

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



**FIRST COMMITTEE, 1856th
MEETING**

Friday, 17 December 1971,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 34 (*continued*)*

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security: report of the Secretary-General
(A/8431 and Add.1-5, A/C.1/1015 and 1019, A/C.1/
L.566, 567, 573/Rev.2, 577 and 604)**

1. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to submit to the Committee draft resolution A/C.1/L.604, which is sponsored by 52 States. This draft is the result of negotiations carried out among the 21 States of Latin America that are sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.573/Rev.2 and the States members of the non-aligned group which are sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.577.

2. It was not easy to come to an agreement, but the common will to find generally acceptable formulae, and the spirit of compromise which constantly prevailed in the course of the negotiations, enabled us to overcome the difficulties involved in reconciling the different approaches and views which do not always coincide on the need or appropriateness of giving emphasis to certain principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and on the relative importance of some of the measures for bringing about its full and effective implementation. This agreement reflects above all the interest, which is not and cannot be passing or temporary, of the small and medium Powers in the fundamental questions of international peace and security.

3. We are not unaware of what is going on about us. We are not so naive as to believe that a resolution such as the one we are proposing is the miraculous remedy for the disputes and other dangerous situations threatening peace and international security which, unfortunately, exist in the world today; but we are convinced that silence, no matter how eloquent it may be at times, is not the best course to follow in times such as these. On the contrary, today more than ever before it is essential to restate our faith in the purposes and principles of the Organization and redouble our efforts to build an international community which can ensure true and stable peace on earth.

4. The text that we are submitting today for the consideration of this Committee is, of course, the result of a compromise which was achieved, as is the case with all compromises, through the granting of mutual concessions. It differs, however, in its contents, in the order of the arrangement of the preamble and the operative part and in the drafting of some of its provisions as compared with the texts that were originally submitted, but we are pleased to say that the text retains the fundamental elements which, in the opinion of many delegations, should appear in the Assembly's resolution on this item.

5. Without going into any concrete considerations, in the preamble reference is made in general terms to the positive and negative aspects of the international situation. On the one hand, the General Assembly takes note with satisfaction that some positive results have been achieved, leading to the strengthening of international peace and security through negotiations and co-operation among States, and expresses its conviction that bilateral and regional efforts towards achieving international security should be strictly in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations and should be complemented by collective measures adopted by competent organs of the United Nations. Moreover, the Assembly expresses its deep concern at the persistence of armed conflicts and other situations resulting therefrom, which threaten international peace and security.

6. We thought it appropriate and advisable to restate forthwith our conviction that the United Nations, as is proposed in the Charter, should serve as the centre for harmonizing actions of nations and that, despite its limitations, it bears the responsibility for promoting through all its main and subsidiary organs full respect for the preamble and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Indeed, although this conviction is generally shared, we are concerned at the trend to leave the Organization aside in the consideration of questions which affect the entire international community.

7. We attach particular importance to the affirmation contained in the seventh paragraph of the preamble that the Declaration constitutes an organic whole and should be implemented in its entirety, making full use of the United Nations machinery and capabilities, including that provided for in Chapters VI and VII of the Charter, and the dispatch of special missions by the Security Council. If we make specific reference to Chapters VI and VII of the Charter, it is because these Chapters refer, as is well known, to the peaceful settlement of disputes and action in cases of threats to the peace, breach of the peace or acts of aggression and, therefore, are particularly relevant in the context of this resolution, which deals with the implementation of the Declaration. For the same reason we make

* Resumed from the 1835th meeting.

reference in specific terms to the dispatch of special missions by the Security Council.

8. One of the wisest decisions was to include in the Declaration the question of strengthening international security through disarmament, development, independence, human rights, the fundamental freedoms, the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and in particular the criminal policy of *apartheid*, and the ending of the colonial system.

9. Faithful to this over-all view of the problem, the draft sets forth in the eighth preambular paragraph its conviction that the lack of essential progress in the solving of issues in these various areas is a constant source of tension and a threat to the security of nations. While some progress has been made in respect of development, disarmament, human rights and the fight against colonialism, in truth during this year there has not been substantial progress made in any of these directions. Suffice it to say that at this session, for the first time, the General Assembly has had before it an effective disarmament measure and that little has been done through the efforts of the Organization to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism and to uproot the cancer of *apartheid*.

10. In the tenth preambular paragraph, where we set forth the idea that the full implementation of universality in the United Nations in accordance with the Charter would increase its effectiveness in the strengthening of international peace and security, we repeat in very similar terms what in this connexion is contained in the Declaration in operative paragraph 24.

11. I shall now make a brief explanation of the scope of the operative paragraphs of this text. Some of these paragraphs are designed simply to reaffirm principles and provisions contained in the Charter, in the Declaration or in other texts of the United Nations that have received the unanimous or quasi-unanimous support of Member States. Such is the case with the first three operative paragraphs, where we urge or call upon all States to respect and take effective measures to apply these principles and provisions. Other operative paragraphs draw attention to the essential role played by specific factors in the strengthening of international security, and in this category fall paragraphs 4, 8 and 9.

12. Paragraph 4 brings out the essential factors in the strengthening of international security, the termination of coercive acts which deprive people of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions concerning colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, and the elimination of serious and systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

13. In paragraph 8, there is a development of the ideas contained in the Declaration, in particular the interrelationship between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and development, which is so felicitously set forth in paragraph 19 of the Declaration. In this paragraph, as all certainly recall, the General Assembly affirmed "its belief that there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the

economic development of countries, so that any progress made towards any of these objectives will constitute progress towards all of them".

14. In view of this relationship, it is proposed that the United Nations should elaborate a concept of collective economic security which will enable us to promote development and the continued expansion of national economies. This is an idea which is at the seed stage now, and it could lead to a veritable system, that is, in the purest sense of that word, a group of interconnected rules and principles on a given theme.

15. In this same paragraph—and in others related to this question—we affirm that a substantial portion of the savings derived from measures in the field of disarmament should be devoted to promoting economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries.

16. Paragraph 9, finally, takes up the concern of many States over measures and pressures directed against any State to prevent it from exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources. Those pressures, if carried out, could, as the draft states, constitute a flagrant violation of the principles of self-determination and a threat to international peace and security. The text of this paragraph, which needs no further explanation, reproduces the formula adopted at the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 held at Lima from 25 October to 7 November of this year.

17. Other operative paragraphs contain recommendations directed towards making the work of the United Nations more effective in its fundamental tasks of preserving and maintaining peace. Operative paragraph 5 invites the Security Council to consider all appropriate means and procedures for ensuring the strict and full implementation of its resolutions relating to international peace and security. Paragraph 6 emphasizes the importance of a broad review of all aspects of the concept of peace-keeping operations in order to determine, in accordance with the Charter, appropriate guidelines for its application and to establish appropriate and effective machinery capable of restoring peace. Paragraph 7 brings out the need for an early agreement on a definition of aggression. Paragraph 10 invites all Member States, in particular the more developed countries, to adopt all appropriate measures to normalize the financial situation of the United Nations and to provide it with the means of effectively achieving its goals.

18. Finally, operative paragraphs 11 and 12 contain procedural provisions designed to achieve the purposes set forth in the ninth paragraph of the preamble. Operative paragraph 11 requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session a report on measures adopted in pursuance of the Declaration, and operative paragraph 12 calls on the General Assembly to decide to include the item in the provisional agenda of the twenty-seventh session.

19. We are convinced that the General Assembly—and more specifically this Committee, which is entrusted with the responsibility for considering political and security questions—should review this matter in order to assess progress in the implementation of the Declaration and to provide guidance for the future.

20. Our hope is that this draft, which reflects a broad spectrum of opinion, will receive the approval of all, or at least the vast majority, of the members of the Committee. We do believe, and we know full well, that the question before us is of interest to all and that the political weight and influence of decisions taken in this sphere depend in large measure on the support that they receive.

21. Like all human undertakings, the text we are submitting is subject to improvement and we are prepared, of course, to hear and consider with the greatest respect the observations and comments that members of the Committee may wish to make.

22. The presentation of this draft does not imply the withdrawal of those contained in documents A/C.1/L.573/Rev.2 and 577. Of course, we hope that the compromise text which we have submitted today will be considered as a matter of priority and we believe that, if it is adopted, the sponsors of those drafts will not press for a vote on them.

23. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform the Committee that the delegation of the Philippines has indicated that it wishes to be added as a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604.

24. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): I should like to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Aguilar of Venezuela for the very able manner in which he presented the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604. It is not necessary to state that the members of the non-aligned group have been working hard during the last few weeks, together with the members of the Latin American group, to try to come up with a text which would receive the broadest possible support in this Committee and which would reflect the widest possible feeling of the various Members of the United Nations. In this regard I should like to express the gratitude of my delegation to the non-aligned countries—to the delegations of Algeria, Syria, India, Senegal, Yugoslavia, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and, of course, my own delegation—which spent many hours in consultation, debate and compromise to arrive at the text of the draft resolution which was just presented so ably by Ambassador Aguilar. The non-aligned group has always expressed a willingness to work constructively and seriously with all groups in the United Nations that are truly interested in implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was adopted at the twenty-fifth session. The non-aligned group has been motivated by its very strong belief and conviction that what is needed at this session of the General Assembly is not another declaration, because we already have one, but a resolution which will put us on the road towards implementing that important Declaration.

25. The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604 contains a number of very important elements. Equally, it does not contain a number of important provisions that involve the non-aligned group and in particular the Latin American group, provisions which they would like to have incorporated in the draft. We have had to accept the principle of give and take in the interests of arriving at agreement which will enable us to make progress in the field of implementing this important Declaration.

26. We realize that the draft as it stands will not satisfy all the various members of the First Committee. It is important to point out that not only the members of the non-aligned group but also the members of the Latin American group are not entirely satisfied by it.

27. The text of the non-aligned countries [A/C.1/L.577] has been in circulation since 10 November, which is over a month ago, and what we have been trying to do during the last month and several days is to get together with all the interested groups, to try and harmonize our views in order to present the Committee with a joint text that will create the minimum of difficulties for all delegations, representing various shades of political opinion. We in the non-aligned group believe that whereas we are still willing to consider whatever constructive suggestions other delegations might have aimed at improving the text—and I must emphasize that we are only concerned about measures that are intended to improve the text considerably—as a general principle we have gone as far as any group can to try and accommodate the various shades of political opinion that I mentioned earlier.

28. During the last three years we have used the method of trying to co-operate with all other regional groups in a joint effort to arrive at some kind of general consensus that would reflect the opinion of a large majority of the members in the First Committee, particularly on the subject of strengthening international security. The experience we have gathered during the last two years has, regrettably, been an unhappy one in the sense that it has taken us a lot of time to try and reach agreement. It will be up to the non-aligned group, of course, to decide next year whether it wishes to continue this method of operation.

29. As far as this year goes, we have been willing, ready and able to make the concessions we thought necessary in the interest of strengthening international peace and security in the world and in the interest of giving the Organization a certain degree of respectability, a certain sense of urgency in solving some of the outstanding problems that continue to bother mankind. We have co-operated in the joint endeavour, trying to give the United Nations a new sense of vitality, a new sense of vigour, a new sense of willingness to try and work together in a common endeavour to promote peace and security in the world.

30. The most important parts of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604 have been very ably explained by the representative of Venezuela. He has pointed out some of the important principles that are worth re-emphasizing in the preamble. He has also very rightly pin-pointed some of the important operative paragraphs that need to be underlined and which, if adopted, would go a long way towards implementing the Declaration that was adopted, with such an overwhelming number of supporters, during the twenty-fifth session.

31. It is therefore the hope of the Zambian delegation and of the non-aligned countries in whose name I have the honour to speak that the draft resolution that has just been presented will provide the Committee with an opportunity to make progress in the implementation of the Declaration and with an opportunity to reach unanimous agreement. It

is thus in this spirit that the non-aligned countries are going to view any attempts by any countries or groups of countries to discuss further changes that they might wish to include in the text as it stands. We are going to co-operate, as we have done before, towards reaching agreement on those measures that are intended to improve the present text rather than to detract from or weaken it.

32. Therefore I join my colleague in appealing to all the members of the group to study the new draft resolution carefully and, hopefully, to adopt it unanimously when it is put to a vote. As the Ambassador of Venezuela has said, this does not in any way imply automatic withdrawal of the original draft resolution that was submitted by the non-aligned countries, contained in document A/C.1/L.577, or the one, indeed, submitted by the Latin American group [A/C.1/L.573/Rev.2], because after this draft resolution has been considered by all the various countries it will be possible for us to tell what measure of agreement we will be able to reach. We hope that there will be no need to put the draft resolution which was introduced by the non-aligned countries and is contained in document A/C.1/L.577 to a vote—if the new text is found to be acceptable to a large majority of countries.

33. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I should like to advise the Committee that Malta wishes to be added to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604.

34. Mr. ATTARD KINGSWELL (Malta): Many speakers before me have dealt in an exhaustive way with the issues raised by the item now before us, concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and I shall therefore confine myself to some specific remarks concerning the position of my Government in this matter.

35. Malta welcomed the Declaration that was ironed out last year in this Committee. We are firmly convinced that the effective observance by all States of the programme of measures laid down in the Declaration will contribute enormously to the normalization of the world situation. If we were among those countries which did not reply to the Secretary-General's invitation last year to provide information on the steps taken by Governments in pursuance of the Declaration, it was not because we did not attach the utmost importance to the Declaration, but because it is well known, and needs no stressing, that Malta's record and its policies have always been based on the principles of the Charter and are in full consonance with the Declaration.

36. This policy was reaffirmed recently in my statement to the General Assembly on 13 October, during the general debate, when I said:

"...I welcome this opportunity solemnly to reaffirm Malta's unswerving adherence to the Charter of the United Nations. It is in this spirit that we endorsed the important declarations adopted last year: the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In its relations with other countries, Malta seeks to put these

principles into practice. Our policy is to promote friendly and mutually beneficial relationships with all and hostility towards none. In that part of the world where we are situated, in the Mediterranean, we enjoy close and friendly relations with our neighbours, and it is our firm desire further to cement those friendships.

"We visualize the Mediterranean as a zone of peace and we earnestly look forward to the day when such a prospect can become a reality, when all foreign forces alien to that sea would have been withdrawn in peace and foreign intervention in the area would become a thing of the past...". [1965th plenary meeting, paras. 97 and 98.]

37. I would here repeat that if in the meantime my country continues to make available to other Powers the use of its facilities for defence purposes, it must clearly be understood that this is solely intended for defence and security purposes and never under any circumstances for offensive action against anyone.

38. Furthermore, my Government remains dedicated to the goal of making Malta a centre for peace and international co-operation in a peaceful Mediterranean. To do this, however, the necessary economic foundations must first be properly laid. It is in order to achieve this task above all that my Government continues to make certain defence facilities available in return for an adequate rental.

39. Firmly convinced of the timeliness and significance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, coming as it did at the beginning of a decade devoted to the twin goals of disarmament and development, we believe that the attention of the United Nations and of the world must continue to be focused on the subject of the Declaration, and progress towards its goals examined every year. It is in that spirit that Malta has decided to sponsor the new draft resolution, submitted by Afghanistan and other States, contained in document A/C.1/L.604. In our view, that draft resolution not only has the merit of emphasizing the basic ingredients of the formula for peace outlined in the Declaration but also commendably spells out in more detail some of the fundamental principles on which the strengthening of international security has to be based.

40. We also attach importance to the link between the attainment of universal peace and security and regional efforts by groups of States to reduce sources of friction and promote co-operation in their respective regions of the world. In that context my Government is determined to play its full part with regard to efforts currently under consideration aimed at the reduction of tensions in Europe and the Mediterranean. As a small country which has bitter experiences of two world wars, Malta welcomes the recent agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, on the other, as well as the four-Power Agreement on Berlin, which pave the way towards the realization of the long-heralded conference on European security and co-operation. We are also gratified to note the growing support for such a conference.

41. As was stated by my Prime Minister during his recent visit to a number of East European countries, my Govern-

ment believes that with the present balance of forces in Europe the time is now ripe for all-round discussions on European security and peaceful co-operation. Naturally, there must be careful and studied preparations before a full-scale conference is convened, in order to guarantee as much as possible a successful outcome. At the same time, however, my Government feels that this historic opportunity must not be lost through over-cautious approaches and unfounded diffidence.

42. To be successful, a European security conference must aim at meaningful disarmament on a substantial scale. Such a bold gesture would convincingly demonstrate that Europe, which has in living memory bequeathed to the world the legacy of two devastating global wars, is determined to play its full part in reshaping the peaceful world of the future. Substantial disarmament in Europe, mutual and balanced, would not only diminish the possibility of armed conflict but also release vast resources for economic development.

43. My Government's commitment to disarmament and security, built on mutual confidence and co-operation, not on fear, is firmly rooted in principle. It is not prompted by prospects of sharing in increased economic hand-outs. Nevertheless, I should be less than frank if I did not here and now express my Government's conviction that the participants in a conference on European security and co-operation would not fail to give adequate consideration to the exceptional circumstances of Malta.

44. My country has been burdened with an economy which for centuries has been distorted and mis-shaped by powerful European masters to suit their transient military needs. Such has been the bitter legacy of our history and of our geographic situation. In recognition of the genuine efforts being made by my Government to transform Malta from a fortress to a haven of peace—and in this connexion I would mention again the removal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Headquarters at the request of the Government of Malta—it would be no more than belated justice to accord recognition to the unique problems of Malta in considering the allocation of resources freed as a result of the reduction of armaments and forces in Europe. Such recognition would be no more than a fitting counterpart to the economic and peace-oriented contribution which Malta itself is anxious to make and which is represented by our readiness to renounce the exploitation of our strategic position for badly-needed foreign exchange.

45. Only thus would it be possible for the Maltese people to develop their natural talents and to improve their living standards in full conditions of peace, without the necessity to continue to sell military facilities.

46. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): We have studied with utmost care the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604. We are aware that this text was reached after a very long and exhaustive debate and very long and profound consultations with many delegations—in fact, with the majority of our Committee. We appreciate the efforts made by the members of the Committee who conducted all those consultations, especially the efforts made by Ambassador Mwaanga of Zambia and Ambassador Aguilar of Venezuela, but also those of all the other

members of the working group who took part in these extensive consultations.

47. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.566, I wish to make a very brief statement.

48. We find that the text and the provisions of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604, in substance and in its intentions, constitute a very forward-looking document and a very positive step indeed in the direction of strengthening international security. We have consulted the sponsors of that draft resolution on different provisions contained in the text. We have indicated that we have some difficulties in connexion with some of its provisions, notably—and I wish to mention only one of them—in connexion with operative paragraph 8. We think that the content and the wording of that paragraph are not quite in consonance. The content is entirely clear, and we have no problem with the content itself. We believe, however, that the text in its formulation and in the present conditions prevailing in the whole world is not concrete and could not be thoroughly examined and substantiated. Our delegations therefore think that there is serious doubt about the applicability of that paragraph and that is why we have some reservations regarding this problem.

49. We are convinced that our future efforts, in more favourable conditions, may produce a solution to the problem which this paragraph was intended to deal with and the World Disarmament Conference would be an especially appropriate place for this question to be thoroughly examined.

50. Taking into consideration all aspects, however, the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.566 do not wish to put an obstacle in the way of the compromise text contained in document A/C.1/L.604 and would not press their draft resolution to the vote if draft resolution A/C.1/L.604 were submitted to the vote with priority.

51. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I had gathered the impression from what I had been informed that there was a desire to suspend this meeting for about 20 minutes to allow for consultations among the sponsors of the draft resolutions which are now before us. However, the representative of Hungary, a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.566, has just told us that its sponsors would not press it to a vote, so perhaps we could continue.

52. The suggestion has been made to give priority to draft resolution A/C.1/L.604, introduced this morning, after which we could decide whether or not to proceed to the vote on the other draft resolutions. Are there any comments?

53. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): I would earnestly suggest a suspension of the meeting for just a very short time to permit us to consult with representatives of other countries and regional groups with the aim of reaching a consensus or an overwhelming majority on the draft resolution, so ably presented this morning by our colleagues from Venezuela and Zambia.

54. We know very well that the problem of international security is so important in the deliberations in this

Committee that it was the first item to be taken up, and now it is the last one to be disposed of by the Committee. This is another indication of how important this problem is and of how many consultations were needed among all the sponsors of the different draft resolutions to arrive at an agreed text. Since we have waited a rather long time for these fruitful consultations to be completed, I do not see any harm in waiting just a bit longer while we make one last effort to see what other countries or regional groups may suggest and to arrive at a definite decision to adopt this joint draft resolution, which is sponsored by the impressive number of 54 countries, with still more that have already expressed their wish to join the sponsors.

55. My suggestion therefore is that this meeting be suspended for a short while so that we may have an opportunity to hold such consultations.

56. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The purpose of my statement is to support fully the point just raised by the representative of Yugoslavia. In addition to what he has said, I would venture to suggest that perhaps it might be appropriate to provide more time for these consultations. If it would be possible to adjourn this morning's meeting, this afternoon we might be able to come back to the Committee and submit the result of those negotiations. I think that 15 or 20 minutes or half an hour would not be sufficient for the consultations, and that we should be realistic. It would be worth while, for the accommodation of all members of the Committee, to adjourn this meeting now and resume our consideration of this item at the meeting scheduled for this afternoon.

57. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): I merely wanted to add to the statement of the representative of Yugoslavia what the representative of Venezuela has just said, but for another reason.

58. So far, my delegation has not been able to study a French version of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604, and this poses a fundamental difficulty for my delegation. I do not think that if we had only 15 minutes for consultations that would be sufficient, and my delegation would not be able to take full part in the consideration of the draft until it had had more time to study the French version of the text, which I think is about to be distributed.

59. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): I wish to make clear what I said earlier—that we do not wish to raise any objection to the draft resolution, and are ready to support it in its present form. I only made some remarks regarding one of its operative paragraphs. For our part, however, we do not think there is any need for prolonged consultations.

60. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): Certainly everybody should have an opportunity to look at the text but this does not seem to have been the case. I have not yet seen the French text.

61. However, there have now been certain suggestions, not for a suspension but for an adjournment until this afternoon. Are there any objections?

62. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Although I do of course

see the justification for the proposal that we suspend the meeting for half an hour or until 3 p.m., we understood that the draft submitted today had been prepared as a result of the widest possible consultation and submitted only after those consultations had been carried out. Therefore, as one of the sponsors of the draft of the eight socialist States, I fully agree with the proposal made by the representative of Hungary that we should not press draft resolution A/C.1/L.566 to the vote and that we should give priority to the draft submitted today.

63. This, of course, was said with reference to the text as it was submitted. Naturally, if any changes are made in that text, a new situation will arise and we shall reconsider the matter.

64. In addition, we should like to say that, if there are changes in the text and a new text is submitted, we should realize that in all probability we would not be able to vote today because if there are any changes or additions, we shall all need to clear the text with our Governments and we should obviously be voting on Saturday. We must take this into account.

65. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia): The Liberian delegation is very much in sympathy with the suggestion made by the representative of New Zealand and others who wish to have a suspension of the meeting or a postponement to this afternoon, but, while we feel that this should be done, we do not wholly subscribe to the reasons given for it.

66. The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604, is a merger of two draft resolutions which have been worked out in detail by two groups, the Latin American group and the non-aligned group. Even the representative of Yugoslavia is a member of the non-aligned group, and some of the French-speaking delegations, which apparently do not now have the text before them, are members of the non-aligned group and they have selected representatives to work this out in detail. Now that we have agreed—the non-aligned and Latin American delegations—to produce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.604 to our satisfaction, the socialist group has agreed to withdraw its draft resolution in favour of that draft. I think this should really assuage any displeasure that others may have. Let us proceed to a vote now. If we suspend the meeting now and attempt to work out another resolution, we may not be able to vote on this question perhaps before Sunday. As a representative of the socialist group has said, if any suspension results in changing the wording of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.604 the group will reconsider its position on the draft resolution. I plead with all members, particularly the members of the non-aligned and Latin American groups, especially in view of the fact that the socialist group has come to the aid of the draft resolution not to try to delay action on this now but to proceed to the vote and settle the matter at once. I am pleading with the members of the French-speaking group and members of the non-aligned group. Upper Volta and others are members of the non-aligned group, and our representatives have worked this out for us. We have seen the results and are fully informed about them. Dilatory tactics will not help us now. So I plead with those representatives and all representatives here, whether they are members of the non-aligned group, of the socialist

group or of the Latin American group, to concede the point and allow the vote to be taken now without further delay.

67. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil): I really do not see any reason why we should not give one more hour to the negotiating groups to try to settle some difficulties that we know exist with regard to some minor points in this draft resolution. I would recall our experience last year, when negotiations had taken place among all the representative regional groups. It is true that, in drafting the draft resolution now before us, the Latin American group and the non-aligned group might have had consultations with other regional groups, but not with all of them as we should have liked. It is a reasonable possibility that this draft resolution could be approved by consensus. Why press for a vote and gain one hour when we could perfectly well give the French-speaking delegations time to read the texts that have been circulated only this morning? Is one hour too much to allow us to try to reach a consensus? Should we try to have a vote and place some delegations in the position of having to abstain because they could not present their views as they would have liked in an hour's time? That is the point I want to present to the Committee. I do not think we should press this only to gain an hour.

68. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): I merely wish to confirm what the representative of Upper Volta said. The French text of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604 was just distributed to us. It is the first text of this draft in French that we have seen. The French delegation would like to have some time to study the wording of this text.

69. Mr. OZGUR (Cyprus): My delegation is in full agreement with the views expressed by the representative of Liberia. In addition, we believe that we are entitled to know before we adjourn, if an adjournment takes place, what difficulties exist on the new compromise text and where such difficulties come from.

70. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): I have followed the trend of thought in the Committee on the question of whether or not there should be an adjournment for consultations. I pointed out in my earlier intervention that we had spent five weeks, five long and difficult weeks, trying to work out a compromise text, which we have just presented to the Committee today. I am aware also that this draft resolution, which was given to the Secretariat yesterday, was available in all the official working languages, including the French language, by last night. I pointed out also that, although the non-aligned countries have always been willing to enter into negotiations with other groups that are genuinely interested in finding ways and means of implementing the Declaration adopted last year, this Committee has been debating the subject of the strengthening of international security for some weeks now, and all the interested delegations and the interested groups have had an opportunity during these several weeks to present ideas concerning what they would like the Committee to do in order to try to implement the Declaration. When this matter was discussed in the non-aligned group a few days ago, when we considered the compromise text, it was on the clear understanding that, should there be any change in the text, we should have to go back to the non-aligned group to seek a new mandate on whether or not we should agree to the draft resolution.

71. Therefore, while we are willing and ready to allow time for consultations, and we agree that time should be allowed, we wish to make it known that if there are any substantive changes, or any changes at all, made to the text, we would have to go back to the non-aligned group and seek a mandate. There is no guarantee that the amendments which would be agreed upon by the working group would be accepted by the non-aligned group.

72. We have discussed this problem for a long time and I think all of us are anxious to conclude the discussion on this particular matter. A number of groups which had been following the developments in respect of this matter presented ideas in the form of draft resolutions which we were able to study. They were at least aware that there was a working group from the non-aligned group and from the Latin American group which had been working to produce a compromise text. If the idea of these consultations is to introduce substantive amendments or amendments which are likely substantially to alter the meaning and spirit of the compromise draft resolution which was presented this morning, then I regret that we may be faced with some further delays, because we would have to go to the non-aligned group to seek a new mandate on any new text which is to be agreed upon.

73. With this in mind, I am in favour of allowing time for consultations to take place. I think that it is in the interests of the Committee to give an opportunity to other members who feel they have some constructive suggestions to put forward which could very well improve the text. Perhaps that could be done during the next hour. I agree to that procedure only on the understanding I have outlined.

74. Mr. DIALLO (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): I shall be very brief because the previous speaker said most of what I wanted to say. This draft resolution was subjected to very exhaustive discussion when it was considered in the group of non-aligned countries. Any fundamental change or even a change in wording would require new consultations by the group. Taking into account the amount of time left, that would certainly prolong our session. However, I think we could agree to the first suggestion, in other words, to suspend the meeting for half an hour to see whether through consultations those delegations which were not consulted could make a contribution which would improve—and I insist on the word improve—the text, and not merely change it, in order to reach a general consensus. The French-speaking delegations, which have just received the text in French, could use the half hour to peruse the text. Perhaps after the half hour we could return and vote on the draft resolution, as the representatives of Liberia and the Soviet Union have suggested.

75. Therefore, the Republic of Guinea would like to support the first proposal which was made by the representative of Yugoslavia, namely, to suspend the meeting for half a hour and then to vote on the draft resolution.

76. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia): I am sorry to have to speak again. The statement just made by the representative of Guinea has made my task very easy. I merely wish to add one point, namely, that the vote in this Committee is not the final vote on the draft resolution. Since, as has been said, we want a consensus, and some members may

have to abstain from voting, those who have not read the French text would have an opportunity to present their suggestions at the plenary meeting. We should not now, because of their discomfiture, delay the vote. I am inclined to agree with the representative of Guinea that we should suspend this meeting for a few minutes and return to vote on the draft resolution. Those who want to abstain from voting are at liberty to do so. That is their prerogative. Those who want to vote for it can vote for it. In that way this question would be able to be considered in the plenary meeting perhaps tomorrow or Monday.

77. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation finds itself in a very strange position. It was my impression that since the Latin American group and the non-aligned group agreed on the text, it was no longer possible to make any changes whatsoever and it was not even possible to comment on changing the text, which apparently is an agreed text. We have been told that the text was the result of consultations and discussions held during many weeks and that now that it has been presented to the Committee, it would really be difficult to introduce any changes because they would have to be reconsidered by the two groups.

78. My delegation did not want to go into these details. As a French-speaking delegation we work on the basis of French texts, although that is not our native language. I said, and I wish to repeat, that we have not had time to examine the text in French. I have seen the text in English, but not in French. My delegation will not press for a suspension or an adjournment of the meeting. However, I should like it to be included very clearly in the record that, in accordance with resolution 2734 (XXV), if we are required to vote now we shall not be able to participate in the vote.

79. Mr. FARHANG (Afghanistan): I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that the draft resolution is a compromise text: not the result of a single compromise, but the result of a series of compromises. On the one hand, there was a compromise among the individual member States of each group, and secondly there was a compromise between different groups. As a result, if we hold consultations on this text on an informal basis and amend it in any way, I am afraid that all those compromises may be upset, both between the groups and inside the groups. A new series of discussions may start, which would delay our work at this late hour of the General Assembly. That is why my delegation believes that all views that members would like to express on the text should be expressed in the Committee itself.

80. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I apologize to members for speaking again in this procedural debate. I am doing so simply to make an appeal to all the members of the Committee to follow in this case a very well-established tradition of the First Committee, namely, to try as far as possible in such matters which concern us all to come to a consensus, or at least to provide the opportunity to all members of the Committee to express their views and to vote with the full understanding of the text before them.

81. I believe—and this is what I stated in introducing the draft—that the political force and the importance of these

texts are directly linked to the support that is given by various delegations to these texts. My delegation, certainly like many other delegations which are sponsors of the draft resolution, is well aware of the fact that time is of the essence, that the time available to us is very limited, and that we certainly could not reopen an exercise of total revision of the text.

82. Obviously, substantive changes to the draft would endanger the fragile balance that we have achieved in this compromise text. But, at the same time, I believe it is only natural and appropriate that in the First Committee we should provide an opportunity to obtain certain concrete suggestions that have already in fact come in from other groups, that might be acceptable, and that would not entail any substantive amendments or changes.

83. I do not believe that all of this joint work that we have done in the First Committee is simply to adopt a draft resolution and thus wind up the work. What is at stake here, fundamentally, is to seek areas of agreement. Fundamentally, we are trying to attain a draft resolution that will reflect, in so far as possible, the whole spectrum of opinions that may exist concerning a matter such as this.

84. Therefore, I would ask that we suspend the meeting now and provide a reasonable, realistic period of time to consider any possible changes that may be designed to improve and enrich the text, and thus obtain the support of the vast majority, if not the entire membership, of the Committee. Thus, I would venture to press the fact that we would be showing a lack of understanding of reality if we were to suspend the meeting for 20 or 30 minutes. It would be preferable to adjourn the meeting at this juncture and to resume it this afternoon. The agenda, of course, does provide for two meetings today: the meeting at 3 p.m., and the meeting scheduled for tonight at 8 o'clock. Of course, if it were necessary, we could also have a meeting on Saturday. But, in any event, before any decision is taken, on behalf of the Latin American group, which has authorized me to make this statement, I would ask for a recess so that we may consult on the procedure to be followed.

85. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I should like to announce that Libya has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604.

86. We find ourselves in the following situation. A number of delegations have just informed me that they would like to explain their vote before the vote is taken. However, a suggestion for a suspension of the meeting was made by the representative of Yugoslavia. Then this was transformed into a suggestion for an adjournment of the meeting, to permit a more detailed consideration and to allow for the necessary explanations on the various parts of the text. We have now come to the point where we must take a decision on this question. However, two delegations have asked to speak on this point and I shall now call on them.

87. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I shall repeat what our delegation has already said. We have no objection to a short suspension but there is one point which our delegation does not fully understand and concerning which I should like to

ask you for clarification. As I understood it, the Ambassador of Venezuela proposed that there should be a suspension, apparently a long one, so that broad consultations could be carried out with a view to making individual amendments and improving the text. But this is a very subjective matter: one delegation might think that they were improvements while another might think that they worsened the text, and then we should need to continue the meeting.

88. The representative of Zambia—who, as we all know, is also one of the leaders in these consultative meetings of representatives of the non-aligned and Latin American countries—stated, in my opinion quite correctly, that if these consultations mentioned by the representative of Venezuela lead—I am repeating his words—to any changes at all in document A/C.1/L.604, which was submitted today, obviously it will be necessary to convene the group of non-aligned countries and the group of Latin American countries. It is quite clear that it will be necessary for other groups to meet also, and this will delay our work not for one day but for many, many days.

89. Mr. Mwaanga also rightly stressed that this agreed draft is the result of five weeks' work. And if this balance is destroyed, we shall obviously need much time, which we simply do not have now. It seems to me, therefore, that it would be better to have a short suspension. Of course, some delegations, particularly that of the Upper Volta and others, have not even had the possibility of studying the text, although during this present round of procedural debates they have probably had time to read the document five times. But we could now suspend the meeting to enable delegations to study the text and they could state their attitude to the draft either during explanations of vote or following some other procedure.

90. The Soviet delegation—I shall speak frankly—also has reservations with regard to this document; we should have liked to make amendments and have spoken about these amendments to the representatives of the working group. But we understand the difficulties and we shall therefore confine ourselves to stating our attitude towards the draft and making a few comments. Other delegations could do

likewise. But, if any changes are going to be made in the text, which some would consider improvements and others would consider worsen the text, then, as Mr. Mwaanga rightly said, there will have to a meeting of the non-aligned countries and a meeting of the Latin American countries on this question and, obviously, other groups will want to work out their positions.

91. I would therefore propose that there be a short suspension on the understanding expressed by Mr. Mwaanga. Delegations will study the text and will be able to express their views during the vote; they can either make a statement or decide to do something else. But we should not now have consultations in order to change the text. If there are consultations for that purpose, I shall tell you frankly that wittingly or unwittingly we shall be jeopardizing the adoption of an agreed and constructive text on this question.

92. Mr. BALLAH (Trinidad and Tobago): I was about to propose formally the adjournment of this morning's meeting. If the representative of the Soviet Union has in fact done that, then it is not necessary for me to do so now. I interpreted what he said as a proposal for adjourning the meeting or having a short recess.

93. If that interpretation is incorrect, then my delegation now wishes formally to move the adjournment of this morning's meeting.

94. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): We are now confronted with a formal motion for adjournment of the meeting, and there can be no discussion of such a motion.

The motion was adopted by 44 votes to 16, with 11 abstentions.

95. Before adjourning the meeting, I should also like to announce that Mauritius has become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.577 and 604.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.