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

**AGENDA ITEM 34 (concluded)**

**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, 1019; A/C.1/L.566, 567, 573, 577 and 604)**

1. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): The Committee will now continue its consideration of the draft resolutions on the strengthening of international security. Before calling on the first speaker I would announce that Romania has joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604.

2. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Immediately following the adjournment of this morning's meeting the group of negotiators of the non-aligned and Latin American countries met to examine suggestions made by some other delegations with regard to the text of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604, presented this morning by the delegations of Zambia and Venezuela on behalf of the sponsors.

3. After exchanging ideas on the various suggestions, the sponsors and negotiators decided they could accept the suggestions I shall soon read out and comment on briefly. Before presenting them individually I would observe that they constitute very slight modifications in drafting, the fundamental purpose of which is to improve the draft or to bring it into line with provisions of the Charter or the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and that none of the modifications entail any change in the substantive provisions of the draft.

4. In introducing these changes, which have been suggested by various delegations, at this late hour, we are demonstrating our goodwill and our readiness to listen to the various opinions advanced in the course of the debate and in recent days in order to obtain the support of the vast majority of members of the Committee and, if possible, unanimous acceptance of the draft.

5. The changes I am about to introduce are very simple and do not involve any substantive changes. We have not

thought it necessary to prepare a revision of the draft resolution or ask for a new document to be printed, because representatives can quite easily note these suggestions and the Committee can then proceed to examine the draft without further delay.

6. The first modification relates to the last line of the fourth preambular paragraph. The word "fulfilment" would be replaced by the word "implementation". I think this modification is self-explanatory, but I say once again that this language is more in keeping with the actual title of the item we are considering.

7. The next modification relates to the seventh preambular paragraph. It consists in replacing the words "making full use of" by "through the full use of". It is a stylistic change which in no way affects the sense of the paragraph.

8. In the tenth preambular paragraph we would replace the words "full implementation" by the word "achievement". The purpose of this change in language is to bring the text of the draft resolution into line with the relevant provisions of the Declaration, which uses this language in its paragraph 24.

9. The next change relates to operative paragraph 2. It would be to insert between the words "and" and "with" in the last part of the paragraph the words "in keeping". The purpose of this change is to differentiate between the Charter, which is of greater constitutional significance and constitutes our fundamental document, and the Declaration adopted last year. This modification establishes the difference and takes into account the comment made that in the original draft we placed the Charter and the Declaration on the same footing.

10. The next change relates to paragraph 3. It would replace the words "renounce the threat or use of force" by "refrain from the threat or use of force". Here again, the purpose of this change is the desire to bring into line, in so far as possible, the wording used in this draft resolution with the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration itself.

11. In paragraph 6 the words "preserving and" would be inserted between the words "of" and "restoring". This change is self-explanatory; it is not just a matter of taking measures for setting up effective and appropriate machinery for the restoration of peace—what we also need is something to preserve peace.

12. In paragraph 7 there is also a slight modification: the replacement of the last three words of the first line, "in order to assist", by the words "which would assist". The

explanation for this change is as follows. It is not just a matter of finding any definition of aggression, but of finding a definition which would actually help the United Nations in its fundamental task of maintaining international peace and security.

13. I think that the reading of these modifications entirely corroborates what I said initially, namely, it is a matter of purely formal, stylistic changes, the sole purpose of which is to improve the text of draft resolution A/C.1/L.604 or to bring the language used in that draft resolution more into line with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration.

14. We are sure that these changes which the negotiating group of the non-aligned and Latin American countries accepted will win the support of the sponsors of the draft resolution and will not give rise to any difficulties for the other delegations that had announced their support for the draft resolution as presented this morning. We therefore hope that this draft resolution, revised in this way, can be adopted unanimously or at least by an overwhelming majority vote of the members of the Committee.

15. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): Now that the Committee has heard the slight changes which have been proposed and which do not affect the substance of what is stated in the draft resolution, the delegations that wish to explain their votes will be given an opportunity to speak.

16. Mr. CORADIN (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has followed very closely the discussion which has taken place in the First Committee on item 34 of the agenda, concerning the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We have fully grasped the spirit of the statements made by the members of the Committee and we see that the world is still seeking new initiatives to eliminate the threat of war, to strengthen peace and security, to bring about disarmament and to promote the economic and social progress of mankind. All these are aspirations which previously were enshrined in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session in resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970.

17. The praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations to strengthen international peace and security in pursuance of paragraph 27 of the Declaration and the fortunate results attained incline my delegation to believe that, in the implementation of the main goals which are advocated in it, this document expresses the will of the Member States to guide the United Nations towards the realization of the aims and principles of the Charter.

18. In this connexion the Government of Haiti considers that any attempt to bring about co-operation and *détente* within the international community is essential to world equilibrium. Furthermore, we believe that it is impossible to draw up an active and coherent peace policy if no formula of understanding can be found by the Organization to reduce tensions in South-East Asia and in the Near East and if efforts to bring about general and complete disarmament remain vain.

19. The Haitian Government considers that there will be no important contribution to the strengthening of peace and security throughout the world if there are still peoples that cannot enjoy the right of self-determination, until the inhuman policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination have been abolished and until the implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2131 (XX) has been ensured.

20. This is the main burden of the message which the Chief of the Haitian State, Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, addressed to the peoples of the world on United Nations Day and from which I should like to quote the following passages:

“Despite the pessimism, unfortunately justified in certain circumstances, the Organization is pursuing its destinies and is strengthening its moral credit. Peoples whose liberty and sovereignty are threatened find it an often effective bulwark. Reference to the fundamental principles of the Charter, particularly the right of peoples freely to decide their own destinies, the categorical condemnation of war and the renunciation of the threats or use of force have almost always led to felicitous results within the international community. . . .

“If the world’s most authoritative voices are frequently raised to condemn the policy of discrimination of South Africa and Rhodesia based on alleged racial superiority which is contrary to all the facts of modern science, and if these same voices regularly condemn the senseless, economically sterile and morally degrading arms race and the concomitant threat to peace, there is one question where unanimity has been achieved: the essential problem of our age, and the most dramatic, remains that of under-development. All agree on its implications for the peace of the world and the fact that it weighs on the conscience of men, whatever be their colour or race. It is a major problem which can be solved only through the strengthening of social solidarity making itself strongly felt in the political sphere, and characterizing the role of the State, that of national institutions in any particular territory, and then in the effective implementation of social solidarity which should exist among the individuals who make up mankind as a whole and the various States comprising the international community.”

21. These are the general ideas which led the delegation of Haiti to join in sponsoring the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.604. It is the ambition of this draft resolution to put on a practical basis all the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, contained in resolution 2734 (XXV), together with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It advocates effective international control and the strengthening of a political system of collective security, together with the creation of a system of collective economic security, to favour the development and expansion of national economies. Allying the strengthening of international security with universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the elimination of all forms and manifestations of colonialism, this draft underlines the moral obligation of the Organization to use all means at its disposal to give those peoples that are suffering racial discrimination and that are not yet liberated from colonialism a worthier and more human place in the community of nations. It considers the urgency

of undertaking a detailed study of all aspects of the maintenance of peace, and it proposes that whenever the peace of the world is in peril the Security Council, in view of its extraordinary powers, should give priority to any problem concerning peace and thus ensure by prompt and effective action the full implementation of the resolutions on international peace and security. Finally, the draft resolution considers it essential to have a report from the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session regarding developments in international security, in accordance with resolution 2734 (XXV), and on measures which have been taken in implementation of the Declaration.

22. This is a summary of the operative part of the draft resolution with which my delegation is very pleased to associate itself and which, if it is adopted by this Committee and by the General Assembly, will be an effective instrument for strengthening international security. My delegation takes this opportunity of reiterating Haiti's dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter and its belief that the United Nations represents for the international community the ultimate hope for peace and security.

23. Mr. HEARN (Canada): The Canadian delegation has always taken the subject of the strengthening of international security with the utmost seriousness. During the three sessions of the General Assembly when that subject has been on the agenda, Canada has invariably taken an active part both in debates and in consultations in the constructive spirit in which we consider the matter deserves to be treated. We cannot but express a certain regret, however, that in the circumstances now prevailing in the world the first Committee should have embarked upon and persisted in the elaboration of a lengthy resolution when the contrast between what it must contain and what we know to be the state of affairs outside this building is bound to be not only egregious but painful.

24. We recognize the sentiment which the sponsors have expressed that in the present circumstances a reaffirmation of the principles of the Charter was more necessary than ever. But by the same token it is all the more necessary now that any document which is produced on the strengthening of international security should have the broadest possible support. We also acknowledge the efforts which the Latin American and non-aligned groups have made, and which they have described to us, to arrive at a text of general appeal.

25. We feel bound to point out, however, that although my delegation and many others of the Western group have been ready for several weeks to engage in consultations and have repeatedly made their readiness known to members of the other groups engaged in drafting, the necessary opportunity for thoroughgoing consultations and detailed negotiations did not arise until very late, until indeed the text contained in document A/C.1/L.604 was finally agreed between the two groups involved. As a result, no changes of fundamental importance to my delegation were possible. I hasten to add that we have been shown the greatest courtesy and consideration by the delegations, particularly those of Brazil, Venezuela and Yugoslavia, with which we have been in contact. They have acted in good faith and we

wish in no way to reproach them for the situation which has arisen.

26. We are moved to remark on this aspect of the matter not from any sense of pique but only because it was touched upon by certain speakers this morning. It seems to us somewhat inconsistent that some delegations, having emphasized their efforts at compromise, should appear to equate that term with understandings among certain groups only. The representative of Zambia has told us that only changes calculated to improve the draft would be entertained. As the representative of the Soviet Union has pointed out, improvement is a matter of political judgement. In effect we have been informed that only changes consonant with a particular political stance are acceptable. This is an unusual definition of compromise, especially in the light of the successful negotiations among all groups which took place on this item last year. No one group in the General Assembly would, I think, claim a monopoly of political wisdom. It is always possible to pass resolutions through a Committee by weight of numbers. In the judgement of the Canadian delegation, however, this item deserves more serious treatment.

27. In the light of those considerations the Canadian delegation finds itself obliged to abstain on draft resolution A/C.1/L.604. In doing so we have in mind the fundamental considerations already given full and balanced treatment in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, for which we were pleased to vote at the twenty-fifth session. We shall abstain on grounds of principle and without prejudice to our position on the merits of the draft resolution itself or on particular elements of it.

28. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): In my statement to the Committee on this item on 1 November last [*1814th meeting*], I emphasized the importance that my delegation attached to two aspects of the General Assembly's consideration of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

29. First, we consider that the Declaration adopted by the twenty-fifth session is an integral and indissoluble presentation of principles and ideals, which should be neither quoted nor acted upon selectively.

30. Secondly, we believe that no decision on an issue such as the strengthening of international security, which represents after all the principal objective of our Organization, should be taken with any less than the full support of the Members of the General Assembly.

31. In the view of my delegation, departure from these two points would have the effect of compromising the integrity of the Declaration we laboriously negotiated last year and weakening adherence to the concepts it enshrined. My delegation wishes to reiterate and place on record its faith in the continuing validity of the Declaration as a whole and its attachment to the spirit which resulted in the formulation and adoption of a consensus text by the Assembly last year.

32. Having said that, my delegation can only react with a certain regret, if not dismay, to the situation which now

confronts us. It had been the hope of my delegation that the interest which we and other Western countries had expressed in upholding both the principles in the Declaration and the means by which they were developed and concluded in an almost unanimously accepted document would have evoked a sympathetic and constructive response from those delegations or groups of delegations which thought it appropriate to conclude consideration of this item by adopting another substantive resolution. Unfortunately, however, contrary to the understanding expressed by the representative of the Soviet Union, it did not prove possible for us to enter into formal consultations with other drafting groups until some weeks after the suspension of our debate on the item. As a result, we are now faced with a 57-Power draft resolution into which my delegation for one has not had an opportunity of injecting its views.

33. We appreciate the action of the representatives of Brazil and Venezuela in asking for an adjournment this morning to allow for last-minute consultations in an effort to accommodate conflicting views. But it is clear that this effort has not really succeeded in meeting our fundamental requirements and thus, for the reasons that I have outlined, we will not be able to support this text. In taking this decision we would not wish our vote to be misconstrued as a lessening of our support for the principles in the Declaration or as a commentary or still less as an endorsement of the contents of the draft resolution. We have adopted this position on a matter of principle and our vote will be cast without prejudice to our eventual attitude on any of the substantive elements in the text at present before us.

34. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): My delegation listened with great interest to the representatives of Venezuela and Zambia this morning when they introduced the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604 which is a result of a merger between the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.573/Rev.2 and A/C.1/L.577. I should like to offer our deep appreciation to the sponsors of the draft resolutions for having been able to arrive at a compromise draft. My delegation has no intention of commenting on all of the pertinent and important provisions in the compromise draft resolution, but I should like to venture into two specific fields which are covered in it.

35. The third preambular paragraph refers to bilateral and regional efforts towards achieving international security which should be strictly in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. This in turn leads the General Assembly, in operative paragraph 2, to call upon all States to contribute towards resolving existing conflicts and situations likely to endanger international peace and security, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and with the Declaration. As many members in the Committee are aware, an important meeting took place recently at Kuala Lumpur among the Foreign Ministers of the Governments of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, which constitute the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). On 27 November an ASEAN declaration was signed by the five Governments, declaring that "neutralization of South East Asia is a desirable objective and that we should explore ways and means of bringing about its realization". [See A/C.1/1019.]

36. That declaration is motivated by the desire to bring about the relaxation of international tension and to achieve a lasting peace in South-east Asia. The regional efforts are also inspired by the worthy aims and objectives of the United Nations, in particular by the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, abstention from the threat or use of force, peaceful settlement of international disputes, equal rights and self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

37. The declaration also refers to the concept of peaceful coexistence as enunciated by the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955 as well as to the objective of the Bangkok Declaration which established the Association of South-East Asian Nations in 1967.

38. The member States of ASEAN are conscious, however, of the fact that such a declaration, establishing South-east Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers, cannot be implemented immediately, and it is desirable that other countries of South-east Asia should first be contacted and encouraged to associate themselves with the aspirations and objectives expressed in the ASEAN declaration. Needless to say, co-operation from the great Powers must also be sought. We are none the less convinced that the time is propitious to give effective expression to the deeply felt desire of the peoples of South-east Asia to ensure the condition of peace and stability indispensable to their independence and their economic and social well-being.

39. The representatives of five ASEAN countries are fully conscious that their declaration represents a move towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We have therefore jointly communicated the text of the declaration, together with that of the joint communiqué issued after the meeting in Kuala Lumpur, to the Secretary-General for the information of the Member States of the United Nations [*ibid.*].

40. I should like to read out part of the statement made by the leader of the Thai delegation at the closing of the ASEAN meeting at Kuala Lumpur on 27 November:

"Although the joint declaration on the peace, freedom and neutrality of South-East Asia may be a modest step in the right direction, it represents nevertheless in the eyes of observers a highly significant milestone in the history of the region. Undoubtedly this will have to be followed by many other landmarks if we want the road to lead us to a future of welfare and stability. We shall have to gain wider acceptance and support from other South-East Asian nations as well as from the major Powers. Many more painstaking efforts will have to be made to overcome obstacles and setbacks, but the beginning has already been made and I have the impression that none of us will want to look back until the ultimate goal is attained."

41. I should now like to refer to the fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution which expresses deep concern at the continuation of armed conflicts and crises and occupation of territories by force in different areas which threaten international peace and security. My delega-

tion is in agreement with the sentiments expressed therein and we believe that the great concern about the situation in their countries conveyed to the Committee by the representatives of the Khmer Republic [1807th meeting] and Laos [1827th meeting] in the course of the general debate is also reflected in this preambular paragraph.

42. My delegation also welcomes the inclusion of operative paragraph 8 concerning the intention of the United Nations to evolve a concept of collective economic security designed to promote the sustained development and expansion of national economies. The representative of Brazil has elaborated [1835th meeting] the basic ideas which lie behind his proposal. My delegation for one will give full consideration to his thesis. I should also like to express the hope of my delegation that the evolution of such a concept will prove to be an integral part of United Nations efforts to build peace and security in the world.

43. My delegation did not participate in the general debate under this item simply for two reasons. First, the delegation of Thailand took an active part both in the general debate and in the drafting of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security when the item was considered in the First Committee during the last session. So persistent have been our efforts in the framing of the Declaration in the course of the meetings of the drafting group and the final meetings in the Committee that the proposal of my delegation in a moderately revised form finds a permanent place in paragraph 13 of the Declaration. Secondly, since the adoption of the Declaration, my Government, represented by the Foreign Minister, has already had the opportunity to state the viewpoints of the Thai Government on this question in the general debate, at the 1946th plenary meeting. In his statement, my Foreign Minister dealt with many aspects of the matter which pertained to the various pertinent points in the Declaration. He expressed my Government's reaffirmation of the Charter principles, including that of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, and its policies on disarmament, economic and social development, and decolonization. In particular, he referred to the Thai proposal to which I have just drawn your attention.

44. Now that the People's Republic of China has entered the world scene and is assuming its place in all the deliberative organs of the United Nations, and particularly in the Security Council, the potential of the Security Council, especially of the collective group of five permanent members, to search for constructive solutions to the problems of peace and security in the world has been further enhanced. My delegation would like to express its fervent hope that the permanent members of the Security Council will place all of their weight and authority on the side of justice and peace in the world. It should be recalled that in his address before the Security Council on 27 September 1971 President Ould Daddah of Mauritania stated the following on behalf of the Heads of the States and Governments of the Organization of African Unity:

“It is the duty of the Security Council to assume its responsibilities without the least procrastination. But it is above all the permanent members of the Security Council—the United States of America, the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom”, and I should add,

parenthetically, the People's Republic of China, “on which Africa today calls to put an immediate end to the martyrdom of the Namibian people and, beyond Namibia, to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the explosive situation threatening not only the stability, dignity and progress of southern Africa, but international peace and security as well.

“We hope that this special responsibility will remain uppermost in the mind of each member of the Council throughout these decisive deliberations, and the conclusions of which, whatever they be, will mark a turning point in the life of the United Nations.”<sup>1</sup>

45. Such an earnest plea made on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, together with many other references directed at the Security Council, particularly the permanent members, should serve as an impetus to the Security Council to redouble its efforts to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Their determination to work towards this end is all the more necessary in view of the hostilities and the deteriorating situation on the Indian subcontinent.

46. Having said all that, I regret that I am constrained to add a few more thoughts on the subject. We of course recognize the constructive efforts on the part of a large number of delegations in working out the compromise draft resolution, but events in the past three weeks, both in the field and in the Security Council, have revised the attitude of my delegation to the exercise being conducted at present in the First Committee. In the statement I have just made I have attempted to emphasize the importance of the Security Council, a principal organ of the United Nations, which has had conferred on it by the United Nations Charter the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. I have also referred to the wish expressed from many quarters that the permanent members of the Security Council would intensify their efforts to discharge, in conformity with the Charter, their responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. After nearly two weeks of inaction in the Security Council the war in the India-Pakistan subcontinent has been deliberately allowed to continue, in total indifference to the tragedy unfolding on the subcontinent.

47. The fact that the Security Council has been prevented from carrying out its major obligation under the Charter and has regrettably and calculatedly failed to stop the war certainly brings no credit to the world Organization. The Council also failed to act on behalf of the United Nations membership as a whole when it was clear what the general membership wanted. The exercise in the Security Council in the last fortnight is proving to be an exercise in futility. It has become a farce, a great comedy on the world stage. And what are we doing here in the First Committee? If the Security Council, which is designated by the Charter as the body to maintain international peace and security, has not been able to perform its duty in accordance with the Charter, it is even more absurd and farcical that here, in the First Committee, we should use high-sounding words and talk and should want to pass a resolution on the imple-

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, 1583rd meeting, paras. 27 and 28.*

mentation—and I emphasize “implementation”—of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

48. We may be able to hide something from the international community but most of us here, if not all, must be laughing at ourselves for going through with this present exercise.

49. In view of what I have said, my delegation will not participate in the voting on any draft resolution on this item. We sincerely believe that any action on this item during the present session will put the Organization in an even more absurd position. There is already a serious crisis of confidence in the United Nations. Let us not fool ourselves by creating another illusion.

50. Mr. SUNDBERG (Sweden): The Swedish delegation has already taken part in the general debate on this agenda item, and it is not necessary for us to restate here our views on the important problem with which we are concerned at this time. We have also in many different forums stressed that the United Nations Charter already provides us all with a guide to the international behaviour of States. The problem, in other words, is not so much in formulation as in implementation and strict observance. It is against this general background that we are going to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, which was introduced so ably this morning by the Ambassadors of Zambia and Venezuela.

51. There are, however, certain points on which we have to enter our reservations, mainly because the wording used, we feel, is too sweeping and generalized. This applies to operative paragraph 8, in which terms are introduced which, however laudable the aims and purposes behind them may be, leave the field open to various interpretations. In principle, we find that declarations of this wide-ranging consequence require a quite particular attention in drafting. We, for our part, therefore, have to reserve our freedom of judgement in regard to the future application of this point.

52. Operative paragraph 9 deals with equally wide-ranging problems of great importance to international relations as well as to national development. We firmly support the basic principle on which that paragraph is based, namely, the sovereign rights of States freely to dispose of their natural resources in the interest of development and the welfare of the people. At the same time, we do find, however, that it might be rather sweeping and categorical to apply the characterizations in operative paragraph 9 to any measure in question, and we would have preferred a more precise language on this point. I should like to stress, however, that, sympathizing as we do with the general idea behind these two paragraphs, we would be able to vote for them if they were subjected to separate votes.

53. Finally, now that we are nearing the completion of our lengthy deliberations on this agenda item, we should like to address a special thanks to the sponsors for the quite considerable efforts that they have made in this matter.

54. Mr. SCHAUFLE (United States of America): The basic approach of the United States towards strengthening international peace and security was explained at some

length in our general debate statement on this topic [1812th meeting]. At that time, we expressed our belief that the United Nations should concentrate its efforts where they can bear fruit, on items on its agenda that can produce meaningful and workable decisions. This is all the more true, we feel, at the present time when our Organization is faced with a grave international crisis, as the representative of Thailand has just pointed out.

55. None the less, we voted for the Declaration last year, and this year we have participated along with others in the group of Western European and other countries in a careful analysis of all the draft resolutions submitted under this agenda item. Of course, the latest text was distributed just this morning. Consultations between the sponsors of this latest draft resolution and the group of Western European and other countries began only yesterday, despite our readiness more than two weeks ago to discuss seriously our views on the draft resolutions then submitted. My delegation has been and remains genuinely interested in attempting to work towards a consensus draft resolution on strengthening international security. We regret that, through no fault of our own or of the group of Western European and other countries, this simply has not been possible to date. As the representative of Zambia made clear this morning, it will not apparently be possible in the time available to us.

56. Therefore, my delegation will, on principle and without prejudice regarding the substance of particular paragraphs of this draft resolution, abstain from voting on the draft resolution.

57. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): During the general debate that was held in the Committee on item 34, my delegation made clear the principles that guided it in considering the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [1814th meeting]. Our representative said at that time that it was essential to preserve the unanimity that marked the adoption of the Declaration a year ago and emphasized the necessarily collective nature of security, the indivisible nature of peace. With that in mind, my delegation regrets that draft resolution A/C.1/L.604, which is to be put to the vote, tends, if not to add to the Declaration, at least to include in the concept of international security factors that in point of fact are open to dispute. That is true particularly of operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of the draft resolution regarding the economic policies of States. Undoubtedly, the Declaration is not an untouchable monument, a completely lifeless work. But it was the result of reciprocal concessions; it represents a balanced compromise, which was obtained with some difficulty and which should not be called into question unless on the basis of a broad consensus, without which no resolution on this matter can have any real authority.

58. Furthermore, our representative underlined the need to maintain a distinction between the principles directly involved in international security, and those that, however important they may be, are not, properly speaking, germane to it. The draft resolution does not seem to take sufficient account of this distinction and has led to the watering down of the concept of international security to which we were referring last month.

59. For those reasons my delegation would reaffirm its support for the Declaration that was signed last year and, while indicating its interest in a number of points made in the draft resolution, will abstain, regretfully, when it is voted upon.

60. Mr. ONKELINX (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): A year ago the Belgian delegation was closely associated with the consultations that led to the approval by the Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. At the time, we highly appreciated the spirit that prevailed in those consultations, which made it possible finally to reach a consensus on a text to which our Government, like all others for that matter, attaches considerable importance.

61. That is why I regret to announce today that the Belgian delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604.

62. From the very beginning of our session, many delegations made no secret of their doubts as to the need to prepare a new draft resolution concerning, like last year's Declaration, the strengthening of international security. Recently developments in Asia have only strengthened these doubts, and we will not conceal the fact that in the present circumstances we would have preferred, like other delegations, the Assembly to refrain from voting on a subject whose links with the Asian events to which I just referred are so close. Despite this reluctance, we always said that we were ready to negotiate with other groups in an effort to achieve a compromise on a text which would have won the approval of all, because we respected the thinking of the delegations which wanted to seek a new resolution adopted. I must also stress the close contacts that the spokesmen of the groups which sponsored the draft resolution sought to maintain with West European countries in recent days, which has enabled us to put to them the objections—which are rather serious, we must confess—that we have with regard to several paragraphs, particularly paragraphs 8 and 9, which deal with subjects the definition of which should be studied most scrupulously. Unfortunately, there was not enough time successfully to conclude negotiations, which Belgium, in spite of the difficulties of the undertaking, was ready to undertake in the spirit which prevailed in the talks last year that led to the adoption of the Declaration.

63. For all those reasons, relating both to substance and to circumstances, regretfully, I repeat, Belgium will be obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole and on any separate vote that may be requested on any paragraph. Our regret is particularly great because the vote which will no doubt take place shortly in the Committee is liable to shake, if not to destroy, the magnificent edifice we built together last year through the adoption of the Declaration.

64. Mr. van der KLAAUW (Netherlands): Some months ago, at the very beginning of our debate on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Netherlands made its position clear as regards this debate and the possibility of adopting a resolution. The Netherlands representative stated that he welcomed a debate on the implementation of last year's

Declaration. He said not only that such a debate should take place in this Committee, but also "that all the activities in which the United Nations is engaged during this session, as indeed at future sessions, whether in the General Assembly or in the various Councils or Committees, should be inspired by one thought and should have only one purpose: the strengthening of security and stability in the world in the broad sense of last year's Declaration—that is to say, the promotion of the well-being of the peoples of this earth". [*1804th meeting, para. 56.*]

65. While welcoming the general debate in the Committee, therefore, the Netherlands was of the opinion that there appeared to be no need for further resolutions on this subject at this stage. Last year's Declaration is, in our opinion, a comprehensive and well-balanced document that should be implemented in all its parts. A substantive resolution, unless it repeated all the elements of the Declaration, would be a selective one and could distort the careful balance of the Declaration.

66. Taking that position of principle, the Netherlands can therefore, at this stage, not agree to any substantive resolution. Only a procedural one would have been acceptable to my delegation. Consequently, my delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution that is now before us.

67. Mr. WILLIAMS (United Kingdom): In the debate on this item the United Kingdom delegation argued, as did a number of other delegations, that the Committee should not seek to adopt a full-scale substantive resolution on this subject this year. We and others, nevertheless, made it clear some time ago to those who were taking the lead in working towards such a draft that we were willing to enter into consultations with a view to ensuring that the draft was capable of obtaining the widest support. That was an objective which seemed to be shared on all sides.

68. We saw no value then, and see none now, in a resolution on a subject that has been interpreted to cover every aspect of international life and every aspect of the work of the United Nations if it does not command virtually unanimous support. We recognize that the sponsors of the draft resolution have worked hard amongst themselves to produce the draft that has been introduced, but we can only regret that they did not find it possible to take up our offer until yesterday. The difficulties which we and a number of other delegations share, the most important of which concern operative paragraphs 4, 5, 8 and 9, were then put to the representatives of the sponsors, together with a number of other suggestions and amendments.

69. The views of the United Kingdom on the subjects covered in the draft resolution are known; they remain the same and I shall not detail them today. I reserve the position of my delegation on all matters of substance dealt with in the draft.

70. The views which were put to the representatives of the sponsors yesterday, on behalf of a number of countries, were received with the greatest courtesy. We welcome the gesture that the Ambassador of Venezuela, on behalf of his collaborators, has made this afternoon in announcing

certain changes; many of these are helpful to my delegation, but, as the Ambassador of Venezuela has himself acknowledged, they do not touch the larger problems we raised yesterday. It is plain that the sponsors have not felt able to take our more substantial points into serious consideration. We are disappointed that the remarkable degree of consensus we achieved last year does not exist today. Last year's success has not been repeated.

71. My delegation will abstain on the draft resolution now before us.

72. Mr. MELLBIN (Denmark): Denmark will vote in favour of the draft resolution on the strengthening of international security. I wish to stress, however, that our positive vote will not imply that we associate ourselves with every single word or provision of that draft—for one thing because on various points it is ambiguous in scope and in concept. That is the case, for instance, in operative paragraphs 8 and 9. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the basic principles for the actions of Member States and of the United Nations are laid down in the Charter of our Organization, and that neither the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, nor the draft resolution now before us can change this state of affairs. The provisions of the Charter will always take precedence. It is therefore with satisfaction that we have taken note of the statement to the same effect by the Ambassador of Venezuela earlier in this meeting.

73. The crucial point really is that every single Member State should strive to promote international security in its handling in the United Nations and elsewhere of the many concrete problems whose sum decides the actual strength of international security. Therefore, our positive vote must be seen as expressing our support of efforts designed to create broad recognition in the international community of the fact that it is the responsibility of every country to conduct its international relations in a manner which is conducive to the strengthening of international security.

74. Considering the very character and the importance of the subject before us, it is evident that no effort should be spared to produce a resolution that would enjoy unanimous support among members. We regret that it has not been possible in this case. We hope that if and when the question of the strengthening of international security is again taken up by the General Assembly, its discussions will then lead to a unanimous recommendation by the Assembly.

75. Mr. STEWARD (South Africa): My delegation explained in the First Committee at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [*1797th meeting*] that, because of the inclusion of what subsequently became operative paragraph 23 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, it could not associate itself with the draft resolution as a whole and was obliged therefore to vote against it. We considered then and continue to consider the inclusion of that paragraph to be wholly unwarranted, unnecessary and a violation of the Charter provision on domestic jurisdiction. It is also, as we furthermore explained, based on ignorance or disregard of what we are attempting in all sincerity to achieve in South Africa.

76. To our regret, the sponsors of the draft resolution have not taken our comments last year into consideration. Since this draft not only reaffirms the Declaration and refers to its implementation in its entirety, but also repeats and enlarges upon the aspects of the Declaration which gave rise to our objections, we have no option but to dissociate ourselves from it. Moreover, some other paragraphs also give rise to reservations, this notwithstanding the fact that we have no difficulty with most of the Declaration and with its broad objectives.

77. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): Many speakers have expressed their appreciation of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.604, with the modifications thereto, and have stressed its importance in connexion with reducing international tensions and solving problems on which my delegation has already expressed its views in the general debate.

78. On behalf of the group of Eastern European countries, I would say that we have very carefully examined the amendments that have been introduced in order to meet the requirements and the views of certain other groups. Several speakers have raised the question whether these amendments improve the text or weaken it. I should like to emphasize that in the view of our delegations the text has kept its balance—and that is the main merit of these amendments—despite certain reservations which we made earlier and which several delegations have also voiced this afternoon.

79. We are of the opinion that in view of the present dangers of the international situation we should further strengthen efforts to consolidate international security, to make use of all available means to bring conflicting parties together and to resolve conflicts.

80. Since we consider the revised draft resolution to be a well-balanced document—despite some reservations we have already expressed—and led by the desire I have just stressed, we are ready to give it priority over our original draft resolution [*A/C.1/L.566*].

81. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): Since no other representatives wish to speak in explanation of vote, I now call on the representative of Brazil, who wishes to give certain clarifications.

82. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil): I apologize for speaking at the last moment before the vote, but I feel compelled to do so in view of the comments made by some delegations in their explanations of vote regarding their absence from the negotiating process on the draft resolution before us.

83. Most cordially I wish to stress that those delegations did not show what I would call a very active interest in participating in the negotiations conducted by the Latin American and non-aligned countries for more than a month following presentation of our respective draft resolutions. Not only did they refrain from presenting drafts on this item; some of those delegations also said in their statements in the general debate on this item that they were against adoption of any resolution at all. I must also emphasize that negotiations on the drafts were completed only two days ago, and then, despite the fact I just mentioned, I

personally took the initiative of calling on delegations representing other currents of opinion in order to establish consultations with them. As a result of those consultations, some changes were made in the draft, which in our opinion could perhaps accommodate many of the views expressed by the delegations which then—I repeat, then—showed interest in the negotiations. We regret we could not accommodate all their objections.

84. Those were the clarifications I deemed it opportune to make in order that the Committee might have a clear understanding of what in fact happened during the protracted process of negotiation. It has never been the intention of my delegation or, I am sure, of any of the sponsors of the draft resolution before us—I presume I can speak on their behalf—to exclude any group from the negotiations. On the contrary, it has always been and remains our intention to have the widest possible adherence to the text.

85. Since in the explanations of vote we have just heard no delegation mentioned a negative vote, I wonder if, in a final state of compromise, it would not be possible to have this draft resolution approved without putting it to a vote, since all the reservations made here will appear in the record. I think that, for the sake of the intentions that moved the Latin American and non-aligned States to present the draft, this could be considered. I also think it would be a very important political attitude.

86. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): If I have understood the clarifications just given, first, its sponsors have requested that priority be given to draft resolution A/C.1/L.604. Secondly, one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.566 has acceded to that request, and there is no opposition to it from the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.573/Rev.2 and 577. There is therefore no objection to priority being given to draft resolution A/C.1/L.604. The representative of Brazil has asked for that draft to be adopted by acclamation. Is there any objection to such a procedure?

87. A roll-call vote has been requested by the Australian delegation. We shall now proceed with the roll-call vote.

*A vote was taken by roll call.*

*Kenya, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica.

*Against:* South Africa.

*Abstaining:* Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 71 to 1 with 14 abstentions.*

88. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to say that if I had been present when the vote was taken I would have cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution just adopted.

89. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I have been reminded that there are still three draft resolutions before us. May I take it that the sponsors of those drafts will not press them to the vote, since they had yielded priority?

90. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): Inasmuch as the Committee has just adopted draft resolution A/C.1/L.604 as revised, the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.566 do not insist on their draft being put to the vote.

91. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to reiterate what I said at the end of my statement this morning. The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.573/Rev.2 do not insist that their draft be put to the vote.

92. Mr. SIYOLWE (Zambia): I should like to indicate that my delegation does not insist that its draft resolution, A/C.1/L.577, be put to the vote either.

93. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): It appears that the sponsors of the three draft resolutions do not insist that their drafts be put to the vote. I shall now call on those delegations wishing to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

94. Mr. YOSHIDA (Japan): My delegation abstained from the voting on the draft resolution for the following reasons. First of all, my delegation can hardly help but entertain some serious doubts as to the usefulness of having a new resolution singling out some of the provisions of last year's Declaration, which was a delicately-balanced compromise accommodating, as everybody knows, a large number of differing views on the strengthening of international security.

95. In the view of my delegation, singling out some of the provisions of that Declaration might even impair the spirit and value as well as the integrity of the Declaration itself, not to mention the fact that the whole exercise of elaborating a new draft requires a tremendous amount of time and effort. I should like to refer also to the fact that this kind of resolution, unless it is agreed upon unanimously, will fail to command universal respect, and unfortunately this is revealed by the vote that has just been taken.

96. I shall refrain from going into detail on the substance of the draft resolution, although my delegation wishes to

reserve its position on some of its provisions, especially operative paragraphs 8 and 9.

97. Having said that, my delegation wishes to make it quite clear that this position of ours by no means lessens the importance Japan attaches to the strengthening of international security, and that Japan is determined to be guided in its conduct in international affairs by the provisions of the Declaration, in full recognition of its merits and importance.

98. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to explain the motives by which it was guided in voting on the resolution. The discussion of the item on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has drawn to a close. As a result of the business-like and constructive discussion that took place at the meetings of the First Committee, and also during the fruitful consultations among delegations at which a draft resolution on this very important item that was acceptable to the members of the Committee was worked out, a document was prepared which, as has been borne out by the results of the vote, reflects the position of a broad range of delegations.

99. In the first place, the Soviet delegation would like to note the important fact that the resolution just adopted essentially reflects all the basic provisions of the draft resolution introduced by eight socialist countries in document A/C.1/L.566. The resolution as approved confirms some of the most important principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It emphasizes the need for effective measures to implement the Declaration in its entirety, and calls upon all States to contribute towards resolving existing conflicts and situations likely to endanger international peace and security, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in keeping with the Declaration.

100. In an extremely important provision, the draft resolution calls upon all States to refrain from the threat or use of force and to observe fully the principle that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in violation of the Charter and the principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the provision of the Declaration that refers to the need to desist from any forcible action which deprives peoples of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence is exceptionally relevant at the present time.

101. The other provisions of the draft resolution are also important. At the same time, the Soviet delegation wishes to draw the attention of members of the Committee to operative paragraph 8 and to make the following reservation with regard to it. The Soviet delegation understands this paragraph, and especially the second part of it, as a confirmation of the provision you will recall in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which affirms 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. As delegates will be aware, I have just quoted from paragraph 19 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

102. On this question, the Soviet delegation believes that the implementation of measures in the field of disarmament, especially general and complete disarmament including nuclear disarmament, would release funds and, it must be said, very considerable funds, which could be devoted to promoting the economic and social development of all countries, particularly the developing countries.

103. The First Committee has in the view of the Soviet delegation adopted a useful draft resolution on the substance of the item under discussion. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation wishes to note the positive contribution which the delegations of Zambia, Brazil, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and a number of other countries made towards its preparation. The text we have adopted is not a formal or procedural resolution of the type so persistently sought by some of the delegations which have spoken here, and which they have referred to yet again during today's discussions. It is perfectly clear to everyone that the attempt to curtail the broad and useful discussion of this extremely important matter at the current session of the General Assembly and to reduce all our work to the adoption at best of a formal, meaningless and empty resolution, which would merely confirm the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security we adopted last year, has met with failure. The whole course of the debate on the question of strengthening international security in our Committee, in which a great majority of delegations took part, has convincingly demonstrated that the States Members of the United Nations take a great and justified interest in this question and attach exceptionally great, priority importance to it. The keynote of the statements by the vast majority of the speakers on this subject was their recognition of the urgent necessity for concentrating the efforts of the United Nations and its individual Members on the actual implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. This was said very convincingly by many delegations, which, like the Soviet delegation, stressed that all States, large and small alike, stand to benefit from the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration, since this would in the final analysis advance the cause of peace throughout the world.

104. The Soviet delegation would like in conclusion to state that it sympathizes with the views expressed during the discussion concerning the importance of participation by all States, large, medium-sized and small, in the solution of major international problems which are of concern to all. The Soviet Union has always advocated enlisting the efforts of all peace-loving States in the drive to strengthen international peace and security. This is especially borne out by the initiative taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in proposing the convening of a general European conference at which all European States, without exception, could discuss and find solutions to the problems of European security and co-operation. It is also borne out by the Soviet Union's initiative on the question of convening a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States, which would make it possible to involve both large and small countries in solving this vitally

important contemporary problem. At the same time, during the discussion both at plenary meetings of the General Assembly and in the First Committee, the Soviet delegation has more than once stressed the fact that the Charter of the United Nations places particular responsibility for maintaining peace and undertaking practical action to maintain and strengthen international peace and security on the permanent members of the Security Council. Of course, this has nothing to do with claims by anyone to exclusive status or to particular privileges in international affairs, or with the absurd theory of two super-Powers, since the solution to the most important international problems must take into account the legitimate rights of, and be shared in by, all the countries concerned, whether they are large, medium-sized or small. It is precisely on this view that the Soviet Union has based, and continues to base, its international policy.

105. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the adoption of a draft resolution which, we feel sure, will make a useful contribution to the cause of strengthening international security and to the progressive implementation of the historic Declaration which we unanimously approved at the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

106. Mr. SILVA (Portugal): My delegation abstained in the voting on the draft resolution, as we did last year on the same question, and for the same reasons. My delegation has strong reservations regarding some provisions in this draft resolution, and other provisions are unacceptable to it, so we could not support it.

107. Mr. STANGHOLM (Norway): The Norwegian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution because we are in favour of the general ideas expressed in it. That having been said, my delegation is in some doubt as to the necessity or even the desirability of dealing with this question each year in our agenda, as foreshadowed in operative paragraph 12 of the draft resolution.

108. As far as the substance is concerned, my delegation has also some reservations with regard to operative paragraph 8 because we are in doubt with regard to its scope and implications. We have reservations also with regard to operative paragraph 9, because the word "any", before the words "measure or pressure", without further qualification seems to leave the paragraph open to too wide an interpretation.

109. Mr. ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, I should like to apologize to you and my colleagues for having been absent during the vote on the draft resolution, which my delegation and my country support totally, particularly because we are among the sponsors. I should like it to be placed on record that my delegation would have voted in favour of this draft resolution and that this should be noted in the verbatim record.

110. Mrs. DE LA MAZA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to state that I would have voted in favour of the draft resolution if I had been here during the vote, and I should like this to be placed on record.

111. Mr. FERRARI (Italy): I should like to apologize for the absence of my delegation during the vote on the draft resolution. Had my delegation been present, it would have abstained.

112. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): The requests of representatives wishing to place on record the way they would have voted will certainly be complied with.

#### *Completion of the Committee's work*

113. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): The First Committee has just concluded the consideration of all the items on its agenda as assigned to it by the General Assembly. If because of the functions which the Committee was good enough to entrust to me I have had occasion during the debates on the various items to appeal to delegations to work hard and make up for any delay which may have occurred in our work, I am particularly pleased to be able therefore to thank you all for your co-operation and your efforts which have made it possible for us to complete our work in the proper time. The Committee will recall that we had set the date of 17 December for the conclusion of our work, in spite of the fact that we were not able to begin our work before 11 October. This result is particularly praiseworthy because during this session of the Assembly we had had to take account, in the organization of our meetings, of unforeseen events and circumstances. Highly important questions debated by other organs of the United Nations have obliged us on several occasions to postpone some of our meetings. But in spite of this we can certainly say now that we have reached our goal, although the Committee had a particularly heavy agenda during this session. For that reason alone the work we have done cannot by any means be considered negligible.

114. The First Committee's consideration of political items and the debates and consultations which took place enabled us to discern what was necessary and possible in the existing situation, which is in fact an essential characteristic of United Nations activity, and indeed an essential feature of any international conference in the world today.

115. As the Committee will recall, it was with the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security that we began our work, and we are concluding our work with the same item. I see this as symbolizing the great concern of our world and of those who are trying to provide for and facilitate its development. The draft resolution which has just been adopted on this item will without doubt be considered by the General Assembly as a demonstration of support for the Declaration adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

116. Within the sphere of international co-operation concerning the peaceful uses of outer space three draft resolutions were adopted. It is the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects which seems to be most worthy of mention as an instrument marking the evolution of the present world and of international relations. On the same subject of outer space, there can be no doubt that the exchanges of views which have taken place on the question of the preparation of an international treaty on the moon have been very useful.

117. In the field of disarmament—which, because of the seven items it comprised, took up the greatest part of the Committee's time—we cannot fail to mention the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.

118. As regards the use for exclusively peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean floor, the draft resolution we adopted yesterday will demonstrate to the sea-bed Committee the interest and support it will find in the international community for its difficult but important work.

119. At the risk of repetition, I should like to stress that if the Committee has reached the successful conclusion of its work, it is thanks to the support and co-operation of all those who have taken part. I should like particularly to thank the officers of the Committee, the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Ramphul, who, on certain occasions, assumed the chair with such mastery, and our Rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo, who unfortunately is absent because he now has other duties. His task was always difficult, but it was complicated by the number of reports that we have sent to the General Assembly at a particularly difficult time.

120. My gratitude—and here I am sure that I am expressing the feelings of all members of the Committee—also goes to the members of the Secretariat. Among those who have rendered assistance, I must not forget the interpreters, the verbatim reporters, the press officers, the conference officers, the security guards, the messengers and all those in this room or in their offices who have made our task easier.

121. However, it is to you all, my dear colleagues, that I particularly owe my gratitude and thanks. It is thanks to you that our Committee was able to hold fruitful and well disciplined debates with the results that I have mentioned.

122. Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to announce that I have another duty to discharge under one of the draft resolutions which the Committee adopted yesterday concerning the sea-bed Committee. The Chairman of the First Committee has been instructed to name, in consultation with the under-represented groups, three new members of the sea-bed Committee. Since the draft resolution which the Committee adopted has not yet been adopted by the General Assembly, I have not been able to act on it. In addition, I have not yet had time for the necessary consultations to designate the three new members.

123. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): Since we have now come to the successful conclusion of our work, I feel that I would be failing in my duty as chairman of the African group and the group of non-aligned nations at the United Nations if I did not say a few words in appreciation of the work that you have done, Sir, as Chairman of the First Committee during this session of the General Assembly.

124. When you were elected to the post of Chairman of the First Committee I had occasion to point out that because of the many qualities that you possessed and the experience that you had had in the work of the Organization, not only in this Committee but in many other United

Nations organs, including the Security Council, you would conduct our deliberations in a manner which would meet with our often optimistic expectations. At the end of our work, I am pleased to report that you have more than lived up to these optimistic expectations. I know that you are a very modest man and you probably feel embarrassed by the compliments that I am paying you on behalf of the group of African States and of the group of non-aligned nations, but it is a matter of record that very important and historic decisions have been adopted in this Committee during its current session. You have demonstrated your ability to reconcile many divergent and sometimes totally contradictory views during the course of our deliberations. No group has appreciated your efforts in this direction more than the African group and the group of non-aligned States.

125. We have been able to adopt only today a draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We have adopted draft resolutions pertaining to the problems of disarmament, the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, the peaceful uses of outer space, and so forth. That has all been due, to a certain extent, to the guidance which you have provided this Committee throughout its most lengthy and difficult deliberations.

126. I wish also to take this opportunity to express our thanks to the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Ramphul, for the very able assistance he has been able to give you and for presiding over some very difficult meetings in your absence. I should like to thank the Rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo, for the excellent work he has done in presenting the reports of our Committee to the plenary Assembly and for helping us with a number of complicated problems with which we had to deal. I should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary of our Committee, Mr. Chacko, and his staff, including all the members of the Secretariat who have assisted the Committee—the interpreters, the verbatim reporters, the conference officers, the press officers and so on, for the very wonderful and effective assistance that they have been able to give us throughout the session.

127. I therefore wish to register our gratitude and appreciation for the work which you have done, Mr. Chairman. May I also take this opportunity to wish all members of the First Committee a very happy New Year.

128. Miss DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Costa Rica was inscribed on the list of speakers to speak first on this occasion, but we were very pleased to give precedence to the representative of Zambia since other duties require him to be elsewhere in a few minutes.

129. Since Costa Rica is now chairman of the group of Latin American States my delegation has the honour of paying tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, for the outstanding leadership which you exercised in the deliberations of the First Committee during this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We, who have had the honour of knowing you during your distinguished career as a member of the delegation of Bulgaria to the United Nations for many years, agree that your remarkable qualities have often been displayed in guiding this Committee in its work.

130. You have been able to rely upon the talent and co-operation of the other officers of the Committee, the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo of Italy, whose great gifts have also been highly appreciated in the various activities of the United Nations.

131. This has all been a decisive factor in the success of the work of the First Committee and this is shown by the fact that the items on the agenda of the First Committee were extremely important and the work was completed within the time-limit set.

132. We should also like to express our gratitude to the indefatigable officials of the Secretariat, the Under-Secretary-General, the Secretary of the Committee, the interpreters, the verbatim reporters, the translators, the typists and so many others whom we do not see in this room but who have rendered their efficient and valuable assistance to our work.

133. Permit me to conclude by expressing our hope that in the next few days we shall all be enjoying a well-earned rest from our very hard work and that in saying farewell we are united by the hope that when we meet again next year the United Nations will be able to present to the world an encouraging picture which will demonstrate progress in the observance of the principles of the Charter, which will be reflected in the goal to which we all aspire: peace, justice and progress.

134. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): Mr. Chairman, it is a distinct honour and pleasure for my delegation, which holds the chairmanship of the Asian group for this month, to express to you, on behalf of the Asian group, as well as on its own behalf, our appreciation for the way you have conducted the meetings of the First Committee during the last three months, which were very trying months, dealing with very difficult and arduous problems. Your spirit of friendliness and conciliation, your ability and the traditions that you have established for yourself as a very able statesman and representative of your country in the United Nations for many years have enabled the Committee to mark definite progress in many questions with which it dealt, particularly in the field of disarmament, outer space, and, last but not least, international security as exemplified by the draft resolution we adopted just today on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

135. We are grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for the patience which you have shown towards all of us. We know that on many occasions we have failed you in not perhaps attending meetings, in not making statements at the time you wanted us to do so, and in not submitting our draft resolutions when we should have done so. But you have had enough experience at the United Nations, you know the score, and your spirit of tolerance and patience has enabled us to achieve the progress to which I have referred.

136. Your work has been the more successful because of the assistance you received from our able Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Ramphul and from the Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Migliuolo, to whom we also extend our greatest appreciation and congratulations on a job very well

done. I should also like to extend the appreciation of the Asian group to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, to the very able Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chacko, and his staff, to all members of the Secretariat, the interpreters, the précis writers, the information officers, the document officers and the conference officers—every one of them. They have really worked very hard to facilitate our task.

137. Finally, Mr. Chairman, you can rest assured that your past achievements at the United Nations have been enhanced by your achievements during this session. We pay a very heartfelt tribute to your leadership and to the way you have conducted our meetings. I thank you, and I also take this opportunity, on behalf of the Asian group, to extend to all members of the Committee, and to you, Mr. Chairman, and to everyone, a very happy New Year.

138. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): Mr. Chairman, it is a great honour and a pleasure indeed to have the opportunity, on behalf of the delegations of the socialist countries, to greet you, the First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, the Chairman of the First Committee and our beloved friend and comrade-in-arms. In fact, we have always considered you, in all these capacities and many more, closest to our hearts. You have been a senior diplomat in the United Nations, and that has been indicated not only by the silver in your hair but also by the gold in your heart and by your experience in diplomacy, inasmuch as you have been representing your country, socialist Bulgaria, since the beginning of its membership in our Organization. But this experience was only built upon the very solid foundation of your life's work, which has been closely associated with the international progressive movement and with the fight for freedom of your own people.

139. That made it possible for you to render such brilliant service in the fight for freedom and independence of other peoples as well, within the framework of this Organization—in the different Committees, Councils and Assemblies. During all these fights you have gained many personal friends, who always experienced from you the goodwill of an elder brother, and your constant help and assistance.

140. This has created great respect for your deep knowledge and unfailing activities in trying to resolve the most difficult international problems. When you had difficulties in the course of our debates in the Committee—and in fact previously in other Committees—you did not show an angry face. You always smiled on us, and even on those with whom you disagreed or who disagreed with you. You were able to solve the most intricate difficulties in a very friendly manner.

141. In this Committee, as previous speakers have already pointed out, you have taken our hand and led us through the difficult problems of disarmament, from the sea-bed and ocean floor to outer space, and to the moon, and, finally, in an effort to approach the strengthening of international security.

142. It is quite an achievement for this Committee to be able to conclude its work right on the schedule set months before, thus enabling the session of the Assembly as a whole to conclude its work on time. In achieving this goal

and this magnificent success, you have always shown patience, understanding, calmness, an impartial attitude, wisdom in conducting our business, a brilliant cordiality and the ability to bring parties, and even opponents, together in a common cause and in a common endeavour. At the same time—and this is one of the highest achievements one could mention—you were always very frank towards everyone. You always gave your personal opinion even if it was not in complete agreement with the opinion of the delegations and representatives with whom you conferred. This frankness was a key to still closer and more intimate friendship and understanding.

143. We appreciated this very much, and, personally, having occupied the Chair you are now sitting in, I can appreciate all of the difficulties connected with this office. We, the representatives of socialist countries, are proud of having had such an eminent statesman representing us and presiding over the meetings of the First Committee. We wish to express our admiration and gratitude for your very efficient leadership. We are convinced that these new achievements, if only by enriching your experience, will enable you to help us even more in the future. In all sincerity we look forward to co-operating with you for many long years to come.

144. At the same time we extend our congratulations to our Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius, who has done very efficient work, to our Rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo, to the Under-Secretary-General, Comrade Kutakov, to the Secretary of our Committee, Mr. Chacko, to members of the Secretariat, interpreters, verbatim reporters, other members of the Conference Services, and to everyone who has helped us to conclude our work so successfully.

145. Finally, Comrade Chairman, permit me to wish you further success in your work, good health, a happy return to your home and to your family and a happy New Year full of pleasant surprises, a year of peace, progress and prosperity.

146. Mr. SILVA (Portugal): Mr. Chairman, in the name of the group of Western European and other States I wish to place on record our keen sense of appreciation for the able manner in which you have conducted the work of this Committee.

147. I should like also to express our thanks to the Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur and other officers of the Committee whose contributions have made our task easy.

148. Permit me to offer you, the Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur and other officers of the Committee our best wishes for the new year that is about to begin.

149. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I really do not know how to express my gratitude to all those who, on behalf of their delegations and various groups of States, have lavished such warm encouragement on me, the officers of the Committee and the members of the Secretariat. I should like to wish everyone a happy New Year, pleasant holidays and a well-deserved rest.

150. With those words, I now adjourn this final meeting of the First Committee of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.*