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**Chairman: Mr. Milko TARABANOV (Bulgaria).**

**AGENDA ITEM 34 (*continued*)**

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of  
International Security: report of the Secretary-General  
(A/8431 and Add.1, A/C.1/1015, A/C.1/L.566)**

1. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): Comrade Chairman, it is, of course, rewarding to see in the Chair a friend; it is even more pleasant to know that he will be a competent Chairman of our Committee. Please accept the congratulations of the Polish delegation on your election. We also extend our best wishes and congratulations to the officers of the Committee.

2. During the quarter of a century that the United Nations has been in existence, tremendous progress has taken place in science, technology, economic achievement and also, last but not least, in the political set-up of the world. Thus, the international community has gained experience which should be effectively made use of when evaluating the contemporary world and, of course, in the practical activities of States.

3. There are three important political conclusions to be derived from the developments around us. The first proceeds from the interdependence of nations which is increasing daily; in other words, what happens in one corner of the world exerts an influence upon the course of events in other parts of our globe. The second convinces us that war in its present form has become senseless, indeed it cannot solve anything but poses the threat of destruction to everything that mankind could rightly be proud of. The third conclusion confirms that nobody and nothing can halt the process of the drive of peoples towards progress. Therefore there remains only one direction in which the world community should move to work for peace and to strengthen world security.

4. This year's general debate, while reiterating the importance of world-wide efforts to strengthen peace and security and pointing to the tangible achievements in world *détente*, has rightly stressed the existence of many dangerous and still unsettled conflicts as well as of numerous situations which could develop into serious international conflagrations. The evaluation of these negative phenomena

has been characterized, in the general debate of the General Assembly, by a large measure of uniformity of opinion, notwithstanding sometimes acute discrepancies with regard to the solutions sought.

5. Anyway, the debate has brought out very pointedly the demand of the world community to eliminate, today and in the future, practices incompatible with the United Nations Charter, incidents inflicting destruction and misery on individual nations and measures retarding the peaceful development of the world as a whole. Such a conclusion from this year's general debate should be binding on us, and at least it will constitute a guideline for the Polish delegation in our present discussion on the continuous and consistent implementation of the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted last year in resolution 2734 (XXV).

6. Incidentally, our present discussion has been prepared and made easier by the circulation of the report of the Secretary-General [A/8431 and Add.1]. Among the written opinions of a number of Governments, it contains the Polish Government's appraisal of the international situation, and I beg you to regard the remarks I am making today as an amplification of that. Besides, I should like to use this occasion to suggest that such reports of the Secretary-General could be issued each year. They could be the best illustration of how individual United Nations Members evaluate current events in the light of the 1970 Declaration and which international problems they view as most imperilling world security.

7. If the international situation this year seems to look much brighter than it did in the past, this is undoubtedly due to a number of events in Europe. Positive developments, with an influence reaching far beyond the European continent, have proved to be the signing of treaties between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, the four-Power agreement on Berlin and, finally, the progress so far made during the dialogues on the idea of building a lasting system of European security and on holding a European conference on security and co-operation. Moreover, the contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States have been, are and will continue to be of essential importance. The general debate fully appreciated the constructive nature of all these developments.

8. At the same time, the debate has demonstrated that other continents are coming forth with their own various concepts inspired by an obvious desire to strengthen international security in a broad sense. Much was said about atom-free zones, zones of reduced armaments and zones of peace. What also emerged was the desire, indeed the will, to strengthen regional organizations for preserving peace and

establishing conditions more opportune for closer co-operation, not to mention the much stressed and justified concern of many nations to attain a more balanced economic development of individual countries and individual continents. All these proposals merit careful analysis, as does the important communiqué of the Lusaka group of non-aligned countries issued at the end of the meetings held this September in New York. All these documents and all these proposals will be given sympathetic consideration by my Government.

9. The evaluation of all these manifestations and the correct estimate of their influence on the political situation in the world indicate that the discussions begun last year on the means and methods of strengthening international security are producing results. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted during the commemorative session of the United Nations General Assembly has thus become a mobilizing document adapted to the present needs of political struggle against war, against threats to peace and security and against relapses into retrograde ideas, and for the releasing of societies and peoples from the bondage which in many instances still constrains the freedom of their actions.

10. Progress in the strengthening of world security requires, moreover, that a certain speed in the implementation of the nations' demands be maintained in order to cope with the needs resulting from the scientific and technological revolution, from the emerging aspirations of peoples and from the present military and political set-up in the world. We would be well advised to return to these problems every year. Indeed, the result of our discussions here will be negligible unless deeds follow declarations of good intentions. May I, on behalf of the Polish delegation, list some problems on which the attention of world opinion is at present primarily focused or should be focused.

11. The most urgent ones, of course, are to extinguish the hotbeds of war in Indo-China and in the Middle East and to pave the way for the peaceful reunification of Korea without outside interference. But this can only be achieved through resolute steps consonant with the true wishes of the peoples concerned, steps which would expose not only the absurdity of resort to military aggression but also the historical pointlessness of coercing countries and nations, aware of their national identity and political role, which reject foreign *Diktat*. The anachronistic power politics in today's world have to be abandoned. It also stands to reason that one can only denounce the arrogance and disregard with which Israeli politicians treat the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

12. Next we feel that the elimination of harmful situations that can grow, under complex political circumstances, into a threat to peace is another urgent problem to be closely watched. This relates first of all to the liquidation of remnants of colonialism. The struggle against the racist régimes in Africa is not only a matter concerning African peoples. Let me frankly state here that this struggle cannot be won by attempts to appease the supporters of *apartheid*.

13. In the existing situation involving Pakistan refugees, steps have to be taken to reach an appropriate political settlement of the crisis in East Pakistan to enable millions

of people, driven out by hostilities, to return to their homes, and thus to reduce tension in Indo-Pakistan relations.

14. Then it is necessary, by making use of all the means and methods available, to engender confidence, stability and co-operation as indispensable conditions for fostering the economic growth of all nations. Experience shows that efforts conditioned to the requirements and possibilities of regions, undertaken with a better understanding of and a better feeling for the situation, produce by far the best results. The emergence of regional organs serving the strengthening of security could make not only for the attainment of a level of *détente*, but at the same time could also assist the creation of proper conditions for economic progress compatible with the social and economic requirements of specific States.

15. Later in its deliberations, the Committee will deal with problems related to the halting of the armaments race. In view of the enormous volume of military resources engaged on a world scale, or in groups of States, it is the great Powers which have an especially important role to play here. The point is that a number of measures should be adopted to breathe new energy into the idea of general and complete disarmament, although I strongly stress the importance and, indeed, usefulness of collateral measures, which should never be underestimated; those measures pave the way towards goals which as yet seem unattainable. My country's interest in the creation of a demilitarized zone in central Europe has been sufficiently strongly stressed by my Foreign Minister during the general debate [1953rd plenary meeting] and we consider that also as a collateral measure.

16. We strongly believe that each State should guide its behaviour in international affairs by judging how it promotes, or inhibits, *détente* and the strengthening of the positive trends which have recently emerged in relations between States. Particularly at the present time, any behaviour contradictory to the United Nations Charter and to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security should be condemned and resolutely opposed. The choice of appropriate effective counter-measures is within the competence of the respective organs of the United Nations, primarily the Security Council. Let me here express the hope that the United Nations will in the very near future—and not in the distant future—agree upon principles on which a system of peace-keeping operations will be established under the authority of the Security Council.

17. That is the last point in the enumeration of the problems which we stress as being of great importance at the present moment.

18. I wanted to say that we set great store by the utilization of the mass media for the development of peaceful relations among nations and for promoting better mutual understanding. In this context, we are convinced that joint efforts are needed to eliminate all practices of misinformation, subversive propaganda of the type represented by Radio Free Europe, operating from Munich and bent upon hampering the process of bringing nations closer together and inhibiting the much needed end of strained relations.

19. With your permission, Sir, I should interject here a nagging thought: how meagre is the world media coverage of the work of the United Nations. This is true even of the media of the country hosting our Headquarters. Here the interest taken in the work of the United Nations seems to be limited almost solely to laying stress on the emerging contradictions, while the constructive achievements contributed by the United Nations in many spheres are being all too often practically ignored. Thus the United Nations efforts are being distorted by creating the impression that our Organization is only rent by controversy and constrained by the inability to solve pertinent problems on our agenda. And we know that that is not the relevant picture.

20. Poland, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with which we share past experience and a common goal for the future, has been sparing no efforts to contribute, within its own means, to the construction of permanent foundations for the security of Europe. Our nation has learned through dire experience that seemingly local European conflicts have often grown into world-wide ones. After the Second World War, a major military potential was created in that area, and it is in that area also that, owing to post-war developments, international problems have piled up to form particularly explosive tensions.

21. For many years, the socialist countries have been presenting their programme for the construction of a permanent system of European security. As a matter of fact, it was also a topic raised by the socialist speakers in successive general debates in the United Nations. Those proposals constitute a logical and coherent programme for peaceful development of the entire European continent. We are ready at all times to discuss and implement them with other countries—with countries having different systems. Our proposals start from the premise that the immediate objective of the process of normalization already commenced is to eliminate—or at least to reduce to a minimum—the threat of an armed conflict in Europe through the creation and fortifying of conditions for the unimpeded development of peaceful co-operation between East and West.

22. Now the implementation of this goal should at the same time provide conditions for taking further steps which would lead to overcoming the present division of Europe and to creating a permanent system of collective security—a system directed against no one, but pointedly against conflict and war. It is, I submit, a vision of a better world that guides us. As we in Poland see it, a future all-European treaty of security and co-operation—to which we should aspire—could provide, *inter alia*, for the obligation on the part of the signatories not to use force or the threat of it against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or independence of any State, but to recognize and respect existing State frontiers in Europe, to abide by the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, and to settle disputes by peaceful means only.

23. It should also include the appropriate machinery—or at least an indication of the appropriate machinery—for consultation should a situation arise endangering peace and security in Europe.

24. It should include commitments concerning co-operation in the field of economic and social affairs, science,

technology and culture, as well as measures designed to eliminate the still-existing barriers and restrictions which, as we know, are currently impeding the development of such co-operation among all European States.

25. It should also provide for an obligation on the part of the signatories to endeavour to implement in Europe partial disarmament measures of a regional nature.

26. At the same time we suppose that progress towards the construction of a collective security system in Europe will lead to an evolution in and a reduction of the importance of military groupings. We also consider that the adoption of concrete obligations, the contents of which are close to what I have just attempted to explain as the Polish view, calls for the creation of appropriate organizational machinery for co-operation among European States.

27. Now certainly such a vast programme in the political, economic and military spheres cannot be implemented by means of a single European conference on security and co-operation, the convening of which is, as a matter of fact, being discussed and planned. Indeed, a series of properly-timed conferences will be needed, and should take place. But the materialization of such a programme should take the form of a process which would avoid any slowing down. Hence our desire that our intentions should be better and properly comprehended by all European countries—those bound by links of alliances, the non-aligned and, of course, the neutrals—and also by the United States and Canada, which we visualize as full-fledged participants in the work on the implementation of these important endeavours. Hence our deep concern to reinforce the proper climate of *détente* in order to have, possibly at an early date, the start of multilateral preparations for the first European conference.

28. A comprehensive look at the development of the European continent is the fundamental feature of the respective proposals of the Warsaw Treaty States at conferences of their foreign ministers held in Prague in October 1969 and in Budapest in June 1970.

29. The proposals were conceived with the understanding that one has to start with the least controversial problems and then gradually move to those which are more complex, calling for more thought and, therefore, discussion. The proposals of Prague and Budapest therefore deal first with a set of such legal and political provisions as the renunciation of the use of force or the threat to use it; the obligation to respect sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; the recognition of the existing State frontiers in Europe; the obligation of non-intervention of States; and the settlement of existing disputes by peaceful means only. It seems that these questions should give rise to no reservations. We hope that they can be accepted fairly soon in the form of contractual agreements.

30. The normalization of relations in Europe and the construction of a security system there require that the legal and political means described should be combined with a supplementary set of measures on broad co-operation in many spheres. In that connexion the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty States also provide for an agreement between European States on the broadening—on the basis

of mutual advantage and equality—of economic, scientific, technological and cultural relations. Within that framework of co-operation in Europe, as we in Poland see it at the moment, elements such as the following could be included: the creation of a European infrastructure, for example, the construction of gas and oil pipelines between East and West Europe, or the linking up of power systems and inland waterways systems, now under discussion in the Economic Commission for Europe, and perhaps also the working out of an over-all European highways system; measures facilitating intra-European trade, especially through the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers; industrial co-operation under which one could, on the basis of multi-year co-operation agreements, make a reasonable division of labour advantageous to all countries, making mutually available the most modern technologies and the utilization of specific production capacities and labour capacities of countries participating in such a form of co-operation. Of course, close concerted action in protecting the natural human environment would constitute an important element of the steps to be taken.

31. Working for such a programme for Europe, we firmly believe that it is also the proper way to create better conditions for the economic contacts of our continent—the economic co-operation of our continent—with the developing countries and with other continents. A stabilized, secure and peacefully co-operating Europe could then not only offer more means to enrich its own economy but also at the same time expand trade with other continents. It might thus also become an important model for the solution of problems brought about by the requirements of modern technology, production and trade under conditions of different socio-political systems, as well as at varying levels of economic and technological advancement.

32. Such is our vision—indeed, I could say blue-print—for a peaceful Europe, a Europe which must cease to be a fuse for world explosions. We should like to feel confident that there will be no lack of goodwill either in Europe or in the United States or Canada for transforming such a vision into firm reality in the interests of all—not only in the interests of Europe but also in the interests of other continents.

33. The work of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, which ended with the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, unequivocally proved that a large majority of United Nations Members attached increased importance to that Declaration and favoured its full implementation. That is evidenced not only in the replies of Governments to the letter of the Secretary-General concerning steps taken by them in furtherance of the provisions of the Declaration, but also by numerous statements on the matter made in the general debate in the General Assembly this year.

34. Encouraged by this conviction, the Polish delegation feels that the discussions this year on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security could result in the adoption of a resolution embodying provisions which in the present international situation deserve to be singled out this year. Such a resolution could state at the outset that the root cause of the continued tension and threat to world peace is actions violating the United Nations Charter and the non-

implementation of the provisions of the Declaration, which contains the clear formulation that 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, or the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force.

35. Another component part of the resolution could be the denunciation of those States which, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, resort to acts preventing people from enjoying their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, thus preventing the full implementation of United Nations decisions on the elimination of colonialism and racism.

36. The resolution could also again call upon all States to undertake effective measures to abide by the provisions of the Declaration.

37. These are the guiding thoughts behind draft resolution A/C.1/L.566, of which the delegation of my country is a sponsor and which is now open for examination by this Committee.

38. The adoption by the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of a resolution on the implementation of the basic principles of the Declaration should be, so to speak, a summing-up of the main points of agreement professed during the general debate, which might emerge in the discussions in our Committee.

39. It is, therefore, difficult for me to agree with the remark made at the 1804th meeting, by the representative of the Netherlands, who tried to convince us that such a resolution, and even a discussion such as the one we have now started, was unnecessary. Indeed, the Polish delegation feels persuaded that it is important, from time to time, by means of a properly-worded resolution, to reaffirm principles in which we trust and to apply them to the situations which at a given moment require our whole attention.

40. I think that the words of our Secretary-General in paragraph 12 of the introduction to his report are the best description of the importance of the problem we are now discussing. He spoke about the problems of international security as “a mosaic of global pieces” and concluded that international security “can be built and maintained only when we see the vision of peace as the common dream of all men, and the seeds of conflict as the common danger. . . . Only then”—he concluded—“will the United Nations become transformed from man’s best hope for peace to the historical instrument”—“instrument”, he said—“which can save the human race from the devastation of another world war.”

41. The words may sound pathetic, but pathetic are the times in which we live, with the burden of historic responsibilities on our shoulders.

42. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): My congratulations to you, Mr. Chairman, as an old friend who is now presiding over the deliberations of the First Committee. My congratulations also to a relatively new friend, the Vice-Chairman, with whom it was my privilege to become acquainted two

or three years ago and who has become one of my closest friends. My congratulations also go to the Rapporteur. I am happy to see both of them assisting you, Mr. Chairman, in presiding over this Committee.

43. I should have preferred to speak at a later stage, but I found that there was an unwillingness on the part of Committee members to rush into the debate.

44. Yesterday we listened very carefully to the statement of Ambassador Dobrynin—my condolences go to Mr. Yakov Malik, *in absentia*, on the death of his beloved mother. After having listened to Mr. Dobrynin I had occasion to read the replies of the various Governments, appearing in document A/8431 and Add.1. I also listened very carefully to yesterday's statement by our colleague from the Netherlands. On the one hand, we find the Soviet Union avid to do something about implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]; on the other hand, we find the Netherlands, which feels that there is no haste, that there is nothing new, and that we might just as well look into the Declaration and see how we can implement its recommendations in an orderly fashion.

45. I would not say that there is any disagreement between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the Netherlands on the other. But for some reason the Soviet Union seems rather solicitous about doing something that may perhaps avert conflict and possibly war.

46. The question is whether we should, year in year out, continue our deliberations on this Declaration, mindful of the fact that Mr. Gromyko introduced this question at the twenty-third session here. After he had made his speech, I asked him what concrete measures, if any, he would suggest for realizing what we all aspired to, namely, the strengthening of international security. I still remember his reply. He said, "We are feeling our way". And it is true that we have been feeling our way, because it is three years since Mr. Gromyko broached the subject.

47. I would consider the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as an academic—I repeat, academic: the emphasis is on "academic"—milestone, without any effective machinery, on the road to fulfilment of the aspirations of humanity. Others would say that we expressed, at the twenty-fifth session, only a fervent and pious hope.

48. Has anything emerged since we adopted that Declaration last year? I submit that there has been more conflict, more turmoil, more civil war; there has been, perhaps, a sort of cease-fire or observance of a cease-fire in another part of the world, but it hangs by a mere thread. There is indeed a lot of unrest in the world. The unsatisfactory situation has not improved. We find, as we have for so many years found, that the Security Council is paralysed. At one time in San Francisco, when the veto was adopted as part of the Charter in so far as the Security Council was concerned, I thought that it was wrong. Now many of us bemoan what has happened to the veto, which has been replaced by consensus. What does "consensus" mean? It means that those major Powers that can tilt the balance of power one way or the other do not elect to precipitate a

confrontation among themselves; therefore they have settled on a sort of agreement based on the lowest common denominator—which is ineffective in solving problems. At least with the veto you knew where a major Power stood. Nowadays we do not know. As a result something new has emerged, which is called *détente*. *Détente* has replaced what would have been confrontation. *Détente* also to a large extent means status quo.

49. Let us examine why the membership of the United Nations has arrived at this deadlock, in which we see the situation frozen, if I may use the term, in many parts of the world where there is conflict and turmoil and the threat of war. The answer is not very difficult to find.

50. Even before the Charter was proclaimed, the victor nations divided the world into their own spheres of influence. Time and again we stated that it was wrong to partition Korea, that it was wrong to partition Germany, that it was wrong to divide Berlin into four zones. The victor nations learned nothing from the First World War, when they created the Polish corridor and when on the Baltic they isolated Danzig and Memel. They incorporated in Czechoslovakia German elements called the Sudetens. They sowed the seeds of the Second World War—unwittingly: I do not say intentionally.

51. One might say that talking about it now is hindsight. But world leaders should have a little foresight. They did not have any foresight and did not know that they were sowing the seeds of the Second World War. And we absolve them perhaps because unwittingly we may be committing the same mistakes today. But history will not absolve them.

52. The Charter was proclaimed, and what do we find happening after we have the Charter? We know that the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations is enshrined in the Charter. In the Middle East a Mandate was partitioned. In South-East Asia we find that a country has been partitioned on ideological grounds, without due regard to the ethnic origin of the people. And then we small nations sit in this meeting room and try to untangle the skein of thread that has been thrown into a thicket. How can we untangle it?

53. For the past 20 years we have been establishing committees and councils—there have been disarmament committees. The existing organs proliferated into many other bodies of the United Nations. Recently we have had committees on the sea-bed, on outer space, on the use of atomic energy and so forth. But with the establishment of all those committees and councils and organs, by whatever name you want to call them, has there been any guarantee that there will not be a flare-up? There are flare-ups; but who can guarantee that those flare-ups may not generate some global conflict?

54. Wisely the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and other mostly socialist States have submitted a draft resolution [A/C.1/L.566], which I have read very carefully and which is laudable. But if we adopt that draft resolution at this session—and I am sure that with perhaps a few amendments it will be adopted—what will be the result next year? *Détente*: lack of confrontation. We might say that that is something, that lack of confrontation is an achievement.

Lack of confrontation among whom? Among the major Powers. And we pay the price for it in our conflicts, because we have been, as in the past, the checkerboard of the big Powers, on which they play chess with their wooden pieces. But we are not wooden pieces; we are human beings.

55. Today before coming to this meeting I read in the newspaper that 76 senators in Washington, the capital of the host country, decided to increase the shipments of arms to a usurping State in our area on the grounds that the Soviet Union allegedly was shipping arms to some Arab State. My area has become the checkerboard of the big Powers. They do not want a confrontation. They do not use the veto any more. They want *détente* and the status quo. The status quo may lead to *laissez-faire*, and we know what *laissez-faire* was in the nineteenth century: it was at the root of many wars. That kind of *détente* is a *détente* brought about by fear and not by choice. Of course one has to accept *détente*. One is compelled to accept it not by free choice but through fear. I submit that any *détente* which is caused by fear may cause frustration, and frustration may lead to conflict. In the individual as well as in collectives, when there is frustration there is always the fear that tempers may be frayed. And remember that world leaders are human; they are not super-human. If they were super-human they would not have committed the same mistakes that were committed at Versailles, and they would not have involved us in the sad situation in which we find ourselves today.

56. I repeat: our *détente* is a *détente* by fear and not by choice. Can we make it by choice? Yes, the big Powers can make it a *détente* by choice provided they make it a *détente* by agreement, based on the principles and purposes of the Charter. I submit that the *détente* will work on no other basis. It should be based on agreement, and on the principles and purposes of the Charter. If the big Powers have made mistakes, let them correct them. It is within their power to correct those mistakes, not in the power of us poor nations, which, as I said, are the checker-board for the power-plays.

57. The second point to which I should like to draw the attention of my colleagues around this table is that it is high time that there was a moratorium on the devising of new weapons. Each big Power is like a mole in so far as armament is concerned, boring tunnels in the earth, where new weapons are being secretly devised. This is a rat race, an interminable race. We here are diplomats and we do not know what is going on in the laboratories and in the underground factories where new lethal weapons are being invented. It took the United Nations more than two decades to realize that biological weapons should be abolished. For two decades, year in and year out, we discussed the inhumanity of those weapons. But do we know what has been invented during those decades which may be worse than biological weapons? We do not know. A moratorium on devising new weapons is a "must" at this stage if we want to strengthen international security, lest the inventors and the secret tunnels of the moles continue to devise lethal weapons.

58. One might ask what the answer is. How can you, how can any one of us have control over nations which are trying to devise new lethal weapons? The reply is very

simple: it is possible if the leaders show real goodwill not towards their own people alone but towards the whole world and towards humanity and if they do not think of themselves as being clever by trying to get ahead of other leaders in having invented new weapons which would put them in the forefront in destroying this world.

59. There can be no moratorium, somebody might say, except by strengthening the network of spies. Every now and then we hear of spies being uncovered here and there, and some unabashedly speak about their exploits. Spying has become an institution on a large scale, not only for finding out what is going on in another country, but also for propaganda, where it reaches out its tentacles in the form of *agents provocateurs*. I thought at one time that it was interesting to read the novels by Agatha Christie. I think that lady might today find more exciting subjects to write about in what is going on than anything she has written about in her previous novels. There are spies everywhere: electronic devices. There may be something under here while I am talking now. I was talking to one of the Ambassadors the other day. I said, "I have no secrets." He said, "Are you sure there are no devices?" I said, "I do not care, I say what I have to say; I do not have secrets." No one should have secrets when it comes to international security. We shall all survive together or we shall all die together ultimately if this *détente* deteriorates into fear, frustration, conflict and war.

60. Goodwill is not enough. Many people have been talking about goodwill. You will find that the masses are misled by such epithets as "democracy", "goodwill", the "commonwealth of the country". The politicians who make such speeches are, like the moles, boring secret tunnels where they are concocting all kinds of devices in order to gain an advantage over their neighbours. And we talk about the strengthening of international security while many leaders know what is happening and do nothing about it; they know what is going on but they do not do anything about it.

61. We are told that perhaps a world conference on disarmament would be a panacea to reduce certain categories of weapons. All right, so they reduce armaments. What about the lethal weapons that are being invented in secret? This is interminable and we will get nowhere. In order to establish goodwill or to generate it, I believe that instead of having national networks of spies we should in the future have a special agency of the United Nations which would replace those spies; they would be the spies of the United Nations. The Committee laughs. Of course it is not possible, because the United Nations after all consists of Member States and who would be the members of that agency? It would not be very difficult to find dedicated people from every country who were against war or against conflicts and who would run the agency.

62. Usually, those who are placed at the head of national spy networks are very patriotic in a jingoistic and chauvinistic sense. But my generation is finished. It is youth which is the pillar of the future, not us; we are finished, Mr. Chairman. You and I are in our sixties, and those people are in their fifties—we are finished. It is the youth of the world that is dedicated. They should bring the old of our generation to task, not by rebellion, not by recrimina-



tion, but by trying to do better than we have done. There should be a United Nations intelligence network to control what might be done, if we really develop goodwill towards one another.

63. The rest is all academic. I started my statement by saying that the Declaration was an academic milestone without any effective machinery. My words will be in the record next year, and I hope to see what progress will have been made; I submit, very little progress, unless we get out of the rut of committing the same mistakes year in and year out. There are leaders surrounding themselves with eloquent professors to rationalize their policies by word, embellishing their actions with empty words. The masses cannot be fooled too long any more, especially the young generation. We have to account to them before we fade out of the picture.

64. Four or five years ago I mentioned a plan which was not acted upon, namely that there should be a world association of all scientists, especially physicists, who would take an oath in the United Nations not to engage in the invention of lethal weapons. Many thought this was impossible to realize. I submit that when there is a will there is a way.

65. In conclusion, I must say that no one should have any difficulty in voting for the draft resolution before us. Far be it from me to amend it. But noting from what happened last year that there may be another draft resolution on this item before us, may I make the same suggestion as last year, even before a new draft resolution emerges, namely that the so-called Western Powers and the so-called socialist Powers get together—as they did under the Chairmanship, I believe, of our erstwhile colleague, Ambassador Araújo Castro, who is not with us any more, since he is now accredited to Washington—lest this Committee be divided into two camps, one supporting the draft resolution of Bulgaria and the other sponsors, and the others supporting any draft resolution that might yet emerge.

66. I would appeal to my colleague from the Netherlands to be instrumental—since he threw the ball yesterday when he said that nothing might come out of the draft resolution—in seeing to it that the NATO countries—because this has to do with security—get together with the countries of the Warsaw Pact—thank God we belong to neither—to present us with something that may be, so to speak, more to the taste of the vast majority of this Committee, in order that we may get on with our work, knowing, Mr. Chairman, how much you would like to see us accomplish something quickly. This is all the more important because next week I do not believe we can meet here, since the China question will be discussed in the General Assembly. You are an old hand, Mr. Chairman; it is not the first time you have presided over a Committee of the General Assembly and I hope you will urge our colleagues to bring forth anything they want us to decide upon.

67. I could have done better if I had had more time to organize my notes with more care. But I thought I was duty

bound to fill in. It is only 12.30 p.m. now and there are no speakers. It may go on like this at future meetings with practically nothing being accomplished. Most of us are paid to work here. I do hope we will handle this question with dispatch.

68. Mr. FACK (Netherlands): I have asked to speak in order to make two brief remarks: one with reference to what was just said by the representative of Poland, and one with reference to a suggestion made by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

69. If I understood him correctly, the representative of Poland said that we were opposed to the present discussion in this Committee. The text of the remarks made by Mr. Winiewicz has been distributed and it states: "It is, therefore, difficult for me to agree with the remark made at the 1804th meeting by the representative of the Netherlands, who tried to convince us that such a resolution . . . was unnecessary." That is correct, but, as I understood it, the representative of Poland added a few words and said also that we were opposed to a discussion. I want to remind the representative of Poland of what I actually said in that regard. I said: "In so far as our present debate will remind all of us assembled in this hall of the importance of the Declaration adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, this discussion will serve a useful purpose." [1804th meeting, para. 55.] Therefore we are not against the discussion. We just do not see the need for the adoption of further resolutions on this subject at this stage.

70. Here I should like to refer to the suggestion made by the representative of Saudi Arabia, who appealed to me to get together with others in order to study possible texts. My delegation at the present time, as I have said, does not see the need for the adoption of further resolutions. This is our view, because we attach great value to the Declaration adopted last year. Because we attach great value to the totality of that Declaration, we fear that any further resolutions at this stage, which may possibly refer to only parts of that Declaration, may work to the detriment of the totality of the Declaration. For that reason, we do not see the need for further resolutions at this stage.

71. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I should like to thank my friend the representative of Poland, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Winiewicz, and my friend the representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Baroodi, for the congratulations they have addressed to the officers of the Committee and to myself.

72. I think that our friend from Saudi Arabia has not finished yet but that, on the contrary, as he has just said, the United Nations will be hearing many more forceful statements from him in the future on the question of international security.

*The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.*