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Agenda item 32:

Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) 1

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

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Farah (Somalia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

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.513-518)

1. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): My delegation would like to emulate those who have spoken before us during the course of this debate by extending to the Chairman, Ambassador Aguilar, our sincere congratulations on his unanimous election as Chairman of this Committee. We hold him in very high esteem, not only because of his profound personal qualifications and experience but also because of the growing friendly relations between his country and Zambia. To the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Farah, and to the Rapporteur, Ambassador Cerník, we similarly extend our warm congratulations and we are confident that, together, they will guide the deliberations of this Committee to a successful and fruitful conclusion.

2. My country is surrounded by hostile minority régimes which continue to refuse the basic fundamental rights to the majority of the peoples of southern Africa. Zambia is continually living in an atmosphere of grave insecurity. My delegation, therefore, attaches tremendous importance to the discussion which is before this Committee on the strengthening of international peace and security. The gravity of the situation in southern Africa and the concern of Zambia was elaborated by the Chairman of my delegation, the Honourable John Mwanakatwe, in his address to the General Assembly on 24 September [1848th plenary meeting].

3. May I be permitted to make some remarks about the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which Zambia was honoured to host from 8 to 10 September 1970 at Lusaka. A number of delegations have already addressed themselves to some of the very important and far-reaching decisions arrived at during the Conference, and which are now contained in the

Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development and Democratization of International Relations. My remarks, therefore, will only be complementary, since those delegations that have already addressed themselves on this issue have done so very effectively indeed. My President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, will be formally presenting the Lusaka Declaration to the General Assembly on 19 October. My intervention will therefore be as brief as possible.

4. In the statement on the United Nations appended to the Lusaka Declaration, non-aligned countries have undertaken to exert efforts to bring about a draft declaration on measures for the strengthening of international peace and security. The importance of this and some of the elements to be included in such a draft declaration have also been mentioned briefly in the Lusaka Declaration.

5. Acting in the spirit of this Declaration, 25 non-aligned countries have sponsored a draft declaration on the subject: 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. To this list of sponsors, I should like to add the delegations of Mauritania, Uganda, Libya, Sudan and Cyprus, bringing the number of sponsors to 30. The draft has now been presented as document A/C.1/L.518.

6. The following are the salient features of this draft declaration.

7. The preambular portion begins with a historical account of the consideration in the General Assembly of the item relating to the strengthening of international security. The first four preambular paragraphs take note of the origins of the subject and its documentary source and the next set of preambular paragraphs deals with the purposes and principles which should guide the efforts of States Members of the United Nations and concludes by emphasizing the importance of various organs of the United Nations taking effective measures for the strengthening of international peace and security.

8. The operative paragraphs begin with a mention of the fundamental principles of international relations. They draw attention to the successful attempt at codifying and elaborating them in the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which was considered by the Sixth Committee and unanimously adopted by the General Assembly.¹

¹ For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

9. The draft declaration then goes on to stress the continuing importance of the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law and calls upon States to observe these principles in the conduct of their international relations, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems or the relative levels of their development.

10. The draft declaration touches on the question of basic principles such as the non-use of force or the threat or use of force, the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory, and the inviolability of established frontiers and international lines of demarcation established by international agreements. It then deals with the need to ensure the universality of the United Nations as a means of increasing its effectiveness in the realm of peace and security and the dissolution of military alliances concluded at the height of the cold war.

11. The next principle to which the draft declaration addresses itself concerns the elimination of colonial or racist domination and recalls the necessity of fully implementing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

12. The questions of disarmament and economic development are taken up next, with special emphasis on the Disarmament Decade and the Second United Nations Development Decade.

13. The next set of operative paragraphs deals with the actions already contemplated in various United Nations forums which need to be completed at an early date, such as the need for a definition of aggression and the conclusion of arrangements for United Nations peace-keeping operations.

14. The draft declaration also calls upon States to settle international disputes peacefully by means provided for in the United Nations Charter and emphasizes the need to activate the provisions contained in Chapter VII of the Charter.

15. The next set of operative paragraphs deals with organs of the United Nations, namely, the Security Council and the General Assembly.

16. The concluding portion of the draft declaration refers to the need to promote regional co-operation and the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Charter and calls upon States to intensify efforts towards the progressive development and codification of international law.

17. A striking feature of the four drafts before the Committee [A/C.1/L.513, 514, 517 and 518] is their remarkable similarity and the points of agreement to be found in them. All four contain an elaboration of the basic principles which should guide the conduct of international relations. Indeed, having been submitted last, the draft sponsored by 30 Member States which I now have the honour to introduce [A/C.1/L.518] has the advantage of incorporating the salient features of the other draft declarations, as well as emphasizing and elaborating certain principles which are considered by this group of sponsors as more fundamental in character.

18. On the whole, my delegation believes that this draft declaration contains the most balanced and comprehensive set of principles that the United Nations General Assembly has attempted to elaborate on this important subject. It establishes the indispensable link between the measures to strengthen international security, disarmament and development.

19. The six-Power draft resolution [A/C.1/L.514] emphasizes certain features of the Charter on the precise implications of which there is no consensus, whereas our draft declaration is based on resolutions of the General Assembly or declarations that have commanded unanimous support.

20. Most of the features of the eight-Power draft declaration [A/C.1/L.513] have been incorporated in our own draft declaration but have been more precisely elaborated, thus making it, in our view, a more complete document on which negotiating action can be based.

21. As for the 23-Power draft resolution [A/C.1/L.517], we again find ourselves in basic agreement, although we feel that certain paragraphs require more detailed elaboration.

22. This draft declaration, at present sponsored by 30 like-minded countries, is the outcome of the collective experience of the non-aligned countries, which recently held a summit conference at Lusaka.

23. For the very reasons that the sponsors of this draft declaration have traditionally kept free from the major military alliances and the major ideological divisions which, in our opinion, have threatened peace and security, we believe that it can form the best basis around which to build a consensus in this Committee.

24. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): It is my pleasant duty to extend to Ambassador Aguilar the warm congratulations of my delegation upon his unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, as our Vice-Chairman, and our Rapporteur, Ambassador Cerník. To the officers of the Committee as a whole my delegation pledges its full support. We do not doubt that under the wise and efficient guidance of such splendid officers of the Committee, our work on this and other items will go forward smoothly.

25. Having regard to the pressure of time under which the Committee is working, I shall make my statement very brief. The attitude of the delegation of Nepal on the item under consideration was fully reflected in the statement I made before the Committee on 20 October 1969 [1658th meeting], as well as in the reply sent by my Government on 15 June of this year [see A/7922/Add.2] to the Secretary-General's communication.

26. That being so, the purpose of my taking the floor at this stage is to signify once again my country's abiding interest in the strengthening of international security and to explain our views with regard to the various draft declarations and draft resolutions which are before the Committee.

27. Last year the Soviet Union took a most welcome and timely initiative in inscribing on the agenda of the General

Assembly an item concerning the strengthening of international security.² The extensive debates that took place on the subject in the First Committee and the views of about 50 Member States [*A/7922 and Add.1-6*], made known in response to the Secretary-General's communication, have now crystallized themselves in four sets of proposals.

28. I understand that efforts are now being made to evolve, as far as possible, the text of a single declaration out of those four proposals—a text that will be acceptable to practically the entire membership of the Organization, and one which will do credit to the commemorative session. In the view of my delegation, the text of that declaration should be both precise and comprehensive, containing all essential elements, yet devoid of the extraneous and the ambiguous. The text, moreover, should avoid restrictive interpretation of the Charter, and be so formulated as to satisfy the legitimate concerns of all Powers or groups of Powers. I need hardly over-emphasize the importance of such a text adopted by our Government leaders during the commemorative session.

29. With regard to the various draft proposals, I wish to associate myself at the outset with the widespread feeling in the Committee that most draft proposals have tended to be much too long. This, however, does not apply to the text of the draft declaration which is found in document A/C.1/L.513. It is an admirably precise document; the views of the sponsors have been clearly and simply stated. None the less, my delegation is inclined to agree with the general observations made in the course of these debates that the draft declaration contains a certain degree of imbalance, made evident by the conspicuously repeated emphasis on the powers and responsibilities of one organ of the United Nations to the pointed exclusion of those of other principal organs.

30. The second draft [*A/C.1/L.514*] lacks the precision and brevity of the former draft. But the great merit of this draft resolution lies in the fact that it contains several useful suggestions concerning the improvement of the peace-making and peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations and of the peaceful settlement procedures already available under the Charter. These we consider to be essential elements of any proposals for the strengthening of international security. However, it fails to contain another essential element: it fails to call for universality of representation in the United Nations.

31. The People's Republic of China has long been excluded from our Organization. Owing to the absence of that country, which is a nuclear Power, the United Nations is already suffering a serious institutional weakness, and this has vitally affected the role of the Security Council as an effective political instrument for the maintenance of international security. In the reality of today's world, it is evident that the question of international security cannot be considered with any measure of success if the dividing political barriers are not pulled down and the conditions for the active collaboration of China are not set.

32. When he spoke to the Committee on 9 October 1970 [*1734th meeting*], Ambassador Yost cautioned the Com-

mittee against the "disingenuous, confusing and wasteful" tendency of establishing a point by quoting one part of a provision of the Charter and omitting another part of the same provision. Yet it is precisely this lapse into which paragraph 15 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 falls. We are glad that the Thai amendment [*A/C.1/L.516*] seeks to rectify this.

33. May I now speak of the draft [*A/C.1/L.518*], which was so ably presented just now by the representative of Zambia on behalf of 30 non-aligned nations, including my own. This draft proposal is the product of many long hours of consultation among the representatives of the non-aligned group of States. The co-sponsors of this draft have acted in accordance with the spirit of the Lusaka Declaration by Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, and have taken great care to make their proposal meaningful and, at the same time, acceptable and non-partisan. Above all, they have tried to incorporate in their document all the attractive elements of the other three documents.

34. Last but not least, I should like to make reference to draft resolution A/C.1/L.517. Though brevity is not its strong point, this draft is a remarkable document, which authentically sets forth the general Latin American position on the problems of world peace and security. Deletion of a few non-essential provisions will not detract from the value of this document, which bears the unmistakable stamp of the great juristic tradition of Latin America. The greatest merit of the document, in our view, is that, although the Latin American countries have very definite viewpoints on several specific questions, the sponsors have conscientiously endeavoured to make their draft proposal fairly acceptable to other groups of States.

35. That draft resolution, together with the draft declaration in document A/C.1/L.518, can, in our opinion, be the basis for agreement on a single, unified declaration. Both documents are meaningful; both are based on a positive interpretation of the Charter. And, so far as I can see, both documents have carefully avoided controversial and contentious matters.

36. Before concluding these very brief preliminary remarks, I may add that our approach to the various draft proposals has been governed by our conception of the United Nations as a positive, developing and workable political instrument in the service of peace. Therefore, my delegation strongly prefers to see a declaration that will unmistakably link the question of international security with that of improving the capacity and effectiveness of the United Nations in the area of peace-making and peace-keeping. Minus such capacity and effectiveness in times of need, the United Nations will have very little or no meaning for countries such as mine, whose reliance on the world Organization for the preservation of their security and independence is total and complete. Big Powers do not seek security in the United Nations: they create their own security as they see it. But for a great majority of States represented here, the United Nations represents—and is—both their security and their security system.

37. We feel that there should be a smooth and workable peace-keeping machinery in any international security

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

system, not only at the political level but at the functional level as well. Otherwise, in the context of existing circumstances, which are well known to all of us, most countries incapable of defending themselves if threatened with danger to their security will find themselves in the unenviable position of either seeking the military protection of a major Power or facing a stalemate in the United Nations or, to be precise, in the Security Council. It is a situation most dreaded by many of us; it is, moreover, a situation which has been the lot of many of us. Hence the need for subordinating the interest of regional security arrangements to that of a global security system, as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as for linking the question of strengthening international security with that of increasingly utilizing the vast possibilities provided by the Charter in the fields of peace-keeping, peace-making and pacific settlement of disputes threatening international security.

38. Those considerations will, I hope, be reflected in any declaration that we may adopt.

39. Mr. NJINE (Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): In speaking for the first time before this Committee, I should like to congratulate Ambassador Aguilar on his unanimous election to the office of Chairman of this Committee. I should also wish to congratulate you, Sir, my dear brother and colleague, on your election to the office of Vice-Chairman, as well as Ambassador Cerník, of Czechoslovakia, our Rapporteur. I am convinced that with a Bureau composed of men as competent as you, the work of this important Committee will be completely successful.

40. I should like to begin my consideration of the problem of measures for the strengthening of international security by indicating that, the text of my Government's response on this subject was not included in documents A/7922 and Add.1-6, but that this is a shortcoming which is being attended to. The Government of my country does not in the least minimize the importance of such a question; on the contrary, it has had occasion at the appropriate time to show pleasure at the happy initiative of the Soviet Government in inscribing this item on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.³ Moreover, my Government considers this to be a question of very great importance. Indeed it is a fundamental question, inasmuch as its roots go to the very purposes that motivated and guided the promoters of the Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

41. But it goes without saying that our subject for reflection reaches far beyond the question of the maintenance of international peace and security.

42. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, as was recalled by the President of the Federal Republic of the Cameroon before the General Assembly on 22 September last [1845th plenary meeting], is the opportunity for us to participate in collective reflection; the occasion for all of us to ponder together upon what we have done in the past 25 years, and thus to measure the distance covered and to reflect upon the triumphs and disasters of the past; to pause

at the present and, ultimately, to consider the future. All of this brings us back to the problem of what we have done in order to maintain international peace and security, to see if our efforts were crowned with success; and then to draw the lesson from the events and to undertake commitments for the future. It is the occasion for a healthy introspection for our Organization.

43. Today our planet offers the dreadful spectacle of a world prey to war, fear and poverty. It is even more frightening to think that the deliberations of our Organization sometimes have no effect whatsoever upon the very real hotbeds of conflict and strife.

44. In the case of decolonization, in spite of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and all the efforts made by our Organization, colonial Powers, such as Portugal, continue to impose their domination upon Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) by means of a ruinous colonial war. In Rhodesia, we have the same: a racist minority has confiscated power. In Namibia we see South Africa continuing to refuse to implement the decisions of the United Nations. And, lastly, the policy of *apartheid* is still practised in South Africa in defiance of fundamental human rights specified in the Declaration of Human Rights and all subsequent texts of the United Nations.

45. As regards disarmament, while we deplore the slow pace in this area we note the accompanying skyrocketing of sums devoted to defence projects by industrialized countries, and to the manufacture of the most sophisticated types of weapons. What we have called the Disarmament Decade is going to be only a pipe-dream so long as tensions persist in the world where, through fear and distrust, the forces of evil opposing disarmament are urged on. Similarly, we have also steadily indicated that the sums thus wasted could well have been diverted to development.

46. I would merely say concerning development that the peace of the world is inseparable from development; and, as was so aptly stated by Ambassador Piñera of Chile that "there can be no security and no peace without development . . . there cannot and should not be any discussion of peace and security without development. This twenty-fifth session of the Assembly should not, I believe, issue a declaration on international security if it is unable . . . to come to an agreement on the Second United Nations Development Decade." [1729th meeting, para. 36.]

47. It is no secret that the First United Nations Development Decade was a failure and that the second Decade is beginning very slowly indeed. The work of the Second Committee has stumbled over the principle of the transfer of 1 per cent of the gross national product. In our world, which claims to be practising solidarity, what does 1 per cent represent? A drop of water in the ocean of millions swallowed up in the manufacture of arms.

48. Slowness in regard to decolonization, not to say stagnation; slowness in regard to aid for development and in regard to disarmament: all this brings us very far away from the ideal which is happiness. Indeed, I would quote the Russian poet Maiakovsky and say that "Happiness is a crawling snail, whereas disaster is a wild steed".

³ *Ibid.*

49. It would be vain to seek the causes of the failings of our Organization elsewhere. We find them right here. President Ahidjo of the Cameroon Federal Republic stated in the General Assembly on 22 September last:

“We must recognize that the impotence of the United Nations is basically due to the strength of national egotisms, that is to say, the lack of political will which the Members of the United Nations often show when, contrary to their own specific interests, they are called upon to implement the resolutions of the Organization and to take appropriate measures against those that commit aggression or violate elementary human rights or the rights of peoples.” [1845th plenary meeting, para. 29.]

50. Cameroon is a sponsor of the Canadian resolution aimed at rationalizing the methods of work of the Organization.⁴ But we believe that the Charter, as it exists, is an instrument which is still fully valid today. The President of my country expressed these ideas in the following terms:

“...it would be wrong to seek the cause of the weaknesses of the United Nations in the uselessness or obsolescence of the principles of the Charter which we feel still to be fully valid today or in flaws in its structure.” [Ibid., para. 27.]

51. Our world consists of nations which are increasingly more interdependent and whose coexistence requires increased solidarity in all fields. In the field of development more than any other area, this solidarity is a must. Similarly, nations which under the Charter have the primary role for the maintenance of peace and security must assume their responsibilities. The welfare of the United Nations depends upon that, and so does international security. To echo once more the words of President Ahidjo, “The salvation of the United Nations without doubt resides in respect for the Charter of the Organization and in the scrupulous observance by all Member States of its fundamental principles” [ibid., para. 31] and with the resolutions of our Assembly.

52. May I conclude by quoting these lines from Shakespeare:

“Men at some time are masters of their fates:

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,

But in ourselves, that we are underlings”

53. The CHAIRMAN: I give the floor to the representative of Saudi Arabia on a point of order.

54. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I will not touch on substance, because if I did I would be out of order. The reason I am raising this point of order is that we are confronted with four comprehensive draft resolutions [A/C.1/L.513, 514, 517 and 518]. The usual practice is that when the list of speakers is exhausted a debate takes place as to how to deal with the draft resolutions. Having in mind the fact that we will be engaged in a ceremonial

period from 14 October I think we should dispatch our work so that we are not left with the undebated balance of the agenda of this Committee, notwithstanding night meetings and Saturday meetings. Therefore I take the floor to ask the Chairman, in his wisdom (you, Sir, are here tonight—tomorrow I think our Chairman will preside) to consult with the sponsors of the four draft resolutions and perhaps request them to appoint what I may call a co-ordinating group. The draft resolutions have a common denominator. I do not know whether the divergences between what I would call specifics and generalities can be bridged. That remains to be seen by the drafting group. I did not put my name down to speak in the general debate because I did not want to prolong it. With all due respect to the perspicacity of members, the general debate is becoming platitudinous. It was not meant by Mr. Gromyko that we should engage in platitudes. The intention was that, during this second year of dealing with this subject, we should emerge with something tangible which is worthy of the twenty-fifth anniversary.

55. Therefore at this juncture may I, Sir, through you, suggest—unless somebody has any objection—that, after consultations, none other than our beloved Chairman, Mr. Aguilar, consult with the four groups so that they may present us, if possible, with one consolidated text; or, if that is not possible, at least with two texts so that we may address ourselves to them intelligently when the time comes and not lose a lot of energy and spend many hours in rehashing what was said in the general debate and seeing whether what we said can apply to a certain paragraph, and so on. That will lead us nowhere.

56. I formally make the suggestion, on this point of order, that tomorrow our Chairman consult with the sponsors of the four draft resolutions so as to arrive at a practical solution in dealing with those texts.

57. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his constructive proposal. The proposal will certainly be conveyed to Ambassador Aguilar, and the fact that the proposal has been made in the Committee brings it also to the attention of the sponsors of the various resolutions. I trust that in co-operation with Ambassador Aguilar the sponsors will attempt to reach some kind of compromise formula.

58. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to congratulate Ambassador Aguilar on his election as Chairman of the First Committee. During this session of the General Assembly, we shall be faced and occupied with very far reaching issues of grave significance to the future of the United Nations, and his elevation to the post he now occupies attests to his capabilities, experience and high sense of responsibility. I also congratulate our Vice-Chairman and felicitate as well as our Rapporteur. Both of you are seasoned diplomats who, in your respective capacities, cannot but contribute to the successful guidance of our work.

59. We are now considering measures for the strengthening of international security and we sincerely hope that we can arrive at an agreement over a document on this subject—a document which would serve as the principal contribution of our Committee to a meaningful commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

⁴ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 92, document A/7992.

60. The problem of the strengthening of international security should be the first and foremost concern of all Member States of our Organization, without exception, whether big or small, rich or poor, powerful or weak. This problem is a universal one because nowadays a threat to international security is a threat to everyone and a rupture in world peace is a danger to all. It calls for total involvement of all peoples of the United Nations, who in subscribing to the purposes and principles of the Charter have determined “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”.

61. It follows then that we, the representatives of Member States, should totally commit ourselves to the cause of maintaining international peace and security.

62. But is there a need to strengthen international security? There is no question—and there should be no hesitation—that the answer is yes. We need only recall the debates held last year on this question in this very room. The unusual number of representatives who spoke and expounded their views made it abundantly clear that something must be done to strengthen international security. The replies of Governments to the Secretary-General contained in documents A/7922 and Add.1-6 point to the same conclusion. And the Secretary-General himself in that report underlined the need for strengthening international security in these words:

“The war in South-East Asia does not show signs of abating, the Middle East conflict continues. Potentially dangerous are tensions in Africa, where remnants of colonialism are allowed to exist. While there is some progress in the East-West *détente*, further efforts are still needed for the building of European security on the basis of confidence, mutual respect and development of friendly relations. The constant source of insecurity in the world is still the unbridged gap between industrially developed countries and the developing ones.” [See A/7922, para. 7.]

63. More recent developments, however, give us cause for encouragement. President Nixon’s proposal for a standstill cease-fire throughout Indo-China and for an expanded conference on the whole of Indo-China may yet move the Paris peace talks from dead centre. The current cease-fire in the Middle East, despite the lamented passing of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, may yet lead to constructive results, while the treaty recently concluded between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany⁵ is truly one of positive significance.

64. These are heartening signs, which we view with cautious optimism, but the fact remains that international security indeed needs shoring up.

65. In the replies of Governments to the Secretary-General already mentioned above, the Philippines expressed the view that progress in the areas of disarmament and development is conducive to lessening international tensions thus strengthening international security [see A/7922]. Many other Governments appear to hold a similar view.

66. In the Philippine policy statement before the General Assembly on 30 September 1970 [1855th plenary meeting] on the crucial issue of disarmament and the control of nuclear arms, General Carlos P. Romulo, our Secretary of Foreign Affairs, welcomed the progress that is reportedly being made in the bilateral Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, but, at the same time, expressed our concern over the slowness of the pace of these talks, the apparent meagreness of the results thus far, and the danger of delay while the stockpiling of nuclear arms continues and more sophisticated, more deadly weapons of mass annihilation are developed and deployed.

67. We have always supported and will continue to support strongly the elimination of the arms race and the achievement of the final goal, which is general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

68. In the same policy statement, and in connexion with development, an earnest appeal was made for support of the proposed International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, because certain delegations are still maintaining reservations which include elements indispensable to its success, such as the all-important acceptance of the amount of resources to be transferred by the rich countries to the poor countries, of the target dates for the easing of present onerous terms of aid, and of the adoption of effective measures for eliminating trade barriers and giving developing countries wider access to markets in the industrialized countries.

69. Allow me, therefore, to reiterate this appeal in the sincere belief that the worsening economic gap between the developed and developing nations poses a clear danger to the fabric of peace. We have heard many times in the general debate just concluded in the General Assembly similar expressions of fear and belief and they are best summarized in the statement on the problem of economic and social development in the twentieth report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, as follows:

“It is clear that there can be no peace in the world as long as more than two thirds of the world’s population are underfed, underhoused and undereducated. One cannot expect them to accept this fate forever, and if there is no hope of improving their lot peacefully, they will not forever refrain from disturbing the peace if force should appear to them to be the only way out of their present misery. While success will depend to a large extent on the efficacy of local efforts, sufficient means will have to be provided by the world community for removing this great danger to world peace.”⁶

70. And from our current debate in this Committee I am pleased to quote the words of the representative of Chile, Ambassador Piñera, who on 6 October expounded, most eloquently on the relationship of peace and development:

“There can be no security and no peace without development. I would go even further and say that there

⁵ Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁶ Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, *The United Nations: the Next Twenty-five Years* (New York, 1969), p. 36.

cannot and should not be any discussion of peace and security without development. This twenty-fifth session of the Assembly should not, I believe, issue a declaration on international security if it is unable, in a nearby conference-room, to come to an agreement on the Second United Nations Development Decade.

“There is a necessary link between security, disarmament and development; between the Second Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade; and between this declaration we seek, which should contain this whole complex of elements, and the difficult negotiations in the Second Committee.” [*1729th meeting, paras. 36 and 37.*]

71. The efforts of the co-sponsors of each of the four draft resolutions [*A/C.1/L.513, 514, 517 and 518*] now before us deserve our appreciation. We have heard the brilliant and lucid statements introducing those draft resolutions. The sponsors have presented to us a number of viewpoints on how to achieve our purpose of strengthening international security. We note that in all the draft resolutions reference is made to the areas of disarmament and social and economic development. It is clear to us, however, that the reference to those areas is more emphatic and convincing in draft resolution *A/C.1/L.517*, in the light of its operative paragraph 9, which affirms the belief that there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, the economic development of the developing countries and disarmament, so that any progress made towards any of those objectives will constitute progress towards all of them. This is a position which coincides with our own, as is evident from the views we have already expressed, and we are pleased that it has found concrete expression in this draft resolution, not only in operative paragraph 9, but also in operative paragraphs 7 and 8, together with the corresponding fifth, sixth and seventh preambular paragraphs.

72. Aside from disarmament and development, we subscribe to other measures in the strengthening of international security, particularly in the peaceful settlement of disputes. We therefore welcome operative paragraphs 4 and 5 of draft resolution *A/C.1/L.514*, the first of which reaffirms the obligations of all Member States to resolve international disputes by making use of the means and procedures of peaceful settlement enumerated in Article 33 of the Charter, while the second recalls that under the Charter legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice, in accordance with the provisions of its Statute, and accordingly recommends the fullest possible utilization of the Court.

73. In our policy statement referred to above, we committed ourselves to full support for the suggestion that all Member States of the United Nations should voluntarily accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, preferably without crippling reservations that would in effect negate the Court's authority or drastically reduce its capacity to settle international disputes by peaceful means. It is heartening to note that recently the Security Council decided to seek the opinion of the International Court of Justice concerning the legal implications for Member States of the situation in Namibia. At least this step has allayed

somewhat the serious apprehension about the diminishing role of the Court and its continuing relevance and usefulness to the international community.

74. In its reply to the Secretary-General, the Philippine Government maintained its firm support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations. This view, which is expressed in all the replies received by the Secretary-General, has been reflected in both the preambular and operative paragraphs of all the draft resolutions; but draft resolution *A/C.1/L.517* goes further by including in its third and fourth preambular paragraphs the concept that the United Nations has a central and fundamental role to play in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security, which requires the full utilization and strengthening of the United Nations as the main diplomatic and political centre, in order to convert it into a truly effective instrument for the maintenance of peace, for the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, non-intervention, abstention from the threat or use of force, self-determination of peoples, territorial integrity of States and for the achievement of international co-operation in the solution of international problems.

75. My delegation could not agree more with draft resolution *A/C.1/L.517* in this respect. In our view, Member States, in adhering to the Charter, have opted for a system of collective security in the maintenance and preservation of world peace. It is incumbent upon all of them to revitalize this system if they are to remain true and faithful to the Charter. They must retrace their steps back to the principles of the Charter if in the meantime they have been led to believe in other principles or systems as the path to their salvation.

76. Last Friday [*1734th meeting*], the representative of Kuwait suggested to our Committee the establishment of a permanent fund for peace-keeping operations, the resources of which, when not used for such purposes, might be placed at the disposal of the United Nations Development Fund and the World Bank for development purposes in the developing countries. My delegation finds the suggestion most interesting and assures our colleague from Kuwait that we shall give it our appropriate and careful consideration.

77. Inasmuch as draft resolution *A/C.1/L.518* of the non-aligned countries has only just been distributed and introduced this evening—and although I have made some references to it already—my delegation will need a little more time to give the document the study and consideration it certainly deserves.

78. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am faced at this late hour with the risk of repeating some of the platitudes to which our colleague, Ambassador Baroudy, has just alluded. However, I beg your indulgence and that of members of the Committee if I should state in other than a brief manner the views of my delegation.

79. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I wish to extend, through you, to our Chairman, Ambassador Aguilar, in the name of the Lebanese delegation, our congratulations on his unanimous election to the high office he occupies with ability and efficiency and to which he applies the intellectual qualities

that have characterized his varied positive contributions in many fields of international activities. He brings to this office not only the testimony of the great Hispanic culture, but also that of Venezuela itself, a country to which Lebanon is favourably linked by so many cultural and human ties.

80. Our congratulations also go to you, Mr. Vice-Chairman. We consider you as the ceaseless and ever-present dynamo of the United Nations, whose talents are widely recognized by all your colleagues. The same congratulations go to our Rapporteur, Ambassador Cerník, for whom I have great esteem, as I have for his country, Czechoslovakia, where I had the privilege of serving Lebanon.

81. This year again, the United Nations is dealing with a most important question: the consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security. Foreign Minister Gromyko earned our gratitude last year for having introduced this item on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,⁷ an item which was elaborated upon both last year and this year by the representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik. The importance of the question, in the view of my delegation, stems from the fact that it is of major concern to all peoples and Governments—to mankind as a whole. Its scope is most embracing and its purport global. In our modern world, we can no longer speak of strengthening international security without tackling at the same time the problems of armament, war, injustice, poverty, underdevelopment, discrimination, colonization, infringement on the human rights of individuals and peoples, aggression against and occupation of territories of Member States, threats to the independence and sovereignty of countries and to their territorial integrity, and intervention in their internal affairs. All these negative factors, which manifest themselves in varying forms or degrees, are responsible for the insecurity and instability which prevail in many parts of the world. What we actually face today is a state of insecurity. We believe that the foremost requisite is the elimination of the conditions which breed insecurity, followed by the creation of conditions conducive to the development of security, and thereafter by the enforcement of the measures which not only strengthen international security, but also safeguard and preserve it. The purposes and principles of the Charter adequately provide for the development of international security according to this pattern. Yet the tolerance of the international community for the destructive elements which sap the very foundation of peace and security stunt any such development.

82. The United Nations can justifiably be proud of having to its credit on its twenty-fifth anniversary many varied achievements, notably in the field of economic and social development, definition and elaboration of certain principles of international law, human rights, decolonization, certain peace-keeping operations, peaceful coexistence, and reduction of international tension. Perhaps one of its meritorious accomplishments is the fact that it is still alive, that it has lasted 25 years, that it has survived many upheavals, that it is still maintaining a glimmer of the idealism which prevailed at its inception and that the

principles and objectives enshrined in its Charter remain today and can remain in the future as valid and inspiring as they were at the time of their elaboration. However meritorious these accomplishments may be, it remains a historic fact that the United Nations has not achieved marked progress in ensuring world peace and security. It may be that the hopes of the participants were too high when the San Francisco Conference was convened 25 years ago, and that the promises made at that time were too generous. We face the stark reality today that those hopes and promises have been impoverished—that an atmosphere of disillusionment, frustration and helplessness grips our world. This situation is due to our incapacity, or rather failure, to legalize peace, to ensure the prevalence of the law of the new international order, to find solutions to the problems of armament and war, to curb the aggressor, and to restrict power as a means of international prestige and influence. Cordell Hull, the late Secretary of State of the United States of America, once remarked that “War comes as the great failure of man, out of fear, lust of power, injustice, or misery unrectified.” Our Organization has a paramount duty to strengthen man—to allay his fears, to rectify the injustices to which he is subjected and to free him from his miseries. The dangers which bedevil our world are no longer the local conflicts and small wars alone, or even the wars of wider scope, such as the Second World War, but those of a war of total and mass destruction, a war which would blow our world to bits. Mankind is ever cognizant of the fact that it is often perilously hovering on the brink of the abyss of extensive or complete annihilation.

83. We agree with the premise that international security is indivisible, as the representative of the United States, Ambassador Yost, reminded us the other day, for we can all survive together or perish together. What is therefore necessary is the will to give life to the provisions of the Charter in matters of security. Let us frankly state that such will is lacking among the major Powers. When they disagree, the efforts of the majority of the United Nations membership are stalemated. It is imperative to revive the trust that small nations have placed in the United Nations. The major Powers, entrusted with special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, can restore that trust by resolutely enforcing the appropriate measures envisaged by the Charter to promote and safeguard international peace and security.

84. It is overwhelmingly clear from the debate that the essentials for the promotion of international co-operation and peace are the liberation of colonial peoples, the cessation of acts of warfare and aggression, the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, including *apartheid*, and the repudiation of the use of force and of the threat of the use of force to solve international disputes. Of equally great importance are the cessation of the arms race, the acceleration of the process of complete disarmament under international control, and the diversion of both the human and financial resources released by disarmament to economic and social progress, particularly in the developing countries.

85. The peoples of the world are confounded by our failure to restrict armament, let alone to abolish and demolish it. What they know and hear is that war budgets

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

are ever growing, armies expanding, arms stockpiling and conflicts multiplying and spreading. Humanity has travelled a long way to realize that armament is immoral and that war is an outrage against man. Ernest Hemingway stated: "Never think that war, no matter how necessary, nor how justified, is not a crime—ask the infantry and ask the dead." Our Charter contains the answer to the abolishment of wars; its provisions are sufficient to ensure peace and security. Yet piles of General Assembly resolutions and Security Council resolutions, which have embodied those provisions and called for their implementation, are collecting dust. In a sense, as the proverb goes, "We have already boiled a thousand elephants and yet have hardly produced a cup of soup."

86. We always seem to be wandering in the labyrinth of disarmament, while realizing well enough that bold measures for disarmament and for the destruction of arms-stockpiles are the safest and the shortest means of attaining the goals of peace and security. The constant and excessive growth of armaments in the arsenals of the big Powers as a means for their security is paralleled by the ever-increasing weakness of the smaller nations who constitute the majority of the membership of the United Nations and who seek to ensure their own security within the framework of the Charter and by the force of the Charter. It has not been established that an excess of power ensures peace and stability in the world. The balance of terror—often misnamed deterrent power—is a persistent reminder to mankind of how fragile is its existence. Such a deterrent has not prevented the Korean War, the Indo-China War and other wars, nor the Israeli aggressions in the Middle East.

87. Men, especially the youth, are revolting everywhere against the terror of armaments and the evils of war. They do not feel secure in the scanty prospects of security we are now offering them for the future. Armament in all its forms is no longer considered *per se* as a means of security. The technological advancement in one field of armament is immediately nullified by the development of counter-measures. What science can create, science can placate. It is therefore logical to deduce that the result of an armed conflict can never be projected while the arms race is subject to the modern technological processes. The splitting of the atom has split the mind of man. The convulsions he is now undergoing in his conscience, beliefs, outlook, and established orders and values are direct results of the sense of insecurity generated by the perils of nuclear weapons and their destructive powers. It is essential, when we speak about disarmament, to begin by speaking about disarming the minds of men.

88. It is therefore the duty of our Organization to free man from his fears and torments and to give him a renewed confidence in our institution. This can be achieved during the commemorative session of the United Nations not only by rededicating ourselves to a respect for the purposes and the principles of the Charter, but above all by resolving to implement them fully and by making the next decade a meaningful era in the history of disarmament.

89. The disparity between the powerful and weak nations is not the only impediment to the strengthening of international security. The ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing nations is another major

cause of insecurity. It is widely agreed that we cannot go on squandering the gigantic resources of the world on arms and withhold them from being utilized for the betterment of the economic and social conditions of man, for the improvement of his environment, and for the uplifting of his hopes. We agree with what the Secretary-General once stated: "If a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems . . . will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control." That partnership is to find its fullest expression in the global strategy outlined in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade.⁸ Development and disarmament are thus entwined to fulfil the hopes of man in peace, justice, and progress.

90. To us, the peoples and Governments of the Middle East, it is incongruous to speak about international security without mentioning our own security that is so often threatened by the aggressions of Israel and by its refusal to abide by the provisions of the Charter and the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The failure of the international community to end the state of insecurity in which the Palestinian Arabs have lived during that period—the last 22 years—has generated wider conditions of insecurity, fraught with dangers, among the peoples of the Middle East and the world at large. The recent tragic events in Jordan, in which our Arab brethren, on both sides of the fence, have suffered so much, proves how potent those dangers are and how close the world has come to the brink of still wider problems of insecurity. To tolerate aggression, to allow the aggressor to prolong his occupation of the territories of three Arab States, Members of the United Nations, and to deny the victims of a series of Israeli aggressions from as far back as 1948 the exercise of their natural, legitimate and inalienable rights to self-determination, are not factors to make the Arab peoples and States so joyful about the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations this year. Their faith in our Organization can only be redeemed if the injustice and the traumatic wrongs they have long endured are removed and their security re-established. To refrain from taking bold, positive, and decisive action in this direction in order to end the trials and tribulations of the Arab peoples of the Middle East is tantamount to allowing catastrophic insecurity to be visited upon that area—nay, upon the world.

91. It is our view that the authority of the Security Council, in this case as well as in other cases, must be strongly enhanced. We have invariably relied upon the Security Council; we consider it to be the safeguard of the independence, peace and integrity of the small and peace-loving nations. The Security Council has sufficient powers to effect its decisions. All that is needed is the will to use them, guided only by the consideration of justice and international security. In order to strengthen the international security system, certain institutional arrangements may be needed. They may be practicable and no doubt desirable, but, in our view, what is most needed is the strict observance of the principles of the Charter and their effective application towards the fulfilment of the purposes therein enshrined. Such strict observance and effec-

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

tive application will, beyond doubt, strengthen international security—rendering it more effective—and consolidate its foundations.

92. To that end, my delegation is happy to note that the General Assembly agreed the other day on the proper procedure for the unanimous adoption, on 24 October 1970, of the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.⁹ That important declaration progressively develops and codifies the principles of international law referred to above. It lays down basic principles of international law which States should adhere to and observe in the conduct of their international relations. Member States could not possibly mark in a more positive and constructive way their celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary than by a solemn resolve on their part to adhere to and observe, in their international relations, those basic principles. Such solemn resolve will create and bring about the necessary conditions conducive to peace with justice, on which a lasting and durable international security system must be founded.

93. In the words of the tenth preambular paragraph of the Declaration, States “shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations”. The Declaration further states:

“The territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter. The territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force. No territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal. Nothing in the foregoing shall be construed as affecting:

“(a) Provisions of the Charter or any international agreement prior to the Charter régime and valid under international law; or

“(b) The powers of the Security Council under the Charter.”

It should be noted that Israel and the three Arab States whose territories it occupies, namely, the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, as well as the four big Powers, voted for the Declaration, including this basic rule, in the Sixth Committee, and accepted the procedures for its unanimous adoption in the General Assembly.

94. The application of this rule in the Arab-Israeli conflict would make imperative the withdrawal—the total withdrawal—of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied by it. Or need I quote again, for purposes of clarity and better understanding of the basic principles laid down in that rule: “The territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force.”?

95. In dealing with the question of the strengthening of international security, my delegation has refrained from

going into the details of the many draft resolutions before the Committee. In our view, they all contain positive and constructive elements, some of them more acceptable to us than others. However, my delegation, together with several other delegations, has sponsored a draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.518. This draft, we consider, commends itself to the unanimous or quasi-unanimous consensus of the Committee. The other sponsors of the draft I have referred to will elaborate upon it at a later stage. It has the merit of being objective and of avoiding the deeply controversial question raised by other drafts.

96. The question before us—that of international security—is vital for the peace, progress and security of the world. We must all work together with renewed dedication and resolve to ensure the primacy of those concepts in the world of tomorrow, for which the United Nations represents the best, and last, hope.

97. Mr. PANYA (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Laos wishes, first of all, to offer its warmest congratulations to the Chairman of our important Committee, to you, Sir, and through you to the other officers of the Committee. Since these officers of the Committee are highly competent and experienced personalities, we are convinced that our debates will produce fruitful results.

98. Among the countries looking towards the strengthening of international security, Laos should surely be placed in the first rank. Indeed, for 25 years—that is to say, since the birth of the United Nations—Laos has been suffering continually from foreign aggression because no concrete methods or positive measures for providing international security and guaranteeing it are in evidence.

99. In 1956, when Laos was admitted to membership of the United Nations, it was greatly relieved as it looked forward to better days. The principles of peace and justice and equity as stated in the Charter, the declarations of intention and professions of faith of the founders of the Organization, representing both small and large countries, the numerous measures adopted and the organs established, all represented for Laos the dawn of a new era from which war, oppression and subversion would be banished. Unfortunately, disenchantment came all too soon.

100. Each year, invariably, from the heights of the rostrum of the General Assembly, the representative of Laos informs the Organization of the unjustified aggression of which we are the victim, and appeals to the good faith of its Members and to the parties concerned to put an end to a situation which is the very pinnacle of irony, because Laos, the most peaceful country in the world, has for 25 years been the theatre of daily combat.

101. Taught by its personal experience, Laos therefore welcomes with the greatest of favour the examination of this crucial item, at a time when we are preparing, with pomp and circumstance, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Organization, and are hoping that this occasion, as well as the high level of representation of the Member States, will be conducive to the elaboration of appropriate and effective documents and measures. On this occasion, my Government would not wish to miss the opportunity to recall the important

⁹ For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

contribution made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in calling for the inscription of the problem on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session and in supplying a highly elaborate document which is the foundation of our discussions.¹⁰

102. In the opinion of the Royal Government of Laos, consideration of the question of the strengthening of international security would be beneficial if it were dealt with in the light of the following considerations.

103. First of all, the Government of Laos does not think that to strengthen international security, it is necessary to carry out a thorough revision of the Charter, because it is incorrect to say that the provisions of the Charter are deficient or inoperative for the maintenance and the safeguarding of peace, and thus for the blocking and frustration of the warlike or expansionist intentions of any State. The necessary tools and instruments for the defence of peace are provided in the Charter, and as long as there is the will to use them, in all conscience and in all sincerity, it is possible to do useful work. My country has already tried this out and can therefore speak knowingly.

104. In September 1959, after the departure of the International Supervision and Control Commission, a neighbouring country, instead of withdrawing its troops from Laos as was agreed, sent further troops to rekindle hostilities. In the face of this disloyal attitude and the premeditated violation of the agreements, the Security Council, at the request of the Royal Government of Laos, appointed a sub-committee of four members, consisting of Italy, Argentina, Japan and Tunisia, to make an on-site investigation. The results were quick to come. So as not to be caught, the aggressors withdrew quickly from Laotian territory, and my country was at peace for two years.

105. Of course, the most sophisticated machinery wears out with time and even the most perceptive mind cannot provide for all the operating details in an infallible manner. Discontinuities, as well as new contingencies, can occur. Although there is room for adjustment of the Charter to new political, economic and social conditions, we do not believe that a radical revision of all its provisions are indicated.

106. If the adjustment of the Charter is a desirable and important thing, more important still, in the opinion of my Government, is compliance by Member States and Governments with its spirit and with its principles and essential provisions. Too many liberties have been taken in the past few years vis-à-vis the Charter. There have been unilateral and partisan interpretations which convinced only their own authors who were engaged in Byzantine and interminable discussions concerning what were basically fairly clear-cut provisions. There is a greater urgency in aligning the behaviour of States than need to modify the Charter. The Secretary-General has as a matter of fact noted this when he said: "There is a marked weakening in the standards of ethic and international morality."

107. This leads us, of course, to appraising the role of the Security Council, which is the keystone of our institution,

inasmuch as it has the task and the responsibility for the maintenance and the safeguarding of peace. It is unanimously recognized that during the past twenty-five years of operation, the Council has adopted measures and decisions which did result in confrontations being avoided and aggravations of conflicts arrested. But equally numerous are the cases of serious breaches of the peace, latent conflicts and bloody hostilities, which the Security Council was unable to prevent or stop for one reason or another—all because the debates in the Council were dominated and motivated by considerations other than those of peace, and by concern with interests and ideologies unrelated to justice, human dignity, human rights and the right of people to self determination. In this particular context, the responsibility of the great Powers, of the rich States endowed with privileged rights, is great. The right of veto cannot be justified under any circumstances in the face of attempts to stop a war, avoid bloodshed and save or rescue peace.

108. To work usefully at strengthening international security, it is thus necessary, along with other measures, for the great Powers to be willing to carry out a reappraisal of their own behaviour, so that it would no longer be an obstacle to the purpose sought. This is an important point without which any hope of improving the situation would be truly vain. The small and medium-sized States, which are the majority in the United Nations, are well aware that the great Powers, apart from their strength, their means and their arms, also have several alternative actions at their disposal. If their illegal criminal actions are frequently exercised in a direct fashion, they can just as well resort to intermediary countries to propagate their ideologies, to extend their hegemonies and impose what they call the truth of history. It is a chapter of history which Laos has learnt at its own expense. If it were not for the supply of arms, as well as the economic and diplomatic support given to our aggressors, the Laotian people would not have been at war throughout the past quarter of a century.

109. Actually, the strengthening of international security is not a simple goal. It cannot be achieved without simultaneous improvements. General and complete disarmament under international controls is also an important factor in this. One cannot imagine any possible security as long as the armaments race has not been halted and as long as certain States which have nuclear and other weapons have not renounced their use against those who do not have any.

110. Similarly, the strengthening of security would be Utopian if at the same time there was no improvement in the situation with respect to development. There is such a gap between the rich and the poor countries, one which is constantly growing rather than shrinking, that it would be impossible to provide safety or security to States if economic pressure is permitted to be exercised without any leash, because economic pressure in many cases produces its purpose much more readily than pressure by means of arms. It acts in a fashion which is both insidious and silent.

111. In this connexion, we cannot overstress the fact that if the Powers were prepared to divert an infinitesimal part of the funds earmarked for the manufacture of ever-improved but never absolute weapons, to help the develop-

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

ing countries in catching up, the economic situation of the latter would certainly make a great leap forward. One can well imagine that if 1 per cent only of the funds allocated to armaments could be placed at the disposal of development one would no longer see the spectre of hunger and poverty. In this connexion my delegation strongly supports the proposal of the delegation of Kuwait [1734th meeting] to set up a permanent fund for peace-keeping operations, a fund which would mainly and necessarily be constituted by the permanent members of the Security Council first, and additionally, and to a lesser degree, by developed and developing countries to the extent of their economic means. It is all the more interesting to note that, meanwhile, this fund could be placed at the disposal of the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank to accelerate economic and social development in developing countries.

112. On the other hand it is quite ironic to speak of the strengthening of international security when there are still millions of men who have no freedom and are living in fear and oppression. Before giving them security it stands to reason that human dignity, as well as human rights, must be restored first and that an end must be put to *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

113. To strengthen international security it is therefore necessary, in the view of the Government of Laos, not only to re-state and to reaffirm the principles of the Charter but also to see to it that decisions taken are correctly and sincerely applied. There are numerous decisions—some of them extremely important—coming from the Security Council and the General Assembly which have remained a dead letter. As long as this failing exists it will not be possible to make any progress.

114. Those are the views of the Royal Government of Laos concerning the way in which we should deal with the highly important question now before us.

115. As for the various draft resolutions that have been introduced, my delegation reserves the right to make its views known in due course. As of now my delegation can state that it wishes the resolution which will be the result of our work not to resemble the solemn proclamations that have preceded it and that are without any effect because they are expressed in generalities. My delegation hopes, however, that the resolution which we do elaborate will contain concrete and practical measures ensuring its correct and effective implementation.

116. Mr. ADAMA-TAMBOUX (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Before making any comments on the strengthening of international security I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you on behalf of the Central African Republic, on your election to the vice-chairmanship of this Committee. Through you, I should like to convey our congratulations to Ambassador Aguilar and to the Rapporteur of our Committee on their well-deserved elections. A better choice could not have been made. Your special skill together with your constant devotion to the principles of the Charter suggest that we have every right to expect a resolution of the complex problems on our agenda.

117. Consideration of the question of the strengthening of international security by the General Assembly offers the world Organization every year an excellent opportunity to concentrate its attention on the alarming state of international peace and security. It is an opportunity to ponder where the United Nations has failed to make any progress or strengthen its machinery by mobilizing its resources in a greater effort to achieve its essential objective—its primary task—the maintenance of international peace and security which is indispensable for mankind. Be that as it may, this session is of paramount importance to our way of thinking. The delegation of the Central African Republic was pleased that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics placed the question of the strengthening of international peace and security on the agenda of the General Assembly last year.¹¹ That initiative seemed particularly timely in view of the instability of the world and seemed to justify our hope for relaxing tensions.

118. The keen interest of almost all previous speakers in the problem at present under consideration has convinced us that this issue is of universal concern and that it is high time to take concrete action to strengthen international security.

119. Unfortunately, our hopes have been disappointed for things have not gone beyond perplexing dialectics and games of hide and seek.

120. The international community was organized 25 years ago in order to meet the need to maintain international peace and security as provided in the San Francisco Charter.

121. Unfortunately—as has been frequently repeated in recent days both in the General Assembly and in the First Committee—the world is far from having achieved this security. Indeed, notwithstanding all efforts and the minor success of the United Nations our times seem to bear the mark of insecurity. There have been hot wars and cold wars, unstable prices for raw materials, colonial wars and *apartheid* in southern Africa; not all men have enjoyed the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; there have been attempts at subversion in various States, air piracy and so forth.

122. We do not feel we are being dogmatic in assessing the international situation in this way, for we in the third world have experienced genuine tragedies. Those tragedies bear the names of the Middle East, South-East Asia, Africa, Latin America, and economic underdevelopment.

123. Is that the peace and security promised at San Francisco?

124. The delegation of the Central African Republic is, as always, prepared to participate in the adoption of any measure that might promote peace and the maintenance of security in the world.

125. But what action must be taken before there can be any system ensuring peace among the peoples of the world? All countries, great and small, must abide by the

¹¹ *Ibid.*

fundamental principles of the Charter, as defined in the Declaration on the United Nations adopted by the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries when they met at Lusaka last September: scrupulous respect for the observance in practice of the principles of the Charter, of peaceful coexistence and friendly relations among the States, renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the inviolability of established frontiers, prohibition of aggression and non-recognition of territorial acquisition by conquest, respect for the sovereign equality of nations, peaceful settlement of disputes, the self-determination of peoples, disarmament and the promotion of economic and social development in particular of developing countries.

126. We are convinced that the concept of international security depends on the validity and universal application of these principles.

127. Article 2 of the Charter mentions these principles. What we want is to see them made a reality.

128. The Central African delegation believes that if the United Nations is effectively to face its obligations in the maintenance of peace, the decisions adopted by the Security Council must, without exception, have binding force for all Member countries. My delegation believes, therefore, that action must be taken against countries refusing to implement those decisions. The major Powers, as permanent members of the Security Council, have an obligation in this regard, which is to use their influence for peaceful purposes. Furthermore, the Security Council ought to be made more active if it is to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter.

129. Disarmament is indispensable if international security is to be strengthened. The talks on this subject among the nuclear Powers must proceed in a businesslike and determined way, for we are witnessing an unbridled nuclear arms race, and the proliferation of those weapons can only increase mankind's concern. Tremendous sums which could be used to promote well-being, are being devoted by part of mankind to arm some men against others, and this may only serve to precipitate the end of mankind.

130. We believe that the more powerful countries bear major responsibility for this, for they have failed to heed the series of appeals of the General Assembly and the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, held in 1968.

131. May I be allowed to reiterate here what our Foreign Minister said in the General Assembly in 1969, namely that "all nations should unite and demand not only the systematic destruction of atomic weapons but also general and complete disarmament under effective international control".¹² It is thus a matter of urgency that concrete steps be taken to bring about disarmament.

132. The delegation of the Central African Republic believes that one of the most effective ways to strengthen international peace and security would be to take fundamental action under resolution 1514 (XV) to eliminate

apartheid and colonialism and to implement the principle of self-determination. There can be no doubt that the persistence of the shameless policy of *apartheid* in southern Africa is a constant threat to international peace and security.

133. We believe that intensive efforts must be made by the United Nations to reduce the growing gap between the developed and developing countries—a gap which has profound implications for international security. In the opinion of my delegation, an agreement should be reached on a body of measures to be taken as a matter of urgency and the proposals for the global strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade should be supported by the wealthiest nations.

134. Such is the course of action that we must adopt if we wish to have the Organization demonstrate its usefulness on this its twenty-fifth anniversary.

135. Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): May I be allowed to join the other representatives who very eloquently have congratulated Mr. Aguilar on his election to the chairmanship of this Committee, which very rightly has been called by some "the peace committee". I should also like to convey to you and Ambassador Cerník the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Mali on your unanimous election as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of our Committee.

136. As you are aware, my country is, to some extent, at one of the crossroads of the world's nations. We wish to live at peace with our neighbours and endeavour by all means available to enhance our material and cultural wealth. This has always been a corner-stone of our political action. That is one of the reasons why my Government welcomed the Soviet initiative to make the question of international security one of our main subjects for thought; that is also why I should like to quote for the benefit of the Committee from a statement made by one of the African Heads of State at the meeting recently held in Addis Ababa:

"The United Nations will never be able effectively to ensure peace and security throughout the world if its Members are not determined to support its prestige and honour their obligations under the Charter and to do their utmost to impose its authority."

137. This means that we must first and foremost not forget the circumstances which led to the framing of the Charter and to the creation of a body charged with implementing its provisions. This also means that after consideration of the events which gave rise to wars, we should endeavour to appreciate the realities of today's world and also to demonstrate enough creative imagination to continue the work of those who 25 years ago had the merit of offering us an international legal instrument, the correct implementation of which should spare us from the horrors of war and point to a better understanding among men.

138. Understandably enough, measures to strengthen international security should be based on a genuine determination to eliminate the after-effects of the Second

¹² *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1784th meeting, para. 186.

World War. The world still suffers from the stigma of the terrible confrontations of the last quarter of a century. Force has always been considered the ultimate argument, especially by certain major Powers as they tried to pursue ends that were contrary to genuine security.

139. Weapons did make it possible to restore order in 1945 and they have been used constantly ever since. Furthermore, considerable human and material resources have been devoted to their perfection and stockpiling and our planet has become a powder keg; but, paradoxically enough, we continue to brandish flames in front of this powder keg. I refer, of course, to Viet-Nam, Korea, the Middle East, southern Africa, and all hotbeds of tension throughout the world where force has been used to oppose the natural movement of the peoples of the world towards the political, economic and social régime of their choice.

140. How, then, can we fail to understand the fear of the Secretary-General of the United Nations when he writes, in his report: "It has seemed to me in recent years that the greatest obstacle to the strengthening of international security has come from the growing tendency for States to revert to a reliance on force as a means of resolving their international differences." [A/7922, para. 4.]

141. In other words, it is to be feared that once again right will yield to force, as if force used mechanically could overcome the profound aspirations of the peoples of the world to live within borders won after great sacrifice. So it is that peace could have prevailed in Viet-Nam and Korea if certain Powers had not tried to have their own preoccupations in Viet-Nam and Korea hold sway.

142. In spite of intervention in Viet-Nam, and recently in Cambodia, the use of weapons is a dead-end street in South-East Asia as has been proved. The United States and its allies would make a genuine contribution to the restoration of peace in that part of the world if they would totally and unconditionally withdraw their troops and join in concrete action for security.

143. We should appreciate the value of the truism that the peoples of the world who have contributed to throwing off the chains of nazism and fascism would not once again, 25 years later, accept other chains, the chains of colonialism.

144. The freedom of the peoples of the world, their right to self-determination, cannot be compromised; the international community finds itself in agreement on this point. Colonialism places its security in jeopardy and it is in the light of this fact that the international community must act. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must bear the stamp of this concern. It is not enough to say that we deplore the colonial policies of Portugal; we must combat them as part of our efforts to restore and maintain international security. They must be combated because they are contrary to these efforts and they are designed to bring about their failure. We must give assistance to the fighters in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola because the triumph of their struggle will be the culmination of the various efforts of the international community

at the present time not to have the world of tomorrow harassed by nightmares.

145. Our memory would be short indeed if we were to forget the economic and social conditions which exist under certain political régimes which, having no bread or working tools to offer the people, give them guns instead and tell them to go to certain other countries to satisfy their hunger and dreams of a better life. The tragedy of our time is that three quarters of mankind lives with its needs unsatisfied whereas the other quarter lives in affluence. This inequality, created by economies devoted on the one hand to necessities and on the other to luxuries, could lead to social upheavals in countries where incomes are unfairly distributed.

146. An attempt must be made to have a concerted policy of development if we do not wish hunger to disrupt our security. The next Development Decade will succeed if the steps taken do not bear the stamp of national selfishness and if we are truly understanding of the social and economic needs of the peoples of the present-day world.

147. I have listed only a few of the after-effects of the last world war which still exist 25 years later. The measures that will be proposed to the General Assembly to maintain and strengthen international security would not be worthy of the political genius of this Committee if they fell short of certain fundamental principles. It is the very existence of the after-effects of that war which keeps mankind in the state of an unfinished war, thereby making it difficult to conclude a genuine peace 25 years after the armistice was signed.

148. Discussions on the question of the maintenance and strengthening of international security have brought out that, in addition to action to be taken against colonialism and racism and to promote respect for the sovereignty of States, genuine and complete disarmament will usher in a new world in which fear will give way to normal relations among the peoples of the world.

149. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], which entered into force in March 1970, and the Vienna and Helsinki negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms have provided us with good prospects. The size of States, as well as their economic and military potential, are of course indications of the kinds of contribution they can make to the maintenance of international security. But disarmament, like peace, concerns everyone. It is, however, necessary to create a climate of confidence rather than merely to establish supervisory machinery for controlling the production of arms.

150. Discussions have also borne out the need scrupulously to respect the provisions of the Charter. We have already said that the acquisition of part or all of a territory by another State through the use of force is inadmissible. We believe that such acquisitions, which are made to the detriment of a State or a people, bear the seeds of war. For those reasons we agree with the representatives of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria, who have said that the Middle East will remain in a state of insecurity as long as part of their territory remains occupied by Israel. It

is also for those reasons that we believe that any move to deprive the people of Palestine of their homeland would be against international security.

151. We have already said that the use of force cannot settle any political problems when this force is being used against people who are aware of their historic responsibilities. We trust that this piece of wisdom will prevail throughout our discussions.

152. The discussions in our Committee have also brought out that the international community rejects all forms of human relations based on racism. The policy of *apartheid* has pushed racism to a degree beyond the bounds of understanding. As in the case of colonialism, it is not enough just to deplore this governmental policy; it is contrary to the provisions of the Charter, it is contrary to our definition of humanism. This policy should be isolated and all necessary steps taken to destroy it. South Africa and Rhodesia are certainly very far from the borders of some nations. The cries of revolt of the people in Zimbabwe and in South Africa will not, perhaps, trouble the consciences of some. But we would affirm that the policy of war declared against all mankind, and that one must indeed have a strange conscience to accept its morality.

153. My delegation does not doubt that in the coming days concrete solutions will be proposed and that the rays of hope which must shine on the way ahead will not be darkened by the shame of racism.

154. We are about to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and we must demonstrate our determination to fight together against colonialism, *apartheid* and underdevelopment. This determination must be made a reality. The United Nations Charter provides us with an opportunity to do this. Although it reflects the concern of the victorious nations of the past war, and although it does not entirely reflect our present concern, we believe none the less that in the present state of affairs we must strictly respect its provisions, because a search for new formulas could lead to endless procedural quarrels so long as the after-effects, which I have referred to, have not disappeared.

155. We must try to advocate concrete action and take steps which would make our resolutions more practicable than they have been heretofore.

156. We must remember that the authors of the Charter were concerned with universal action. The events after the war, the present features of the world, the balance of power which exists today, all argue in favour of universality. Treaties concluded by us would be of only limited value if they were binding on only some States, and we would have solved nothing at all if we restored a kind of order excluding the People's Republic of China.

157. It is in that spirit that the delegation of Mali considered resolutions A/C.1/L.513, 514 and 517, which are at present before us for consideration. It is also in that spirit that we decided to join the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.518, which has just been introduced by the representative of Zambia.

158. We can assure the Committee that we will not allow ourselves to be prisoners of form or procedure. It is our hope that all members of this Committee will agree that colonialism, *apartheid*, underdevelopment and the use of force are all sources of insecurity. The delegation of Mali would have had no difficulty in accepting, by and large, draft resolution A/C.1/L.513, which, in spite of its conciseness, puts forward some of the political concerns of the Government of Mali in precise terms. We trust that the co-sponsors of this draft resolution will understand that ours complements theirs. We hope agreement will be reached among the various co-sponsors on the essential points which I have commented upon. If such agreement does come about we will have no difficulty in being once again the natural defenders of peace and security in a world finally reconciled with itself.

Mr. Aguilar M. (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

159. Mr. COLERIDGE-TAYLOR (Sierra Leone): Mr. Chairman, allow me as I take the floor for the first time in this Committee to offer the congratulations of my delegation on your election to the Chair. The effective leadership you have offered not only justifies your election, but confirms us in the conviction that you will guide our work with skill and wisdom. We pay a similar tribute to the undoubted ability of the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, on whose invaluable assistance you will no doubt depend.

160. It is most significant that the first item being discussed by this Committee in this commemorative year concerns measures for the strengthening of international security. It is significant because it shows the importance we attach to this question. In our view the strengthening of international security is one of the most compelling obligations of our time, and until a better organization is devised the United Nations is man's best organ for achieving this end. Its structure and methods of operation may not be ideal, but there is little doubt that the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as other international instruments concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, have clearly marked out an ideal path towards the attainment of international security. If, in spite of all this, we still find that the concept continuously eludes us, it may well be that the fault lies more in the spirit than in the letter of the law.

161. It is idle to expect peace to flow automatically from treaties and conventions if the treaties themselves are signed in bad faith, with each party merely searching for loopholes whereby its own violations can be justified. In such circumstances it is irrelevant whether the texts of agreements are legal or just, it is irrelevant whether or not machinery exists for their enforcement, it is irrelevant whether the parties are economically or militarily unequal; what is crucial is that between the parties to the agreement there should exist mutual confidence and a common ideal.

162. For us, the States Members of the United Nations, as well as for us, the peoples for whom the Organization was created, the common ideal should be man's humanity to man. Our common endeavour should be to identify the problems that still make this ideal unrealized and to suggest methods by which these impediments may be removed. In

the view of my delegation the main obstacles to international peace and security are to be found in the areas of disarmament, development, decolonization, human rights and peace-keeping. Our Minister of External Affairs in his policy statement this year at the 1847th plenary meeting of the Assembly has already outlined my Government's position on these issues. Considering, therefore, that we are already short of time in discussing this item, I shall be extremely brief and hope that this will not be regarded as indicating that we do not attach importance to these problems.

163. The combined effect of cold-war politics and the arms race is to give global proportions to the most limited local conflict. Thus the Viet-Nam conflict, which is basically a matter of disagreement among the Viet-Nameese people themselves, has kept the whole world in anxious tension as the ideological and military confrontation has continued to engulf the rest of South-East Asia.

164. In the interest of peace and stability in that part of the world and as a contribution to international security, we look forward to the promised withdrawal of foreign troops from the area and appeal to all the parties concerned to work for the speedy restoration of peace in the area. It would be an invaluable contribution to peace and to disarmament if, as a first step, the flow of arms to the parties from all sources were suspended.

165. Because of its unique geographical position, the Middle East unites two continents. For the same reason, the crisis in that part of the world is a threat not only to those countries, but to the rest of the world, a threat aggravated by cold-war politics which has been injected into the dispute. Whilst welcoming the present cease-fire and hoping that it is only the first step to a disengagement and an eventual peace settlement, we must admit that a halt in the arms race and a suspension in the flow of arms through the area would at least lessen the intensity of the war, if ever it is resumed against the wishes and hopes of the rest of the world.

166. The dangers of nuclear contamination of life and environment, the dreadful possibility of an accidental nuclear holocaust and the very agony of living under a balance of terror have been repeatedly emphasized. We can only underline them once more and the compelling arguments in favour of disarmament and military depolarization.

167. Development has been one of the preoccupations of this Organization during the last decade, yet hardly a dent has been made. Military budgets continue to outstrip developmental allocations even in some developed countries, while the needs of the developing countries are cynically ignored. If we recognize universal economic development as a contribution to humanity and make it one of our common goals, then we cannot expect to establish, much less to strengthen, international security while a substantial proportion of humanity lives, or rather exists, in constant deprivation of their basic food, health, education and similar needs. The closing of the development gap is, therefore, one of the vital measures for strengthening international security.

168. The injustice of colonialism is one of the most blatant examples of man's inhumanity to man and is one of the cardinal causes of international unrest, especially in those areas where it has assumed the ghastly spectre of armed racist domination. The danger is, of course, most acute in the territories under Portuguese militarist colonial occupation, where the choice is genocide by bullets or by assimilation. In Zimbabwe the problem is further complicated and aggravated by illegality and immorality: the illegality of the constitution, of the régime, and the immorality of racism. The tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] is a fitting occasion for us to dedicate ourselves to the complete and speedy eradication of colonialism and all forms of foreign domination. It would be a most valuable contribution to international security and universal peace.

169. In the area of human rights, we are compelled to focus attention on the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa, which is the worst violation of human rights in our times. It is the sacred duty of this Organization to bring home to the South African Government the deep revulsion caused by its policy. That has already been done. But the greater effort necessary from individual Member States to drive home the point has been sadly lacking. Among the friends of South Africa, economic considerations seem to override all others to the point where the sale of arms is contemplated, even though those arms will undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of *apartheid* as well as increase the danger of a violent racial conflict. It should be obvious that international security can never be preserved or strengthened as long as *apartheid* or any form of racial discrimination is encouraged or practised in any corner of the globe.

170. Finally, there is the delicate question of peace-keeping. It is both delicate and crucial to our survival, for international peace and international security are inextricably interdependent. Security can never be assured while peace is threatened, nor can peace endure unless security is assured. Therefore, the United Nations peace-keeping effort should be a major undertaking in the strengthening of international security. It is true that the Security Council has the primary responsibility in this area, but peace-keeping is a matter of universal concern and is, therefore, quite rightly a matter for the General Assembly as envisaged under the Charter. That is why my delegation is prepared to give the fullest support, both as members of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, to any measures aimed at strengthening peace and security.

171. The obstacles to international peace and security which we have outlined are all, in our view, capable of elimination through concerted effort, with the Charter as our constant guide. Our limited successes in Cyprus, the Congo and the Middle East are in themselves reassuring examples of our capability. All we need is the spirit of mutual co-operation at the regional and global levels. We feel confident that this commemorative session of the General Assembly has created in us an awareness of this need. If we can go one step further and reflect this awareness in our final resolution and if we are determined to implement not only the letter but also the spirit of that

resolution, our presence here would have been fully justified.

172. The draft resolution submitted today by 30 nations [A/C.1/L.518], of which we are a sponsor, embodies the ideals of international security which we all pursue. I would recommend it for universal adoption and hope that this will be the ideal pursued by all of us.

173. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for the congratulations which he expressed to the Chair.

174. Mr. BOHIADI (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, I should like to associate myself with those delegations which, in the course of our meetings, have congratulated you warmly on your unanimous election as Chairman of our Committee, as well as our Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur on their respective elections. Because of your knowledge of international affairs, your experience, your competence and your dynamism, I am convinced that the work of our Committee will produce positive results.

175. In dealing with the item of the agenda now under consideration, I should once again like to express my gratitude to the Soviet delegation for having taken the initiative of inscribing this vital question on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session¹³ and again on the agenda of this session.

176. I shall not speak at length in my statement because last year [1664th meeting] I already had the opportunity of presenting the point of view of my country on this problem, and also because the eminent speakers who have preceded me since the beginning of our work have already said all that could effectively contribute to the strengthening of international security.

177. Peace and security are essential to all nations, large and small, weak and powerful, rich and poor, but above all to the young nations which are in the course of development and which, without peace and security, would be unable to grow economically and socially. International security must guarantee to all people the possibility to live and develop in peace, sheltered from any threat of war and aggression that might affect their lives, territorial integrity, independence or future.

178. Of course, the international security which is essential to us and which we wish to see strengthened cannot be guaranteed without general and complete disarmament, and to this we have not yet found a concrete, definitive and satisfactory solution in spite of the numerous conferences that have been devoted to it.

179. As long as we have not been able to achieve genuine general and complete disarmament, no one can sincerely speak of peace or security. As long as we have not been able to bridge the gap which unfortunately is always growing between the rich and the poor, no one can objectively speak of genuine peace. As long as we have been unable to erase hunger and ignorance from the face of the world, war

will always be in people's minds and will feed upon injustice sowing catastrophe throughout the world.

180. It is perhaps for this reason that, instead of disarming, we see the great Powers further improving the art of destroying more, and refusing to accept any clause that would call upon them never to use those improved weapons in any conflict whatsoever.

181. We must confess that we cannot accept the proposition that if it was possible for the super-Powers to arm to the point they have now reached, it would not have been possible to disarm down to a level which would have made it possible, in turn, for the international community to live in genuine peace, accepted by all as such.

182. We wish the great Powers could agree on a minimum of confidence, so that at least a resolution accepted by them unanimously in the Security Council, would no longer be subject to divergent interpretations at the time of its application, thus sparing that important organ of our Organization the misfortune of being unable to exercise its prerogatives fully.

183. We have already asked ourselves whether the United Nations truly enjoys the confidence of those to whom it has entrusted the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. Unfortunately, this is not so, because the Powers themselves have not succeeded in producing confidence among themselves. Indeed, we feel that if confidence and love were to exist between peoples and nations no one would think of manufacturing weapons of destruction which frighten even those who have them.

184. We place our confidence in the United Nations and we shall defend by all the means at our disposal the principles set forth in the Charter and the firm application of those principles. It is the only chance we, the weak ones, have to help the United Nations in its efforts towards peace and security.

185. To conclude, I would say that in order to establish genuine peace and to strengthen and guarantee international security, the following is necessary. All nations which are not yet Members of the United Nations should be admitted; independence should be granted immediately to all countries which are still under foreign domination; all countries should respect the principles enshrined in the Charter; all States should respect and rigorously apply the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in particular those concerning decolonization, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the evacuation of territories occupied by force as a result of war.

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

187. The representative of Chad was the last speaker this evening; I believe that all members of the Committee have worked enough today. I should like to thank everyone for his co-operation, but I do believe that it is now time to conclude our work.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 103, document A/7654.

188. We still have seven speakers for tomorrow before we conclude the general debate. I should like to say something about tomorrow's schedule. Two meetings are scheduled, one at 10.30 a.m. and one at 3 p.m. I trust we shall be able to conclude the general debate in the morning. Tomorrow afternoon, depending on circumstances, we may wish to consider whatever draft amendments are submitted to the draft resolutions which have already been circulated; or we may wish to discuss whether we should adopt some of the proposals which have been put forward about working groups or informal talks.

189. I think we can leave the subject of our future work until tomorrow. I will not suggest anything now, but I

should like to consult the members of the Committee on how best to have a single text combining the best features of the various texts that have already been submitted to the Committee.

190. I do not wish to keep you any longer, but I should like to thank you all for your co-operation this evening and I should like to ask representatives to ponder on what would be the best procedure in considering the various draft resolutions before us on this item of our agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.25 p.m.