous problems still defy solution. The clash of arms in certain countries continues to threaten international peace and security. Vast populations are still afflicted by the scourge of colonization and are condemned to servitude and oppression. The rising tempo of the arms race in areas of acknowledged conflict has effectively frustrated efforts to strengthen peace and security. Total and complete disarmament is our illusive dream. Underdevelopment, reflected in widespread poverty, illiteracy and disease, casts a shadow of desperation and hopelessness on almost two thirds of humanity at large.

36. Non-observance of the principles enshrined in the Charter has considerably weakened the operational capacity of the United Nations, particularly in the field of peace-keeping operations. Cold war politics and the hypocrisy of States in international relations strike at the roots of United

Nations efficacy and at times create problems for the very preservation of the territorial integrity and the political independence of smaller nations.

37. Against the background of these bitter realities all efforts to promote peace and strengthen security in the world are a most welcome development indeed. My delegation sincerely hopes that these efforts will be crowned with the success that they so richly deserve.

38. The Government of Kenya clearly recognizes the complexities of this task in all its dimensions. Therefore, it has no magic formula for instant solutions of the problems that confront us today. Nevertheless, it believes that certain positive and courageous steps on the part of the world community can and should enhance international security to a substantial extent. It is imperative that the world community, through the United Nations, should move forward in the direction of what I shall term the "five Ds", namely, development to reduce the ever-widening gap between the development of industrialized nations and that of the newly emergent ones; decolonization to restore sovereignty, justice and dignity to populations held in bondage by colonizers; disarmament to save the world from total annihilation; disengagement to spare humanity the agonies and disaster of the cold war; and deployment of United Nations procedures and measures to promote peace, security, progress, justice and understanding among nations.

39. I shall now briefly deal with each one of those basic factors before I address the meeting on other measures that will also consolidate and further international security.

40. On development I shall begin by referring to the statement made at the 1729th meeting by the representative of Chile, who, with his matchless eloquence, clarity and conviction, said that security is intrinsically linked with peace and peace with development. Amongst the root sources of present global insecurity is the rapidly widening gap between rich and poor nations.

41. The economic and social well-being of an individual is directly related to the security of the nation as a whole from which he hails. The economic and social prosperity of nations in collectivity establishes a secure foundation for peace throughout the world. Since this is the central theme of the Second United Nations Development Decade we fully support it. We equally support the International Development Strategy for that Decade that has been so painstakingly negotiated by States Members of the United Nations. Despite the difficulties that exist in finalizing and launching the Strategy, we hope they will be speedily overcome in the spirit of accommodation that should characterize the present commemorative session. In order to accelerate the development of new nations the industrialized nations should increase the flow of resources to them. The share of the developing countries in world trade should rise, with fair and stabilized prices for their primary goods, and such goods should enjoy favourable market access to the developed countries. New nations need modern technology to transform their economies into viable and productive systems. The terms of all forms of trade should be liberalized.

42. When thousands of millions of dollars are spent on the development of destructive arms, it is not too much to ask

for the transfer of 1 per cent of gross national product for global development. When millions of dollars are utilized for promoting the arms race in areas of conflict, it is not too audacious to suggest that a fraction of that amount be made available for the development needs of emergent countries. When countless sums of money are diverted to localized wars in far-flung areas, it is not meaningless to recommend that better use be made of those precious resources for peace and progress and the welfare of humanity.

43. I turn now to decolonization. It is evident that despite the attainment of independence by many formerly colonized Territories others remain in the stranglehold of oppression, and that jeopardizes international peace and security. In South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Zimbabwe, the sceptre of colonialism and exploitation hangs over millions of Africans.

44. The African is subjected to the vilest forms of indignity. His basic rights are not recognized. The repugnant philosophy of *apartheid* decrees that he be held in slavery through force of arms and the enforcement of repressive laws. The entire world has witnessed this tragedy. The United Nations has passed numerous resolutions to safeguard the interests of the indigenous populations. Yet their fate still hangs in the balance and some powerful States Members of our Organization sustain such an odious order. They trade with those régimes, thus consolidating their hold. They supply or intend to supply those régimes with arms that can be used only for internal repression and external aggression against free, independent Africa. They give technical and financial assistance to them for seemingly innocuous purposes which in actual fact are intended to perpetuate the white minority racist order in southern Africa. They give solace and comfort to the South African supremacists, the Portuguese colonizers and the Rhodesian rebels to gang up against the sovereignty of African States and to silence the liberation efforts of the Africans there. This situation can explode into a racial conflagration of uncontrollable dimensions unless the United Nations acts to defeat the expansionist ambitions of those illegal and unrepresentative régimes. The situation is so grave that it poses a direct threat to international peace and security today.

45. To those who aid and abet the prosecution of *apartheid* policies through the back door, I shall say, in the words used by Kenya's Foreign Minister in his policy statement to the General Assembly a few days ago, that:

"It is ironic to condemn *apartheid* in seemingly strong terms and at the same time to sustain and strengthen it by the back door; it is contradictory to support self-determination in southern Africa and at the same time to stifle it by arming the supremacist régime to the hilt; it is idle to pretend concern for the welfare of Africans while the oppressive racist régime is being given aid and comfort and it is incompatible to love and hate the minority racist régime at the same time. Very soon, a choice must be made between support for freedom and slavery, between short-term economic profit and long-term political and economic accommodation with Africa, and between the retrogressive forces of *apartheid* and the progressive forces of racial harmony. It is evident that no country can

be friendly to both these diametrically opposed elements." [1845th plenary meeting, para. 43.]

46. In all these colonially dominated Territories we shall endeavour to promote security and peace by eliminating the last vestiges of the colonialist presence. We shall do it through the United Nations, through the Organization of African Unity and through every other conceivable method open to us. We shall do so peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. The liquidation of the present order in southern Africa and its replacement by representative African Governments is the only guarantee of peace and security in that part of the world.

47. I shall now turn to disarmament. As preceding speakers have emphasized in much better terms and with greater eloquence, general and complete disarmament and arms control must be achieved under secure international controls at an early date. We expect the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to cover a much wider field and at a more rapid pace than has been the case to date.

48. Kenya has subscribed to the partial nuclear test ban treaty,³ the outer space treaty⁴ and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] in the sincere belief that these are important milestones in the march to general and complete disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field. Likewise, we should welcome the designation of various continents as denuclearized zones. As the whole question of disarmament and arms control will be comprehensively debated by this Committee at a later date, my delegation will revert to it then.

49. Measures of disengagement among the great Powers can lead to the furtherance of international security in a positive manner. We have noted with interest the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms. We recognize the significance of the recent treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany⁵ and its beneficial effects on European security and understanding. It is our hope that the proposed European security conference will prove successful and that the eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries has a fair chance of being eliminated on the basis of trust and understanding among the countries concerned. We fervently hope that the Middle East crisis will be equitably and speedily settled under the Rogers plan, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Likewise, a politically negotiated settlement of the war in Viet-Nam should be possible in terms of the Geneva Agreement. In this context, the people of Viet-Nam as a whole should be the masters of their own destiny. The continuing withdrawal of United States troops from the theatre of war in Indo-China is a hopeful development. In all the fields that I have mentioned, and in others that I have not, great-Power

³ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964).

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).

⁵ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

disengagement is possible, desirable and speedily required in the interest of strengthening world peace and security.

50. I shall now say a few words about the deployment of United Nations procedures and measures for the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, removal of threats to the peace or breach of the peace and suppression of acts of aggression. This is a point of supreme importance, which in no circumstances can be sidetracked.

51. It is imperative that the permanent members of the Security Council in particular should exercise their authority under the Charter to safeguard peace and security. We agree that the primary responsibility in this regard rests with the Security Council. When it is paralysed by inaction because the members' interests or policies are at variance in an emergency situation, the interests of peace are often given a severe rebuff by the exercise of the veto power. Frequently, when shooting wars have erupted, and there is an urgent need and full justification for enforcement action, the Security Council is locked in endless debate and exchange of polemics. When peace-keeping forces have been instituted, their functioning is hindered through non-payment of contributions for such operations. These are undesirable developments and unpleasant realities which reduce the effectiveness of the United Nations in a given situation. Unless they are eliminated, effective security will remain an unfulfilled aspiration in this world.

52. Furthermore, the Charter clearly spells out the principles that all States are enjoined to respect and implement in their inter-State relations. Very often they are respected more in the breach than in the observance. These principles are: sovereign equality of all States; fulfilment in good faith of the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-use of force or threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States; and the promotion of the right of self-determination. My delegation is happy that the scope and contents of these principles have been further elaborated and will be solemnly proclaimed as a declaration during the current commemorative session.

53. The Security Council should, under Article 28, hold frequent periodic meetings to perform its Charter functions with efficacy. In this connexion, we believe that the Brazilian suggestion to establish *ad hoc* committees for the peaceful settlement of disputes [see A/7922] is worthy of deeper consideration.

54. States should, in accordance with Article 33 of the Charter, have increasing resort to the settlement of disputes affecting or likely to affect international peace and security through the methods prescribed therein, namely, negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice.

55. Repeated mention has been made of the need to refer disputes to the International Court of Justice. While my delegation is not opposed to this recommendation, there have been genuine difficulties which have led to the neglect of the Court. Its restricted composition and limited representation of the jurisprudential systems of the world

and the general uncertainties in various fields of international law have made the Court less attractive in the past. The International Law Commission has, however, helped the progressive development and codification of many branches of international law and is continuing its commendable efforts. We trust that elucidation of the obscure branches of international law will increase the importance of the International Court of Justice. Unfortunately, in certain cases, like that of South West Africa, its judgements did not dispense justice but denied it by resort to legal technicalities and procedural involvements. That did irreparable harm to its reputation. It is also noteworthy that many States have not yet seen fit to accept its compulsory jurisdiction without far-ranging reservations. All these factors have had the cumulative effect of curtailing its usefulness to the world community. However, we remain confident that by concerted action the Court's limitations can be removed and its effectiveness ensured.

56. In the field of codification and progressive development of international law, a very important Convention on the Law of Treaties was formulated in Vienna.⁶ Although some of its provisions are a compromise and do not, for that reason, commend themselves to acceptance by all the States, this should not cloud the enormous importance of that Convention. It is recalled that many disputes that have erupted into armed conflict were a direct result of non-observance or colonial imposition of treaty obligations. History is replete with examples, which I need not enumerate here. Adherence to or ratification of the Convention on the Law of Treaties will go a long way towards serving the interests of international security. Kenya for one will ratify the Convention in due course.

57. The United Nations can be rendered more effective if its membership is ensured to countries that are overwhelmingly recognized as States in the world community. It is unrealistic to exclude them; it is senseless to isolate them from the mainstream of international life. The world system of security will always be severely handicapped without the inclusion of such States, which have even acquired impressive nuclear capacity and exercise unquestionable authority over, and command the allegiance of, millions of people within their recognized borders.

58. One area of potential conflict among nations is the question of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Legal principles to govern the activities on the ocean floor need to be worked out, and international machinery to administer these activities should be developed. Kenya fully supports the idea that the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction—as the last frontier of the globe over which no nation exercises jurisdiction—is not subject to national appropriation and that it is the common heritage of mankind. The sea-bed should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes and its enormous resources utilized for the benefit of mankind as a whole. The convening of a comprehensive conference to deal with all aspects of the law of the sea, including the international sea-bed régime, will be welcomed by my Government in principle. However, as this matter will also receive detailed consideration in this Committee at a later date, my delegation's views in detail will be made known then.

⁶ Document A/CONF. 39/27 and Corr.1.

59. Finally, the role of the non-aligned in world affairs on the side of peace and security, goodwill and understanding, development and dynamism, should be stressed. The importance of the non-aligned movement was fully expressed in a tangible manner at the summit meeting at Lusaka a few weeks ago.⁷ Many of the issues I have discussed in my statement received scrutiny and unanimous endorsement at that meeting. As staunch supporters of non-alignment, we shall continue to exert our efforts for political, economic and social amelioration of the world through unity, concerted action and community of interest.

60. The two draft resolutions before this Committee [A/C.1/L.513 and 514] are constructive and have many common elements, albeit expressed in differing language. My delegation reserves the right to speak on these draft resolutions, as well as others that may be presented later. Their synthesis in a unified draft would be the most practical method to expedite the work of this Committee.

⁷ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

61. In conclusion, I wish to state, in the words used by Kenya's Foreign Minister in his policy statement to the General Assembly a few days ago, that States Members of the United Nations should "become comrades in arms for defence of peace, progress, justice and understanding; not rivals in power to sabotage the work of the United Nations." [1845th plenary meeting, para. 75.] To that might usefully be added the sentiment of the United Nations Secretary-General that we should work "for strengthening the force of law against the law of force". Only that postulate can guarantee world peace and strengthen security.

62. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I adjourn this meeting, I should like to remind representatives that the list of speakers for the general debate on this subject will be closed at 6 p.m. today.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.