

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



FIRST COMMITTEE, 1812th
MEETING

Friday, 29 October 1971,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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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.1-4, A/C.1/1015, A/C.1/L.566)

1. Mr. ESPINOSA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, I take pleasure in congratulating you on behalf of my delegation on your election to your high post. We are also gratified at the honour done the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, and I am convinced that in view of your qualities and your devotion we shall be indebted to you for many of the results we may achieve during this session. My delegation would also like to thank you in advance for your efforts and offer you our enthusiastic and decisive co-operation.

2. My delegation today confirms its support of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, contained in General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), not only because this is a General Assembly decision—a reason which would be sufficient to commit us—but also because we participated actively in the preliminary work which paved the way for its adoption and because that resolution expresses thoughts and ideas that coincide with those which my country has held and has always defended with a strict sense of justice and law, and in the light of our unswerving devotion to peace.

3. I had the honour of presiding over the session of the Latin American group when it adopted the draft that was later presented here with the signatures of all the countries of our region; and my delegation has always felt itself well represented by the wisdom and ability of the Latin Americans who participated in the deliberations of the Working Group that combined the various initiatives. They were so successful that, just as the socialist spokesmen and those of Western Europe have been able to assert that their ideas are reflected in the text of General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), so too we hold that many of our ideas also appear in that text. As a result, in the Assembly the resolution was adopted almost by a unanimity that reflects the points of agreement among States Members of the United Nations.

4. In this debate, provided for in the same resolution, we should examine the efforts made to strengthen peace and international security and the measures taken to that end in accordance with the report of the Secretary-General. Perhaps it is not necessary and, rather, may even be redundant to offer the traditional words of praise and the rhetoric which awaken undue hope and may even lead to bitter frustrations if in the long run the record of the few and modest successes do not bear out the over-enthusiastic predictions made earlier, and which led us to believe that we were on the threshold of a new era, merely because 25 years later 127 States confirmed the same purposes and principles as were proclaimed by the 51 original Members of the Organization.

5. Beyond question progress has been made; some of the recommendations of the Declaration have been complied with, and this has been pointed out fittingly and appropriately by representatives who have spoken before me in this debate. With his characteristically sound approach the Secretary-General has himself set forth these facts in his report. It would be absurd and serve no useful purpose to deny that. I welcome and pay tribute to the progress that has been made but, as a realist, I wonder whether all or even a good portion of it is the result of the Declaration or is due to the work of the United Nations in this field. In so far as compliance with the recommendations is concerned, I fear that what may be happening here is what the American Creoles, more than 160 years ago, summed up in a well-known turn of phrase. The Spanish authorities on this side of the Atlantic wrote at the foot of the important instructions that came to them from the metropolitan country: "Accepted but not complied with".

6. If an example were required, for my delegation as for that of Brazil—whose views were expressed with eloquence by my friend Ambassador Frazão [*1806th meeting*]¹—an essential part of the Declaration is the statement to the effect that the United Nations believes "that there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of countries", a close connexion, I would add, that extends to others the progress made in any of the various areas, but which also makes the setbacks, the difficulties and the failures a common heritage.

7. It is true, as pointed out in paragraph 41 of the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization¹, that in the past 10 years major treaties on disarmament have been signed; but during the same period of time world military expenditure increased from \$120,000 million to \$200,000 million per annum. It is also a fact that soon we will have good news on the

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1A.

limitation of strategic weapons, despite the fact that proposals have been examined to establish ceilings higher than the current levels, and we will at last be able to study the draft convention calling for the prohibition and destruction of biological weapons. But we are still very far from general and complete disarmament. So much so that the Soviet delegation has suggested a world conference on disarmament and the Secretary-General has proposed in paragraph 50 a three-year study on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and military expenditure as a last desperate effort—it seems to me—to move the conscience of mankind and lead States to a radical change of course and to set aside for economic and socially productive purposes the alarming sums of money which are now being devoted, with unheard-of madness, to purposes of mass destruction on the pretext of security and self-defence.

8. Moreover, precisely when the relationship was established between security and economic development—which led us to assume that peoples' behaviour would be consistent with that relationship—the rules of the game were ignored, the existing rules were violated and, by an arrogant unilateral act, the security of nations was imperilled when the very foundations on which collective economic security rests were shaken to the core. We might think that, because of the Declaration which we have before us, countries were prepared to act as they did and announce their decision to participate in the preparation of the rules that would replace those that no longer had any force without overlooking "the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", which are as valid in the economic and social field as in the political.

9. Unfortunately, the results in matters of strict security are not completely satisfactory either. A new world conflagration has been avoided, it is true, and no further conflicts have broken out, but the old ones continue and anomalies such as *apartheid* and the remnants of colonialism have not disappeared. The tendency seems to be taking root, as denounced by the Secretary-General, of decisions of the Security Council being flouted; and now the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice are not even taken into account, which is proved by the way its opinion on Namibia² has been treated.

10. It is true, however, that there is still the tireless will for peace which inspires and animates the international community. We must summon that will, particularly in this debate, to analyse the international situation and to draw the greatest benefit from the Declaration, which we drafted and supported in a climate of such great illusion. This very discussion, above all, if it is conducted with frankness and candour, keeps that Declaration alive, justifies it and offers us the opportunity to discover its faults so that, after a strict examination of conscience, we can adopt the measures which will prevent it from becoming dead-letter, a lifeless scrap of paper.

11. I have already referred to the persistence of conflicts and economic and social anomalies. Is that due perhaps to

² *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I. C. J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

the fact that the procedures worked out to eliminate them are inadequate, or is it that we have not even reached agreement on the precise terms of the disputes and problems? Or, again, is it that in an effort to establish a seeming friendliness we are imprecise in the expression of our thoughts and accordingly even resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and even decisions of the International Court of Justice, reflect that same imprecision?

12. Sometimes a single delegation expresses contradictory views. In the replies to the Secretary-General on compliance with General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV) contained in his report on the implementation of the Declaration [*A/8431 and Add.1-4*], I have read and observed in more than one instance opposing opinions—as, for example, those expressed in favour of the representation in the United Nations of divided countries by delegations which only a few days ago accepted a different idea in the voting on the representation of China; or such as those which are in opposition when people advocate on the one hand that we should consider as final the frontiers established at the end of the Second World War or that the territorial changes that resulted from that war should be recognized while on the other hand they condemn any acquisition of territories by force in some far removed spot. The two theories are in my delegation's opinion incompatible.

13. Of course, it is not Colombia's intention to intervene in peace-making procedures that are progressing in other continents, which would from every standpoint be out of proportion and also contrary to the principle of non-intervention, nor shall we depart from our position of impartiality on one of the most painful conflicts of our times. I have merely wished to draw attention to contradictions which sow confusion and undoubtedly make more difficult the solution of many problems, in order to invite this Committee to clarify and spell out our concepts, so that we may speak the same intellectual language although we may express ourselves in different tongues—otherwise, we shall never be able to understand each other, since we shall not know precisely what we are referring to or whether, with the same words, we are referring to different or even opposing ideas.

14. On a certain occasion the former President of Colombia, Alberto Lleras Camargo, said that the concept of non-intervention had unfortunately been converted by some into an "opportunistic slogan of international politics". Yet, for many, indeed for the overwhelming majority of the countries of Latin America, and especially for Colombia, it is a sacrosanct principle, as is also the principle of the non-acquisition of territories by force by any State, not only by the small and medium-sized States but also by the great Powers, since it was conceived not only to ensure security between medium-sized and small Powers but also for defence and protection from attack and the unbridled ambitions of the great Powers.

15. This clarification is essential, as is also a careful examination of what happened to the 27 points of our Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. With some known and regrettable exceptions, the principles and purposes of the Charter restated therein continue to be observed. On the other hand, we must recognize that the

majority of the recommendations, exhortations, urgings, requests and condemnations have had no effect. They have been ignored by Member States, and even by organs and agencies of the United Nations. I know full well that it is still very early to pass final judgement on the impact of the Declaration. What concerns my delegation is that we might allow ourselves to be carried away by enthusiasm as we did with paragraph 26 of the Declaration when we welcomed the decision of the Security Council to hold periodic meetings and expressed the hope that those meetings would "make an important contribution to the strengthening of international security". Yet not a single meeting was held after the one last October, convened as a result of the determined efforts of the representative of Finland, Mr. Jakobson, and presided over by the Foreign Minister of Spain, Mr. López Bravo, and even then it was no more than a formal act, to repeat in summary the statements made on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, and in the general debate. Perhaps another attempt could be made, with some specific purpose, if it is intended that we should avoid disregarding one of the provisions of the Charter. It might well get us out of the stagnation in which, as indicated by the Secretary-General in paragraph 9 of the introduction to his report on the implementation of the Declaration, our discussions on our peace-keeping operations find themselves, as he himself suggests.

16. In the last analysis the Declaration is only a point of departure, a programme for action. Thus, what is important is to re-read it frequently, to renew our faith in the reiterated principles and purposes and take a decision to act, to comply with it, to develop it. In part, therefore, my delegation would agree with the representative of the Netherlands, who stated that, rather than a further resolution, what we needed was to ensure that the previous one was carried out, was showing signs of life and prevailing over practices which have been putting down deep roots and which are basically contrary to the Charter, or at least do not flow from the Charter and, in any event, run counter to a principle without which we would have to rewrite it from beginning to end, namely, the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States.

17. My delegation also agrees with the Brazilian delegation [*see A/8431*] when it asserts that the implementation of the Declaration depends on the adoption of a series of practical measures "including... a review and eventual actualization of the Charter of the United Nations". With that friendly and brotherly nation, and with the Philippines and other countries, Colombia sponsored the draft resolution which was adopted as General Assembly resolution 2697 (XXV), on the "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations".

18. In the General Assembly, during the debates on the representation of China, I dwelt at some length on Colombia's theory on the universality of the Organization and its necessary corollary, the review of the Charter, and stated that the entry of States should not be the result of a political act but rather a reflection of an authentic right, one that, in order to avoid uncertainty, should be defined by the International Court of Justice. I go back to that statement [*1971st plenary meeting*] and would at this time add only that the entry of the People's Republic of China,

supported by my delegation and defended in our speech of 20 October to which I have already referred, does not spell universality in itself, inasmuch as universality was seriously marred by the absurd expulsion of the Republic of China. Other similar problems could be solved and other injustices avoided if the political criteria for the admission of States were replaced by strictly legal criteria, as Colombia has been vainly suggesting ever since 1969.

19. I took note, nevertheless, of the fact that during the debate on China the representative of the United States, Mr. Bush, uttered these significant and not at all enigmatic words: "... if the United Nations is going to be strong and if it is going to keep pace with the times, it cannot and it must not be afraid to innovate." [*1966th plenary meeting, para. 68*]. And as innovation is not compatible with a rigid maintenance of the *status quo*, I take it that the United States is abandoning the position that regarded the United Nations Charter as untouchable—a Charter now 25 years old, written in a totally different era, before territories with populations numbering a thousand million human beings joined the group of free nations, territories that had been under the colonial yoke at the time of the San Francisco Conference; a Charter, also, that was written before the world witnessed the irresistible drive against every kind of discrimination. Furthermore, I do not believe that the People's Republic of China, once it is in the United Nations, will resign itself stubbornly to defend a *status quo* that took shape during the long years of its exclusion. On the contrary, I imagine that, with its arrival, fresh winds of change will blow through this Organization.

20. My delegation has also thought that a reform should be made for the purpose of creating a permanent military force, under the orders of the Security Council, so that the authority conferred on the Council by Article 24 of the Charter may be promptly and effectively enforced. That force, the composition of which will be the subject of suggestions that my delegation will submit in due course, should effectively prevent threats, breaches of the peace and armed aggression, and, if necessary, restore peace without the delays which at present we deplore with disturbing impotence. Of course, it will be necessary to complete such a reform with a clear and adequate definition of aggression, a task in which a committee, of which Colombia is a member, has been engaged, thus far without positive results.

21. The International Court of Justice must likewise be revitalized. A review of its functions was envisaged in resolution 2723 (XXV), which was supported by my delegation. Almost all the countries that conveyed their opinions to the Secretary-General agreed on the need to encourage States to bring before the Court their international legal disputes, and were as one on the urgent importance of overcoming the mistrust that prevents their doing so. The Government of Poland considers that this will be achieved through improvements within the framework of the Statute of the Court. The Colombian delegation believes that that very framework must be reformed if we do not wish to go on under-utilizing, or not utilizing at all, that most important organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and the advancement of international security. Without such a reform, perhaps the noble desire of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International

Security will remain mere words on paper, the desire that the Security Council:

“...should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court”.

22. It is also necessary to revise the Charter in order to broaden the functions of the Secretary-General, so exaggeratedly limited by Article 99 of the Charter, which does not even authorize him to ask the Security Council to convene in a case of grave emergency, or to call for the use of force to contain a situation that may degenerate into large-scale war. The Charter itself and, doubtless too, the disagreements among the great Powers sometimes make of the Secretary-General a “king of fools” or a mute witness to the tragedy, when he could be the one to promote understanding, be an effective means of preventing conflicts, and to act with greater outspokenness as the “conscience of mankind”, to employ the words of U Thant.

23. The do-nothing spirit, the belief in untouchability, should not cause us to close our eyes to the practical disappearance of the Trusteeship Council, unsung and unmourned. My delegation believes that it is worth-while to explore the desirability of having it absorb the activities involved in the elimination of the remnants of the colonial system, in the struggle against racial discrimination, in the pitched battle against *apartheid* and the war that must be waged against any violation of human rights. The Trusteeship Council could also, even under a new name, be a collaborating organization in the United Nations Development Programme in assisting countries that have recently attained independence, with a view to ensuring that they start their free life on a firm foundation.

24. In other international forums and in the Second Committee of the General Assembly, Colombia has called for instruments of collective economic security subject to the prior definition of the rights but also of the obligations of States. Brazil has suggested the creation of a body similar and equal, as well, to that which has existed ever since 1945 in the arena of politics, which is another instance in which our thinking coincides, and one very pleasing for my delegation.

25. Everything that I have said so far has to do with international peace and security. Hence, my delegation has not confined itself to the many points in the Declaration on this subject, for the full enforcement and strict application of which my delegation will continue zealously to work. But something was left out of the Declaration, as will be noted, and it seemed appropriate to point this out here. In this debate we cannot limit ourselves to measures taken under the so often cited Declaration, for they are not many in number if considered with relation to each country, individually, nor are they so numerous with relation to the international community as a whole. It is useful also to look at what has not been done if we want to fill the gaps and overcome the defects. To set other goals serves as a warning and a challenge so that we will not content ourselves with the little that has been done, but realize that there is always much more to be done in order to achieve human well-being and universal harmony.

26. From what I have said it will be seen that my delegation reiterates its support for the Declaration contained in resolution 2734 (XXV) and expresses the hope that progress towards its full application will be made daily. Once again we state for the record our desire to continue working to ensure that the United Nations is renewed in keeping with the evolution of the times and continues as a centre for harmonizing the efforts of nations to achieve their common purposes.

27. Accordingly, my delegation considers that the item on international security should also appear on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly.

28. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, first of all, my delegation would like to congratulate you on your election. We are certain that your ability and experience, which are well known to us, will enable you to conduct successfully the important tasks entrusted to us in the Committee. In the exercise of your office you can always rely on the full co-operation of the Spanish delegation. My delegation would also like to congratulate and make a similar pledge of co-operation to the other officers of the Committee, Mr. Ramphul of Mauritius, Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Migliuolo of Italy, Rapporteur.

29. The item which we are considering continues to be one of the most important submitted for the consideration of this Organization. This was stated by my delegation when it participated for the first time in the debate on this item at the twenty-fourth session [*1659th meeting*]. We also stressed it when we sent our views to the Secretary-General and these are contained in the relevant reports to the twenty-fifth³ and twenty-sixth [*see A/8431*] sessions of the General Assembly. This is so because the primary objective of the United Nations continues to be the establishment and maintenance of genuine peace and security which will make constructive coexistence possible among all peoples of all continents.

30. Since this Assembly began its consideration of the item on the strengthening of international security, fortunately it cannot be said that the international situation has deteriorated; on the contrary, we can see encouraging signs which make it possible for us to look to the future with hope. The Organization has most recently become more universal in character and, therefore, more authentic. The great Powers seem to have recognized the need for dialogue and for resolving by negotiation the serious problems which still divide them. The members of the international community have become more aware of their interdependence and the consequent need to work together for their survival as the only means of avoiding collective catastrophe. However, there remains a great deal of ground to be covered both in terms of multilateral action within the framework of our Organization and on the regional level and in the conduct of States.

31. It is here that the United Nations has a decisive role to play in order to facilitate a rapprochement—a dialogue and co-operation among all the peoples of the world. For this, we need to adapt the institutional machinery of the United

³ See document A/7922, of 15 May 1970.

Nations to the new conditions and needs of the 1970s, respecting at all times the purposes and principles of the Charter, which should continue to be the major guidelines for all our actions.

32. When my delegation took part in the debate on this same item in October 1969, it pointed out the need to revitalize or improve some of this machinery contained in the Charter itself. In this sense we then supported the holding of periodic meetings of the Security Council as the proper forum for useful exchange of opinions at the Foreign Minister level, because we felt that such meetings could contribute to the desired relaxation of international tension. In October of last year the first of these meetings was held and, as the representative of Colombia has just reminded us, the honour of presiding over it fell to the Foreign Minister of my own country. My delegation continues to believe that this fruitful institutionalized dialogue should be continued and that it could contribute positively to an improvement in the international situation. The Security Council is the political organ of the United Nations primarily responsible, under the Charter, for the maintenance of peace and international security. This grave responsibility dictates the need for a thorough analysis of its methods of work and its decision-making capacity so that all possibilities can be harnessed in the service of peace.

33. Within the framework of this institutionalized multi-lateral action it is indispensable for the United Nations decisively to confront the problems raised by disarmament and economic development. My delegation will deal with those items at another time. We simply wish to point out now that the strengthening of international security which we are seeking requires a collective effort directed towards the creating of genuine conditions for peace, based upon the reform of the economic and social structures of the international community and the stemming and reversing of the arms race which today constitutes the greatest threat to our own survival. Since there is no better security than that engendered by disarmament, and since peace cannot really be talked about unless the economic and social conditions necessary for the development of peoples exist, we were particularly interested in the possible holding of a disarmament conference which could be a proper framework for the substantial progress which we all desire.

34. Regionally speaking, and within the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, my delegation considers that it is highly desirable, for peoples whose geographical proximity dictates understanding and dialogue, to establish as soon as possible a fruitful co-operation transcending temporary barriers and obstacles. In this respect the Spanish Government has repeatedly stated that it supports the idea of holding a European conference on security and co-operation, which could lay the foundations for a European regional system of security that would provide the proper framework for ensuring peace in the old continent. This conference would help to promote more intensive co-operation and more dynamic relations among all European States, thus strengthening the links between countries which, by reason of their geography, are designed by nature to achieve understanding.

35. But if international co-operation and the institutionalization of regional links are indispensable for the

strengthening of international security the final responsibility lies with the States themselves. We shall make no progress in our task of creating and maintaining true peace as long as there are States which refuse to accept the rules deriving from the functioning of these institutions and persist in maintaining unjust situations which carry in them the seeds of discord and war. Among these situations there is none so grave as the occupation of territories conquered by force of arms and held in violation of the Charter and the ethical and juridical principles which should govern relations among peoples.

36. Peace is one and indivisible and will always be threatened as long as such situations exist anywhere, for the maintenance of peace cannot be based on anything but the scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of all States. Neither political reasons nor strategic expediencies—still less expansionist ambitions or old imperial nostalgias—can ever justify what is nothing but an attempt to violate the principles of the Charter, whose fundamental basis is respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

37. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United States, Rear Admiral Shepard, who so far has been known as a navigator as well as a peaceful conqueror of space. We are all happy to recall his trip to the moon.

38. Mr. SHEPARD (United States of America): Mr. Chairman, my delegation congratulates you and your colleagues, Ambassador Ramphul and Mr. Migliuolo, on your elections to the leadership of the First Committee.

39. My delegation also notes with pleasure the continuing dedication of the Under-Secretary-General and of the Secretary of the Committee.

40. I have done a number of exciting, challenging and satisfying things during my short life, and my appointment to the delegation of the United States for the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly is also a challenging and exciting experience to me. I look forward, along with the members of my delegation, to working with other delegations in this Assembly toward the solution of our mutual problems.

41. Early this year I had the good fortune to view our earth from a distance of 240,000 miles—that is about 400,000 kilometers. When one is standing on the surface of the moon, in the midst of such rugged, ancient and splendid terrain, many impressions are formed in the mind. The voices of dissent throughout this world do not penetrate the total quiet of that beautiful and peaceful place. And when one turns his gaze toward the earth, two things are immediately apparent. One is struck by the smallness of our planet, with the very fragile existence it maintains in comparison with the vastness of space and the cosmos.

42. After one notes the very small, relative size of the earth, a second observation comes to mind. It is impossible—totally impossible—to see the very neat boundaries and the different colours of the nations that exist on every map of the world. One cannot see the artificial lines separating provinces, States and nations. Only land masses

and oceans are apparent from that distance. One cannot see the difference between black people and white; yellow and brown are indistinguishable.

43. The lesson to me is obvious. We on this very fragile planet have to coexist peacefully. We have no choice. Every attempt to promote international security must be made, and it must be made in a spirit of understanding and friendliness and with mature restraint. And let me emphasize the word "restraint". It is in this spirit that my country reaffirms our support of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] as an ideal towards which we all must strive—inside and outside the framework of our beloved United Nations.

44. In a recent report to the American people on United States foreign policy, President Nixon said that the major task for the world community was the preservation of world peace. To be durable, this peace must be accompanied by a full measure of security and justice. My delegation therefore welcomes wholeheartedly concrete measures to strengthen international security, and we are prepared to join with other Members in taking constructive measures under the agenda items of specific nature before this Assembly and its committees.

45. Surely the establishment of peace with security and justice depends upon the actions and commitments of all nations, no matter how large or how small, no matter what the status of their military, economic or moral power. It is not always the major Powers which are the cause of tensions in the world today. Political instability and armed conflict can arise anywhere. It follows that the job of making and maintaining peace is a collective as well as an individual responsibility for all to pursue in accordance with the purposes and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

46. Members of this Committee are well aware, I am sure, of the major steps being taken by my country to strengthen international security. You are all aware of President Nixon's forthcoming visits to Peking and Moscow. You know of our patient efforts to reach agreement on limiting offensive and defensive strategic armaments, of our efforts to promote a lasting peace in the Middle East and of the measures we have taken and will continue to take to end the conflict in South-East Asia, withdraw our forces and reach a negotiated settlement that will contribute to the peace and security of the peoples in that region.

47. Speaking of troop withdrawal, I should like to give you an example. Let us suppose you, Sir, and I in the delegates' lounge get into a heated debate of some kind, whatever the purpose, where we end up toe to toe swinging wildly at each other and all of a sudden you decide, for whatever reason, to end the fight. Is it wise for you to drop your arms and back away while I am still swinging wildly for your chin? Would it be wise for me to do the same? No, Sir, our withdrawal cannot be traumatic. It must be gradual. Our record of troop withdrawals from Viet-Nam we feel speaks for itself: since the present Administration took office over 300,000 troops have been withdrawn, leaving only 200,000 and the withdrawals are continuing. Let me assure you that the withdrawals are continuing on a scheduled basis.

48. And for a further cogent analysis of aggression in that region I would refer you to the remarks made before this Committee by the representative of the Khmer Republic regarding the invasion of his country by outside forces.

49. In a jovial aside, speaking of problems, I have over the years always had a problem in spelling the word "Czechoslovakia". Sometimes the letters do not always quite go in the same place. I want to thank my colleagues from the friendly socialist republics for their recent help in clarifying my mind on the matter of Czechoslovakia.

50. While mentioning specific problems, I might add that we have noted the concern expressed here over the decision of the United States to conduct an underground test on Amchitka Island. This happens to be only one of a number of continuing atomic tests that are occurring throughout the world, as we all know. We understand the attitude of the representative of Canada [*1809th meeting*] and the others that have expressed themselves with regard to this matter. The President has studied with his experts all possible safeguards to ensure zero contamination from this test. We—together, I trust, with our Canadian friends and I am sure with others—look forward to the day when the testing of advanced weapons no longer will be necessary. And we note with pleasure the draft resolution submitted only this morning by my good friend and colleague of a short few weeks, the representative of Saudi Arabia. His draft resolution is being considered now by my delegation. And we thank him, for his interest. We are also prepared to work with all members of this Committee here or in other conferences as appropriate towards achieving that vital goal.

51. I am acutely aware of the lack of levity in this Committee and have been painfully aware of it on many occasions in the past few days. I do not want at this moment to appear frivolous, but I am reminded of a story which I feel is pertinent to our deliberations. It seems that just the other day a very attractive young lady walked into a New York department store. She went up to the clerk to purchase some material for a negligée. She was slim and trim and after having picked out some very fine material she said to the clerk "I should like to purchase 10 metres of this material". The clerk said "Madam, you are short, you are trim and you need perhaps only one or one and a half metres to cover the whole job". She said "I realise that, but my husband is a scientist". "A man of science?" said the clerk. "Yes, he does not want to find anything, he just wants to look for it."

52. The point I should like to make is that contrary to the scientist this Committee needs to look no further. I think it has found a sound basis for action. I am referring, of course, to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security of the twenty-fifth session which represents an amalgamation of the common as well as the varied interests of the many regions, cultures, and political ideologies represented in the United Nations.

53. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security solemnly reaffirms the "universal and unconditional validity of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations". The United States urges all Member States of the United Nations to join us in rededicating ourselves to the principles and the spirit embodied in this

Charter by undertaking specific initiatives in the appropriate United Nations Committees with the thought that this will lead to tangible progress on the specific issues enumerated in the Declaration.

54. In these discussions we often find reference to the lack of progress towards peace throughout the world since the adoption of last year's Declaration. No country is more impatient for peace than my own. In that spirit, I would suggest that we look to see how the cause of international security can be strengthened at this session by constructive action on items already on our agenda. The agenda of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly offers us many opportunities to implement the goals contained in the Declaration.

55. We in this Committee will consider several disarmament questions, including the question of chemical and bacteriological weapons. We will also take up related questions of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the peaceful exploration of space—a subject very dear to my heart.

56. The Special Political Committee will review the entire question of peace-keeping operations, an issue of paramount importance if the United Nations is to be able to respond collectively to threats to the peace. We hope that other Governments will join us in a renewed attempt to reach agreement on all aspects of peace-keeping guidelines, including principles of appropriate and equitable financing.

57. The problem of *apartheid* will be taken up in the Special Political Committee and the question of racial discrimination is being considered now under several items in the Third Committee. The question of refugees, of which we are so painfully aware both as a humanitarian problem and as a threat to the peace in South Asia and the Middle East, will be discussed. The deep concern of the United States over the plight of these refugees and our efforts to assist in ameliorating their problems is well known.

58. Other important items before the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly come to mind: the problem of eliminating the economic gap between developed and developing countries; questions of colonization and dependent Territories as well as the specific question of Namibia. All these matters have a real bearing on human needs and human rights, and thus on security among nations.

59. The United States pledges itself to work constructively with other delegations on these issues facing us in the General Assembly. The Security Council, the specialized agencies and other United Nations organs also deal with items on which we pledge our support. We believe, however, that the United Nations should concentrate its efforts where they can bear fruit—on the items on the agenda that can produce workable decisions and not more words and bad jokes. Accordingly, we support the idea expressed by our friend, the representative of the United Kingdom, and the others that we expect share his point of view, that we conclude our discussion by reaffirming the Declaration worked out so arduously at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and by devoting ourselves to taking constructive action on the important items on the agenda of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

60. And in conclusion, may I ask us all once again to put ourselves vicariously on the moon, transport ourselves 400,000 kilometres away. Let us together view our total, fragile and beautiful planet, earth. Let us all continue our efforts towards peaceful coexistence with positive acts governed by mature restraint.

61. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, there is no need for me to tell you how pleased I am to see you directing the arduous work of this Committee for you know how highly I esteem your experience, wisdom and knowledge. I only wish to ask you to convey my congratulations to the distinguished Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur and all other officers of the Committee.

62. I understand that this is not the very best position for a speaker to be in, finding himself speaking immediately after an astronaut because, as the representative of the United States of America said, he has had the good fortune to see the world from that moon which was so abused by the romantic poets and whose exploration is costing the world so much today. Before concluding he told us that we should all try to visualize ourselves on the moon. I shall take this suggestion of the representative of the United States of America, the distinguished astronaut, to say that he saw us as a small vessel in space, a small object floating in space, and that he reflected on how it was that, on this small ship in space called earth, men could fight for frontiers and for their ambitions and try to destroy each other.

63. That is a very wise and well-taken observation, but the fact is that man has sketched out frontiers and has armed the hand of one against another. Man has sketched out frontiers and sent military aid to very remote areas of the world to wreak destruction and death, in matters not of vital importance to the country sending out those weapons.

64. The obvious fact that man is the only animal which destroys its own environment, that poisons it, we know from studying all the so-called problems of the human environment. This is the sad and dramatic fact that we have to face and view not from the moon but from the surface of the earth where we encounter disasters, wars, fratricidal slaughters, the constant poisoning of the atmosphere and the destruction of man's environment.

65. So I hope you will allow me to speak not from the lofty heights of the moon but rather from this lowly vantage point of the earth.

66. It has been said that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly was intended for an examination of conscience and also to consider proposals for amendments. It was, in fact, the sometimes harsh appraisal of the errors of the past and the sometimes naive expression of hopes for the future. We wanted to draw up the balance sheet of errors and a listing of new proposals. The result of that frame of mind was the various declarations produced. Some of them did not attain the heights expected of them. After many years of study, discussion and erudite disquisitions it was to be expected that certain committees might achieve much more positive results because some thought, as in the Roman fable, that the mountain had trembled and laboured

in order to bring forth a ridiculous mouse, the little mouse which is the result of the mountain's birth pangs.

67. But there is one point at which discussion has barely commenced and yet we have agreed that the work, although imperfect, has achieved the possible goals and I refer to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which appears as resolution 2734 (XXV) adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1970. It will be recalled that this item had been inscribed at the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, contained in a letter to the Secretary-General dated 19 September 1969 which was discussed during that year with passion and severity.

68. Seldom has greater interest been aroused concerning an item and it was justified since international security is the life-blood of the Charter. Four different drafts, some with points of agreement but with great divergences, were submitted for consideration by the Assembly. The first, in chronological order, was the one which bore the symbol A/C.1/L.513, sponsored by various socialist countries and submitted on 25 September last year. As almost an antidote, on the same day another draft was submitted which bore the symbol A/C.1/L.514 and was sponsored by some Powers which, geographically speaking, would be difficult to describe as Western but bespoke the common alignment of countries which have a political and economic system based on the power of capitalist industry.

69. It was natural that in view of this violent confrontation of views the States of Latin America, which have a long tradition of law and a mature culture developed over 400 years of history, should wish to extract the essence of its principles and the glory of its traditions in a draft which was drawn up on the basis of a working document presented by Brazil with the participation of all the members of the group.

70. Another group of States with a long-standing cultural tradition and well-defined principles, the non-aligned group, submitted a fresh draft—with many ideological similarities when compared with the Latin American draft—which bore the symbol A/C.1/L.518.

71. With wisdom and good sense the then Chairman of this First Committee, Mr. Andrés Aguilar, of Venezuela, decided to appoint a broad working group made up of the sponsors of the draft resolutions. The working group, in turn, chose a small drafting group made up of two members of each of the groups of sponsors.

72. I must mention, Mr. Chairman, that you, with your great experience and wisdom, were one of the active participants in the discussions of that small working group and that the distinguished Rapporteur of this Committee, Mr. Giovanni Migliuolo, was also a very intelligent collaborator. I had the honour of participating in the work of this group in the company of one of the most enlightened Latin American diplomats who combines sagacity with wisdom, a speedy grasp of subject-matter with a deep knowledge of problems, our former colleague, João de Araújo Castro, who is today Ambassador in Washington.

73. In the 16 sessions of the General Assembly that I have attended and in the 11 years that I have, without

interruption, had the honour of representing my country in the United Nations, I have never had the occasion to participate in work of greater interest, I would say of such healthy inspiration, and at the same time fraught with so many apparently insurmountable difficulties. But the Declaration was approved, and today we are considering the potentials of its application.

74. I have ventured to make these remarks to show that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the implementation of which is being considered today, is not the reflection of the viewpoint of a country or a single ideological group or a regional sector, but, rather, it is the synthesis of principles, a balancing of opposing views, a sound and honourable compromise between divergent principles. And this is what imbues the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security with its outstanding merit, which is comparable only to that of resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization and resolution 2131 (XX) on non-intervention, a resolution in whose drafting the Latin American group participated so actively.

75. Even the most cursory examination of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security shows that, quite rightly, the United Nations Charter was considered as constituting an indivisible whole and that that being so, compliance with it is a binding legal obligation for all States. It also shows that the Charter, although it is a multilateral treaty imposing obligations, is a flexible instrument for the achievement of international peace and security which is its true purpose. The Charter forms an indivisible whole, and the proclamation of the Preamble that the peoples of the United Nations will try to save mankind from the scourge of war, and the purposes and principles enunciated in Charter I are directed primarily at the strengthening of international security as a means for achieving universal peace.

76. It is not possible to separate the forces likely to weaken security from those likely to disturb the peace. We cannot, for example, divorce the interrelationship of economic development from peace, because the peace that the United Nations wants to see for the peoples of the earth is not the peace of fiefdom in which powerful masters can divide territories into zones of influence and impose their will on them. Rather, it is a creative peace, an active peace based on co-operation not only in the field of international politics, but particularly in the area of economic development. For a peace with hunger, poverty and oppression is a peace of slaves and not a peace of free peoples. Nor can there be international security so long as there remains the injustice of discrimination in any of its forms and manifestations, be they racial, religious, political or based on any other concept. Nor can there be security for the maintenance of peace if there are not full safeguards for the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, the right of each people to provide itself with its own form of government, the assurance that weaker nations cannot be subjected to economic pressures to meet the political intentions of the more developed countries. An abominable form of economic aggression is that of using trade or economic threats, or other types of pressures accompanied by retaliation to achieve the political, trade or economic purposes of the great Powers.

77. The Charter guarantees security and peace to all States, whether Members or not. Therefore it was necessary to strengthen all of the organs entrusted with the study and solution of disputes, without trying to centralize them in one single omnipotent body in which there are five permanent members with the right to the veto, but rather by sharing them out, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter, with the supreme power which is the General Assembly. But at the same time serious concern has been felt over strengthening the Security Council and providing it with the effective means to discharge its primary responsibility; that is, the maintenance of international peace and security.

78. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, together with the need for peaceful settlement of disputes, provides for the condemnation of territorial occupation by force. Ever since, in 1928, with the Briand-Kellogg Pact, war was condemned as a means of creating, cancelling or altering rights, there has taken place an evolution which culminated in the United Nations Charter and which declares that aggression is a crime punishable under Chapter VII of the Charter which authorizes the adopting of not only economic but also military measures, in the case of violations of peace.

79. My delegation considers that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is something in the nature of a progressive development of the principles, a spelling out of concepts, a suggestion to vitalize them and make them practical and effective. That is why we consider the report on the implementation of the Declaration requested of the Secretary-General in paragraph 27 to be important, and we consider that that report should be kept up to date periodically so that the Assembly can appraise the progress made in the implementation of this Declaration. But in my delegation's opinion it would not be appropriate to select a few of these principles in order to draw attention to them. We do not detract from the importance of—rather, we attach the greatest interest to—the maintenance of peace, to the condemnation of sinful wars in which the most brutal methods of mass destruction have been used, but if we were to reduce the resolution to that one point, we would be distorting the organic sense, the harmonious unity of the Declaration.

80. We are not optimistic about the world in which we live. We do not believe like Pangloss, the optimistic character created by Voltaire, that we live in the best of all possible worlds. We are not closing our eyes to the injustices of racial discrimination, above all in the brutal form in which it is applied throughout South Africa, and religious discrimination which is leading to bloodshed in other parts of the world that claim to be liberal and civilized. We cannot close our eyes to the most ruthless methods still used to wage base wars. We are deeply interested in the consolidation of peace in regions of the world destined to be unified and to understand each other, but which are divided today by violence and hatred.

81. We believe, however, that to offset these facts we can draw attention to the continued positive action in the area of universality. On behalf of my delegation I have repeatedly stated that universality has a twofold merit. On the one hand it is the right of every State to participate in the

international community. That is why we cast our vote in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. But there is another aspect of universality which must be complied with, and that is that peoples still subject to colonial domination should achieve a full measure of self-government. This year we have received four new Members, which spells progress towards our universality, and so we offer them a cordial welcome.

82. However, the road ahead is long, the difficulties great and the targets remote. But when we remember that the United Nations started only as a sort of club of the Powers that won the war, for even the expression "the United Nations" was understood originally to mean those nations which together won the war; when we witnessed the tremendous battle between 1950 and 1955 for the admission of countries that were on the sidelines; when since then, after a courageous struggle, we have seen new States emerge which raised the number of the 51 original members to the 131 which we have today, then we have good reason to feel that history is not made in a day but that we must fight for what is right with energy, with perseverance and with courage. We shall support any draft resolution which does not reflect one-sided viewpoints but is a confirmation of the successes obtained in the previous Declaration, and which requests that we be periodically informed of the application of the principles contained in the aforesaid Declaration.

83. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): The Committee has before it a draft resolution submitted and explained by the representative of Saudi Arabia and contained in document A/C.1/L.567. The representative of Saudi Arabia would like to take the floor in order to introduce an addition to his draft resolution.

84. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): It was brought to my attention by one of my colleagues that some delegations might consider the draft resolution I introduced at the last meeting as being applicable to the item on disarmament rather than on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. I submit that all these items in the First Committee are interdependent, interconnected and cognate, not only in form but in substance. But in order to resolve the difficulty of those who may argue that this draft resolution should be submitted in connexion with the disarmament item, I have linked it to the item under discussion by inserting an appropriate paragraph. The phraseology I have used is logical, pertinent and, I must say, irrevocably linked to the substance of the draft resolution which I submitted this morning. I should like to insert the following clause as the first preambular paragraph, and I will read it very slowly because some of my colleagues may possibly want to refer this draft resolution to their Governments tonight in order to receive instructions thereon. The first preambular paragraph reads as follows:

"Noting that one of the first steps for the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is to dissipate world-wide fears that nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction may be used by miscalculation in what could appear a desperate situation".

85. To bolster my argument, I would refer my colleagues to what we hear about "hot lines" being stretched between certain capitals of big Powers. The situation must have been desperate at one time or another — and I will not mention incidents or situations lest we go into detail and digress into a debate which is extraneous to the item.

86. Let it suffice to say that there must have been a cardinal reason for those "hot lines". And I think that perhaps the nuclear Powers will have to arrange for a multilateral network of "hot lines" now that the Government of the People's Republic of China will be seated amongst us; or, to use a more technical term, will assume its rightful place in this Organization. In other words, how is this "hot line" going to function between the five or six capitals of the nuclear Powers? That is some problem, and people are not sure that the "hot line" will be the answer to ensure international security.

87. Let us suppose that two of those nuclear Powers are in connivance—I think there are now seven nuclear Powers, maybe five; I do not know, they are increasing—how will the "hot line" or "lines" operate? Let us scotch the head of the serpent in the United Nations by a timely resolution so as to remove the preconditions for peace and security and not have someone pushed into miscalculation in any desperate situation.

88. I listened very carefully to that astronaut gentleman amongst us, Admiral Shepard. What he said indeed injected a fresh breath into the staid atmosphere of this Committee; he whiffed some clean air by his words. But I want to take issue with him about that lady who visited the department store—and let him listen very carefully. The analogy may suit him but it does not suit everybody—although I am sure it suits the lady in question.

89. The slim and trim lady to whom he referred who had gone to the department store and ordered 10 metres of sheer material, instead of two metres, to drape her beautiful figure may have been so slim and thin-blooded that, indeed, she needed fivefold the material to warm her body. As for her scientist husband—we should not forget the husband—I believe that he, being a scientist, must probably be absorbed after he leaves his office with abstract theories and hypotheses. She needed so many yards to drape her body in because she thought that by putting so many yards

around her beautiful body she could tantalize her scientist husband and make him warm up and forget his scientific theories and hypotheses while he was undraping her or she was undraping herself.

90. I am with that lady—if her husband is really absorbed in his theory. That is what I am afraid of: instead of the scientist husband, it is the big Powers that are absorbed in devising new weapons—and mankind is not the slim and trim lady. I am afraid that before that slim, prim and trim lady is undraped the politicians may miscalculate and not be attracted by the lady, we will have an explosion and the poor lady not only will languish but will be blown up with us.

91. I think it was not a frivolous anecdote, but something that really occurs. Ladies buy more yards than they need—out of greed sometimes. But we cannot afford to have reams of resolutions before the nuclear Powers become sensible and stop those experiments which are no longer necessary. In order to dissipate the fears of people everywhere we should take every step under any item to make sure that such experiments are stopped.

92. Mr. SPÁČIL (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): I can take pride in the fact that the name of Czechoslovakia was mentioned by such a famous man as Mr. Shepard, who is respected for his feat on the moon by the whole world, including the people of Czechoslovakia and, of course, myself.

93. However, I did not quite understand why he has such difficulties with the spelling of the name of my country. The Czechoslovak delegation is prepared to help Admiral Shepard to clear up this matter so that it will be perfectly clear that Czechoslovakia denotes a socialist country which, thanks to fraternal assistance from its allies — the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries — and together with them, can continue to implement the programme of socialist construction in our country and that, as we have said in our statements, it is prepared to co-operate with the other socialist countries and the other peace-loving countries in order to achieve peace and security. On this point we hope that you will understand us, Admiral Shepard.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.