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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.1-6, A/7926, A/C.1/1003, A/C.1/L.513-517)

1. Mr. ANAS (Afghanistan): Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation, I extend to you our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. I should also like to convey my respectful regards to the officers of the Committee.

2. From time immemorial, mankind has understood the value of peace, but somehow conflicting social and individual interests keep pushing society to the brink of war. In many instances, society could not resist plunging into the holocaust of war.

3. Scientific and technological progress have dangerously transformed the nature of war from an endemic form into its present epidemic character. A total war is now inconceivable, since it would result in the annihilation of the whole of civilization.

4. Also, the after-effects of the Second World War have shown examples of the changing pattern of attitudes between vanquished and victor. There are countries that have lost in war but are now enjoying a higher degree of social and economic development than the victors, which shows that victors have more to lose than to gain by indulging in war.

5. Member States now fully realize the neuroses of war. Although the League of Nations was conceived to prevent a world war, after the Second World War the need for such an international organization was more sharply felt, and thus the United Nations was born, out of the same ideals and principles as the League of Nations but on a stronger and, we hope, more lasting foundation.

6. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the inauguration of the Charter of the United Nations. During this session an evaluation of the Organization runs parallel to the celebra-

tion of its silver jubilee. There are proposals by some of the newly emerged countries for a revision of the Charter in order to make this Organization a more effective and powerful instrument. This is a delicate question. We need to make a careful diagnosis.

7. My delegation joins with the many delegations that believe the problem does not lie with the Charter, but with the observance of the Charter and of the United Nations principles by some Members—and non-members—of the Organization. If the principles of the Charter were implemented literally, and if nations would comply with the principles and conventions and declarations of the United Nations, then the face of the world would present a more agreeable aspect.

8. Even partial implementation and observance of the principles of the United Nations has led to many rewarding and satisfactory results. A total nuclear war has not occurred during the 25 years of the United Nations life. The danger of armaments and the “balance of terror” have, ironically, served as prime preventive factors by highlighting the impossibility of war. The possibility of nuclear warfare has, ironically, prevented total war and strengthened peace. But it is a mistake to rely on irony.

9. If there is a lack of confidence, and if groups of nations perpetuate the atmosphere of the cold war and hostility, then any mistake could lead them over the brink of war and plunge the world into a holocaust. If nations, by force of circumstance, are driven to a point of direct confrontation, but refrain from engaging in a full-scale nuclear war, it might be that the United Nations has created such a psychological effect by achieving an atmosphere of international moral appraisal. The United Nations Charter and the principles contained therein have made such an atmosphere possible.

10. The very fact that new Member nations make known their requirements for more democratic rights through the system of the United Nations is a reward and a recognition of this system. Decolonization, of which we are celebrating the first decade, is an effect of the Charter and of the principles of the United Nations, however partially observed.

11. We are convinced that if nations continue to observe, and to observe fully, the Charter of the United Nations, as well as its principles and declarations and decisions, then many other problems which currently occupy our attention and create great concern in international affairs would dissipate and be solved. We would see total and complete disarmament, decolonization, the eradication of hunger, ignorance, disease and racial discrimination, and the extinction of hotbeds whose flames might ignite and at any time

explode the nuclear stockpile which modern and civilized man has stored for his own annihilation.

12. The gist and the summary of many interventions and statements in the Committee indicate unanimous agreement on the solution of the problems of strengthening peace, namely, that it lies in the observance of the Charter and the strengthening of the United Nations in all its forms and activities.

13. If, after the League of Nations, countries again came to the conclusion that the solution to world peace lay within an international organization and international co-operation, and if we view the relative success of the United Nations achievements during the past 25 years, we become more convinced of the need to protect, maintain, observe and strengthen the Charter of the United Nations and secure its universality. Speeches and resolutions which have been delivered and adopted, in this and other Committees, comprise commendation and reinforcement of the United Nations Charter.

14. This Organization and its related agencies devise ways and means to assist nations in observing and respecting law, to shift them from the "law of force to the force of law", as the Secretary-General mentioned. The United Nations and its agencies try to approach, from different angles, the problems of world peace, security and progress.

15. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970, envisaged ways and means of strengthening peace and security particularly, and attached great importance to this matter. The resulting Declaration opens the way towards better implementation and methods of serving peace and security. While the Conference advocates the dissolution of great-Power military alliances, it urges the unity of efforts for carrying out urgent structural changes in the world economy and for the establishment of such international co-operation as will reduce the gap between the developed and the developing countries.

16. We have agreed to intensify our efforts towards the liquidation of colonialism and racial discrimination, and for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and its universality, in short, toward fostering all the prerequisites for reinforcing the basis for international peace and security.

17. We believe that peaceful co-operation and mutual understanding can limit the sphere of difference and gradually reduce it in order to reach the ultimate satisfactory solution, which is peace.

18. Nations should emphasize the factors which unite them rather than enlarge on those which tend to divide them. Creating a better atmosphere for economic and cultural relations, for instance, can contribute half way towards clearing the atmosphere of darkness and misunderstanding among groups of nations.

19. To sum up, and without entering into a lengthy commentary on each principle and Article of the Charter, I wish to reiterate that the best way of strengthening peace and security is to adhere to and observe the principles of the United Nations.

20. The General Assembly and this Committee are endeavouring to look for more efficient ways of realizing this ideal. In our opinion, the Conference of Lusaka has already produced, in a detailed and clear manner, the point of view of the non-aligned countries, which we present also as our answer to the question raised in the First Committee regarding the strengthening of peace and international security. Our opinion was also presented during the last session of the General Assembly by the Chairman of the Afghan delegation, Ambassador Pazhwak. The delegation of Afghanistan reaffirms those views regarding peace and security.

21. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Afghanistan for the congratulations that he was good enough to address to the officers of the Committee.

22. Mr. EREN (Turkey): Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation, may I congratulate you on your unanimous election to this very important post. At the same time, I should like to extend my congratulations to Ambassador Farah of Somalia and Ambassador Cerník of Czechoslovakia on their respective elections to the posts of Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of this Committee.

23. The very fact that international security has been on our agenda for two years, the time allocated for its discussion and the number of speakers participating in these discussions are evidence of our deep yearning for peace and security—a dream unfulfilled since the creation of man, but also an aspiration which, today more than ever, requires urgent and careful consideration.

24. The picture of the world on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations justifies our concern about peace and security. Collective security has not assured the global peace to which we all aspire, and international security is far from resting on a United Nations system. Indeed, "undeclared war" or "war in peace" continues to prevail in many corners of the world, and none of us, big or small, feels secure from the threat of force.

25. We are living in an age of change. Indeed, in international relations as well as in technology, the only constant is change. Today the new character of peace and war, of security and insecurity, is decided by the forces of science and technology, both of which spell both promise and peril. They infest mankind with a new sense of insecurity and terror, while at the same time they inspire a better life. Atomic energy has been introduced to mankind with all its potential for good and evil. Other advances in communications, in economics, in medicine and in other fields have changed the relations between nations. The problems of ecology constitute daily proof that environment is not only mankind's patrimony but also mankind's joint responsibility. Thus the limits of international relations extend to outer space and the ocean floor, forcing upon us the inescapable reality of one world.

26. In a world reduced to ecological oneness the destiny of one country is closely related to the destiny of another. The need for collective security and for closer co-operation is imperative. These facts entail important responsibilities for all nations in the world. Each nation, small or large, is

responsible for the maintenance of peace and security. International security and national security have become inextricably entwined. The two should be harmonized and made to coincide to the greatest extent possible.

27. The United Nations, inspired by the spirit of its Charter, is the best possible international institution—the most important international institution—capable of harmonizing the needs of the international community with the needs of national States. The strengthening of the effectiveness and prestige of the United Nations provides the best means for harmonizing and securing a collective effort to maintain international security. We should bear in mind that the Organization is not entrusted with super-national powers: it succeeds or fails on the basis of the performance of each and everyone of us. Full implementation of the provisions of the Charter is the primary duty of every Member.

28. In the discussion of the specific item before us we are faced with certain basic principles. As we voice and promote our views on international security, let us not allow ourselves the luxury of obscuring the essentials. First and foremost, let us try to remain closely linked to the letter and the spirit of the Charter. For instance, let us guard faithfully the principle of free association of equal and sovereign States. Another important Charter principle that requires careful attention is the balance between the different organs. In the course of the years the Organization has effected a fine balancing of the residual powers against the primary responsibilities of the two principal organs of the United Nations. The Organization has developed some effective means such as peace-keeping activities for the containment of conflicts. A multilateral approach to conflicts through the United Nations not only eases the tension by controlling the conflicts and thus preparing the path for a peaceful settlement, but also provides the opportunity of demonstrating a solidarity for the cause of peace and sharing a collective responsibility which in fact strengthens the United Nations.

29. For this reason we fully support the efforts of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. We hope that these efforts will culminate in a broad agreement which will establish a sounder basis for the launching, functioning and financing of these operations.

30. Both in national and international societies security rests on regard for law. International law is the mainstay of international security. As stated in the Charter, one of the most important sources of international law is the treaties between sovereign States. If we want to live in a peaceful and secure world we must respect fully the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law. Paragraph 20 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 is very pertinent on this point. It urges "Member States to reaffirm their will to respect fully the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter".

31. At the same time, any effort to reinforce international security in principle and in practice cannot evade a reaffirmation of a basic axiom in international conduct, namely, the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force.

32. Permanent peace and security can be achieved only when general and complete disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, come under effective control. However, before we reach this ultimate goal we still have many difficulties to overcome, so we should proceed step by step and adopt partial disarmament measures which help to build up the necessary confidence for general and complete disarmament. But while doing so we should not neglect the goal of general and complete disarmament. Since security and disarmament are interrelated, care should also be taken in adopting partial measures to ensure the security of all countries. It is for this reason we think it would be difficult to make any substantial progress in the disarmament field unless horizontal measures of disarmament are accompanied by the vertical measures. We welcome the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) from this point of view. We believe that progress in disarmament should take us a significant step towards a more secure and peaceful world in which human and material resources would be more effectively devoted to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being of the world as a whole.

33. Peace and security require more than the absence of arms and armed conflict. It is clear there can be no peace and security in the world as long as more than two thirds of the world's population are underfed, under-housed and under-educated. The growing gap between the poverty of some countries and the prosperity of others may create further unrest in international relations. The Second United Nations Development Decade and the adoption and implementation of a development strategy are the aspirations of two thirds of humanity to achieve economic and social progress. To this end we urge intensified efforts during the Second Development Decade to create conditions of stability and well-being, and to ensure a minimum standard of living consistent with human dignity through economic and social progress and development which will be promoted through joint and concentrated action by developed and developing nations. We should also like to stress that the measures proposed by UNCTAD be implemented in order to reverse the trends in the field of international trade which are increasingly unfavourable to the developing countries.

34. Economic development is closely related also to social development and should take into account the possible social and political impact of scientific, medical and technological changes. Besides the economic gap, the technological gap between developing and industrialized countries is also widening. The United Nations should assume a dominant and more effective role in this field to avoid potential conflicts and domination of new areas, such as outer space and the sea-bed, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction by industrialized countries, and it should establish international régimes whenever they are needed.

35. Finally, my delegation believes that peace and security can never be achieved as long as we cannot ensure universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. As long as we have colonialism and racial oppression still surviving in some parts of our world we cannot have peace and security in other parts of the world, because world peace and security are an indivisible and absolute concept, which cannot be fulfilled unless it is achieved for all mankind.

36. I have enumerated the various, specific points that appear important to us regarding international security, but the one imperative in achieving international peace and security lies in the hearts and minds of the nations of the world as expressed collectively in this body.

37. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Turkey for his congratulations addressed to the officers of the Committee.

38. Mr. FARAJI (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. Chairman, as this is my delegation's first intervention in the debate on the question of the strengthening of the measures on international security, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee. My congratulations also go to Ambassador Farah and Ambassador Černík on their unanimous elections as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively.

39. My delegation has carefully studied the draft resolutions that have been submitted on the important subject under discussion. We discern in all of these draft resolutions certain positive elements, attesting that there is a general will for peace and a sincere search for the means of strengthening international security.

40. If some of the draft resolutions in some cases fall short of our expectations, there must be some reason for this. For example, draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 appears to us to have as its underlying theme the strict observance of the principles of the Charter and the unconditional adherence to and application of international law. The United Republic of Tanzania is devoted to the Charter of the United Nations and to the rule of law in national as well as international affairs. However, we are well aware that more than a literal adherence to the provisions of the Charter and a static attitude to international law are necessary to ensure that all States in the world should live in peace and harmony.

41. The problem of strengthening international security is one towards whose solution sincere efforts have been made by many Governments. Unfortunately most of these efforts have to date proved extremely unyielding. This has come about because some of the States and Governments appear to pay mere lip service to the principle, rather than to have a genuine willingness to join in the quest for a reasonable standard of international security throughout the world.

42. In certain circles one is persuaded to believe that peace exists so long as there is no armed confrontation between the super-Powers or between the European Powers. History tells us that the only time that certain parts of the world become seriously concerned about international peace and security is when battles rage within the boundaries of Europe, between a European nation and another nation lying outside Europe. But the truth is that rarely during the last two and a half decades of this Organization's existence has the world been at peace. This has been so despite the strong condemnatory words of the Charter, which some eminent jurists and statesmen understood to outlaw the use of force save in self-defence and under the authority of the United Nations.

43. The fact that the guns across the Suez Canal have been silent over the past few weeks should not mislead anyone into believing that peace has returned to that area. Peace will return to the Middle East only after all the occupied territories of the Arab States have been returned to their rightful owners.

44. The same situation exists today in Viet-Nam and the rest of Indo-China. The extent of the fighting in these parts of the world may have diminished over the past few months, but again it would be unwise to believe that peace is possible without the withdrawal of all foreign troops now occupying large areas of Indo-China and the question of dealing with problems in this part of the world is left to the indigenous population.

45. It has been pointed out by many preceding speakers in the discussion of this item that the continuing arms race is both a symptom and a contributory factor to international tension. It is therefore with disappointment that my delegation notes this important aspect dealt with almost cursorily in draft resolution A/C.1/L.514. In this respect, draft resolution A/C.1/L.513 makes a much more positive contribution in its operative paragraph 8.

46. International security will always be jeopardized if disarmament remains just a word in diplomatic rhetoric and if no effective steps are taken to ensure its success. It has been mentioned by several speakers in this debate that the fantastic amounts of money and resources which are poured into the armaments race constitute 20 times more than the amount which is spent in the entire development programme in this world. This figure has increased in a geometrical progression and now stands at more than \$200 thousand million. It is extremely sad and indeed frightening to realize that the idea of disarmament is now being transformed into the idea of arms control and arms limitation. It is apparent that the super-Powers and other major Powers are not wholly committed or sincere in their efforts to achieve complete disarmament and therefore are offering this new concept of arms control and limitations on strategic weapons. One wonders whether this is not a mere charade, in which no effective disarmament is accomplished but a mere token reduction of certain weapons will be made which will serve no useful purpose.

47. As long as two thirds of humanity are living at a level of mere existence, where day in and day out a man has to scratch and struggle to procure just enough food to eat and clothing to protect himself—as long as such conditions exist—we believe that there is very little hope for peace and security. This is a situation facing countless millions throughout the world, and it is clear that the developed countries have not shown enough genuine interest in helping to redeem these millions from the problems that they have to face daily. I am referring to the development strategy as laid down in the Second United Nations Development Decade. I am talking of the Second Development Decade as opposed to the First Development Decade because it is our view that the goals that were set for the First Development Decade have not been fully achieved, and it is important that we should pay more respect and more attention to the Second Development Decade. After this experience we can hope, perhaps, that the results of the Second Development Decade will be better than those of

the first Decade. Already arguments and debates are continuing in another forum of this Assembly, where the trend is for the developed countries to show a great amount of non-co-operation in accepting specific figures and target-dates that will be of great practical value in the development programme of the Second Development Decade.

48. Perhaps many of the developed countries are tired now of listening to us, and some of the developing countries themselves are perhaps tired of being promised one thing and in fact being offered another. It is the ardent hope of my delegation that both in the field of disarmament and in the field of economic development a wind of change will blow over the major Powers and we will see them develop a realistic approach in dealing with the problems of disarmament and hence of development.

49. My delegation notes that all of the draft resolutions before us have referred to the subject of colonialism and to the subject of racialism which plagues many parts of Africa and particularly southern Africa.

50. Africa will never enjoy the fruits of international security, no matter what degree of peace is achieved in other parts of the world, as long as the racist régimes exist in South Africa and Rhodesia and as long as colonialism is maintained in the territories under Portuguese domination. Let me assure you that there can be no real peace and no real security in any part of the world as long as the *status quo* in South Africa is maintained.

51. This warning has been uttered many times. It is a serious one and one of great validity. Yet I believe that there are those who do not accept the prediction that a racial confrontation of incalculable dimensions will result if the situation in South Africa is not speedily remedied.

52. Let me assure you that such a confrontation is not only likely but is extremely possible. It is shocking to see certain States that have the principal responsibility for maintaining international peace and security denying that they are in favour of the policy of *apartheid* and racialism and yet by devious means doing whatever is in their power to perpetuate the régimes that practise and expound those policies. If certain States continue to arm or show their intention to arm the racist régime of South Africa, such States are merely adding fuel that will help spread the flames which one day must break out. Those arms will definitely be used for the suppression of the liberation movements, which want to give the black man his rightful place in the society of his own country so that he may achieve self-determination and be able to live with dignity as other human beings in this world live. In future those very weapons may be used in the aggressive war which the southern African régime is now waging, and with which it is threatening the neighbouring States, particularly Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

53. My delegation finds much to support that is positive and constructive in draft resolution A/C.1/L.517. We believe, however, that certain modifications and additions could further improve it. For example, to my delegation it is inconceivable that world peace and security can be strengthened without the co-operation of the People's Republic of China. Up to this date certain States have

adopted an intransigent position vis-à-vis the admission of China to the United Nations. China—we do not have to be ashamed of it, nor do we have to hide it—is a great country of immense potential, and within its borders lives almost a quarter of the human population. Up to now it has been able to develop a nuclear weapon, and its knowledge and development in nuclear technology has increased very rapidly. It would be folly to isolate such a State, for, no matter what agreement or treaties, or what have you, may be concluded for the banning and restriction of the use of nuclear weapons, if such agreements fail to include China, and as long as the co-operation of China is not possible, such treaties will be worthless.

54. In other fields of international security it is imperative that the presence of China be made possible, and I believe that it is only wise and practical that the admission of China to the United Nations should be achieved without further delay. Thus to fulfil these ideals, China and other States that for one reason or another have been refused admission to the United Nations should be admitted, and the isolation in which they have been placed should come to an end.

55. Those are some of the measures which, if they can be adopted, my delegation feels would go far to strengthen peace and security among the nations of the world. These are no major formulas, and they may not cure all the problems that exist in the world today, but I am sure that if they are adopted and implemented they will alleviate the hardships and tensions of insecurity.

56. My delegation reserves its right to participate in the debate on any new draft resolution to be submitted before the debate on this topic is concluded.

57. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, after so many others before me, I am happy to present to you the congratulations of my delegation on the occasion of your election as Chairman of this Committee, which is a tribute to your personal merits and those of the country you represent—Venezuela—with which Tunisia has very friendly relations, expressed by close co-operation between our delegations, especially in the Committee of Twenty-four.¹

58. I should also like to congratulate the officers of the Committee, my colleagues Ambassador Farah, who symbolizes the fight against *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and Ambassador Cerník, who is well known and is esteemed by all of us.

59. On this occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it is logical that we should stress and start our work with the problem of international peace and security. Is that not the first objective of the Charter? Is that not the first principle which, for nations still afflicted by war, called for unity and co-operation upon them in order to avoid a future scourge?

60. If the world has so far avoided the dangers of a third world war, it has seen the birth of a whole series of local

¹ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

wars which constantly threaten the semblance of equilibrium and make the world's population live in fear and insecurity; so long as we tolerate the domination of one people by another, the extermination of one people by another, the appropriation of the territory of one people by another; so long as we tolerate misery and hunger, there can be no security or even a prospect for peace.

61. We greeted with interest the proposal made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly that we study the question of the strengthening of international security.² This proposal, which has already been debated last year, has been brought here under resolution 2606 (XXIV). Therefore, this is not a new question but a most timely problem, which we must study in the light of that resolution, the report of the Secretary-General [A/7922 and Add. 1-6] and the problems of today.

62. The first remark I should like to make about this resolution is that it asks us explicitly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Charter to consider appropriate recommendations concerning international security. Therefore, it is not merely a matter of adopting a general resolution or of adopting a solemn proclamation, reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter, which would aim at the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. According to the report of the Secretary-General, about fifty countries out of 126 answered the question asked of them under that resolution, and other countries have expressed their views during this debate. Many other countries seem not to feel any concern over this problem, which, however, is of capital importance for the peace of the world. Are we about to reach a consensus to affirm our will for peace, our desire for peaceful coexistence and co-operation? Tunisia will not fail to add its voice to those of peace-loving and freedom-loving countries to celebrate this anniversary through documents which will be a new source of international law.

63. In Addis Ababa and in Lusaka, within the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned group, we have always affirmed our solidarity with our brethren in their efforts for peace and freedom and we shall not fail to affirm with them our will to establish a better world where the whole of mankind will be free from the fear of war, colonialism, occupation and under-development.

64. But our task, our mission, within this international Organization must not consist of proclaiming what is evident and hoping for an end to our nightmares. We must through our decisions give rise to political and economic action which would contribute to the solution of our problems and contribute here and now to strengthening international security. Resolution 2606 (XXIV) of the General Assembly, in paragraph 3, requests all Member States "to inform the Secretary-General of their views and proposals on this subject not later than 1 May 1970 and also of any measures they take for the purpose of strengthening international security".

65. Would the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union have asked this question on the strengthening of international

security, would we have started a debate during the twenty-fourth session and would we have continued to compare or unite our efforts, if peace were not threatened?

66. Franklin D. Roosevelt, on 3 September 1939, after the beginning of the Second World War, stated: "When peace has been broken anywhere, the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger." The evolution of events during the Second World War, which spread to almost all continents, proved that that statement was not merely rhetorical.

67. Therefore it, is urgent and essential, before even thinking of collective security systems, to make every effort to restore peace everywhere, not only through the silencing of arms but essentially through adopting just and lasting solutions which would put an end to conflicts. Therefore it is clear that the first condition for the strengthening of international security is the solution of present conflicts.

68. The most urgent of these conflicts is indeed the one in the Middle East. If a cease-fire has been observed on both sides since 8 August last, it is nevertheless true that this cease-fire may be broken and replaced by a new confrontation which would accumulate destruction and hatred and pit against each other not only the countries of the area but the great Powers, whose navies are confronting each other in the Mediterranean under the alarmed gaze of the coastal countries. To encourage a continuation of the cease-fire is certainly a fundamental duty which the United Nations is accomplishing in conformity with its duty and tradition, but it is not a final solution. The evacuation of territories, occupied during the June 1967 war by Israel contrary to the Charter, could contribute to creating the necessary conditions for the strengthening of international security in that area and removing the danger of a generalized conflict. But the Palestinian people, which every day proves its existence through its sacrifices and its will to exist, should have its rights recognized and its dignity respected. It must be fully associated with any global solution in that area, and then that people, which is at present accused of being extremist, can become a factor of peace and co-operation in that part of the world.

69. The Viet-Nam conflict seems to be moving towards a solution, by a long and tortuous road, but the Paris conference, proposals for a cease-fire and an international conference on Indo-China and reduction of the bloody combat in the field could betoken a final solution of a conflict which has lasted only too long.

70. Here again the solution we expect and wish for should be such as to strengthen international security.

71. The maintenance of colonial domination over many thousands of human beings in Africa and elsewhere despite the adoption ten years ago of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] is a source of agitation and threat.

72. The struggle of our African brothers in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) will certainly develop, no matter what efforts Portugal makes to stem a movement which is utterly natural. In these countries international

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

security is threatened also by the persistence of Portugal in trying to maintain a system of domination that has been condemned many times. All those who heard the Ambassador of Senegal last Friday [1733rd meeting] describing the situation in that part of the world could not but shudder.

73. The domination of South Africa over Namibia is a flagrant challenge to the United Nations. The *apartheid* policy in South Africa and Rhodesia is a gesture of defiance to Africa and the whole of mankind. All these problems—the Middle East, with its Palestinian question, Viet-Nam, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), the various colonized peoples, Namibia, Rhodesia and so on—all these problems threaten international security. They must be solved if we are to look to the future with more serenity. Two questions arise at this point.

74. The first question is: who is responsible for the solution of this problem? Is it the countries concerned? Is it the United Nations, and within our Organization what body could assume this responsibility?

75. There is no doubt that the countries concerned, if they so wish, are able to resolve these problems. Portugal, for example, could without any foreign interference embark upon a liberal policy which would enable the peoples under its domination to exercise their right to self-determination. South Africa could start negotiating with the United Nations in order to transfer the administration of Namibia to an international body until that country, like any other country, is able to exercise its right to self-determination.

76. However, in view of the failure of those and other countries to act in that spirit, the United Nations, every one of us, has a duty and a responsibility to fulfil. The General Assembly and the Security Council must, in conformity with the Charter, exercise their responsibility. We must exercise our powers by voting resolutions, by taking the necessary measures, by exerting the necessary pressures in the direction shown by our votes.

77. It must be recognized that the overwhelming majority of countries favour an equitable solution of all the problems facing us. However, the world being what it is, the responsibility of the great Powers is fundamental. It is for us to remind them of it, for the great Powers have the necessary power to promote adequate solutions. This power resides not only in their armed force, in their technology or in their influence through the means of assistance or on the strategic level, but also in the support and consent of other countries, of all of us, when their decisions tend to ensure for mankind peace, security and all the benefits of civilization.

78. The second question before us is the following: even if all these conflicts are solved without any further delay, would international security be ensured for a long time? In other words, can one consider that the absence of conflict for a time is sufficient to ensure peace and what are the minimum conditions which would make peace not as was written by the French writer Jean Giraudoux, just an interval between two wars, but a permanent state where men could live and prosper without being threatened at every instance with collective or individual destruction?

79. Here, in the opinion of my delegation, are some of the conditions which must be met. The world must, first of all, recover its harmony and our Organization must become universal. There is no question of establishing international security as long as People's China is absent from the United Nations and does not assume its share of responsibility in the affairs of the world. In recent years it has conducted nuclear tests. Its nuclear possibilities should be associated with the nuclear possibilities of other Powers in the framework of peaceful efforts in the interests of mankind and should not remain a permanent and fearful threat against a part of mankind.

80. The principle of universality must also apply to the other countries which are not yet members of our Organization, since their technical, economic and human potential is important and would enrich the potential of the United Nations.

81. The second main problem is that of disarmament. Ever since the proclamation of the Charter in San Francisco, technical progress in the field of conventional, nuclear and bacteriological weapons has developed at breakneck pace. Competition in the field of armaments continues despite the recommendations of the United Nations, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], the negotiations at Helsinki and at Vienna between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the meetings of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

82. The progress achieved in this field has been rather small. The danger for mankind arising from the power of these weapons is tremendous. Only if one is ardently in favour of an armed peace, of security through terror, can one fail to be frightened by the destructive potential of modern arms. Therefore, any agreement with respect to the reduction of these arms before general and complete disarmament would reduce tension in the world and offer new opportunities for international security.

83. The reduction of arms of all kinds and the bringing about of disarmament in general, as well as the end of the arms race all over the world, would free tremendous financial resources for use in the field of economic and social progress for the have-nots. The expenditures for armaments have been estimated at \$200,000 million a year. It is fantastic to think of the expenditures made in order to kill, while we engage in endless debate on the participation of developed countries in efforts to help developing countries.

84. Here I come to a third foundation of international security: the development of the under-developed countries and the efforts which must be made by all countries. If it is understood that the under-developed peoples are duty bound to make the necessary sacrifices and the efforts required to emerge from the state of under-development, it is not always recognized by the developed countries that they must take part in this effort not for altruistic reasons or because of economic interests, but by reason of human solidarity and as a guarantee against troubles which may stem from the revolt of all those who are hungry on this earth. If some invoke their past, innocent of any colonialism in the classical sense, and try to shift responsibility to

former colonial Powers which, according to them, should bear the brunt of assistance to under-developed countries, former possessions which have been impoverished by exploitation, the others speak of the needs of their society, of the tremendous expenditures which they have already borne to help newly independent countries. Happily, those arguments and others which we heard during the lengthy negotiations on the Second United Nations Development Decade are groundless and the feeling which prevails—and must prevail—is that it is high time to face the actual responsibilities in this new world which is smaller than it was before the last world war, thanks to modern technology which effected the rapprochement among peoples and put an end to isolation once and for all. The problem of under-development is now, thanks to bodies of the United Nations and specialized research, well known. We must continue this laudable effort undertaken during the First Development Decade and develop the possibilities which exist thanks to the experience acquired and the progress achieved.

85. It is certainly not possible, no matter what goodwill there is, to imagine international security and peace without any threats to it when the gap between the developing peoples and the rich countries is not rapidly filled or at least seriously reduced.

86. What is important is not so much to estimate to 1 per cent of the gross national product of developed countries the assistance to be given to the poor countries, but the reasoned will and desire to travel together along the road which will lead to our common objective, in a spirit of solidarity and common and effective effort.

87. Another element for strengthening international security is our Organization. Was the United Nations not created essentially to preserve international peace and security? In order for it to discharge that task effectively, the United Nations must be taken seriously by the large and small Powers, and it must have all the financial and human resources to be able to discharge that task. Strengthened by the necessary reforms, all its organs—the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council—must work normally and their decisions must be respected by Governments. Today, the United Nations has a tendency to become a routine administration, a kind of academy where one does not even realize that time is flowing by while we endlessly discuss the same problems without reaching any solution. There is a dangerous trend which appears among our delegations: to adopt resolutions or declarations when it is known in advance that they will not be implemented. Is this an admission of impotence or are we just playing the game?

88. After the commemorative session, must we hold a meeting where we shall recount the resolutions already adopted, with almost identical language, and words which, instead of committing us, will only betray the conventional nature of our attitudes?

89. International security is threatened. It is threatened by conflicts which have to be solved equitably. It is threatened by the lack of universality of our Organization. It is threatened by the arms race. It is threatened by under-development. It is threatened by the weakness of the United Nations.

90. Let us not postpone until tomorrow what we can do today and let us try at this session to study measures which would ensure international security and lead the great Powers to adopt the necessary positive attitudes towards the various problems of the world.

91. Engaged in the practical process of strengthening international security, taking advantage of modern technology to speed up our progress towards prosperity, engaged in the grandiose task of economic and social development for all our peoples, reconciled despite their different economic systems, we can say with Anatole France:

“Universal peace will come one day, not because men will become better—there is no hope of that—but because a new order of things, a new science, new economic needs will impose the state of peace upon them.”

92. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Tunisia, Ambassador Driss, for his kind compliments to the officers of the Committee. Personally, I want to thank him for the generous allusions he made to the cordial relations between our countries and also our two delegations.

93. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): The task entrusted to this Committee of considering measures for the strengthening of international security is undoubtedly a question of paramount importance, not only to the Members of this Organization, but to all the peoples of the world, regardless of their presence or representation. In this context, our deliberations and what may result from them will be viewed by the peoples of the world as a criterion by which not only the effectiveness of the United Nations but its whole future will be measured and judged.

94. No occasion for this debate could be more opportune than the present to show that the world community can still solemnly and sincerely rise to the challenge of dealing with the causes that have been a threat to international security for the past 25 years and to reaffirm the principles upon which international harmony and world peace should be established. The number of important statements that were made during the discussion of this item and the various drafts presented to this Committee for its consideration correctly reflect the importance attached to the conclusion of this debate.

95. Indeed, wide interest among the public is becoming evident and the Committee thus has the opportunity to accomplish a historic task by offering the world a document that embodies the progressive developments that have taken place in the field of international relations since the signing of the Charter. Of course, it could always be argued that our work could not hope to achieve anything more than another high-sounding proclamation of lofty principles and great ideals that will be conveniently forgotten in the daily conduct of relations between States. Such arguments will undoubtedly have a resonant echo in our region, where the principles of the Charter have been often trampled by the selfish conduct of the imperialist Powers and their client States.

96. If on this occasion such fears were to prove realities, then history will record that on the twenty-fifth anniversary

sary of the United Nations those who gathered to celebrate that anniversary cynically dealt the Organization a mortal blow. In spite of these doubts and hesitations, my delegation is participating in this debate in a spirit of seriousness and sincerity and with the full knowledge of the vital implications the question of international security holds for our part of the world.

97. For the people of our region—the Middle East—the era of peace and justice, which the inception of the United Nations twenty-five years ago presumably ushered in, has been at best an illusive dream and often a cruel piece of cynicism. For almost as long as the age of this Organization, the Middle East has been plagued by aggression that has brought untold suffering to our people and perhaps for ever drained the last drop of hope they may have had in the ability of the United Nations to deal with their situation.

98. I have neither the intention nor the desire to use our present discussion in order to air the wrongs and rights of the situation in the Middle East. But if I appear to do so, it is only because the Middle East has now become the hotbed of conflict. It threatens to erupt not only in a major war but even a global war. To ignore that situation in a debate that is devoted to world security is to make our deliberations appear not only abstract but even inane. It is also the firm belief of my delegation that the violations of basic principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations are responsible for the creation and continuity of such situations that we all accept as potential causes for a global conflict.

99. Over 25 years ago one of the most important principles of the Charter upon which the new world order was to be based was cruelly violated by depriving the people of Palestine from exercising their right to self-determination. An alien, racist and expansionist enclave was imposed upon the region and the indigenous Palestinian population was turned into a population of refugees depending for their subsistence on international charity. Since then, our area has not for a single moment known real peace or enjoyed a sense of security. To the Zionist State, no principle of the Charter or of international law is sacrosanct. The decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly are either completely ignored or contemptuously flouted.

100. Over three years ago, Israel invaded the territories of three sovereign States, Members of the United Nations, and today it still occupies by military force parts of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. In conformity with past Israeli practices and policies, hundreds of thousands of the population of the occupied territories were turned into homeless refugees. The treatment of the population that remained under occupation needs no elaboration from me. It is sufficient to say that Israel has refused to allow a single member of the two United Nations committees entrusted with investigating the conditions of the population in the occupied territories to enter Israel or the territories it illegally occupies.

101. The inability of the United Nations to end a situation that violates every tenet of the Charter, the failure to restore to the Palestinians their basic rights, and the brazen support which certain Powers persist in lending to such

violations and illegal practices, cannot but weaken whatever faith our people have in the effectiveness of the United Nations to uphold the ideals of peace, justice and progress.

102. We are firm in our belief that peace and freedom are indivisible. We believe that it is of little comfort to our people and to the peoples of many of the smaller nations that no global war has taken place, because the great Powers are sitting secure behind their nuclear barricades, while our area is devastated by the latest conventional weapons of destruction in order to preserve and perpetuate aggression.

103. What meaning can international security hold in such a situation? And what can this concept mean, for instance, to the people of Viet-Nam when their country is devastated by American intervention and when their land has become a testing ground for the latest weapons? What faith can the principles we may espouse inspire in their hearts when their bitter struggle is merely a passage in a lengthy statement and when, with regard to their situation, this Organization stands as a magnificent monument of paralysis?

104. I have referred to two situations in which aggression and the denial to peoples of their natural rights have produced conflicts that threaten to engulf the entire globe. Both in the Middle East and in South-East Asia the United Nations has failed to face the challenge of reacting effectively and forcefully, as empowered by its Charter, to the violations by some Member States of the principles of the Charter and in defiance of the collective will of the world community.

105. We witness in our region, as in many other regions around the globe, acts of aggression, violations of territorial integrity, expansion through force, occupation of territories belonging to other sovereign States, and violations of valid and binding treaties that are committed with impunity. The denial by certain colonial Powers of the right of colonial peoples and Territories to self-determination can still be observed. Racial discrimination and violation of basic human rights as witnessed in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are still tolerated and the measures envisaged to combat them have not, to say the least, been effective. The gap between rich and poor countries, developed and developing, is ever widening and threatens to become an impassable gulf that may dangerously divide the world.

106. These are some of the situations that seriously threaten international security and to strengthen it these situations have to be dealt with.

107. In his statement on 30 September before the General Assembly [*1845th plenary meeting*] the Foreign Minister of Iraq pointed out the dangers to international security arising out of the continued denial to the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the United Nations. This anomalous situation, in which 800 million people forming one of the major Powers are denied representation in this Organization, does not only flout the principle of universality, which is a basic prerequisite for the effective existence of the United Nations, but must also inhibit any debate that seriously seeks the strengthening of world peace. Such a situation, which can only weaken the United Nations and hinder the realization of its purposes, can be

blamed fully on the United States, whose credibility as a permanent member of the Security Council with special responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security must be seriously questioned.

108. The Charter of the United Nations, in order to serve the Organization's paramount purpose of maintaining international peace, has set up an elaborate system of peace-keeping machinery and of measures for the maintenance of peace.

109. In the view of my delegation, it is not the Charter that needs to be reviewed, but the behaviour of some Member States with regard to their observance of its provisions. During the past twenty-five years, a period which in terms of history is but a brief moment, the United Nations has shown a flexibility in developing its procedures and practices in harmony with the changes that have taken place within the international community. Those developments required no reviews, amendments or changes as far as the Charter was concerned, but were built around it and in conformity with its provisions. We can therefore see very little reason to envisage any service being rendered to the cause of international security by any changes in the Charter. On the contrary, great harm can be done to the cause of peace by questioning the validity of the very instrument on which peace and co-operation among States, through a global Organization, are based.

110. The Iraqi delegation has had the opportunity to examine some of the draft resolutions and declarations presented to this Committee. I shall refrain at present from making any express comments, since we are co-operating with other delegations in preparing a document that we hope will meet with the general consensus of this Committee. We wish, however, to emphasize that, in reaffirming the principles of the Charter, no document that seeks to be selective will receive our support. We also believe firmly that any manoeuvres to exclude from any document the affirmation of the principles of the territorial integrity of each State, and of the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition through the use of force and of the occupation by force of the territory of one State by another, will render such a document meaningless and will do great disservice to the future peace and security of the world.

111. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, this is not the first time that I have had the pleasure, in the United Nations, of paying tribute to a statesman from Venezuela. Your country has seen itself honoured on many occasions before, both in the Presidency of the General Assembly and of other particularly important Committees, as well as by holding the chair of fundamental organs of the United Nations. On behalf of my delegation and personally, I am very happy indeed to congratulate you sincerely on the unanimous election that raised you to the Chairmanship of our Committee, to which particular importance is attached this session. Your election is but a normal recognition accorded to your brilliant qualities, your long experience and the authority that you have acquired among us, and also, let it be said, a tribute to your country and to the noteworthy traditions of Latin America. I am certain that, thanks to your competence and courtesy, to which will be added the abilities of Ambassadors Farah and Cerník, the heavy tasks we have assigned

to you will be carried out in a spirit of close co-operation and to our general satisfaction.

112. In the course of our work at the last session, all members of this Committee congratulated the delegation of the Soviet Union on its happy initiative in submitting for consideration the question of the strengthening of international security. I think I can say that those discussions aroused the greatest interest in a problem whose importance and urgency we all agreed in recognizing. It is true that that interest was more or less noticeably mixed with, among some, a certain scepticism and, among others sometimes, a certain mistrust. The idea seemed, at the outset, Utopian, far from the realities expressing the dispositions of the great Powers, and, for some it seemed to lack maturity in an international context where such an initiative might be suspected of hiding ulterior motives. But at the end of the debates, that first impression had been considerably modified, and there were revealed all the potentialities that such an idea possessed and all the resources it offered to the international community to substitute an atmosphere of dialogue and concerted effort for the spirit of mistrust which, unfortunately, continues at a certain level, to characterize basic international relations.

113. Subsequently, during the course of the past year, that idea has called forth a certain number of statements that have further clarified the substance and made more specific the import of the discussion. On the occasion of visits of state or in joint communiqués announcing their results, and at regional and international conferences, the interest aroused by the question of the strengthening of international security has been more and more openly expressed, and, in the last few days, various statements made in the General Assembly have begun by granting it a prominent place among the problems occupying the international community. In our own Committee, our approach this time is one of greater confidence and practicality. It is apparent from the first statements made, from the analyses and the proposals that have been submitted, that all Member States feel a genuine desire to grapple seriously with this problem.

114. As far as we are concerned, we feel that this well-marked interest among Governments also reflects the answer they must give to the profound awareness of their peoples that at this stage in international affairs there exists, perhaps for the first time in a quarter of a century, a real chance to consolidate the first encouraging indications of a will to relax tensions.

115. As a matter of fact, the state of international relations has never, since the end of the Second World War, been so propitious for fruitful dialogue. Objective conditions for an improvement in international relations all seem to be present, if the political will of States is truly directed by a desire for peace. Does this mean that the present international situation has been so cleansed that the initiation of radical change can be tackled with optimism? We do not believe so. At least two wars continue to disturb profoundly the relationships among a large number of States. The war raging in Viet-Nam is mortgaging the future of an entire region and affecting the destiny of a continent. It pits against one another directly three of the five great Powers that, in creating the Charter, sought to bring in a

new era, Powers whose agreement is necessary today if we are to work out a new world order. Then there is the conflict in the Middle East, which periodically pushes the world to the edge of the abyss and reveals how great is the complexity of the relations among the great Powers.

116. These two great abcesses in international relations could, by themselves alone, lead us to refrain for the time being, from any attempt to cleanse the international atmosphere. They brutally reveal a negation of the most elementary principles of justice, of law and of independence that must continue to underlie our lives in any world where security is to prevail. They likewise reveal the whole opposition of interests that pit groups of States against each other—the very States that should guarantee such security through the absence of any such confrontation among themselves.

117. I would add that colonialism also contributes to that negation and to those contradictions, and the indifference on the part of some members of the international community to the colonial wars going on saps the confidence of many peoples in the sincerity of certain great Powers when they talk about international security.

118. And finally, I would add that lack of equality in the enjoyment of prosperity keeps alive, in its turn, a justifiable scepticism among a large part of mankind towards any idea of international security that ignores the right to well-being and equality of opportunity to achieve it.

119. Having made these remarks, I shall try to avoid the temptation of hastily drawing the conclusion from this over-all and sad view of the international situation that the effort to create a better atmosphere of understanding and of concerted action would be futile. The nature of the problems confronting the world since the end of the Second World War; the development of extraordinary events in this period; the awakening of a great number of peoples which had been kept away from the making of decisions; the unexpected and incalculable consequences of the crises that have taken place in the last twenty-five years, all have taught us that the worst can be avoided when a determined and energetic will exists to counteract the tragic projections or to limit their grave consequences. We all recall the events of Korea, the crises of Berlin, the affair of the Congo, the crises of Cuba and Cyprus, merely to cite those events that have most directly confronted the great Powers in different parts of the world.

120. In all these situations, the acts of States and of the United Nations were joined to avoid the danger and, at the last moment, to avert the unleashing of a third world war.

121. The provisions of the Charter, the authority which the Secretary-General draws from his prerogatives, here and there, have avoided despair and the feeling of hopelessness at events. These results, which all bear the imprint of compromise, were achieved whilst the world, for many years, lived through a time of latent crisis. Yet we were able to obtain results, and still it would be more realistic to think that other, more satisfactory results, could be achieved in the future if in the heart of the international community the desire for a *détente* were progressively to replace stubbornness in confrontations.

122. Parallel with the final or provisional solutions that may have been found to political crises, it is important to note that other results have been achieved, that have played an important role in improving the international situation, an endeavour to which the United Nations has constantly devoted all its efforts. I would mention here the different treaties on the limitations or the prohibition of certain nuclear tests: the Treaty on outer space,³ the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. It is true that those agreements have not eradicated the dangers that threaten the world in the arms race as much as we would have wanted, but we must admit that the Powers possessing these great arsenals have, from their own analysis or through the outcries of the world community, shown themselves ready to start talks. Very slowly, but with great patience, these talks may lead them to understand the futility of competition in the field of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weaponry.

123. It is this series of modest, partial and at times fragile, results, that form the new framework of the international situation that incites us to optimism. The principle of peaceful coexistence proclaimed ten years ago seems now to have become the main principle for *détente* and international co-operation, and it has particularly seemed to become the very creed of the great Powers themselves.

124. The international community, deeply desirous of preserving peace and strengthening security, has made a number of efforts, drawn from the principles of the Charter, to ensure that in international relations the spirit of concerted action prevail over that of confrontation. An awareness has recently gained ground that the strengthening of international security has become imperative, and this flows from an examination of everything that in international relations justifies concern, but also it comes from a study of all that seems to be so encouraging as to warrant a serious effort being made and without delay.

125. Two important ideas can help to strengthen this hope: first of all, the definition of an international morality or code of ethics where the permanent values of the common heritage of man might be stressed. These values may come from a religious source for some, or a humanistic source for others, such as liberty, justice, equality; and on the other hand the importance of the values drawn from positive law, such as the right to independence, the exercise of sovereignty, the respect for territorial integrity, and the repudiation of the use or the threat of force as a means of settling conflicts.

126. The Charter of the United Nations has given full play to both these concepts as avenues leading to the safeguarding of international peace and security. The preamble is inspired by the moral imperative that must characterize relations among States, relationships amongst people, the equality in principle between great Powers and other States. It has correctly defined the international code of conduct, as the international community, emerging as it was from the Second World War, defined it in expressing its profoundest hopes. In its different provisions, the Charter itself

³ 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).

has codified the rights and obligations of Member States and provided the machinery for the implementation of these provisions, to which countries freely consented. The crises that have beset the world since the days of San Francisco are not the result of any weakness in this international code of coexistence and of relationship among States. Unfortunately, they are the result of conflicts, born of the survival of certain practices flowing from power politics and the will to obtain, through threats, coercion and force, a solution that will safeguard the interests of one Power to the detriment of those of others.

127. We believe that the basic effort and the most effective action to strengthen international security should not only lie in a review or even revision of the Charter. It must lie mainly in the will of States, particularly of the great States, to define the nature of their interests and their effects on those of others, to ensure that their interests will be adapted to present realities, that exclude the policies of domination and exploitation, and, in all their scope and effect, to resort to the political, diplomatic and legal means of solving conflicts that the opposition of interests may create.

128. Along this line of reasoning, the Charter is a useful instrument that might well become effective. From the very first, the medium-sized and small nations have had a clear awareness of the limitation of their means, and, as far as possible and in the context of the difficulties of their own evolution, and those of their regions in the case of events that affected their lives, they have endeavoured to abide by the terms of the Charter and primarily to resort to the means of settlement of conflicts which the Charter offers. If we try to list the conflicts that have been solved in the course of the last twenty-five years, through means other than that of the use of force, we would find that these are conflicts that confronted the small or middle-sized Powers and that in the majority of cases both sides resorted to all the means provided for in the Charter: bilateral settlement, mediation, action of the Secretary-General, or respect for resolutions within the regional organizations, or agreements, or of the United Nations itself.

129. It is true that in many cases the United Nations has tried to deal with problems that were a threat to international peace and security. In many of these cases, our Organization adopted decisions that were as close as possible to the aims and purposes of the Charter. But, much more often, the States concerned have not abided by the decisions that were presumably binding upon them. After a quarter of a century of experience and practice, it appears today that those who have least often complied with the obligations of the Charter are precisely those which increase their criticisms of, and accusations of weakness and ineffectiveness against, the Organization.

130. However, we do agree that there is an immediate need to revitalize our international Organization and the basic machinery that will ensure its functioning. First and foremost I think of the Security Council. That organ was conceived by the Charter as possessing the primary task of ensuring international peace and security.

131. It is not the nature of its responsibilities, that are immense, nor the weight of its authority, which is

unchallengeable, nor the provisions which define its prerogatives that have in any way limited its concrete action. It is perhaps the United Nations organ that has most suffered from the competition between blocks, from the antagonistic confrontations, or from the conflict of interests of its permanent Members.

132. We agree that we should strengthen its means of action, but we should resist the temptation only to increase its theoretical powers. Responsible for the maintenance or the establishment of peace, the Security Council must so act as to ensure that Member States comply with the decisions it has seen fit to adopt. To revitalize its actions and to strengthen its role means to us to give it the ways and means of adopting coercive measures in order to impose the safeguarding or restoration of peace when necessary.

133. We believe that no one challenges the prerogatives of the Council. The context in which the Charter has defined those prerogatives and its composition is not even doubted or challenged today. We still continue to acknowledge that the moral authority recognized to the permanent Members is the basis of the confidence that one must have in their objectivity, and strengthens the concern for a balance. But the pre-eminence given in the Security Council to its permanent members is not only related to the moral values which they possess and which are the indispensable criteria in the choice of other members of the Council; the special nature of their duties is related to the fact that they can take concrete steps to help the Security Council and the Organization to ensure compliance with its decisions. In this aspect, no Article of the Charter concerning the Council could limit the use of its means. Efforts of innovation and imagination should be devoted to the means placed at the disposal of the Council for it to intervene effectively in any situation that might threaten international peace and security.

134. My delegation agrees with the suggestion of Finland that periodic meetings at a ministerial level of the members of the Council should be held. In fact we feel that such meetings and at such a level and on a periodic basis would allow Governments' representatives on the Council more acutely and more permanently to be aware of their responsibilities, not only at the moment when a problem is being discussed in the Council, but with regard to the study of the general picture of international affairs in order to foresee development of events, to prevent crises, and to use in time the necessary warnings to prepare such measures that might be necessary if certain events were to take place.

135. This strengthening of the machinery of the Council and this generally felt desire to strengthen its role should not deprive the General Assembly of its right to exercise any of its prerogatives in the light of any grave threat to international peace and security, if the Council is still hamstrung by opposition among its members' interests or if a veto were to block its general will to take a hand in the matter. We believe that these periodic meetings of the Council should not only be to examine political problems but also, and with the same decisiveness, should deal with the application of principles or resolutions which, as I said at the outset of my statement, should lead to an improvement in the international atmosphere and ensure reliance in

the relationships among States. For example, the Council should be able to examine the problems of disarmament, decolonization and economic development, because apart from the crises that upset international peace from time to time, it is these problems that are the underlying cause of any situation that might at any moment break out into conflict.

136. These are only a very few of the comments that the delegation of Morocco wishes to add this year to the comments we made in the course of last year's session [1667th meeting]. The Committee has heard a number of statements in which new analyses and important suggestions have been made. We do not believe that as important a problem as this and as vast a question as this matter can be fully dealt with in the course of a limited number of debates or statements. We shall not trouble ourselves about the need to show great patience if we are to prepare a declaration which, this time at least, may have the merit of associating the entire international community with it and to which we would, with all our hearts, want to add the participation of China.

137. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Morocco, Ambassador Benhima, for his very cordial congratulations to the officers of the Committee, and I personally wish to thank him for his generous references to the contribution of Latin America and Venezuela to the work of the United Nations.

138. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, speaking for the first time in this debate, my delegation would like to echo the general gratification expressed at your election to the Chair of the First Committee. You have, Sir, the high qualifications called for in your duties, and at the same time you are an eminent representative of a country very closely linked to Peru. We extend our congratulations also to Ambassadors Farah and Cerník, brilliant and well-tried representatives of Somalia and Czechoslovakia, who together with yourself, compose a highly qualified and representative Bureau of the Committee.

139. As Ambassador of Peru in the Soviet Union I was able to watch very closely the profound interest of the Government and the people of the Soviet Union in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of security. With satisfaction I saw an eloquent proof of this in the felicitous initiative taken at the last session of the General Assembly, namely, in the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "The strengthening of international security".⁴ This has allowed a subject of obvious universal interest no longer to lie solely in the hands of the great Powers, to be dealt with in their conversations and negotiations, now to become the subject of an important political debate in which all Member States can participate, for all, without distinction, are vitally concerned over the strengthening of security.

140. My Government's interest in this subject is not only due to our conviction that international security should be a universal, indivisible and united commitment, but also

because of the need for the present enormous efforts of my country to achieve full development not to be affected by any weakening of international peace and security, since, as we all know, both these are indivisible in that either peace is world-wide, or there is peace for no State.

141. At the same time my country feels that that international peace and security which is desired all over the world should not now rest upon the classical criterion of balance of power, but on new and adequate principles, pride of place among which should be given the achievement of development by all Members of the international community.

142. For all these reasons the delegation of Peru, together with those of twenty-two other Latin American countries, has felt in duty bound, through the submission of a draft resolution, to express our interest in international security, and to include in it guidelines that are clear and cogent, ruled by the general idea that we must redefine the concept of peace within respect for the commitments in the Charter and also in the light of the profound political, economic and social evolution which has taken place in the world in the last 25 years. This view underlies the terms of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.517, of which my delegation is a co-sponsor. Its first preambular paragraph sums up the contents of the entire subject; the objective is true peace and the objective is necessary because we are convinced that peace is an ecumenical concept which goes beyond the simplistic limitations of dictionaries and can be summed up in the idea of justice for States and peoples. The ways of achieving this are through the promotion of international co-operation, taken in all its economic and social connotations and the measures directed towards elimination of the causes of insecurity and tension. But the condition required for success is a political will. It is the commitment on the part of States to adopt actions through the full utilization and strengthening of the United Nations as a diplomatic and political centre in order to turn the organization into a true and effective instrument for the maintenance of peace, for the development of friendly relations among nations and for the achievement of international co-operation.

143. After having established this unshakable link between international security, development and disarmament, the draft resolution stresses the need to transfer the resources to be freed by disarmament to the encouragement of the development of the less favoured nations. This purpose, which almost emerges through its own logic and which must be applied with high priority, constitutes one of the grave flaws of the other draft resolutions [A/C.1/L.513 and 514].

144. My delegation attaches the maximum importance to the fact that draft resolution A/C.1/L.517 does not overlook the imperative need of entirely eliminating systems of colonial and racial oppression and ensuring respect for the rights of all men and all peoples.

145. In its operative part, the draft contains a clear reaffirmation of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the ideals and norms of conduct contained in the Preamble as a basis or a point of departure; after this there follows the main corollary, namely the need to comply

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

with decisions of its organs. There can be no doubt on this matter nor can any equivocation be condoned. In this field and without undermining the competence of the Security Council, my delegation wishes to stress the role of the General Assembly, which is not only that of supplementing the main organ primarily responsible for international peace.

146. It is precisely in the field of disarmament, to which we refer in operative paragraph 7, that the General Assembly—and by this I understand all Member States and not a handful of great Powers—must study ways of resuming the initiative.

147. Paragraph 8 is one of the most important and one of the most firm in this draft resolution. We can never over-stress disarmament as “a prerequisite for the establishment of international peace and the strengthening of the security of all nations” and we believe that this stress is very timely on the very eve of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

148. These are the fields in which we should reactivate the machinery of the Organization as a proof of our constant and, in this case, renewed confidence in the United Nations.

149. Further on, operative paragraph 12 confronts a matter of great urgency and timeliness whose imperious solution was called for by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru in the general debate [*1842nd plenary meeting*]: the need to give a truly universal character to the Organization in order to strengthen international security.

150. I have made a purely selective analysis of the draft resolution contained in A/C.1/L.517 because that resolution was brilliantly and completely introduced on behalf of the 23 sponsors by the representative of Brazil in his lucid presentation of the draft [*1731st meeting*]. I must say that my delegation shares the general eagerness to know of the draft resolution, which has been announced by the non-aligned countries; that group of nations shares so many common interests with Latin America and the close ties with my country have been strengthened by the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970.

151. In conclusion, may I once again refer to operative paragraph 8 of our draft. My delegation considers that this paragraph raises the first and basic measure for the strengthening of international security in the field of development. The representative of the United States told us on Friday that this draft resolution reflects the views that should underlie a declaration on this subject at the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization. The commitment of the Soviet Union, for its part, is categorical owing to the great emphasis on this subject. Many of the statements made in this First Committee have also strengthened this aspiration. Therefore, obviously and clearly, we must deduce from all this that we cannot waste our time on commemorative declarations in which by words we avoid the adoption of true commitments to action. I mean to say that the developed countries, and particularly the most powerful among them, should truly and with determination, within the framework of the Second United Nations

Development Decade, strengthen and support “urgent and concerted international action based on a global strategy aimed at reducing and eliminating once and for all the economic gap between developed and developing countries”.

152. I believe that in tribute to this Organization at its twenty-fifth anniversary we should issue a declaration which would not only be unanimous in the votes cast by the Members, but also basically unanimous in the will shown to comply with it and implement it.

153. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Peru for his very cordial words addressed to the officers of the Committee, and which I specifically appreciate for the very close relations that exist between his own country and Venezuela.

154. Mr. SHARIF (Indonesia): Mr. Chairman, speaking for the first time in this Committee, permit me to begin by adding my voice to that of previous speakers who have congratulated you on your unanimous election as Chairman of this Committee. Likewise, I should like to congratulate Ambassador Farah of Somalia and Ambassador Cerník of Czechoslovakia on their election as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively. With such competent and outstanding personalities as officers, my delegation has not the slightest doubt that the conduct of business in our Committee will proceed expeditiously and that we will be able to accomplish our joint task well on time.

155. I should like also to extend our condolences and deep sentiments of grief and sorrow to the delegation of the United Arab Republic on the untimely death of their beloved President, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

156. I should like further to extend our condolences to the delegation of Malaysia on the passing of Ambassador Ramani, former Permanent Representative and member of the Malaysian delegation to the present session of the Assembly.

157. The item on the consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security is, as has also been emphasized by so many speakers before me, one of the utmost importance, as it is a subject that concerns all States and nations, large and small, whether or not they are Members of our Organization, and pertains to the essence of the international behaviour of nations, and thus covers practically all aspects of human life in all its environments in our complex world of today.

158. In spite of its importance, our elaborate statements at the twenty-fourth session could not lead us to an agreed resolution on the substance of the issue. As a matter of procedure, we agreed to continue our discussions this year on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, which we considered to be more appropriate for an item of this nature.

159. Following our exhaustive deliberations during the debate at the twenty-fourth session, my Government, avoiding unnecessary repetitions, did not transmit in writing any specific views, summaries or new proposals on the subject to the Secretary-General. Whatever comments

we have on the issue were clearly presented by the Indonesian representative in his statement before this Committee on 21 October 1969 [1660th meeting].

160. Like last year, the discussions in the Committee on this item this year were preceded by a meeting of non-aligned countries.⁵ The meeting of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries in New York in September of last year did not produce specific declarations or resolutions. The informal meetings, however, did recognize three common denominators for a joint programme of action in facing present world developments. Abbreviated to the three Ds, it stands for decolonization, development and disarmament, which no doubt includes also the question of peace-keeping or the maintenance of international peace and security.

161. Thus, my Government believes that the strengthening of international security can be achieved in the first instance by strengthening the United Nations, and I emphasized last year that in order to strengthen the United Nations, we should intensify our activities in the three main domains of world concern—decolonization, development and disarmament.

162. I shall start with decolonization. When the United Nations was founded 25 years ago, its membership numbered only 51 States, including not more than 13 Asian and African States. Indonesia was not one of them. Since 1968, with Equatorial Guinea as the Benjamin of the family, United Nations membership has consisted of 126 States. More than half of its Members were indeed not included in the international aristocracy of States when the Charter was drafted and approved in 1945.

163. We know that when the Atlantic Charter,⁶ as one of the basic documents leading to our present Charter, spoke in 1941 of the hope of the Allied Powers, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, “to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurances that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want”, the words “all nations” and “all the men in all the lands” were not intended to include also the men and nations in the colonized countries. It was rather meant to attract world sympathy and to rally world opinion, in order to consolidate all power and world resources for the Allied Powers in their common struggle for existence against Axis fascism, nazism and militarism. When the forces of the Axis were defeated, not all colonial Powers were sincere enough to live up to their once-pronounced political reforms and promises.

164. No one, however, can stop or reverse the course of history.

165. The colonized peoples, some after long years of bitter wars of independence, and others through hard negotiations, have one by one regained their independence.

Strengthened by the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we have continued the struggle against colonialism through conferences held at New Delhi in 1949, Bandung in 1955, Accra in 1958 and Addis Ababa in 1960. From a national struggle, anti-colonialism has become a regional political platform, and, ultimately, on 14 December 1960, we were able to make it the official policy of the United Nations. That is when the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority of 89 votes to none, with 9 abstentions, a draft resolution sponsored by 43 Afro-Asian States, which now has become known as resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

166. Thus, decolonization has since been recognized as the universal policy of mankind. It is often said that anti-colonialism has reached the peak of its momentum. However, realizing that there are no fewer than 40 million people in our present world still living in no fewer than 66 named major units of Non-Self-Governing Territories which have not yet attained independence, we cannot and should not abandon the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism.

167. We will continue to support independence movements of the indigenous peoples to rid themselves of alien domination and colonial oppression. But let it be understood clearly, as President Soeharto stated before the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Lusaka last month, that no sympathies can be entertained “to wars of liberation as a device to inflame a civil war in an independent and sovereign country with the assistance of a foreign Power. The danger of foreign subversion is no less evil than open military aggression”. The Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development and Democratization of International Relations issued by the Heads of State or Government at that Conference, to which Indonesia wholly subscribes, was pertinent in this matter, and confirmed the principles of the inviolability of national unity, territorial integrity, and political independence, as well as the inviolability of established frontiers, and the prohibition of interference in the internal affairs of other States.

168. If we express some satisfaction at the result of our joint endeavours in the field of decolonization, we cannot express the same degree of satisfaction with our achievements in the field of disarmament, including peace-keeping and international security. The achievements as well as the difficulties in our efforts towards disarmament are on record. Apart from the partial test ban Treaty,⁷ the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and the 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], which no doubt are all important, we have no agreed disarmament policy or programme as yet.

169. Considering the disaster for the whole of mankind that may result from a nuclear holocaust, our first efforts

⁵ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

⁶ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. CCIV, 1941-1943, No. 4817.

⁷ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964.)

should indeed be aimed towards a comprehensive test ban treaty, nuclear disarmament, and the exclusive use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We further agree that other collateral measures should be obtained so as to accelerate the early achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

170. Furthermore, serious attention should be given to the question of conventional weapons, which is the concern of all developing countries, now representing no less than two thirds of the membership of our Organization.

171. With many other delegations, the Indonesian delegation has each year elaborated extensively on the question in this Committee. While the first stage of the struggle against colonialism has borne fruit and resulted in an increasing number of newly independent countries, the world has also noted the unrest and numerous coups and rebellions in those newly independent nations, most of which have pledged themselves to a foreign policy of non-alignment. Some have even been the victims of aggression from outside. For many years to come, their weapons supply will depend on imports from abroad. The difficulties of payment and the shortage of foreign exchange bring with them the familiar practices by which grants, easy payments, and credits, or other facilities are extended in exchange for a regular supply of conventional weapons which are so vitally needed to defend their very existence against rebellion from within or aggression from without.

172. That state of affairs was also noted by the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries in Lusaka. The Lusaka Declaration stated clearly that "The practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other States, and the recourse to economic and political pressures, threats of force and subversion, are acquiring alarming proportions and dangerous frequency."

173. With the non-aligned countries, my delegation hopes that in the shortest possible time a concrete programme for disarmament could be prepared so as to make our first Disarmament Decade a success. Furthermore, we hope that resolutions in the economic field such as the one on a day for peace [resolution 2526 (XXIV)] adopted last year, and many others which may be forthcoming in the context of the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade should be implemented so that more funds intended initially for armament purposes could be released and diverted to finance development projects.

174. On the question of development, we have noted some achievements which have brought new hopes for better living in this world. New bodies have been set up to accelerate the economic development of each country, such as the United Nations Capital Development Fund, UNIDO, UNCTAD, and others; and even new policies have been adopted. The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries meeting in Lusaka have also given special attention to this issue of development. They are unanimous in urging the United Nations to adopt at the commemorative session a declaration on the international development strategy, and recommend further that the United Nations should make use of the international machinery to bring about a rapid transformation of the world economic

system, particularly in the field of trade, finance, and technology, so that economic domination may yield to economic co-operation, and economic strength be used for the benefit of the world community; and that the United Nations should consider the development process in a global context and adopt a programme of international action for the utilization of world resources in men, material, science and technology, benefiting developed and developing nations alike.

175. My delegation fully supports the principles of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade⁸ which will be submitted for approval at this commemorative session. They have been elaborately discussed by the Preparatory Committee for the Decade and by the Economic and Social Council and are now being negotiated with the groups concerned for finalization.

176. It is only too obvious that those platforms and policies can be successful only if there is political will from all the developed nations to join whole-heartedly and co-operate fully in the implementation of these policies.

177. Having outlined the need to intensify the activities of the United Nations in the fields of decolonization, disarmament, and development in order to strengthen international security, I am in duty bound to add another few notes on the need for improving our Charter.

178. Our long and exhaustive deliberations at each session are concluded with resolutions and recommendations, and in many cases even with definite programmes of action, however modest they may be. No one can deny that we have achieved some progress. New platforms and approaches for the solution of world problems—political, social, economic and others—have been created; new policies have been adopted. Many new States have come into existence and become Members of the Organization, and new relationships have been developed. Science and technology have intensified relations among nations, and have opened new vistas and possibilities for the future.

179. These accomplishments and conditions are to be considered for possible amendments or supplements to present existing provisions of the Charter. There are, no doubt, principles and procedures in the Charter that should be retained, or even strengthened, confirmed or reactivated. We agree that the strength of the Organization depends on the Members themselves—that is to say, on the degree of their willingness to adhere to the principles of the resolutions adopted by the pertinent organs of the United Nations.

180. The tendency to act contrary to or to refuse to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly those on questions relating to actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, should be arrested. Ways and means to that effect should be found. The present existing provisions seem to be inadequate and should be supplemented. The need for a review or joint study towards such a review of the Charter is obvious.

⁸ For the text, see resolution 2626 (XXV).

181. As a review of or an amendment to the Charter depends to a large extent on the five permanent members of the Security Council, my delegation—representing one of the remaining 121 Members of the United Nations—can do nothing but express the hope that the permanent members of the Security Council too will realize the necessity of reviewing the Charter in order to strengthen our Organization and with it to strengthen also international security.

182. Summarizing the points that my delegation would like to emphasize in this general debate on the possibilities of strengthening international security, I should like to stress the following.

183. First, international security should be strengthened, and this can be done by strengthening the United Nations through intensification of its activities, notably in the fields of decolonization, development and disarmament.

184. Secondly, in the field of decolonization, we have made progress. Decolonization not only has now become the official policy of the United Nations but it is the recognized universal policy of mankind. Hence, my delegation believes in this context that Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter—on Non-Self-Governing Territories, the International Trusteeship System and the Trusteeship Council—should be replaced by new provisions which would clearly reflect in unambiguous language a policy for complete liquidation of colonialism in the spirit of resolution 1514 (XV). A more adequate status in the Charter should be further considered, in accordance with the importance of its assignment, for the present Special Committee of Twenty-four on decolonization,⁹ which is charged in the first instance with the implementation of that resolution.

185. Thirdly, in the field of disarmament our achievements are minimal and we have no concrete programme as yet. Next to efforts towards a comprehensive test ban treaty, nuclear disarmament and the exclusive use of

nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, the question of supplying conventional weapons to developing nations in order to enable them to preserve their political independence, national unity and territorial integrity, against rebellions from within or aggression from without, should be a matter for serious consideration, in view of the alarming frequency of interference in the internal affairs of these developing nations. Further, determined efforts should be made to prepare and implement a concrete programme for the first Disarmament Decade, so as to obtain in the earliest possible time an agreement on general and complete disarmament and assist the realization of the Second United Nations Development Decade by diverting funds that are intended for armaments to help finance development projects.

186. Fourth, in the field of development, the General Assembly should approve unanimously, without any reservations, particularly in its implementation, the international development strategy prepared by the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade, and an earnest appeal should be addressed particularly to the developed nations so as to ensure their positive co-operation and assistance for its implementation.

187. Fifth, in view of the changes in the world, the progress of science and technology, the changed policies with the new approaches and new institutional bodies and new relationships within the enlarged family of independent nations, efforts should be made so that the achievements of our 25 years of labour may be fully reflected in the Charter.

188. These are my general observations on the subject under discussion, on which my delegation will base its position on the draft resolutions that have been or may be presented on this issue.

189. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words and congratulations to the members of the Bureau.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.

⁹ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.