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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. YONDON (Mongolia) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. Chairman, permit me first of all to extend sincere congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the high office of Chairman of the most important Committee of the General Assembly. Our delegation also warmly congratulates the distinguished Ambassador Farah and Ambassador Cernik on their well-deserved election to the posts of Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur.

2. We are pleased to note that, in this year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, our Committee has such an outstanding group of officers, consisting of representatives of countries in the new and growing world of socialism and national rebirth. This membership of the Bureau fills us with optimism about the outcome of our debates in this Committee.

3. Our delegation sincerely wishes the officers every success and assures them of its full co-operation in the effort to achieve fruitful results in the work of the Committee.

4. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has asked for the floor in order to explain briefly the position of its Government on the pressing question of measures for the strengthening of international security.

5. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently favoured the establishment of a lasting peace throughout the world which will permit every people and every nation to develop in conditions of security and tranquillity. We consider that the attainment of such a peace is a decisive external pre-condition for the successful social and economic development and prosperity of all countries and, therefore, a most important international factor in the progress of human society as a whole.

6. For that reason, the socialist countries are making tireless efforts to secure peace and friendly co-operation among peoples. That policy derives from the very nature of socialist society, where there are no forces intent upon enslaving other peoples or seizing and plundering the land and wealth of others.

7. It is therefore quite natural that the people and Government of our country have warmly supported the wise and timely initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, which proposed that the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly should consider the urgent problem of the strengthening of international security and adopt practical, effective measures to attain this vitally important goal.¹ It is equally natural that our Government is one of the sponsors of the draft declaration on measures for the strengthening of international security [A/C.1/L.513], whose purposes and content were exhaustively and convincingly explained by the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik, when he introduced it in the Committee on 28 September of this year [1725th meeting].

8. The content of the draft declaration makes it clear that the socialist countries consider the strengthening of international security to be the crucial problem, the solution of which will very largely determine whether a successful solution can be found to many other important problems which are troubling the present-day world.

9. On the other hand, the maintenance of security is an all-embracing problem which encompasses such important questions as general and complete disarmament, the final elimination of colonialism, the attainment of normal conditions for international economic co-operation, strict compliance with the principles of international relations, etc.

10. These provisions are clearly and succinctly expressed in the draft declaration of the eight socialist countries. The draft not only reflects the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations but also develops them in relation to the specific conditions of the contemporary international situation. Furthermore, it takes account of the constructive observations made concerning the question under discussion.

11. The need to consider the problem of strengthening international security and to adopt effective measures in that regard is the fundamental requirement of the Charter, which defines the maintenance of international peace as the

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

principal task of the United Nations and, above all, of the Security Council. Furthermore, this task becomes particularly acute and urgent in today's tense international situation, which is characterized by increasingly frequent acts of aggression by the imperialist and colonialist forces against the cause of peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples.

12. The most blatant manifestation of these intrigues is the aggressive war being waged by the United States against the heroic Viet-Nameese people. In pursuing their unattainable neo-colonialist goals, the imperialist circles of the United States are not only continuing their aggression in Viet-Nam but have extended it to the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula. The United States Government has in effect rejected the peace initiative of 17 September of this year by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which provided a genuine opportunity for extricating the Paris talks from the impasse created by the United States and opens the way for serious, business-like negotiations on a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nameese problem. Nixon's so-called "peace proposals" are in fact aimed at strengthening the position of the United States as an aggressor and invader in Viet-Nam and all of Indo-China. The facts increasingly show that the United States is stubbornly continuing its adventurist policy of crushing the national liberation movement of the peoples of Indo-China and turning that part of the world into an American military and political base.

13. The situation which has arisen in the Middle East as a result of Israel's aggression against a number of Arab countries continues to be extremely tense. The Israeli ruling circles, which receive direct military assistance from the United States, are defying world public opinion and the United Nations and are opposing all efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in the Middle East on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Under the pretext of maintaining the "balance of power" in this region, the Government of the United States is intensively supplying Israel with arms and is thus encouraging the aggressor and committing an openly hostile act against the Arab peoples which is directed primarily against the progressive States of the region.

14. A major source of international tension is the increasing collusion among the colonialist and racist forces in southern Africa, which is directed not only against the peoples of the colonial territories in that region but against all of free Africa.

15. There is a centre of growing tension in the Far East as well—in the region of the Korean peninsula, where the United States and the South Korean puppet régime are intensifying their provocative acts against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and are attempting to establish collusive links with other militarists and reactionary forces in a number of Asian countries. This is a partial list of the dangerous areas which pose a growing threat to world peace.

16. The Mongolian delegation, like many others, considers that a most important and urgent step towards strengthening international security is the cessation of aggressive wars and the elimination of their consequences. The draft

declaration of the eight socialist countries provides for practical measures whose implementation will further precisely this urgent goal. Our delegation would like once again to draw the Committee's attention to the important provisions in the draft which calls upon all States to abide strictly by the principles of the inadmissibility of military occupation and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory as a result of war or the use of force, to implement fully the decision of the Security Council on the peaceful settlement of armed conflicts and the withdrawal of forces from occupied territories, and to comply with decisions of the Security Council on the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

17. In the draft declaration a great deal of attention is devoted to questions relating to the establishment of regional security systems in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as necessary elements in the strengthening of world peace and security. In this connexion, our delegation would like to state that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches great importance to the treaty concluded recently between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany,² which is based on recognition of the realities of post-war political development in Europe and legally consolidates the immutability of the State frontiers established in Central Europe as a result of the victory of the peoples over fascism. We believe that strict application of the provisions of this treaty can create favourable prospects for maintaining security on the European continent and improving the international situation as a whole.

18. Our delegation also notes with satisfaction that the proposals of the socialist countries of Europe for the establishment of a system of collective security on that continent are receiving increasing support. We believe that efforts along these lines should be made in other parts of the world as well.

19. The draft declaration of the socialist countries places particular stress on the cessation of all military and other action for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial or racist domination and on the provision of active assistance to these peoples in attaining independence in accordance with their inalienable right to self-determination.

20. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers acts aimed at suppressing the national liberation movements of peoples to be a crime against humanity. Such actions of the imperialist forces are designed to impede the revolutionary process of the emancipation of peoples, which is an integral part of the progressive development of the whole of human society in our time.

21. In the tenth-anniversary year of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], which was adopted on the initiative of the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Nations should make special efforts to formulate practical measures for eliminating colonialism once and for all, intensifying the struggle

² Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

against neo-colonialism, and supporting and assisting the liberation movement of peoples.

22. The strengthening of international security, as we said earlier, is closely related to the problem of disarmament. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the attainment of general and complete disarmament under strict international control would be a genuine, practical guarantee that war would be eliminated from the life of human society. In this connexion, efforts must be directed primarily at the implementation of measures to avert a world-wide thermonuclear war and to limit and eliminate nuclear missiles.

23. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with the other socialist countries and peace-loving States, speaks out tirelessly for the speediest possible elimination of weapons of mass destruction of another type: chemical and bacteriological weapons. Our delegation hopes that, at its anniversary session, the General Assembly will take a clear-cut stand in favour of the immediate and simultaneous prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Such action would constitute a contribution by the United Nations to the cause of consolidating the foundations of world peace and security.

24. An important means of consolidating international peace and security is to strengthen the United Nations and enhance the effectiveness of its activities in this field. What we have in mind above all is action to strengthen the effectiveness of the Security Council as the principal organ to which the Charter has assigned responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. We believe that this can be achieved through strict compliance with the basic provisions of the Charter and through fuller use of the procedures and methods provided for by the Charter, including the methods for the settlement of disputes which can, under the Charter, be applied by the Security Council. While advocating constructive application of the as yet unutilized possibilities of the Charter's provisions we wish at the same time to protect that document against contrived and unjustified amendments and to strive for the strict implementation of its lofty purposes and principles, which reflect the determination of the peoples to protect mankind from a world-wide thermonuclear war and ensure peaceful co-operation on the basis of equal rights among all States, large and small.

25. An important condition for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations is the full implementation of the principle of universality. As a result of the harmful legacy of the "cold war" era, there continues to be open discrimination against a number of socialist countries on the question of membership in the United Nations and also in the matter of granting observer status. There is no other explanation for the refusal thus far to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Thus far, too, no positive decision has been taken concerning the admission of the German Democratic Republic, which long ago expressed its desire to become a Member of the United Nations. Our delegation considers that the United Nations must take decisive action to free itself from this unrealistic practice, which is damaging its prestige and effectiveness.

26. In connexion with the "silver anniversary" of the United Nations, many people are taking stock of the Organization's achievements and failures and inquiring into the causes of its defects and shortcomings, which, they feel, are greater than its strengths. All agree that the main cause of the Organization's failures lies not in a weakness of the Charter but in the fact that various Members disregard and violate the principles and purposes of that important document. Unfortunately, one often notes a failure to draw clear conclusions as to just why certain Powers have made a habit of constantly disregarding the demands of world public opinion and the United Nations Charter. Yet, there is a regular pattern here. The interests of the main imperialist and colonialist Powers conflict with the purposes and goals of the United Nations Charter. For that reason, those Powers pay lip service to compliance with the Charter but in actual practice do nothing but violate and circumvent its provisions. Do we not see this, for instance, in the position taken by them on matters relating to decolonization and the struggle against the racist régimes?

27. There are a number of other factors responsible for the ineffectiveness of the United Nations and the half-heartedness of its decisions on important questions of international life. When they find a question "highly political" or "controversial", many delegations often evade it and brush it off with such popular expressions as "big Power politics" or "the interests of the big Powers".

28. This concept, inherited from the days when the imperialist Powers were constantly squabbling over colonial possessions, is designed to lump together the fundamentally different policies and practices of the socialist countries, on the one hand, and the imperialist Powers, on the other hand. The policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries coincides with the interests of the peoples, which desire to live in peace, develop mutually advantageous co-operation on a basis of equality and attain social and economic development in order to further the progress of all mankind. Events in Viet-Nam or the Middle East, for example, clearly show who is defending the interests of peace, national independence and the social advancement of the peoples of those areas and who, on the contrary, is encroaching on those vital interests or helping the forces which are committing aggression.

29. These, Mr. Chairman, are the views of our delegation on the matter under discussion.

30. The Mongolian delegation expresses the hope that our Committee will work out a draft declaration which serves the vital interest of strengthening peace and international security.

31. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Mongolia for his contribution and for his congratulations to the Officers of the Committee.

32. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, you are already familiar with the profound esteem in which we hold you and our friendship for you. You are also aware of the relations of trust and co-operation between our two delegations, especially in decolonization questions. You are also aware of the great

admiration which we have for your region and your country because of your outstanding contributions to the objectives of this Organization. Thus it is with special pleasure that I associate my delegation with the others that have already conveyed their congratulations to you. I am convinced that, assisted by Ambassador Farah and Ambassador Černík, to whose political courage and integrity we would pay a sincere tribute, you will guide our work to a successful conclusion, without any useless clashes and with impartial lucidity.

33. One might be tempted to say that our Committee has once again embarked, and some would say without much chance of success, on an academic discussion concerning a point on which about sixty governments have submitted their observations [A/7922 and Add.1-6]. We consider that this point is of capital importance and great urgency, but great differences of opinion continue to exist on the significance of international security and on the adoption of measures to be taken to assure the maintenance and strengthening of security.

34. It is comforting to see, however, that no matter how academic our discussion may be—and it may appear to be very academic in view of the lack of practical and effective measures in areas which we think are essential for the strengthening of security—despite our differences and our inability to adopt certain measures, we have come together here in this Committee at the Government level to try to overcome our differences and overcome our inability to act.

35. The first thing we should try to do, in the opinion of my delegation, is to identify in the most comprehensive manner possible the basic elements of security. We should not take a negative approach and focus on circumstances which, notwithstanding their importance, are only passing occurrences. We should try to be objective as we put relations among nations into focus, and we should remain uninfluenced by ideological considerations.

36. I think it is a fair assumption that we all agree that nations must maintain peaceful and friendly relations and embark in good faith on the path of genuine co-operation. But what have we seen for the past twenty-five years?

37. Peace supposedly has existed since 1945, which saw the defeat of the totalitarian ideologies. The victorious nations said that they were united not only in preserving what they had gained as a result of the last war, but in order to reach an understanding among themselves. The most underprivileged countries and peoples felt that there was a genuine desire for co-operation among nations, and that they would soon leave behind their political and economic dependence and regain their dignity. However, certain conflicts, which are said to be limited, remain sources of genuine concern for countries in the area concerned and for other countries which simply cannot ignore them, if only because of their political, economic and social implications; these conflicts continue to crop up here and there and no continent has been spared. The balance of power, which seems to be required by the vagaries of the cold war, has only encouraged nations, great and small, to develop beyond all reason the means of mass destruction and the conventional weapons available to them.

38. There has been much talk about the need for friendship among equal and sovereign peoples while aggression and subversion have been tolerated. Attempts have even been made to find some way of justifying interference in the internal affairs of other States, as well as invasions and occupations of all kinds in disregard of the integrity, independence and sovereignty of States.

39. We say that we are friends, and yet we still hesitate to settle our differences by exclusively peaceful means, and at times recourse has been had to the threat or the use of force to assert a given point of view, or, still worse, to repress legitimate aspirations for freedom and the enjoyment of equal rights.

40. We do not doubt for a minute that the international community is anxious to see stability and economic progress for the under-developed countries and to ensure the well-being of all peoples. But the way to development is paved with a good many safeguard clauses, considered essential for the preservation of special interests or for the reaffirmation of rigid positions. We have indeed a long road to hoe.

41. There have been so many contradictions that we are tempted to believe that the only way of eliminating or at least reducing them is to recognize, on the one hand, the unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter and, on the other hand, the binding nature of obligations under the Charter. We believe that it is only if these two conditions are met we can gradually remove the feelings of insecurity which have constantly harassed us for the past twenty-five years. Furthermore, the unconditional validity of these principles will serve a useful purpose only if they are taken as an indivisible whole whose parts are interdependent, and only if they are considered to be of equal value with no hierarchy, and only if we are not tempted to interpret them, no matter how great may be our desire to relate them to other ideas—ideas which may well be praiseworthy, but which by their very nature do not have the universal applicability of the principles of the Charter.

42. Once there has been strict and rigorous compliance with those principles, there would remain the delicate and continuing task of clarification; and here we agree with the view expressed by the representative of Senegal [1733rd meeting], for if it should ever be necessary to interpret the Charter, that interpretation should be acceptable to everyone, after patient work on the basis of consultations, agreements and the codification of law based on the preparatory documents of the Charter. To that end we also have at our disposal the major declarations that have already been adopted or which will be adopted by the Assembly, and I am referring specifically to the bipartite declarations on disarmament, the declaration on decolonization, the declaration on friendly relations and co-operation among States, the declaration on global development strategy, and to the various conventions and covenants on human rights. Those texts, together with those which I may have failed to enumerate, constitute a minimum area of agreement, but by and large they are drafted in language which is acceptable to nearly all Member States. Without questioning the principles set forth in those agreements, we must consider their interaction,

their respective priorities, and the balance which needs to be preserved among them in an over-all system of security, at both the political and economic levels.

43. This analysis and synthesis, which we have been busy with since last year, must continue so that eventually—the sooner the better—we can adopt what I would call, for want of a better term, a declaration on universal strategy for international security.

44. In that declaration we would set forth, in as precise and balanced a way as possible, the prior commitments, objectives, priorities, and the steps to be taken to strengthen international peace and security. That declaration would take account of the new interdependence of the various constituent elements of international security and would then devise a general philosophy independent of ideological considerations, special political or economic circumstances, or the exclusive interests of a nation or group of nations.

45. What we are suggesting at this time, for whatever it is worth, is valuable only to the extent that our exchange of views contributes to identifying problems and clarifying certain positions; and we believe that any text, resolution or declaration adopted at this session can be only an interim measure. It is for this reason that we share the opinion of the Latin American and other delegations that the point at present under discussion should be considered once again at the twenty-sixth session, and possibly at other sessions, depending on the progress achieved towards the drafting and adoption of this universal declaration to which I have referred.

46. I hasten to mention that that declaration would not replace the Charter of which in the final analysis it would only be an emanation. It will confer greater force and vigour on all the principles of the Charter, without exception, and will bring us closer to the goals and objectives which we set for ourselves twenty-five years ago. In a word, it will define a new framework in which there will be new relations among nations and peoples brought about by the profound political, economic, social and technological changes that have occurred since that time.

47. My delegation will have occasion here and elsewhere to speak at greater length and in more detail about disarmament, decolonization, development and human rights. I should like at this stage, however, to confine myself to the item under discussion and submit the views of my delegation on the proposals that have been put forward and on the draft resolutions before us.

48. We are in favour of reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter, on the basis of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.³ The language proposed in draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Japan and the Netherlands is acceptable to us because it is the least selective, the most comprehensive, and shows the least degree of hierarchy. It follows the order found in the Declaration on Friendly Relations and therefore meets our desire not to establish any hierarchy

among the seven principles. These are cardinal principles and take precedence over other principles which are also valid, but which are only corollaries and on which there might still remain certain differences of opinion. Finally, the formulation contained in the draft resolution should be generally acceptable because it makes no reference, either explicitly or implicitly, to situations which we consider important but the consideration of which should be within the framework of global security.

49. Special paragraphs have been devoted to the peaceful settlement of disputes. My delegation is of the opinion that recourse to Articles 14 and 33 of the Charter, which concern, respectively, the General Assembly and the Security Council, is most appropriate. We shall therefore support a text which brings out, on the one hand, the obligation to settle disputes by exclusively peaceful means—and we would stress the term “exclusively”—and which, on the other hand, would properly divide responsibilities among the organs of the United Nations in an attempt to promote the effectiveness of the procedures and means chosen.

50. As regards disarmament, my delegation believes that collateral measures should form a network leading to an agreement on general and complete disarmament. We recognize the importance of these measures and, in spite of or perhaps because of the favourable response with which they have met in world public opinion, they should not be considered as ends in themselves. The reference to the Disarmament Decade, which may be a catalyst, seems useful to us, and we are grateful to the Latin American delegations for having emphasized unambiguously the direct connexion which exists among the strengthening of international security, the economic development of developing countries, and disarmament.

51. As for regional arrangements, since we are speaking in the context of international security, my delegation believes that we should adhere to the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter. We share, however, the concern of the Latin American delegations and that of the Canadian delegation. Consistent with our support for certain principles, and due to our geographical position, we believe that regional co-operation at any level should respect the sovereignty and independence of all States, as well as their option to belong to geographical or other groups with which they might have historical or cultural ties.

52. We believe that certain paragraphs of the draft to be distributed by the non-aligned countries⁴ are very close to operative paragraph 10 of the socialist text [A/C.1/L.513]. We can support them because we believe that Chapter VII of the Charter can lead to action only if there is a definition of aggression, and only if we define what we truly believe to be a threat to the peace and breach of the peace. These definitions are necessary because in a good many recommendations by the Organization these terms have often been used, thereby provoking diverging and controversial interpretations, so much so that no effective steps have been taken. Moreover, if we refer to enforcement action, which only the Security Council can take, we must also provide for the action which could be taken by peace-

³ For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

⁴ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.1/L.518.

keeping forces in a flexible way, recognizing the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and the capacity of every state.

53. I should like now to turn to two matters which we think are of primary importance for international security: decolonization and development. Within the framework of the proposals now before the Committee, my delegation believes that full attention should be paid to the implementation of the appropriate declarations, and we should point to what has stood in the way of the universal application of these declarations. We have learnt that only the text drafted by the non-aligned countries refers to the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), which, we shall never tire of saying, constitutes a valid programme of action for Member States. That text might be extended, but any action which goes beyond the nature and natural framework of that declaration is more than risky, in view of the present state of affairs.

54. Similarly, only the Latin American draft [A/C.1/L.517] speaks of a global development strategy within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade. We are convinced that a collective security system at the economic level, a system which we mentioned here last year in our statement [1662nd meeting] and the importance of which has been once again stressed in the communication by my Government under resolution 2606 (XXIV) [see A/7922], should be considered if we wish to speak of international security.

55. My delegation believes that the strengthening of international security also requires a series of steps such as are defined in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade,⁵ to which all countries sincerely interested in this problem must give their support without weakening them by reservations in the defence of what we hope are only temporary interests.

56. For that purpose, it might be useful to call for reconsideration of the functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council in the light of Chapter IX, so that the consultative body for study and co-ordination, which it is at the present time, might become a body capable of reaching decisions within its field of competence. That would be a bold measure, and it would be difficult to secure support for it by all Member States, but if political will and collective responsibility have any real meaning for development, this should not be automatically ruled out, for such a step is the inevitable result of our commitment to build a collective system of economic security.

57. My delegation would now like to state its views on the strengthening of the powers of the Security Council. The first recommendation to be put forward would be the implementation of all the decisions of the Council and a distinction should be drawn between decisions properly so-called, recommendations and resolutions. Paragraph 12 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 and paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.513 seem to us to be clear and we are able to support them. We would also consider supporting the application of Article 29 in the context of Chapter VI

of the Charter and in particular that of Article 36, paragraph 1. We believe indeed that understanding Article 29 in that manner is a necessary corollary to Article 42, for if we are to have available means to maintain and restore international security and if we are to make it obligatory that there be peaceful settlement of disputes it is only logical that we provide for proper procedures and methods at the level of the Security Council.

58. I shall conclude this part of my statement by mentioning something already touched on by the representative of the Ivory Coast, that is, giving a broader interpretation to Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter, so that the Article can also cover acts of aggression. It is only natural that the one committing acts such as those described in Chapter VII, relative to aggression and threats to the peace and the breach of peace, should refrain from taking part in the vote on whatever decisions are adopted by the Security Council.

59. In conclusion, I should like to sum up the proposals my delegation has just put forward.

60. First, our purpose is the adoption of a declaration on a universal strategy for international security. This declaration should flow from the Charter and should be based especially on the preparatory documents of the Charter and existing declarations, in particular those which concern disarmament, development, decolonization and human rights. The universality that we all desire will come about if there is complete support for the principles of the Charter and this declaration.

61. Second, this declaration should require study, consultations and considerable negotiations, and it would be desirable to adopt interim measures conserving the *status quo* and strengthening international security.

62. Third, these interim measures conserving the *status quo* should concern disarmament, development, decolonization and human rights, and frequent references should be made wherever necessary to the declarations, treaties, conventions or covenants adopted or endorsed by the United Nations. Special attention should also be paid to the harmonization of these various measures in the interests of international security.

63. Fourth, in order to implement these interim measures, in order to put fully into effect a declaration on a strategy for international security, the functions and powers of the principal bodies of the United Nations, such as the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, should sooner or later be defined and if necessary strengthened, as a result of a further collective review of the provisions of the Charter.

64. Consistent with these proposals and observations my delegation will state its position on any draft resolution submitted to us. A comparative list of the proposals could be drafted, but its usefulness would be questionable if the various elements are not put forward in a consistent way, enabling us to reach an intelligent decision. That is why we are in favour of a single text, prepared by an *ad hoc* working group, one that we may adopt by consensus. If this procedure were to meet with failure, we could refer all the

⁵ For the text, see resolution 2626 (XXV).

proposals and drafts to that working group which would become an *ad hoc* committee and carry out a thorough study of them, and the matter could be reconsidered at the next or a later session. That would not be an admission of our inability to act; on the contrary, that procedure would show the real importance that we attach to the question of international security and how seriously we intend to deal with it.

65. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Madagascar for his congratulations to me and I should like to say that I appreciate very much his references to our friendship.

66. Mr. MUNTASER (Libya): Mr. Chairman, permit me, first of all, to begin my statement by extending to you on behalf of my delegation my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election as Chairman of this very important Committee. Your election is a recognition of your high qualifications and vast experience. It is also a tribute to your country, Venezuela, with which my own country, Libya, enjoys very good and friendly relations.

67. I should like also to extend my congratulations to both Ambassador Farah of Somalia and Ambassador Černík of Czechoslovakia on their election to the offices of Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively. I am sure that under such an excellent Bureau the Committee will be able to discharge its responsibilities with great success.

68. My Government is very pleased and grateful to the Soviet Union for having initiated the request for inclusion of the question of strengthening international security in the agenda of the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session.⁶ My Government is pleased also that this subject has been brought up on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization.

69. Many of the speakers who have preceded me have spoken at length on the various aspects of the problem of international security. All their speeches testify to the great importance that the people of the world attach to this subject.

70. The Libyan Arab Republic, a small country that has struggled for many years to achieve its independence like many other small countries of the world, sincerely attaches great hopes to peace and security. My Government has already outlined its position on the question of strengthening international security in the world in its reply to the Secretary-General's letter, which is contained in document A/7922/Add.4.

71. My Government considers the situation in the Middle East to be one that is jeopardizing international peace and security. This has been indicated by the persistent ignoring by Israel, since its creation, of all United Nations resolutions regarding the return of the Palestinian people to their homes and the status of the city of Jerusalem and by the violation of all human rights in the occupied Arab territories. It is with great regret that we note that a big Power and one of the founders of the Charter—the United

States of America—is encouraging Israel by supplying it with Phantoms, Skyhawks and other weapons of destruction.

72. We also consider the situation in some parts of Africa, where the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Southern Rhodesia still live under the colonial yoke, to be a dangerous one. We consider the situation in South Africa, where the ugly policy of *apartheid* is still exercised by the racist régime of Pretoria, to be particularly dangerous.

73. Also, the deterioration of the situation in South-East Asia caused by the military intervention of the United States of America is another great menace to peace and security.

74. Peace and security cannot be maintained as long as the arms race exists and the enormous material resources are mobilized to produce sophisticated and deadly weapons, while the gap between the poor and the rich grows every day and the majority of the world continues to live in poverty, ignorance and disease. All these causes of world tension make it necessary to take urgent and effective measures to eliminate the source of tension in the world which may be dangerous to world peace and security.

75. Notwithstanding its impotence, the Organization still remains the indispensable instrument for the preservation of peace and security. My Government is alarmed at the fact that in recent years the great Powers have tried to settle certain international conflicts outside the framework of the United Nations, thus depriving smaller countries of the opportunity to express their views on important problems dealing with questions related to security and stability in the world and affecting the fate of peoples and nations. This has caused the Organization to grow weaker and its prestige to wane.

76. My delegation supports all measures that will make the United Nations more effective and improve its procedures and working methods. My delegation believes that if the United Nations is to be more effective, its universality should be achieved by restoring to the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the Organization and enabling other countries which are deprived of membership the right to participate in the activities of the Organization and its specialized agencies.

77. Although these shortcomings are due to the failure of some countries to honour their obligations under the Charter, they may also lie, in the opinion of my delegation, in the Charter itself, which is behind the times. During the past twenty-five years the international scene has undergone important changes, which the founders of the Charter could not foresee. In particular, the newly independent countries, that is, the majority of the States Members of the United Nations, have been questioning the relevance and legitimacy of the privileges granted by the Charter to the great Powers. The very idea of a great Power has lost much of its former meaning owing to the disappearance of the great colonial empires. Today there is talk of the "super-Powers". However, if the scientific and technological advances in military matters should come within the reach of all, the balance of power in the world would be quickly

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

upset, and that idea, too, would become a thing of the past. Because of these developments, some people have tried to discredit the role of the small States in the United Nations and accuse them of irresponsibility and a lack of realism. It is the view of my delegation that in order for the best solutions for today's problems to be found, the vestiges of the Yalta spirit must be eradicated and the Organization must begin to operate on a more rational basis employing fairer rules of representation. If the United Nations fails to keep up with the times, it will be condemned to weakness, if not disappearance.

78. At this stage I reserve my delegation's right to speak on draft resolutions when the text of the non-aligned countries is presented. In the meantime, my delegation sincerely hopes that this Committee will agree on a resolution that commands unanimity here and in the General Assembly. That resolution should be comprehensive and provide for the strict observance by all Members of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations in their international relations, including the principles of equality of States and the safeguarding of their independence and territorial integrity and, above all, the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and should call on all Members to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace.

79. While we are discussing the security of the world, may I draw the attention of the representatives in this Committee to the question of the security of United Nations representatives and United Nations missions. In the past few days, all Arab representatives received anonymous letters threatening their lives. In the past few weeks, the permanent mission of one Arab State suffered an explosion on its premises. In the past year, bombs—which fortunately did not explode—were found on the premises of the permanent missions of other Arab States. Moreover, the permanent mission of one Arab State was invaded by a number of persons, who occupied its offices for several hours. And the office of the Palestine Liberation Front—whose Director has appeared before the Special Political Committee at successive sessions and is also a member of the permanent mission of one Arab State—has been attacked three times in one year. Two of these attacks resulted in bodily injury; and the latest, which occurred last week, caused material damage. These actions represent a systematic, persistent and escalating campaign of terror against the missions and representatives of Members of the United Nations.

80. The lack of concern exhibited by the authorities of the host country in the face of these mounting threats to our security raises grave doubts about the ability of the missions of States Members of the United Nations to perform the functions entrusted to them by their Governments, and may in the long run imperil the United Nations as long as its headquarters continues to be located in this city.

81. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Libya, and in particular I wish to thank him for the kind words he addressed to the officers of the Committee.

82. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to lavish any further compliments on you and your two colleagues on the Bureau, as I believe that good wine needs no bush.

83. This is the second year now that we are discussing in this Committee the question of strengthening international peace and security. When this subject was first brought before this Committee by the Soviet delegation,⁷ the debate ended with the adoption of resolution 2606 (XXIV). That resolution points the way to the proper treatment of this question. I think it would be useful to draw attention to its principal features.

84. First of all, it records the belief that international security depends on the development of a world legal order based on justice and the strict observance by all States without exception of the principles of the United Nations. Secondly, it expresses concern at the continuation of the arms race, which itself constitutes a continuing threat to peace and security and diverts substantial human and material resources from the urgent social and economic needs of the vast majority of mankind. It marks the twenty-fifth anniversary as an appropriate occasion for new initiatives to promote peace and security, disarmament and economic and social progress, thus indicating to us the priorities. The resolution that brings us here today calls for a world legal order based on justice and on strict and universal observance of the principles of the United Nations, and indicates progress towards disarmament as a political and economic weapon to be used for the establishment of peace. The stress on universal adherence to Charter principles must be noted because some of the proposed solutions or forms of treatment of this question that have been presented to us refer too often to Member States, ignoring one of the main features of resolution 2606 (XXIV).

85. Our enthusiasm over that question and our interest in it are clearly borne out by the number of draft resolutions or declarations that are before us. If I may draw on international cuisine for my metaphors, first of all we have an interesting and tangy Russian borscht presented to us by the Socialist group and described in document A/C.1/L.513.

86. We next have a handsome portion of Italian pizza prepared with some Western European and Japanese help [A/C.1/L.514].

87. Next, we have a spicy paella from Latin America [A/C.1/L.517]. And the Committee can confidently look forward to receiving soon from the non-aligned group what might well turn out to be the gourmand's despair and the vegetarian's delight.

88. Such a mixed menu can work havoc with the strongest digestion, both physical and intellectual. The occasion deserves something better; hence the last-minute effort of the non-aligned group.

89. To abandon the gastronomic metaphor and to turn to an environment with which I am better acquainted, it seems

⁷ *Ibid.*

to me that we find ourselves struggling in an ocean of diplomatic verbiage where extraordinary navigational skill will be required if we are to steer a safe course home.

90. A cursory glance at the draft contained in document A/C.1/L.514 shows that there are thirteen preambular paragraphs and twenty-one operative paragraphs of affirmations, reaffirmations, invitations, recollections, recognitions, exhortations, invocations and recommendations. The socialist draft contained in document A/C.1/L.513 is the least verbose. The Latin-American draft contained in A/C.1/L.517 provides solemn reaffirmations and solemn affirmations, along with ordinary affirmations and the usual sprinkling of invocations and recommendations. The socialist draft prefers the direct method of solemn declaration.

91. Having regard to the occasion and the special character of the action we are called upon to take, my delegation would consider a declaration to be more appropriate than a resolution. We have passed the stage of calling upon Members to do this or that and of affirmations, whether solemn or not. We have to declare ourselves and to pledge ourselves unequivocally to a new initiative and a new effort. Any resolution or declaration worthy of the subject and of the occasion for its adoption should, in the opinion of my delegation, satisfy certain requirements and avoid certain blemishes and defects. We should avoid trying to rewrite or paraphrase or interpret the provisions of the Charter. The text should refrain from tendentious references to, or interpretations or presentations of, any particular provisions of the Charter or of any problems confronting us. All partisanship, blatant or covert, should be eschewed. So much for what it should not be.

92. What then should it be? What should it contain and how should it be constructed? We must here examine the purposes of the declaration or resolution. We are all convinced that proper respect for the Charter has been lacking in the past twenty-five years, that there has been a failure to fulfil our obligations under the Charter, that the writ of the Security Council as the organ of the United Nations which has primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security has been ignored and its authority flouted.

93. We are painfully aware of the fact that hardly ever before in the history of the United Nations has the international political situation been so tense, so uncertain and so ominous. In such a situation we cannot, out of a mistaken sense of delicacy, conveniently affected, turn a blind eye to the most explosive situations or the worst manifestations of injustice or the gravest assaults on human rights that we see today. They are the principal causes of insecurity and international tension. They, more than any other circumstances, factors or situations, are an ever present and continuing threat to the peace we all so ardently profess to seek and so unctuously commend.

94. Any declaration or resolution must, therefore, state clearly and concisely, without sacrificing substance in the search for brevity, what our purposes are, the principles that should be our guide and inspiration and the practices and policies which are permanent obstacles to the attainment of international peace and security and the means by which they can be eliminated. This approach in our opinion

is the most practical and constructive and one that is most likely to be productive of fruitful results.

95. If we do not have a clear vision of our purpose, if we do not honestly accept and faithfully adhere to our principles and if we do not declare ourselves ready to stamp out those practices and policies which are a menace to peace and security, all such declarations or resolutions will be mere flummery. And as I stated in the debate last year on this very question, they would amount to nothing more than another prayer added to the already over-burdened litany of the United Nations.

96. Our purposes are clearly defined in the Charter. Our principles have also been embodied in it. Special groups of nations have adopted them. One such group that comes to my mind is the 1955 Bandung Asian-African Conference, which was not ideologically or politically a homogeneous group. As I stated last year in the debate on the same question [*1663rd meeting*], the ten precepts of the Bandung Declaration, based on the purposes and principles of the Charter, constitute the most comprehensive and unexceptionable prescription for international peace and security ever formulated.

97. More recently we have had the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.⁸ That Declaration represents the climax of eight years of patient and sedulous negotiation in an attempt to elaborate the principles of the Charter, taking into account the experiences and events of the years since the adoption of the Charter. It is a delicately balanced document, and we must be careful to avoid dismembering it and disturbing its inherent cohesion and unity. By itself, it constitutes a meritorious achievement and one worthy of any commemorative occasion. It is a significant contribution toward international peace and security not least because it has every prospect of unanimous approbation. If we are to seek something else, let us ensure that the substance of that Declaration is incorporated into any other declaration or resolution on the strengthening of international peace and security. Its essence is reproduced in the declaration adopted at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last month at Lusaka.

98. Any declaration or resolution on international peace and security that seeks to modify, vary or further elaborate the Declaration on principles of international law governing friendly relations, already adopted without dissent by the Sixth Committee, will be of questionable value and authenticity. We need a declaration that incorporates the seven principles enunciated in the Declaration on friendly relations. They are first, the renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; second, the principles of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered; third, non-intervention in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter; fourth, the duty of States to co-operate, in accordance with the Charter; fifth, the

⁸ For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; sixth, the principle of the sovereign equality of States; and seventh, the duty to fulfil obligations assumed in accordance with the Charter.

99. The foundation of international peace and security is freedom, equality, justice and respect for fundamental human rights. These are matters of substance and we must assert them, as they are the absolutes of all human behaviour, in the absence of which procedures and institutions are of no avail. They are applicable in the first instance to every human being, to the individual human personality. Translate the application of those fundamental principles and eternal verities from individuals to the State and you arrive at the principles of self-determination for peoples, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs, or matters within the domestic jurisdiction, of States, and the inviolability of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the State.

100. Until the decision was taken by the non-aligned group to present a draft declaration, it seemed to my delegation that the socialist draft [A/C.1/L.513] came nearest to satisfying what we consider to be the indispensable requirements of a declaration on international peace and security. And still it does come nearest to what we propose to submit from the non-aligned group. But the socialist draft has certain deficiencies to which I should like to refer.

101. The first preambular paragraph of that document fails to mention the practice of tolerance among the means to be employed in eliminating the scourge of war; but the Charter does refer to the practice of tolerance. I trust the omission was due to an oversight.

102. The third preambular paragraph again uses only a part of the Charter language in describing the means to be adopted for the maintenance of international peace and security. The draft speaks of: "collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace", whereas the Charter speaks, in Article 1, paragraph 1, of "effective collective measures".

103. The third preambular paragraph further limits the scope of collective measures to "the prevention and removal of threats to the peace" and "the suppression of acts of aggression". The Charter, on the other hand, in Article 1, paragraph 1, refers not only to "the prevention and removal of threats to the peace" and to "the suppression of acts of aggression", but also to "other breaches of the peace".

104. The third preambular paragraph should, therefore, we suggest, also include reference to the use of peaceful means in the adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace, in accordance with the language of Article 1, paragraph 1, of the Charter. These improvements would more faithfully reflect both the substance and the spirit of those provisions of the Charter.

105. With regard to the fifth preambular paragraph of document A/C.1/L.513, we would suggest that in a declaration of this nature it might be better to avoid

phrases such as "acts of aggression", if they are being used with reference to specific situations and not in a general sense, as by using them we presume to judge certain situations. Our concern is with the existence of situations that create tension and threaten universal peace.

106. As regards the operative paragraphs of document A/C.1/L.513, operative paragraph 1 seems to us to be incomplete. It does not exhaust the principles that we consider fundamental and self-evident, representing the irreducible minimum. We should like to see in that paragraph all seven of the principles included in the Declaration on friendly relations. If this is done, operative paragraph 2 of the draft will become redundant and should, in our opinion, be replaced by an operative paragraph which would declare the necessity for all States to be guided in their international conduct by, and to develop mutual relations on the basis of, strict observance of the principles elaborated in that Declaration. The importance of such an operative paragraph is that it enjoins us to accept the only document which so far has attempted to elaborate seven principles hitherto expressed in general terms but now given greater clarity and definition, and adopted without dissent by the Sixth Committee. They constitute the essential of the world legal order contemplated in resolution 2606 (XXIV).

107. Operative paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6, especially operative paragraphs 3 and 4, have evoked criticism from those who believe that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is not an occasion for dealing with specific problems or facing up to hideous realities, but rather one for long-winded generalizations and recitations of provisions with which we are all familiar.

108. It has even been argued that where decisions have been taken by certain competent organs on certain problems and issues they should find no place in a resolution or declaration on the strengthening of international peace and security, as they cut across the domain or purview of responsibility of those organs. We consider it of paramount importance that if the Security Council or the General Assembly has taken certain decisions and enunciated certain principles, either of a general nature or in relation to specific situations, especially in regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, or with the object of strengthening and fortifying the forces of international law, order and morality, we would be failing in our duty if we did not mention that, if we did not exalt them to a pre-eminent position in such a declaration or resolution. We would be failing, it seems to us, to give credit to the Security Council or to those other organs of the United Nations whose main contribution to peace and security lies in those decisions.

109. If international peace and security are to depend, to any extent at all, on the authority and prestige of the Security Council or other principal organs of the United Nations, it is incumbent on us to give prominence to the substance of the most vital decisions and declarations that they have made in their lifetime. Any declaration or resolution that omitted to pronounce the solemn duty—and this is the only appropriate occasion for the display of solemnity—of all States to carry out those decisions, would be an empty and hollow sham. Let us not, before the world, be guilty of such a fraud.

110. Operative paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 must find a place in any worth-while declaration or resolution on the strengthening of international peace and security. Operative paragraph 6 recalls the decisions of the main United Nations organs on the issue that, more than any other, fans conflict, discord and tension. Operative paragraph 9 introduces an embellishment of the provisions of Article 52 of the Charter in its reference to "the participation of all States in each region". Article 52, which deals with regional arrangements, makes no reference to the participation of all States in each region, and we suggest that this qualification be dropped with the deletion of the words "with the participation of all States in each region" from operative paragraph 9 of the draft declaration.

111. Here, I must repeat the reservation made by my delegation during the debate on this very subject last year, that we do not support regional security systems of a military character, as any such regional security scheme, to be effective, must involve the participation of one or more of the major Powers and cannot fail to become subservient to their own policies and interests. It would assume a preponderantly military role and significance, and participation in it would be inconsistent with the principles of non-alignment. We do, however, support any regional arrangements for economic, social and cultural co-operation, and for the pacific settlement of disputes and problems peculiar to the region or any locality within it.

112. As we stated last year, so far as the Asian region is concerned, the cause of regional security would be greatly advanced by international agreement for the exclusion of military establishments from the Indian Ocean area and by the declaration of the area as an area of peace. We would do well to profit by the example of the Tlatelolco Treaty⁹ and by the extension of the principle underlying it to an ocean area and beyond the restricted sphere of nuclear armaments.

113. In regard to operative paragraph 11, we have consistently maintained that the success of international co-operation for peace and security, and the effectiveness of disarmament measures, such as a nuclear non-proliferation treaty and a nuclear test-ban treaty, even if it is not comprehensive, and the proposed sea-bed demilitarization treaty, cannot be assured without universal participation in them. In the absence of universality, they will lack credibility, which is a popular expression today. It is imperative that universality in the membership of the United Nations be attained without any further delay. It is not necessary to say so in the declaration or the resolution on the strengthening of international peace and security, but this must mean the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization and the termination of the twenty-one-year-old usurpation of those rights.

114. Operative paragraph 12 has given rise to a debate as to whether peace must come before development, as an essential prerequisite of development, or whether development must come before peace as an indispensable agent for its establishment and preservation. Each of these proposi-

tions has its own validity, but there is also an important distinction to be drawn between them.

115. In a war-torn country or region, it is incontestable that peace must first prevail before economic development can start, or be resumed, or be stimulated. It is a question of both climate and means. As a question of means, the proposition that peace must come before development implies the obvious: that the establishment of peace would enable the diversion of valuable economic resources of finance, material and manpower from armaments production and the maintenance of vast military organizations, to economic development.

116. But the rival or parallel proposition is even more valid because it is universally applicable, and that is that if poverty and want are eradicated, if economic inequalities and disparities are reduced, the feelings of frustration and of social and economic insecurity which breed discontent and lead to political unrest will also be eliminated, and the prospects of peace will be infinitely brighter.

117. Operative paragraph 12 in our opinion strikes a sound balance between both propositions. The details will have to be elaborated, and are in the process of being elaborated in the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

118. My final observation on document A/C.1/L.513 is that it omits reference to the need for observance of fundamental freedoms and human rights. This omission should be repaired.

119. If I have concentrated on document A/C.1/L.513, it is because, as I have already stated, it comes much closer to what the non-aligned nations propose to submit and, in fact, if the amendments suggested by me are affected and the deficiencies supplied, it will be in substance so close to the non-aligned draft that it could well be replaced by it.

120. The other two drafts, the Western European draft [A/C.1/L.514] and the Latin American draft [A/C.1/L.517] are certainly not without merit, but in approach and emphasis they are too far from non-aligned thinking to be acceptable to us. The Latin American draft has a sound basis of philosophy and principles, but we have passed beyond that state. We are all convinced of the need and the obligation to be of good behaviour, and no amount of moralizing will make a difference. We do not need to prepare, either explicitly or by implication, a catalogue of our shortcomings and failures. We do not need to state the obvious, that international security depends on the observance of international law, because it can depend on nothing else. We must declare what the essential principles in international law are, as they have evolved through twenty-five years of operation of the Charter. We do not need resolutions and declarations that are an amalgam of remorse, confession and remonstrance, because we have no one to confess to except ourselves, and no one to remonstrate with except ourselves. We have to escape from the hackneyed formula of calling for or urging certain forms of conduct or certain general courses of action. The gravity of the problem of *apartheid*, racism and colonialism, forms of injustice and oppression that imperil peace and security, is not sufficiently reflected in draft resolutions A/C.1/L.514

⁹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068).

and A/C.1/L.517. Do we need a twenty-fifth anniversary resolution merely to recall, as operative paragraph 16 of document A/C.1/L.514 does, that Member States have the duty to render assistance to the United Nations in carrying out the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter for the early completion of the process of decolonization, a form of words which appears to trace the reasons for the existence of the last vestiges of colonialism not to the colonial powers, but to the failure on the part of the United Nations membership to carry out its responsibilities for the early completion of the process of decolonization? Instead of outlawing these policies in emphatic terms, draft resolutions A/C.1/L.514 and A/C.1/L.517 are content with solemn exhortations. They are thereby detracting from the importance of other resolutions of the General Assembly itself, which have categorically condemned those policies.

121. We have maintained that we should adhere closely to the language of the Charter or to the language of resolutions of the principal organs of the United Nations in any draft declaration or resolution. I find in documents A/C.1/L.514 and A/C.1/L.517 the phrase, "effective, dynamic and flexible" procedures relating to peace-keeping operations. These embellishments reveal certain predilections and preferences, and are therefore best avoided. The Charter makes no reference to the dynamic and the flexible; if the measures and arrangements are effective, that is all that matters. It is the members who must be more dynamic and flexible.

122. I have one more comment and that relates to operative paragraph 15 of document A/C.1/L.514. I make this observation with regret. The operative paragraph invites Member States "to do their utmost to enhance the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council and of its decisions by ensuring henceforth the faithful application of Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter, which provides that in the election of members of the Security Council, due regard be specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Member States of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization".

123. This is the type of provision that I consider should not find a place in a declaration or resolution of this sort. It is condescending and tendentious, it contains an implied reproach directed against an anonymous member or members, past or present, of the Security Council, and against the geographical group or groups that elected those members to Security Council membership. It proceeds on the totally fallacious and untenable premise that the effectiveness of the Security Council has, in some way or other, been limited and impaired by the failure of a geographical group or groups to select their representatives with a proper regard to the provisions of the Charter. We all know that the faults and failures of the Security Council are to be traced to other reasons and other sources, and that the worst defaulters are not to be found where operative paragraph 15 of document A/C.1/L.514 suggests they are.

124. In conclusion, the declaration or resolution that we adopt this year must be different in form and tone from what is customarily adopted. The United Nations is a mandatory of peace and security. It must show its

consciousness of that responsibility by adopting a declaration which is not merely hortative but imperative. We hope the non-aligned draft declaration, which will combine the philosophical essence of the Latin American draft with the practical and piquant realism of the socialist draft, will commend itself to this Committee.

125. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Ceylon for his compliments to the officers of the Committee. They come from a person with great experience in the United Nations and well-versed in questions of gastronomy as well!

126. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, in the first instance I should like to offer you my sincere congratulations upon your election to the office of Chairman of the political Committee. The mastery, authority and competence that you have already so extensively displayed fully justifies all the tribute that has been offered to you so far. You add to this something that is even more rare, a distinction and courtesy that touches us profoundly. I am certain, with so many others, that you will successfully conduct the important work of this Committee and thereby render great service to the cause of peace and do honour to the great country which you represent with so much dignity.

127. The First Committee is now engaged in a debate which can be termed as laying down standards concerning international security. As far as the Assembly is concerned, it is not a matter of expressing a collective view on any given problem in any specific region of the world. None of the Member States, as a matter of fact, considers suggesting the revision of the United Nations Charter, this solemn treaty by virtue and on the basis of which we are all gathered here, nor does anyone suggest a new interpretation of the Charter, an action that could not be legally valid unless it was produced in accordance with the procedure providing for the revision of the Charter itself. Essentially it is a question of renewing, twenty-five years later, our collective faith in the letter and spirit of the Charter, of drawing up a balance sheet, or rather of examining our own consciences so as to help us better to define the direction United Nations action is to take in years to come.

128. The United Nations Charter was conceived and drafted during and following upon events of a gravity and scope of a character without any precedent in history by its drama. The world had lived through total war. Millions upon millions of human beings had died in battle. Millions, including six million Jews, were massacred by the most implacable and most unthinkable methods. And over and above all of that there was the spectre of the racist doctrines of nazism which divided mankind into superior and inferior races in an accursed attempt to perpetuate the hatreds and servitudes of mankind and to institutionalize murder and genocide.

129. The horror, still living, of the war and of nazism, and the immense hope engendered through the victorious end of the fighting, have found a lucid expression in terms of exemplary sobriety in the preamble of the Charter, a preamble which casts light on the whole of the remainder of this international document. Indeed and I say this without wishing to diminish in any sense whatsoever the

merit of anyone—it is a difficult and sometimes rather thankless undertaking to attempt to rewrite the Charter in draft resolutions because it is difficult to say things better, and especially more comprehensively, than has already been done. Regardless of our inspirations today, they cannot be of the same intensity as that which animated the drafters of the Charter.

130. I would venture to suggest that what might be important to do now would be to set before our Organization goals of action that would express more concretely in reality the major principles so admirably affirmed in the Charter.

131. Without pretending to introduce any innovation, I would nevertheless venture to lay stress upon two objectives which, if put into practice more actively, might make an effective contribution to international security. Fundamentally, international security means in fact the replacement of the reign of violence by the reign of conciliation and co-operation. One has to go to the sources of violence if one wants to go to the sources of peace.

132. The first objective we must affirm our will to strive for with implacable vigour is the fight against racial and religious discrimination in all forms. No colour of skin, no racial qualification or religious conviction should be exploited in order to divide mankind, and legitimize any hierarchy between human beings who bear equal and inviolable human dignity. It is this division and this senseless hierarchy that gave birth to the most fundamentally guilty acts and produced the illusion of right on the part of self-styled superior beings which result in the infringements upon the dignity of others who are considered as pariahs outside the world and society.

133. Therein lies a primary source of violence set up as a system which threatens the peace of men.

134. My delegation hopes that during the debate on ways to strengthen international security—and especially in the draft resolutions that have been or will be submitted to us—we will find a clearer statement of the will and decision of United Nations Members to undertake collective action for the liquidation of this evil.

135. The second objective that I should like to bring forward is the one that is sometimes qualified as the problems of underdevelopment, sometimes as the problems of developing countries and sometimes as the problems of the growing gap between the rich and the poor countries. The problem is really one of giving to all peoples a legitimate hope of achieving human dignity through their work—in other words, satisfying their spiritual and material needs. This objective requires intensive enlightened international co-operation and directly concerns international security.

136. This is not humanitarianism gone demagogic. We are coming into an era of world-wide global information. For instance, a vast part of mankind was able to see simultaneously on the television screens the landing of the first men on the moon. The most developed ways of life are known and seen by the poorest and most destitute peoples. The more information is expanded, the more aspirations are

spread and the more appetites are whetted. Democracy, which has been the characteristic of advanced peoples is potentially spreading throughout the world. There is an explosive factor here whose revolutionary character is not always appreciated or its imminence realized.

137. What does contribution to development mean? It means that a monumental effort must be made to give the necessary means to the vast masses—the means of production and the means of education required in order to determine their essential development. Far be it from me to minimize or to depreciate something that has already been accomplished in these fields by many States and organizations. In this respect Israel made an internationally acknowledged contribution, which sometimes went beyond its means. But, as I have said, the effort required is immense and cannot be produced on the required scale except on the most extensive international basis. It also calls for great political lucidity on the part of all Governments, of the rich countries as well as of the others, lucidity which could be more easily achieved in a climate of international understanding.

138. Those who have the material and human means for effectively contributing to this development—in other words, capital and the educators—must realize that the time has come to act on the scale dictated by the world-wide situation, and it is for our Assembly to say as much, and to explain it. It seems to me that here a more important role could be played by the United Nations. If it could succeed in becoming something of a world centre for international action for development, considering the appropriate ways open to it, and the efforts already being made by various Member States, it would then progressively become that centre, where the efforts of nations are harmonized towards the common objectives of the Charter.

139. A third objective is binding on all of us; it is obviously that of disarmament whose human and economic implications are simply prodigious. This brings us to the fundamental and direct responsibility of the great Powers, be they the two super-Powers or the others. This item has been placed on the agenda of the First Committee and I shall not speak of it now. Nevertheless, I am convinced that if the great Powers were to agree to compound their actions with a view to eliminating racial and religious discrimination and with a view to achieving collective co-operation in the development of the developing countries to the necessary extent, it might then appear that problems of disarmament, which are fundamentally problems of reciprocal trust, would be easier to overcome.

140. Each of the members of the United Nations knows that the fields of international security in which the United Nations expresses itself through collective action are limited. It must be recognized that the great international decisions and actions, as well as the great problems concerning international security, fall largely outside the activities of our Organization.

141. The European Economic Communities, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Warsaw Pact Organization and others hold their meetings and take their decisions outside the framework of the United Nations. Major international events such as the problems of the Far

East—the war in Viet-Nam and the various other territorial or border disputes in that area; European problems—the division of Germany and Berlin, the prospects for a conference on European security; the applications of the doctrine of limited sovereignty and self-determination—none of these major questions are the subject of decisions being taken by our Organization.

142. How does such a situation come about, and shouldn't we ask ourselves whether the way in which the role of the United Nations is interpreted is suited to the settlement of the major political, economic and military problems of today?

143. Collective meditation, which has scarcely been begun, seems to us to be necessary.

144. Concerning the General Assembly, I myself am afraid that there might be difficulty in having it play a central role in world affairs if it departs from the one set for it by the Charter, which is, essentially and above all, to be a centre where the efforts of nations are harmonized, and if it chooses instead to be a centre for polemics and exaggerated propaganda.

145. One sometimes has the impression that a regrettable political philosophy has invaded certain sectors of the General Assembly—a despairing philosophy according to which the world is divided into good States which are always and unqualifiedly right, and States which are irremediably bad and always guilty. Frequently we also see the setting up of partisan majorities—that is to say, those derived from solidarities which are outside the United Nations—solidarities which are not always homogeneous and do not bear any relationship to the real facts of the problems considered within the General Assembly.

146. It is to be feared that under these circumstances many States—and, to be sure, the most powerful ones among them—will not hasten to submit their own vital interests to the appraisal of our Organization.

147. In order to give full meaning to the United Nations—that is, to ensure international peace, peaceful coexistence or, better still, constructive co-operation among the various nations in mutual respect and recognition, United Nations Members ought to ask themselves whether it might not be appropriate to modify certain attitudes and behaviour.

148. Politics is not an exact science, but a human science. The peace we all seek can only be born of a spirit of conciliation and mutual understanding; it requires a sense of proportion. The Assembly should and could be the place where such a spirit, favourable to the peaceful settlement of disputes, can be encouraged and sustained.

149. Member States must aspire to becoming comrades in arms in the great common struggle against ignorance and poverty, and thereby, for peace. We must establish solidarity among United Nations Members, and not divide them into enemy camps that are hopelessly closed to one another.

150. It is within this framework that I have just described that I choose to say a few words in exercise of my right of reply.

151. The representatives of a certain number of countries have tried and are trying, in violent partisan fashion, to inject into the work of this Committee the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours. They have attacked Israel in vehement and acrimonious terms. I think the cause of peace, or the cause of the peaceful settlement of this conflict, is scarcely served by engaging here in a polemic that has already been conducted and may again come up in other organs of the United Nations; and I shall not embark upon a recitation or analysis of the history of our region over the past twenty-five years; nor shall I engage in an exegesis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), of 22 November 1967, which basically advocates the peaceful settlement of the conflict through agreement, and the conclusion thereby of a just and durable peace as well as the establishment of secure and recognized borders. In this regard, I shall merely cite a recent disturbing fact.

152. On the death of the Egyptian President, this is what the leaders of nine Arab States, Members of the United Nations, declared in a solemn proclamation of 2 October 1970. Those States are: Libya, Syria, Algeria, Yemen, Kuwait, Tunisia, Iraq, Southern Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. This is an extract from their proclamation:

“We shall not give up anything that is dear to us. We shall accept neither an armistice nor an arrangement. We concede nothing and we shall not submit. We undertake relentlessly to continue to face all forms of imperialism, its conspiracies and its plans, and to continue fighting Zionism as a movement, as an organization, as a State and as an occupier until such time as we have liberated every single square inch of our motherland, the Sinai, Golan, Jerusalem, and all of Palestine”.

153. In the First Committee, what those words mean is known. The world may thus see that a group of Arab States, Members of the United Nations, have once again openly announced their intention to work for the destruction of another Member State of this Organization. Is it not the duty of all Members of the United Nations to censure and maybe even more to deplore this rejection of peace and this choice of war by Arab States?

154. As far as it is concerned, Israel will remain faithful to its policy whereby it is constantly seeking a just and lasting peace with its Arab neighbours within the framework of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). It has clearly stated this in its reply of 4 August 1970 to the United States peace initiative, and will do so in dignity, through negotiation, mindful of security, reciprocal recognition and mutual respect.

155. What this peace would be and how it could bring about a constructive solution to the problems besetting the Middle East has been eloquently described by the Foreign Minister of Israel in the speech he made a few days ago before the United Nations General Assembly [*1851st plenary meeting*]. I advise the Arab representatives to reflect upon it seriously, in the solitude of their consciences, far from sterile polemics and interest-oriented influences. Perhaps they might then decide to reconsider their attitude and to commit themselves resolutely and sincerely to pursuing the ways of peace. Perhaps once they realize that their policy of war has led them only to

disaster, they will understand that before the truth of history the two great Jewish and Arab peoples, semitic and monotheistic both, whose contribution to universal civilization is immeasurable, are destined to agree and not to fight; to influence each other creatively through their ancient cultures and diverse experiences. Perhaps they will see that a golden age of Judeo-Arab fraternity is within their grasp and that it would be an error, and indeed a crime, against history to close their hearts and minds to this immense hope.

156. Let us return to our debate. These being the vicissitudes of debate in the General Assembly, it is evidently important at this stage in the development of the United Nations to preserve the integrity and the totality of the responsibilities and prerogatives of the Security Council as they are very clearly defined in the Charter. By its special structure the Security Council is indeed such that it represents a fairly stable basis for the future of the United Nations. To be sure, the Security Council itself needs to be preserved, and it can be only through respect for the texts of the Charter, defining its structure.

157. In this respect I shall refer to Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter. The composition of the Security Council has, of course, a direct bearing upon its moral and political authority, and that is why the Charter in Article 23 asks the General Assembly to elect the members of the Security Council taking especially into account in the first instance their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

158. Can one honestly say that the present system by which the General Assembly endorses automatically and without discussion nominations which are sometimes arbitrary and have been agreed to beforehand by groups and blocs of countries, truly constitutes the method of election provided for by the Charter? Does not this treaty state explicitly that the contribution of a candidate to the maintenance of international peace and security shall be the primary consideration, as compared to that of equitable geographical distribution of seats? How, then, can a Security Council elected in contradiction of the explicit intentions of the Charter take decisions with the required authority as required by the Charter?

159. I should like to indicate also that other criteria might be added to those already stated in the Charter; but one can certainly not suppress those which are written therein. Obviously, for instance, as regards the choice of non-permanent members of the Security Council, we might find it advantageous to choose Member States that have shown they can act effectively within their territories in such essential fields as social progress and economic development.

160. Another important aspect of the operations of the Security Council is the one defined in Article 12, paragraph 1, of the Charter:

“While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.”

161. Regardless of what the powers and duties of the General Assembly may be—and the powers of the General Assembly as provided in the Charter are extremely vast—it is nevertheless clear that the Assembly cannot infringe upon the work of the Security Council, nor can it, in particular, provide any interpretation of that work other than those resulting from the debates and decisions of the Security Council itself.

162. It is evident that a violation of Article 12 would lead to total confusion in the delicate situations considered by the Security Council and would seriously damage the cause of peace.

163. We do not have before us all the draft resolutions that have been listed. It seems that these are important, carefully elaborated texts concerning which the First Committee must have all the necessary time for reflexion and discussion. I shall, therefore, limit myself at this stage to a few general considerations and I should like to reserve my right to speak again in the subsequent, unavoidable debate on the draft resolutions themselves.

164. I might say that, in my opinion, it is neither desirable nor acceptable, in a resolution of principle of the kind that I hope we shall adopt, to refer to the Charter in an arbitrarily selective or biased way, quoting certain principles or Articles and not mentioning others. Nor is it possible to refer to principles as appearing in the Charter when they are not stated there. When in a draft resolution you refer to the prerogatives of United Nations bodies such as the Security Council, you cannot quote the Articles of the Charter referring to those prerogatives in any manner other than that in which they are actually written and you cannot omit reference to fundamental Articles, such as Article 12, which I already mentioned.

165. Similarly, if you particularly wish to refer to a specific decision of the Security Council, you must quote it correctly and in its entirety and not in a fragmentary or incoherent fashion. I also note that in certain drafts submitted to us there is a trend towards emphasizing the regional concept in relation to security agreements. This way of viewing matters does not accord with our experience. In the Middle East, for instance, certain States belong to NATO or other pacts external to the geography of our region. As for Israel, its relations are closer to Europe, America and Africa than to certain countries of the Middle East.

166. These are some comments indicating the way in which we shall vote. In a general way, we shall support, as I have indicated, those draft resolutions that appear to us to be in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and with the intellectual sincerity required in this Organization. We have a Charter, which constitutes a sum total of excellent political and legal standards. It is for us to make the best use of them. Experience shows that our Organization is weakened each time it departs from that treaty. Let us draw our lesson from that, it is not too late to do so.

167. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Israel for the kind words of congratulation he addressed to me.

168. Mr. EL-KHANI (Syria): It is with great pleasure that I join my colleagues who have spoken previously in extending to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the members of your Bureau my best congratulations on your election and expressing my sincere wish that under your chairmanship our Committee will achieve success and progress.

169. The representative of Libya, the chairman of the Arab group, spoke a few minutes ago about the security of representatives of Member States of this Organization—security which, as he mentioned, has been violated several times already. Endorsing fully all his proposals for individual security, I believe that freedom of speech and the security of representatives are the minimum prerequisites to allow delegations to concentrate on their tasks, especially in connexion with the strengthening of international security.

170. Last week in the General Assembly [1856th plenary meeting] I set forth my Government's viewpoints in regard to the most important international problems, and I shall not repeat them here. I want to add simply that peace and security are indivisible, as are peace and justice, and that no security can be attained if justice has a dual figure: one for those who proclaim it and one for those on whom it is imposed.

171. No international peace, no international security, is attainable while concepts of conquest and occupation, which the Charter expressly outlaws, still form the basic philosophy and actual practice of régimes supposed to be members of the international community, owing allegiance to the Charter. The permanent Israeli aggression in the Middle East and its consequent occupation of large areas of three sovereign Arab States Members of the United Nations, and expulsion of the Arab people of Palestine from their homeland, constitute the ugliest phenomenon characterizing the post-war period, which the Charter envisaged as free from the "scourge of war". No measures for strengthening international peace and security can be meaningful if this evil is not eliminated. This is indeed an imperative priority, upon which the international community should act immediately lest the survival of its Members as sovereign and independent States be jeopardized.

172. In this context, the support and encouragement that the aggressors receive, particularly from one of the permanent members of the Security Council, a member that puts its imperialist designs above its moral duties, deals the heaviest blow to international law and morality and to the effectiveness of the United Nations. If any steps are to be taken to restore the rule of law and abolish the rule of force, withdrawal of foreign troops from occupied territories should come first.

173. It is not through nice words and convincing speeches that security can be strengthened; it is through sincere actions and factual deeds.

174. When President Nixon gave his assurance a few days ago that American forces will not be used except at the service of peace and security, American B-52 bombers were savagely showering their hundreds of tons of explosives over the peaceful population of Viet-Nam. In the Middle East the Sixth Fleet was preparing with the criminal forces of Israel to attack my country, Syria. Full details were

published in *The New York Times* of 8 October 1970, as follows:

"The United States and Israel were preparing to take co-ordinated military action in the recent Jordanian crisis, according to American and Israeli sources.

"This plan envisioned an Israeli attack on the Syrian tank forces that had entered Jordan if it appeared that King Hussein's army was incapable of stopping them. In this event, the United States would have used Sixth Fleet and other units to safeguard Israel's rear and flanks from Egyptian or Soviet attacks from the Suez Canal area."

The article continues:

"President Nixon assumed personal direction of the intense diplomatic and military activity as the crisis approached its climax. As the United States-Israeli agreement was being negotiated here it was transmitted, step by step, to the unified military commands overseas and major striking forces—notably the Sixth Fleet—thus committing American power to a contingency plan whose outcome was obscure."

175. This article described this American-Israeli connivance as "the American-Israeli contingency agreement" and further states that its "reconstruction emerged from interviews with officials of the State and Defense Departments".

176. Shall we therefore believe what President Nixon says, or shall we be convinced by what he and the Pentagon do?

177. Nor can international peace and security be obtained if the imposition by force of the hegemony of the United States over South-East Asia is not brought to a halt. What credibility is left in "an international community ruled by law, order and co-operation" if the destructive war machine of the United States is allowed to continue its extermination of the innocent masses of the Indo-Chinese peninsula under the false pretext of an act of collective security—an act which in reality is unilateral, one which the international Organization neither decided upon nor sanctioned?

178. The road to international peace and security lies in respect for the exercise by the colonial peoples and Territories of their right to self-determination, in the liberation of territories under occupation, in the recognition of the struggle for liberation and independence, legitimate and hence meriting the support of the community of nations. It lies in the complete ban of conquest, occupation and annexation. Only through such a road can the cherished aspirations of humanity to pacific existence and fruitful co-operation be promoted.

179. The elimination of aggression, conquest and occupation and the promotion of justice in international relations will further the establishment of peace through the narrowing of the gap between developing and developed countries. The amelioration of the international climate will release valuable resources spent on armaments to raise the level of mankind, will lessen the gap between rich and poor and establish a true international society based on equity and equality.

180. Now, for the realization of all these objectives the Security Council should naturally be equipped with effective powers. The Charter does provide the Council with enforcement capabilities. The reinvigoration of the Council is therefore a need and a possibility. Any proposal to smooth the functioning of the Security Council—such as the periodic meetings provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter—has been welcomed by the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic. Its stand is motivated by respect for principles and apprehension of the great danger attending the international community if the Council sacrifices principles for the sake of expediency. The criteria of justice should definitely prevail over the criteria of force.

181. Having heard all the speakers and studied all the draft resolutions presented by the different groups to this Committee, it is our considered belief and hope that ultimately the Committee will reach agreement to strengthen peace and security. But I believe also that unless aggression is stopped and crime punished, and unless justice prevails over words and actions, these resolutions will be useless.

182. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Syria for the congratulations and kind wishes which he expressed at the beginning of his statement.

183. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): Mr. Chairman, allow me to extend my heartfelt congratulations to you on your election as Chairman of our Committee. It gives me pleasure to felicitate the representative of Somalia, Ambassador Farah, our Vice-Chairman, and the representative of Czechoslovakia, Ambassador Cerník, our Rapporteur, on their elections.

184. My delegation attaches special importance to the question before us. In our view, without reliable machinery of international security, the task of providing for our national security cannot be accomplished.

185. Other members of this Committee have already emphasized the urgency of the matter in view of the history of conflict and crisis of the last twenty-five years, and the continued strain on the fabric of the international community.

186. The Charter has put in our hands the means of settling international differences without resort to force. If those means have not been employed, it is, as the Secretary-General has never tired of repeating, for want of will in the Members of the Organization.

187. In this connexion, I can do no better than to quote the following eloquent passage from the reply of the Government of Turkey to the Secretary-General [*see A/7922*]. It reads:

“... the purposes and principles of the Charter are the pre-conditions for international security, which is strengthened to the extent that these purposes and principles are lived up to.

“In this context it is necessary to underline the obligations and responsibilities of the members of the

international community. Since the United Nations does not dispose of supranational powers to preserve peace and security, Member States bear a special responsibility in this regard. This responsibility involves the conduct of foreign policy in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and abiding by the recommendations and decisions of the main organs of the Organization.”

188. We all recognize that there are differences in the power of States. The Charter recognizes those differences and seeks to make of them a measure of responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. That is why there are permanent members of the Security Council. That is why even within that category it has come to be recognized that two States have particularly important status, as witness their co-chairmanship of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

189. The increased responsibility of the powerful does not mean an abandonment of the responsibility of the less powerful, nor does it mean a diminution of their rights. Above all, the Charter recognition of the difference in power did not mean that peace was to rest on a balance of terror and the world to be organized under a scheme of opposed hegemonies. A stand-off peace cannot endure; it is inherently unstable. It is not what the Charter contemplated, nor what all States, super-, great, medium and small, committed themselves to when they signed it.

190. The organs of the United Nations are not to be an arena for the display of the power of the mighty. It is well to remind ourselves that the Charter says quite explicitly that its principles are to guide the Organization and its Members. The primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, of which so much has been made in connexion with the sad history of peace-keeping, is a responsibility to be discharged in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

191. There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that belief and trust in the United Nations have fallen off sadly. There will be no restoration of the necessary confidence and, consequently, no strengthening of international security until there is recognition by the permanent members of the Security Council as well as by the elected members that their function is a representative one, that they are accountable for its discharge, and that the interests and rights of all states, not merely their own, are to be weighed and taken into account in the decisions taken.

192. It ought to be a commonplace that there is no international security except what is founded on the purposes and principles of the Charter taken together as a homogeneous unit of interdependent parts, not one of which can be neglected without peril to the rest.

193. I remarked at the outset that the Charter has put the means of strengthening international security in our hands. Among other things the United Nations is a diplomatic mechanism, that is to say, it is an instrument for performing the difficult task of applying principles to particular cases in the changing contexts of international life. It is also an instrument performing the equally difficult task of

moving from the particular to the universal, of finding the thread of harmony that runs through the many and widely varied interests of States.

194. It is from this viewpoint that my Government looks at the various proposals to provide the Security Council and the General Assembly with new or refurbished tools. This is the perspective also in which we see current discussions of regional organization. We approve of whatever helps the United Nations perform its tasks, ensures States their independence and equality and freedom from interference by others.

195. Finally, I may add that we shall deceive no one if we adopt resolutions or declarations which do not really involve general and genuine agreement. Scepticism about the United Nations is great enough without that.

196. I reserve my delegation's right to intervene again at the next stage of our discussions.

197. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Iran for his kind words to the officers of the Committee.

198. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I refer to the item at present under consideration, I should like to express on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba our most vehement protest against the provocation carried out today outside the United Nations by a mob of trouble-makers. No one tried to stop them, and with the connivance of the American authorities these criminals reviled the national flag of Cuba which was in front of the General Assembly building. My delegation will submit a formal protest to the Secretary-General against this further assault which shows that on the territory of the United States the minimum conditions necessary for the normal functioning of this Organization are lacking.

199. As this debate draws to a close, I think some conclusions emerge as the view of the majority of delegations. One is that the Soviet Union's initiative in proposing this item for consideration¹⁰ has had a beneficial effect on the United Nations.

200. This proposal has made it possible for us to tackle what must be the major issue of this Assembly, its fundamental preoccupation. It has pointed to what this Organization is really all about and why it was created twenty-five years ago. This is the initial result. This political discussion is the first step of undeniable value towards placing the United Nations in a position to carry out its historic mission more effectively.

201. Once again we would say that we welcome this initiative which has made it possible to stand in the way of the growing movement shown in recent years towards the gradual depoliticization of this Organization. Because we fully share the legitimate concern of the co-sponsors, my delegation cannot fail to put forward its views on the subject in an attempt to clarify this important topic.

202. The San Francisco Charter clearly set forth as one of its purposes and principles a new vision of international relations and of a world in which peace and security would acquire their full meaning and become universal and indivisible values.

203. Aggression and war against any people anywhere in the world constitutes a direct threat to everyone else, no matter how far away he may be from the area of conflict, and it signifies a disruption of the order established by the Charter.

204. There is no possibility of taking up this subject in an academic fashion, without reference to the realities of the present international situation. It seems necessary to point out that security is not a proper subject for metaphysical speculation; it is rather the sum and substance of daily life for most of mankind. It has caused a clash between divergent concepts in this Assembly. Failure to ensure it has led to acts of aggression against numerous peoples, notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of those who would build for themselves a world of peace and freedom.

205. Therefore, although the adoption here of a declaration clearly reflecting the interests of those peoples would be of value, the struggle to strengthen international security is not confined to these glass walls. That struggle must be waged wherever imperialism, colonialism or neo-colonialism are being combated. The strengthening of solidarity with, and moral and material support for, those fighters continue to be the primary task of those striving to achieve world peace. Our duty may be accomplished in a variety of ways within this Organization, although the nature of our duties exceeds the bounds of the United Nations and constitutes the cornerstone of the foreign policies of all forward-looking States.

206. Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security is at present of particular relevance, for it coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. But its urgency becomes particularly clear when the main features of the present international situation are taken into account. For some people, the problem today is not so much the strengthening of their security; rather it is ensuring their right to an independent existence, free from aggression and interference.

207. In Indo-China, American imperialism has left no stone unturned to deny to the people of that area of the world the exercise of their most fundamental rights—rights which, moreover, are the very pillars of the Charter. However, the aggressors have met there with a resounding defeat. Never before in all history has a mighty nation employed such great material and financial resources in waging a war in such a limited area, and for such a brief period of time, in order to put down a small nation, and yet met with the kind of defeat that the Yankees have suffered in Viet-Nam. The expansion of the war into Cambodia and Laos has served but to extend the bankruptcy of the United States into all of Indo-China.

208. The recent proposals by the Washington Government at the Paris talks are designed solely to deceive a few of the more naive members of the American electorate. They can by no means be considered a peace initiative. Indeed, they

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

point up the warlike designs of their authors and their irrational urge to continue to support the criminal clique in Saigon, which is guilty of the most heinous crimes against the people of South Viet-Nam.

209. In the Middle East there persists the tension created by the aggression against the Arab peoples and the failure to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. In Africa, the forces of colonialism and racism persist in their attempts to repress entire peoples, and threaten the security of the independent States of that region.

210. Much recent experience, especially at the important Conference at Lusaka,¹¹ shows that it is possible to find common language among the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, and, in general, those States wishing to preserve peace and make the principles of the Charter a reality. It is possible to undertake common action on the part of all such forces in support of the peoples of Indo-China, the Middle East and southern Africa who are in the front lines of the battle against imperialism and aggression.

211. To strengthen that common front, to take further action, and to impose on the United Nations a course of action in conformity with the tenets of the Charter—these are the primary duty of each and every one of us in this year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization.

212. The progressive and anti-imperialist forces opposed to aggression can create conditions in which the necessary corrections can be effected in this Organization. The idea would not be to throw overboard the San Francisco Charter, but rather to require strict compliance with its terms.

213. It is at present perfectly possible to take effective action to put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations; to eliminate the odious practices of racial discrimination and segregation; to ensure compliance with United Nations resolutions designed to put an end to colonialism; to eliminate the consequences of imperialist aggression; to establish fair conditions in international trade; and to undertake a major effort to further the development of the backward nations. But all of this can be done only if we work in the same direction and towards the same goals.

214. Similarly, it is necessary to rectify errors imposed on this Assembly by imperialist policies. The wrongful practices of the past cannot continue if we expect to restore the prestige of this Organization. We must correct them if we wish to justify the hopes kindled by the solemn agreement in San Francisco. We must put an end to the interference of the United Nations in the internal affairs of the Korean people. We must bury for ever the memory of the use of this Organization as an instrument of American imperialism against that people and their inalienable right to unification and independence. We must restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful place in the United Nations, the seat to which it is entitled as a founding Member and as a

permanent member of the Security Council, and put an end to the discrimination of which it has been a victim. We must open the doors of the Organization to other States such as the German Democratic Republic, which desire actively to co-operate in our activities but which have, inadmissibly, been ostracized, to the detriment of the international community. We must seek to do away with the consequences of the aggression committed against the Arab peoples and bring about the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from areas occupied in the territory of three Member States of the Organization. We must ensure for the Palestine people the necessary conditions for the full exercise of their national rights. We must take vigorous action to put an end to colonialism, including Yankee colonialism in Puerto Rico, and guarantee for all people the enjoyment of their right to self-determination.

215. These would be steps that would serve to restore the confidence that has been lost in our Organization and would make it possible for the United Nations fully to discharge its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. How to do this is the crucial problem for this Organization. These are not mere theoretical expressions of desire. The adoption of concrete measures to achieve these objectives is a duty imposed on us by the Charter itself and by a number of resolutions that we have adopted. If the realization of these aspirations remains as a goal to be achieved, and is not yet part of our history, this is due exclusively to the harmful action against our Organization by imperialism, and in particular by United States imperialism.

216. In recent times there has been a tendency to mention the limitations of the United Nations and to say that its deficiencies are due to the Charter. Without considering the merits of the basic document of this Organization and what possibilities exist for perfecting it, I think it should be stressed that the problems confronting today's world, and the factors jeopardizing the security and independence of many countries, have not been caused by the San Francisco Charter, but by those who disregard it and violate it whenever it suits them and whenever it helps them to exploit and dominate.

217. My delegation believes that what is of primary importance is not the modification of the Charter, but strict compliance with it. The small countries of the world, anxious to strengthen their independence and sovereignty, do not wish to have the Assembly's attention diverted to the revision of the Charter, but would like to see concerted and vigorous action to strengthen its purposes and principles. We must not endeavour to introduce changes in the Charter, but, rather with perseverance and determination, to restore its authority. We must not stray from the Charter but, rather, return to it, or to be more accurate, we must make the noble aspirations expressed twenty-five years ago in San Francisco a reality. Furthermore, in the conditions prevailing in the world and in our Organization today, a reform of the Charter does not seem to be able to offer the small countries any guarantee that these changes will further their independent development. It would seem that such changes will indeed act against them.

218. Those are the comments that my delegation wished to make. We trust that at the conclusion of this debate, the

¹¹ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

Assembly will adopt a resolution that will strengthen international security and reaffirm the principles of the Charter. That is the objective we pursued in the draft declaration in document A/C.1/L.513, presented by eight socialist countries, and for this reason it has commanded the support of my delegation.

219. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning, I should like to inform the Committee that a draft resolution has formally been introduced by twenty-

five Member States: Afghanistan, Algeria, Cameroon, Ceylon, Ghana, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Singapore, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia [A/C.1/L.518]. To facilitate the work of the Committee, the representative of Zambia will be the first speaker this evening. He will introduce the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.