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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Jackson (Guyana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 84

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*concluded*)*

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/9292)**

1. Mr. GARRIDO (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to submit for the approval of the General Assembly the report on item 84 [A/9292]. The recommendations of the Fifth Committee are contained in a draft resolution in paragraph 18 of the report. I hope that the report will meet with the unanimous approval of the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

2. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to the decision of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 17

* Resumed from the 2131st meeting.

of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly endorses that decision?

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 18 of its report.

The draft resolution was adopted by 90 votes to 1, with 1 abstention (resolution 3062 (XXVIII)).

4. The PRESIDENT: Lastly, we turn to the recommendation of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 19 of its report [A/9292]. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 103

Effects of atomic radiation: report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/9276)**

5. Mr. CASTALDO (Italy), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: I have the honour to present the report of the Special Political Committee in document A/9276 on agenda item 103.

6. This important question was included in the agenda of the present session on the request of the Permanent Representative of France. The French initiative enabled the Committee to have a constructive and useful discussion of a problem to which international public opinion is very sensitive. The French delegation submitted a draft resolution to request the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation to meet as soon as possible in order to update the conclusions of its latest report on the basis of a study of the most recent documentation available to it.

7. The delegations of Fiji, New Zealand, Peru and the Philippines proposed amendments that were approved by the Special Political Committee, which now recommends the draft resolution, as amended, to the General Assembly for adoption.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political Committee.

8. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Com-

mittee in paragraph 12 of its report [A/9276]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/9290. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 86 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 3063 (XXVIII)).¹

9. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their vote after the voting.

10. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation, which originated the resolution just adopted, wishes to confirm the formal reservation that we made in the Special Political Committee concerning the third preambular paragraph, which was inserted in accordance with an amendment submitted by the delegation of Fiji and reads as follows:

"Noting with regret that nuclear tests in the atmosphere and in other environments have been conducted since the adoption of resolution 2905 (XXVII) and resolution 2934 (XXVII) . . ."

My reservation relates specifically to the words "with regret"; the remainder of the amendment is factual and, therefore, acceptable to our delegation. As I stated when the draft resolution as amended was voted on and adopted by the Special Political Committee, those words are, as we see it, inappropriate in a draft resolution calling for the convening of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the

Effects of Atomic Radiation and assigning a task to that Committee. Passing judgement at this stage on nuclear tests is tantamount to prejudging the conclusions to be drawn by the Scientific Committee.

11. I take this opportunity to reiterate what I have already said in the First Committee, that it was only with the greatest reluctance that France decided to equip itself with a nuclear force—a purely defensive force, as is shown by the nature and scope of the weapons composing the force.

12. Since we are in a particularly sensitive position, and in the absence of any effective progress towards genuine disarmament, France was compelled to equip itself with effective and independent means of defence.

13. What must be regretted is the existence of nuclear weapons in the world, not the nuclear tests carried out solely for defence purposes by States which are quite rightly concerned about these enormous weapons and wish to protect themselves from them.

14. I shall not tax the patience of the Assembly, but shall only say that with regard to the two other amendments, submitted by New Zealand and Peru, I refer delegations to the records of the debates held on this subject in the Special Political Committee, during which I expressed the reservations of my delegation on those matters.

15. In voting for the draft resolution, despite those amendments, my delegation wished to demonstrate its desire to see the Scientific Committee meet as soon as possible and submit its conclusions and its suggestions to the General Assembly.

16. Mr. THOMPSON-FLÔRES (Brazil): I wish to state for the record that it is the understanding of the Brazilian Government that the third paragraph of the preamble of the resolution we have just adopted, beginning "Noting with regret that nuclear tests in the atmosphere and in other environments . . .", refers to the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. That is the understanding on which we supported the resolution.

AGENDA ITEM 47

United Nations Institute for Training and Research: report of the Executive Director

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/9260)

17. Mr. YAMADA (Japan), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to present, in my capacity as Rapporteur of the Second Committee, its report to the General Assembly on agenda item 47 [A/9260].

18. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Assembly to an error, in the English text only, in paragraph 6 of the report. The words "1536th meeting" should be replaced by the words "1535th meeting".

19. Paragraph 8 of the report contains a draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. The

¹ The delegations of Iraq, Lesotho and Pakistan subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

Second Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

20. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/9260]. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (résolution 3064 (XXVIII)).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)*

NINTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/9200/Add.8)

21. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee recommends to the General Assembly that the item entitled "Restitution of works of art to countries victims of expropriation" should be included in the agenda and that it should be considered directly in plenary meetings.

22. The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the General Committee's recommendations. May I take it that the General Assembly approves the General Committee's recommendation in paragraph 2 (a) of its report, that the item should be included in the agenda?

It was so decided.

23. The PRESIDENT: May I also take it that the General Assembly approves the recommendation in paragraph 2 (b), that the item should be considered directly in plenary meetings?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 24

Scientific work on peace research: report of the Secretary-General

24. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Belgium, who wishes to introduce the draft resolution sponsored by Austria, Belgium, Burundi, Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Romania, Rwanda, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Zaire [A/L.704 and Add.1 and 2].

25. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): None of the representatives present in this hall will be surprised to hear me speak on item 24 of our agenda, concerning scientific work on peace research, for it was my delegation which had the honour, two years ago, to introduce here the first draft resolution on this subject, which became resolution 2817 (XXVI).

26. It might be appropriate at the beginning of this statement to remind the Assembly of what my Foreign Minister, Mr. van Elslande, said from this rostrum on this subject on 8 October:

"May I be allowed to thank the Secretary-General of our Organization for his first report on the studies conducted by the peace-research institutions. My country initiated this action because, in our opinion, fundamental research into the bases and the conditions of peace, into the sources, motivations and development of conflicts, can make a great contribution to the mission of peace of our Organization. The listing of the work already achieved is far from complete, considering that a great number of research centres have not yet responded to the action taken by the Secretary-General.

"Furthermore, my delegation has had the opportunity on several occasions to describe the scope of our proposal, which goes much further than a simple compilation of peace research efforts. We therefore believe that the undertaking must continue and we hope that the report which the Secretary-General will submit at the next session of the General Assembly will be more comprehensive." [2144th meeting, paras. 452-453.]

27. Three fundamental points were stressed by our Foreign Minister in the statement I have just quoted from. Those three points are as relevant as they were two years ago. They are as follows: first, fundamental research can make a considerable contribution to the peace mission of the United Nations; secondly, the scope of our proposal goes beyond a mere compilation of peace research; thirdly, the undertaking should continue.

28. On the first point, it seems to me to be necessary once again to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that, while the primary role of the United Nations is to save mankind from the scourge of war, our ideal, to which we all subscribe, goes further. It is to create a positive peace arising from a structure of the universe from which the tendency to use violence would be excluded. Unfortunately, it is clear that the Organization has primarily dealt with conflicts as soon as they have broken out.

29. We have said we are convinced that peace research can contribute in the medium term to the realization or implementation of the ideal of our Organization, to which I referred a few moments ago. A large number of scientific institutions in both the East and the West, in both the North and the South, have amassed an impressive amount of knowledge.

30. That research primarily concerns international relations and, in the very long term, the international organization of the world, according to the Dutch Professor Röling. It must be recognized, however, that there are a number of divergent views on the very contents of peace research, whereas the goal being pursued can really be summed up in one word: "survival". It seems to me that it cannot be dissociated from the underlying ideal of the Organization.

31. The fundamental reason for war among nations should be sought within the universal system of sovereign States or, as Professor Röling puts it, in the anarchy which is the result of that system. That author believes that national

* Resumed from the 2161st meeting.

sovereignty has as its automatic corollary not only the unchallenged right to self-determination but also the need to see to one's own defence. And that need finds concrete expression in armament and all it entails in terms of weapons, arms trafficking and so forth.

32. And so it is that the peace researchers in general accept as a basic principle of their science the following principle enunciated by Professor Røling: "Peace, positive and negative, can be achieved only within the framework of a federal world order." But to that principle should be added the fact that a federal world order can hardly be achieved in the near future.

33. I do not intend to dwell on the major aspects of peace research as listed in the study by Professor Røling to which I have referred. I should, however, like to stress that the peace research should try to find world structures that are functional and acceptable to one and all.

34. There is one final aspect of the peace research to which I should like to refer. We and our Organization should devote utmost attention to this subject. I refer to existential peace research. The author to whom I have been referring says that existential peace research is designed to determine what factors in the present system can help remove war or influence structural violence. It is within the framework of existential peace research that we can seek the most appropriate way to resolve conflicts peacefully or, still better, to prevent violent conflicts. In a word, the idea is to identify all the elements that should be used or influenced to bring about a lasting peace. Nevertheless, as peace is indivisible and inseparable from the very many conditions of life in society, the work on the subject will inevitably have an interdisciplinary nature. And that stresses the need to take an over-all view of the problems. At the national level a number of institutions have in the area of politics already given opinions and information to parliaments and also to the public in general. There is no need to say that that direct and indirect action of research institutions will inevitably have a favourable influence on the decision-making process at the highest levels in the conduct of the affairs of States. It is therefore clear that the results of that research can here and now have an impact on our Organization through the representatives of Member States in the United Nations.

35. I believe I have sufficiently stressed the possibilities of research for the future of the United Nations. The United Nations should be able to derive benefit therefrom and communicate its results to States which express a desire to receive those results. The goal obviously remains facilitating within each State the decision-making process in international affairs.

36. Regarding the second point stressed by my Foreign Minister, I wish to point out first of all that it cannot be dissociated from the first—namely, the contribution which can be made by fundamental research to our Organization's mission. We do not believe it is enough to compile studies made in various areas of the world. At the appropriate time the choice must be made as to the next stage, as to the means that should be used to associate the General Assembly and the Security Council more directly in the practical use of the results and conclusions of those studies. For the time being,

however, we believe—and this was the point made by my Foreign Minister—that the recording of studies made is far from complete, and therefore, as a matter of priority, the work begun by the Secretariat two years ago should now be continued.

37. I should now like to turn to the wish expressed by my Foreign Minister to receive a more comprehensive report from the Secretary-General at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. We believe that even if, for the time being, priority should be given to continuing the recording of studies made by scientific institutions, that does not necessarily mean that we should confine ourselves exclusively to that recording. Any new element which might be contained in the next report of the Secretary-General—new, that is, as compared to the present report—can only help the General Assembly in two years to reach the most appropriate decisions about the future of our work.

38. It has already been my honour formally to introduce draft resolution A/L.704 and Add.1 and 2. I have done so by referring to passages from the statement made by my Foreign Minister on 8 October. In operative paragraph 2, the draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to draw once more the attention of Member States to paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 2817 (XXVI) and to the fact that the next report should contain, in addition to the headings of the studies carried out, a brief summary of their contents.

39. Mr. CHEBELEU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation welcomed with interest the idea of having the United Nations consider the problems of co-ordinating and systematizing work on peace research when a proposal in that sense was first submitted by Belgium two years ago. That was because of our wish to co-ordinate and intensify all activities, both practical and scientific, designed to contribute to the attainment of the basic objective of the Charter, namely, the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security.

40. According to the Charter, the maintenance and strengthening of peace is a dynamic process. It is a process calling for international action to prevent conflicts, to settle international disputes in a just and equitable manner, to put a prompt end to any violation of peace, and to eliminate hotbeds of conflict and tension. It calls also for broad international co-operation to create economic and social conditions that will ensure peace and the normal development of relations among States.

41. To that end, the Charter places upon States the obligation to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any form whatsoever and to settle their international disputes solely by peaceful means. Thus, the Charter establishes as the basis for relations between all States the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the right of each people to self-determination.

42. We have stressed these guidelines of peace—as set forth and elaborated in the United Nations Charter—because, as we see it, they should be the guidelines of any

peace research. And therein we believe lies the great merit of the initiative taken by Belgium.

43. Peace research has, indeed, been begun and developed above all in our time. This is quite natural, because it was the Charter of the United Nations which opened up the possibility of eliminating the use of force in relations among States and the establishment of a lasting peace ensuring the independent development of each people. Peace research has taken place in conditions in which today's world is undergoing deep transformations and changes, which offer objective possibilities for the peoples to achieve their aspirations for peace, understanding, co-operation and progress.

44. At the same time, the explosive penetration of science in all spheres of human activity, which is a phenomenon characteristic of our time, cannot but have repercussions on the social sciences, in general, and on peace research, in particular.

45. Hence we believe that conditions are now such as to enable peace research, firmly based on contemporary realities, to give more and more fruitful results.

46. Peace research must and should become a science of peace, which is sometimes called "irenology" or "polemology". We feel that the science of peace should be developed constantly in order to replace the science of war, which is still spoken of insistently. In our view, the attention of scientific circles should be focused primarily on peace strategy and not on military strategy.

47. From that standpoint it is the United Nations which must influence peace research. Thus, we think that efforts should be made to transcend the speculative nature which still characterizes a great part of peace research, to gear it more directly to the practical objectives of peace and to stimulate its pragmatic application.

48. Furthermore, it would be desirable if peace research could become a useful working tool for statesmen and diplomats in the process of elaborating and taking decisions. For we think that, in the building of peace, science must also have its say. And here it is scientific peace research that could help the United Nations.

49. If we have outlined a few ideas which should, as we see it, serve to guide peace research, we have done so because we feel that the purpose of the Belgian initiative is to provide the opportunity for an exchange, within the framework of the United Nations, of opinions concerning the course which the development of such research should take to stimulate its constructive orientation.

50. Of course, we appreciate the value of much of the work undertaken up to now, at both the national and the international level. And here we should like to point especially to the valuable activity conducted in this connexion by two organs of the United Nations family—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research [UNITAR]—which is amply reflected in the report submitted to us by the Secretary-General [A/9130 and Add. 1]. That activity made it possible to begin a study of large series of problems such as international conflicts,

disarmament, economic, social or cultural aspects of peace, prognoses for the future and others, which has given us extremely useful informative and evaluation data.

51. However, as we see it, there is still scope for improving and extending the sphere of peace research. For example, it is important to intensify the study of peaceful means for the settlement of disputes between States provided by the Charter, and this is not on the basis of abstract hypotheses, but very concretely, by taking as a starting-point the realities of international life.

52. It is in this spirit that aspects of peace research are being continually developed in my country, at the national level and at the level of co-operation between the specialized centres of Romania and similar centres of other countries. I should like to cite as examples the international symposia that have been held in the last few years in Bucharest dealing with European security which, bringing together men of science, diplomats and politicians of various countries, have contributed to a better understanding of the problems involved in ensuring a lasting security on our continent.

53. Like the other sponsors of draft resolution A/L.704 and Add.1 and 2, my delegation feels that the United Nations should demonstrate its interest in scientific work on peace research. A first step was taken two years ago, when the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to prepare an informative report on scientific works on peace research produced by national and international institutions.

54. We studied with interest this first informative report which, although it reflects only partially the peace research undertaken throughout the world, nevertheless does acquaint us with scientific approaches to many problems facing our Organization. We regard this work as very useful, and that is why we have joined several other delegations in co-sponsoring the draft resolution just introduced by the representative of Belgium, which calls for a second informative report of the same type.

55. However, a simple compilation of peace research, although it is a necessary step, is not sufficient. In our opinion, it would be useful if at some time in the future Member States were to carry out a more thorough evaluation of the work in this field and try to pinpoint the ways in which these activities could assist the action of the United Nations and formulate suggestions to achieve the fruitful and effective development of peace research. The Romanian delegation will always be ready to co-operate with other delegations to that end, because we see this as a means of strengthening the role played by our Organization in the world.

56. Mr. van der KLAUW (Netherlands): I should like to speak briefly on the draft resolution before us concerning scientific work on peace research, which was so eloquently introduced by the Belgian representative. The Netherlands is a sponsor of the draft resolution, since we are of the opinion that the valuable work started by the Secretary-General two years ago in compliance with resolution 2817 (XXVI) should be continued.

57. Governments often lack the time to undertake in-depth studies of specific long-term peace problems. On the

other hand, many scientific institutes in the world are engaged in precisely this type of work. It is important that strong links should be maintained between policy makers and those who have the time and opportunity to look beyond the day-to-day questions claiming the time and attention of governments. Such links should be forged on both the national and the international level. The report by the Secretary-General on scientific peace research [A/9130 and Add. 1] is an initial contribution to establishing and strengthening this bond on the international level. In using the word "initial", I do not wish to imply any criticism of the Secretary-General, who evidently cannot go beyond the mandate given to him by the General Assembly.

58. To be effective, however, the information on scientific peace research should be as universal and complete as possible. My delegation regrets, therefore, that some countries have not yet made submissions in this field to the Secretary-General. If they had, the present limited report would have been more interesting, particularly as some of these States are active, in the United Nations and elsewhere, when it comes to proposals on the strengthening of international security and on disarmament. It would be very useful to have more information on the peace research done in these countries, in order to understand more fully the background of these proposals.

59. I sincerely hope that all Members in future will co-operate as much as possible with the Secretary-General on the question of scientific peace research. I realize the problems involved, and therefore, as may be seen from operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, the sponsors suggest moving forward step by step. Our new proposal is that a short summary of the publications mentioned should be embodied in a future report. Often the titles of scientific publications do not indicate sufficiently the precise contents of the studies involved. A short summary on the scope of the study would, in our view, enhance the value of the report considerably.

60. Every step to a more peaceful and secure world is a step in the right direction. We feel that the draft resolution before the Assembly is such a step, and therefore I commend this draft for unanimous adoption.

61. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): Two years ago my delegation was a sponsor of a proposal on scientific work on peace research,² within the framework of General Assembly resolution 2817 (XXVI). The representative of Belgium, with his customary eloquence, has introduced the draft resolution so well that it is unnecessary for me to add anything at all. The preceding speakers have also explained certain points in the draft resolution, which would make any comments by me superfluous. For that reason I will be extremely brief. Furthermore, the Assembly can refer to the memorandum annexed to the text dated 21 July 1971³ and also to the statement made by the representative of Belgium that year.⁴

62. It goes without saying that my delegation warmly supports this initiative taken by Belgium, which is in accord-

ance with previous resolutions on this subject adopted by the General Assembly. These resolutions all reflect the desire that peace research which can contribute to achieving the purposes of our Organization should be taken into consideration by the United Nations. We must admit that our Organization has so far made little use of all the opportunities for co-ordinating and compiling the studies that have been made by many institutions throughout the world. Admittedly, as was stated by the representative of Romania, UNESCO and UNITAR have from time to time carried out specific studies on this subject.

63. The Secretary-General had also been requested to set up a committee of experts to study some particular problems. We are glad at last to have the report prepared by the Secretary-General and his committee of experts on the basis of the resolution which we sponsored together with several other delegations two years ago. But, as the representative of the Netherlands stated a moment ago, the result has been rather meagre, because of a lack of enthusiasm on the part of Member States in submitting their comments. We hope that this year there will be somewhat greater enthusiasm.

64. It is unnecessary to repeat here that the studies on peace research and the problems related to the conversion of war industries to peace industries could have a beneficial effect—provided they were compiled, recorded and analysed by an organization such as ours. We all know that it is futile to think of disarming if the conditions for security in our world have not been achieved. However, scientific work on peace research assists in and greatly contributes to creating that climate of confidence without which we cannot ensure peace.

65. The draft resolution before us, although it is in our view rather modest, aims at focusing attention on the fact that the next report of the Secretary-General should contain, in addition to the titles of the studies on the subject, a brief summary of their contents as well. My delegation feels that a systematic study of peace research undertaken throughout the world, as well as the bibliographies and analytical summaries, could contribute to ensuring the achievement of the objectives of the Charter. As the representative of Belgium said a while ago, fundamental research into the bases and the conditions of peace, into the sources, motivations and development of conflicts, can make a great contribution to the mission of peace of our Organization.

66. That is very true. No effort should be spared when it comes to the strengthening of peace. We should—to use the words of the late lamented Professor Henri Laugier—lay ever deeper foundations for disarmament. The draft resolution before the Assembly lays such a foundation for the study of the problems of peace and disarmament. We therefore hope that the General Assembly will support this draft resolution in its entirety—which can only assist our efforts to ensure peace and security.

67. Mr. BADURINA (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): In its resolution 2817 (XXVI), the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to submit to the present session of the Assembly an informative report on scientific works produced by national and international, governmental and non-governmental, public and private institutions in the field of peace research. It appears very clearly from the

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 95, document A/L.645 and Add.1 and 2.

³ *Ibid.*, document A/8394.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2018th meeting.

report submitted by the Secretary-General [A/9130 and Add. I] that activities relating to peace research have elicited very keen interest in a great number of countries. The results obtained up to now in this field fully justify the initiative taken by the Belgian delegation and they give rise to the hope that this scientific research will become ever broader and more organized, and that it will help to achieve great results in this field, in the interest of international peace and security.

68. My delegation attaches to this question of scientific work on peace research the great importance that it deserves. For this reason we are a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/L.704 and Add.1 and 2, which has been introduced by the delegation of Belgium. Furthermore, we sponsored a similar draft resolution two years ago, at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. There is no doubt that international peace and security are political problems. However, that well-known fact can in no way be used as a pretext to minimize the need to mobilize and utilize every element which can contribute to avoiding conflicts and to strengthening international peace and security. In our view, the tremendous potential of science, a potential which is constantly growing, has not yet been sufficiently utilized to this end.

69. The Belgian initiative highlights the need to strengthen the role played by science in international relations in a real and effective way. It is not simply a matter of compiling scientific studies on the essential problems of war and peace or of preparing bibliographies on the subject. The Belgian initiative goes much further than that. It is aimed at involving science to the greatest possible extent in the research into the causes of conflicts and the methods to strengthen international peace and security. This is a field for very broad fundamental, interdisciplinary and comparative research on contemporary international relations, and the results of that research should be placed at the service of world peace and security.

70. My delegation considers that such scientific research could well contribute to the democratization as well as to the strengthening of international relations, provided it did not serve the pragmatic needs of day-to-day policy and also that it did not become an end in itself. This places particular importance on the development of international co-operation in this field as well as on the need to publicize the results obtained. We feel that international scientific meetings can make the greatest contribution to the achievement of this objective. Furthermore, the establishment of the United Nations University would create new possibilities for the development of this branch of science.

71. To suggest a few priorities for such research, in the opinion of our delegation particular attention should be paid to the developing countries and to their crucial problems, which, if they are not promptly solved, can become the source of new conflicts and upheavals with dangerous consequences for international relations. A detailed study should be undertaken, therefore, regarding the many aspects of the crises and conflicts in various parts of the world which threaten international peace and security. We have no illusions that scientific research will lead to a solution of these crises and conflicts, because underlying them are in the first place imperialist interests which are contrary

to the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. However, we are deeply convinced that such research could assist governments and public opinion to understand better the true causes of these crises and conflicts and could enable them to direct their research towards a solution.

72. In conclusion, I should like to stress that scientific work on peace research can yield the hoped-for results only if such research at the national level and its results are compiled and grouped together.

73. Scholars belong to their own peoples and they act in the interests of their own countries. However, the results of their work—particularly in peace research—affect the welfare of all mankind. This action by the United Nations opens up new prospects for improving international co-operation in scientific research.

74. Mr. KERN (Federal Republic of Germany): The Government of my country welcomes the initiative of the United Nations taken to provide through regular reports a survey of scientific activities in the field of peace research. It is ready to co-operate in this task and to make available to the Secretary-General all relevant information. The Federal Republic of Germany therefore gladly followed the suggestion to submit, together with Belgium—to whose initiative we pay a tribute—and other countries of all political and social systems, the present draft resolution to the General Assembly.

75. Ten years ago the German physicist and philosopher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker propounded the theory that world peace is the vital condition of existence for the technological age. Although since then, and in fact until the present day, we have been witnesses of armed conflicts in many parts of the world, I still believe in the validity of the Weizsäcker theory. Whether mankind can look forward to any bearable future will depend entirely on its ability to achieve a state of affairs both in international and in social relations that will rule out force as a means of settling conflicts and allow of peaceful solutions only. There are two reasons for this, and here I am not saying anything new. For one thing, the world's military potential for destruction has assumed such dimensions in recent decades that a major war might easily wipe out large parts of humanity; and for another, we cannot master the immensely difficult problems confronting us at the present stage of universal history unless we are able to devote our full energies to their solution, undisturbed by warlike events. Peace will be vital to the survival and further development of mankind. In other words we have no alternative to peace.

76. It is now a question of vital urgency how we can master this task. Or, as it was put on another occasion, how can peace be planned? To investigate this is indeed the most important task of peace and conflict research.

77. Peace and conflict research should not end with a historical investigation into the causes of past conflicts; it should provide a stimulus for forward-looking political action. Peace research must be of political relevance. The traditional anarchy between sovereign States must be confronted with mechanisms of co-operation ruling out force, and scientists should work out corresponding models. A

special role in the efforts to ensure world-wide co-operation and safeguard the peace falls to the international organizations and above all to the United Nations. Grievous experience and setbacks should not discourage us in our efforts to improve and extend the world Organization's instruments for the prevention of war, the settlement of conflicts, and peaceful co-operation. Concepts developed by way of research could be very helpful.

78. In our efforts to find ways of setting up an effective universal peace system there is hardly any historic experience to draw on. A glance at history with its unending recurrence of warlike conflicts is indeed more likely to discourage us. Faced with unprecedented problems we need new approaches in our thinking. This is what makes peace and conflict research, if taken seriously, so difficult a task. Politicians must be ready to seek peaceful settlements to all conflicts. The threat or the use of force cannot produce any real solution. War, or the threat of aggression, are today no longer viable political options but the fateful result of the failure of politicians.

79. Please permit me, after those more general observations, to refer to the development of peace and conflict research in my own country, the Federal Republic of Germany. We are glad to see that the Secretary-General included in his report a compilation of recent works of our scientists provided by the German Society for Peace and Conflict Research.

80. But let me add immediately that, compared with some other countries where peace and conflict research has long had its place among the sciences, we are only just beginning.

81. Yet we can state with gratification that peace and conflict research in the Federal Republic of Germany has greatly intensified in recent years. It is winning acceptance in most universities as a regular discipline and is being dealt with in a number of other institutes, some of which have made this new science the essential field of their activities. More and more representatives of the most varied disciplines attend to problems of peace and conflict research; inter-disciplinary working groups maintain a permanent exchange of views. Beyond the traditional approach as practised in dealing with international relations, increasing emphasis is being placed on the social and educational prerequisites to peace.

82. Of course, in our country, as elsewhere, doubts have been expressed whether peace research can at all master its task. But this should be a further stimulus for the scientists to make their subject, which vitally concerns all men, clear and intelligible for all. Peace research must not be confined to the realm of pure science but must seek to awaken the awareness of a broad public. Scientists in the relevant disciplines should regard peace and conflict research also as a primary educational task. On the other hand, peace research, being a young discipline dealing with one of the most difficult problems of our time, cannot be expected to offer pat solutions in less than no time. In fact, the important thing is to continue patiently and tenaciously along the road on which we have set out.

83. No doubt, peace research in the Federal Republic of Germany has gained in reputation and consequence by the

fact that our present Federal President, Gustav Heine-mann, has, since taking office in 1969, committed himself greatly to its needs. The Federal Government, for its part, took up the Federal President's initiative and emphasized in its policy statement of 1969 that it intended to promote peace research activities and devote its special attention to that field.

84. An important step in 1970 was the foundation of the German Society for Peace and Conflict Research, which is chiefly concerned with the promotion of research projects and receives public funds for that purpose. The most important groups of public and social life in our country are represented in the Society's institutions. Since its inception numerous research projects have been started with its promotion.

85. In order to concentrate research work on topical problems more than previously, efforts have been made this year to formulate certain main subjects to be investigated by multidisciplinary research teams. The following two subjects have been selected for the next few years: first, preservation of peace in Europe and; second, conflicts between industrialized countries of Western Europe and developing countries, and their peaceful settlement.

86. The first of those subjects may be seen in connexion with the efforts of the European countries, such as those at present attending the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and in the Vienna talks on force reductions to achieve more stability and a safer peace by détente and increased co-operation. The second subject has been chosen to take account of the fact that the economic and social gap which still exists between industrialized and numerous developing countries—and is even increasing in many cases—is a great potential danger for world peace. I believe that research on this subject is in keeping with the efforts made within the United Nations with a view to controlling hunger and misery in the world and ensuring a more equal and fair distribution of the world's resources.

87. It is our belief that science—and this includes, of course, peace research—should be free from any State tutelage. This is, however, not incompatible with our efforts to bring about fruitful exchanges between peace and conflict research, on the one hand, and day-to-day politics, on the other, and to make use where possible of the results of scientific research in making political decisions.

88. Peace research, more than any other discipline, should be oriented to scientific co-operation across national frontiers. Let me conclude, therefore, with an appeal—and I am referring to what Chancellor Brandt emphasized in this Assembly six weeks ago [2128th meeting]—to devote more attention to peace and conflict research also on the international level. The great and immensely difficult task of organizing a stable peace, to which research can make a valuable contribution, should be worth every effort.

89. Mr. CORREA (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to thank the delegation of Belgium for taking the initiative two years ago in requesting the inclusion of the item entitled "Scientific work on peace research" in the agenda of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The first tentative results of that initia-

tive have been given to us in the Secretary-General's report submitted in compliance with resolution 2817 (XXVI).

90. The representative of Belgium has stressed the importance of this item and how vital it is to achieving the goals of our Organization.

91. Peace, the supreme objective of the United Nations, is such a complex matter that we must not underestimate the importance of research—which must often be interdisciplinary—into the origins and spread of conflicts. On occasions, those studies have served to clarify the positions of some countries or have helped others to determine their stand on given problems. I recall, in this respect, the interesting studies of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute—these are already familiar to many of us—on questions relating to disarmament, including the world trade in weapons and the detection of underground tests of nuclear weapons.

92. Obviously, the most important function of that research is that it can create new political alternatives for the settlement of conflicts; or, even more important, it might create circumstances that would prevent the outbreak of conflicts. But we are very far from that ideal.

93. It is obvious that, in the overwhelming majority of Member States, there are no institutes devoted to this subject. Only one of the developing countries which replied to the Secretary-General's note—Romania—said that it had an institution carrying out this kind of research. This is a very significant fact, because it shows that there is a need to encourage studies of this kind in the developing countries. Furthermore, the fact that so few countries replied to the Secretary-General's note shows that there is an urgent need to arouse the interest of the official organs of States in that subject. The United Nations should make optimum use of that research and that, obviously, depends on international co-operation and on the knowledge which those in charge of foreign policy have of those studies, or at least of their theoretical bases. The preparation of a further report by the Secretary-General, as requested in the draft resolution introduced a few moments ago by the representative of Belgium, which would briefly summarize every study on peace, would contribute to arousing the interest of governmental institutions in this new area of knowledge.

94. The Government of Mexico has acknowledged the importance of those studies in the prevention and settlement of international problems, and it is proposed that a number of institutions of higher learning include such peace research in their programmes.

95. The delegation of Mexico is confident that the General Assembly will adopt by acclamation draft resolution A/L.704.

96. Mr. PETRELLA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to make a few general comments on this subject on behalf of my delegation.

97. Because views differ on how to approach problems relating to peace, the delegation of Argentina believes that an effort should be made to understand and remove the obstacles to peace. If such research is to make an effective

contribution to the United Nations mission of resolving the myriad factors obstructing peace-making and peace-keeping efforts based on justice, my delegation believes that an effort should be made to determine and neutralize the causes of situations of structural violence, such as colonialism, economic and financial neo-colonialism, the tolerance of peripheral wars, the various aspects of economic aggression, and so forth, which create incidents of violence in States and among States.

98. The delegation of Argentina believes that we should promote research designed to bring about a world order based on peace. We should promote the rule of values similar to the values in the social philosophy underlying the foreign policy of my country.

99. The delegation of Argentina also believes that peace research should be based on the following principles.

100. First, there should be a clear differentiation between two conflicting ideas: peace and pacification. A system of international relations based on peace presupposes the rule of justice, solidarity among peoples, the interdependence of nations, and recognition of the fact that man is above and beyond ideologies and political systems. Pacification, on the contrary, means the rule of inequality. It means that in the international arena there are States which impose their own policies on others. It also means that men are used, that men become the mere instruments for others' desire for power.

101. Secondly, the meaning of peace should not be corrupted to mean a tolerable state of war; the concept of war should not mean a tolerable arms race, or the disarming of the disarmed; the concept of development should not mean a tolerable state of poverty.

102. Finally, we should like to thank the Secretary-General for his report and the representative of Belgium for his introduction of draft resolution A/L.704.

103. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to explain his vote.

104. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, the Soviet delegation would like to make the following statement in explanation of its vote.

105. The position of the Soviet Union on this question was set forth at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly⁵ and confirmed in its reply to the Secretary-General's questionnaire contained in a note verbale dated 6 March 1972.

106. In this connexion, we should like to recall that the Soviet Union attaches paramount importance, in the United Nations as elsewhere, to questions relating to the genuine and effective strengthening of peace. It is sufficient to take a careful look at the list of items which the Soviet Union has submitted for consideration by the United Nations every year since its founding to see how consistently and steadfastly the Soviet Union pursues a policy of peace

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2018th meeting.

and co-operation in the United Nations, whose main task is to save this and succeeding generations from the scourge of war. This is also the purpose of the latest Soviet initiative at this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly—the question of the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries.

107. The Soviet Union, believing the United Nations to be a useful instrument of peace, will continue to make every effort to enhance the role of the Organization and its effectiveness in the strengthening of international peace and security. The Soviet Union bore the brunt of the Second World War and lost 20 million of its citizens in the struggle against fascism; it knows very well what war is like and what incalculable suffering it inflicts on people. For this very reason we pay special attention in our country to basic research on problems of peace. Many research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR are engaged in this work. Soviet scholars take an active part in international symposia and conferences dealing with problems of the origins of modern wars and with questions of peace.

108. But it is one thing when scholars are engaged in useful work in a given field and quite another when attempts are made to use that work for other purposes. For this reason the Soviet delegation considers that the main effort of the United Nations should not be directed towards academic research but towards specific and effective action for the maintenance of peace and security, action which the United Nations is required to take in fulfilment of its statutory obligations and on the basis of the Charter.

109. In our view, further implementation of the proposal under consideration may have a detrimental effect on the work of the United Nations and divert it from the execution of the central purpose of the Charter—the maintenance of

international peace and security. At a time when the United Nations is faced with important practical tasks in the strengthening of international peace and security—and our Organization has not always shown itself equal to those tasks—it is quite inappropriate to shift the attention of the United Nations to abstract questions of research work on the problems of peace. Moreover, not only is such research often carried out with no regard for the realities of the situation or existing urgent problems—at times it is in direct conflict with the Charter.

110. Accordingly, the provision of draft resolution A/L.704 envisaging not only the submission of a new report on this item but also a summary of the subject-matter of the research is quite out of keeping with the dictates of common sense. The mountain of paper which this item has created continues to grow, and so do the doubts as to its value. It is difficult, too, to agree that the work of the United Nations in the practical co-ordination and systematization of research on the problems of peace should be directed by the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General is the senior official of the United Nations; he is invested with specific powers, and this kind of function is not his. To divert the Secretary-General from his direct responsibility for the administration of the Secretariat can have only a detrimental effect on the work of the Secretariat.

111. For the reasons just given, the Soviet delegation will be unable to support the draft resolution on this item and will vote against it.

112. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on draft resolution A/L.704 and Add.1 and 2.

The draft resolution was adopted by 74 votes to 10, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3065 (XXVIII)).

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.