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Chairman: Mr. Agha SHAHI (Pakistan).

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Mongi Slim,
former President of the General Assembly*

1. The CHAIRMAN: Before we begin our proceedings this morning may I, on behalf of the members of this Committee, express our deep sorrow at the death of Mongi Slim.

2. Intellectual, revolutionary and statesman, he dedicated his life to the cause of the freedom of his country and of the peoples of Africa and Asia. For many of us here today there is no need for me to recall how well he served his country at the United Nations between 1956 and 1961 and demonstrated to his colleagues his intellectual and moral stature as a man and as a statesman.

3. He was the first representative of Africa to be elected President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. His exemplary performance of the duties of his high office soon after the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld helped to tide the world Organization over a critical period. In recent years Mongi Slim had served as his country's Foreign Minister, personal representative of President Bourguiba, and most recently as Minister of Justice.

4. On behalf of the Committee I should like to convey to the Government and people of Tunisia and to the bereaved family the expression of our deep sorrow at his passing from the world scene.

5. May I now request representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mongi Slim, patriot of Tunisia, soldier in the liberation war of humanity and citizen of the world.

The members of the Committee observed a minute of silence.

6. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): It is a most painful duty for a representative of the Arab Maghreb to have to address this Committee on the occasion of the death of a man of the stature of the late President Mongi Slim. Those of us who, while still very young, were

associated in the struggle for the independence of Tunisia and the whole of North Africa, had given a face to that struggle once they had learned to know Mongi Slim. Those of us, too, who were happy to see France engage in a dialogue on the independence of Tunisia in 1955 discovered, at the same time as French public opinion which immediately accorded him its esteem, that he was one of the most skilled and remarkable negotiators that North Africa had ever sent outside its borders. Finally those who knew the politician, the Tunisian Minister who had helped to build up the young Tunisia of modern times, who had to cope with the first difficulties of the creation of that State, will remember the Minister of Justice, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Minister for Internal Affairs of Tunisia who left his mark on the present structure of the Tunisian State. But it is especially as a diplomat that Mr. Mongi Slim acquired world repute. First as representative of Tunisia to the United Nations, he had to defend the interests of his country and we can remember that, during the crisis over Bizerte, the Assembly paid a moving tribute to that sincere, courageous and militant man for the way he pleaded for his country in an atmosphere of respect and friendship, while appealing for understanding and esteem. Mr. Mongi Slim was subsequently elected President of the General Assembly of our Organization. He was the first African and the first Arab to assume that responsibility. In doing so, he displayed his personal genius, but he also revealed to the world the qualities of the third world, his political skill, his talents as a diplomat and especially those human qualities which left their imprint on those who had contact with this man of outstanding distinction. In the Security Council his name was linked to the most important solutions that the United Nations had found, for Laos, for the Congo and for other difficult problems, and the talent evinced by him in those responsible positions made him one of the most remarkable personalities of the second decade in the life of this Organization.

7. Our sadness today is deep indeed when we think of the reputation acquired by Mr. Mongi Slim, of the prestige that he bestowed upon his continent and, particularly, upon his country. On behalf also of the African delegations, we extend to the delegation of Tunisia our heartfelt condolences, as you yourself, Mr. Chairman, have done, and assure them of our deepest sympathy.

8. Mr. HARBI (Algeria) (translated from French): It was with great sorrow that we learned of the death in Tunis, after a long illness, of our brother Mongi Slim. In losing him, Tunisia loses a beloved and eminent son and the Maghreb one who, at the outset, worked to bring about its creation. In the darkest hours in the history of the Maghreb, he was one of those who embodied its hopes. In him one passion dominated all others, namely his country,

Tunisia; but for those who remember, he was, in this very hall, one of the finest defenders of Algeria.

9. Beyond his own country, he belonged to the Maghreb as it was shaped by history and by its culture, so precious but so imperilled. It will be remembered in the contemporary history of the Maghreb that Mongi Slim belonged to those generations of men that preceded us in the struggle waged by the third world against injustice and misunderstanding. He was for us an example to be followed before he became a respected leader. It was his qualifications as an exceptional person, as a statesman and as a diplomat that the international community honoured when it judged him worthy to preside over the work of our Assembly.

10. The militant generation that blazed the way for us to peace and co-operation mourns today, as we do ourselves, the passing of a great defender of the noble ideals of liberty and justice. We request the Tunisian delegation, on our behalf, to convey to his family and to the Tunisian Government our saddest and most heartfelt condolences.

11. Mr. MONTEIL (France) (*translated from French*): My delegation is grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for having invited our Committee to pay this moving tribute to the memory of Mr. Mongi Slim. The unanimity of our tribute shows how deep are the memories left behind with each of us by this great statesman. May I, as the representative of France, a country that feels very close to Tunisia because of so many ties of history, civilization and friendship, say how well I understand the grief of our friends on the other side of the Mediterranean.

12. My compatriots will feel the tragedy of Mongi Slim's death all the more because it comes at a time when we hear grave reports of the widespread natural disasters that have for the past two weeks afflicted Tunisia. Only a few days ago in Paris I was personally conveying to Mr. Masmoudi, the Tunisian Ambassador to France, my feelings of grief on learning of the floods that were ravaging his country. And now a new tribulation has been added to those that the Tunisian people have been enduring.

13. Speaking today in the name of the French delegation, I wish to assure the representative of Tunisia of the depth of our feelings, and to request him to be kind enough to transmit to the Tunisian people and Government, as well as to the family of Mr. Mongi Slim, the expression of our grief and our most sincere condolences.

14. Mr. BAYULKEN (Turkey) (*translated from French*): My delegation was most shocked and grieved to learn of the death of His Excellency Mr. Mongi Slim, an eminent statesman and a great Tunisian patriot. I had the honour of knowing Mr. Slim well and of collaborating with him over a long period of years while he was the head of the Tunisian delegation to the United Nations, and I have the best memories of that collaboration, which was both friendly and fruitful. I also recall very vividly the visit to Turkey of the distinguished President of Tunisia, His Excellency Mr. Bourguiba, who was accompanied by Mr. Mongi Slim as his personal representative. That, sad to say, was my last meeting with Mr. Slim.

15. As Mr. Shahi, the Chairman of our Committee, and the representatives of Morocco, Algeria and France who preceded me have spoken of the brilliant career and the activities of Mongi Slim, always characterized by his great human and intellectual qualities, I shall merely say that with his death the Tunisian nation, a friendly and fraternal nation, has lost one of its truly great sons, and our Organization has lost not only one of its most faithful servants and greatest Presidents, but also one of the staunchest defenders of the cause of the United Nations. On behalf of the Turks and Iranians, who have lost a great friend, and on behalf of the members of my delegation and of the delegation of Iran, I should like to say that we bow our heads in grief in memory of Mr. Mongi Slim, and we request our Tunisian colleague, Mr. El Goulli, to be kind enough to transmit the most sincere and heartfelt condolences of the delegation of Turkey and Iran to the family of the deceased and to the Tunisian Government.

16. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): I do not make a practice of allowing my personal feelings to intrude on the work of my delegation; but in this instance I must make an exception, because my personal feelings coincide with those of my delegation and also, I feel sure, with those of the other Latin American delegations.

17. I had the great privilege of knowing the late Mr. Mongi Slim, working with him and enjoying his friendship. In 1961 I had the extraordinary good fortune to be able to have discussions with him in one of the most difficult periods when I had the honour of presiding over the Security Council and when dramatic and crucial events were taking place on the territory of Tunisia. Mongi Slim was then the representative of his country, and I was able to admire the way in which his extraordinary personality combined balance and wisdom, a lucid intelligence and a serenity concealing immense energy, great diplomatic skill and unusually likable personal qualities. Since then I have felt tremendous respect, affection and friendship for him.

18. Subsequently I witnessed his magnificent work as President of the General Assembly, at a time crucial for the very existence of the Organization, shortly after its Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld had been killed in a tragic accident. Earlier on I had admired him as a fighter for the independence of his country.

19. For these reasons, as I say, my personal feelings accompany those of my delegation and, I believe, those of all the Latin American delegations, in expressing the profound sorrow we feel at the untimely death of this illustrious servant of the United Nations whom you, Mr. Chairman, have just described by the finest title a man can receive—that of a true citizen of the world.

20. I would like to ask the delegation of Tunisia through you, Mr. Chairman, to accept my delegation's condolences, which I am sure, although I have not had the time to ask permission to say so, are shared by all the Latin American delegations. I am sure they will agree that these sentiments should be expressed and conveyed to the Tunisian Government and to the family of the deceased.

21. Mr. VINCI (Italy) (*translated from French*): On behalf of the European and Western delegations and of the

delegations of other States, as well as on behalf of my own delegation, the delegation of a country which has close ties of friendship with Tunisia based on relations which go far back in history in every field, I wish to join all the colleagues who have preceded me in expressing grief at the death of Mr. Mongi Slim.

22. I shall not dwell on the qualities of Mr. Mongi Slim as a valiant fighter for the freedom and independence of his country, as a statesman, a diplomat and a citizen of the world, since these were eloquently brought out by all the previous speakers. I would merely say that we are sincerely grieved at this loss which is a blow to the Government and people of Tunisia, who have also suffered grievous blows at the hands of nature in the past two weeks.

23. May I request the representative of Tunisia to be kind enough to transmit to the Government and people of Tunisia and to the family of the deceased our feelings of deep grief on this occasion. I should like especially to say that we would be grateful if these feelings were transmitted to the brother of Mr. Mongi Slim, Mr. Taieb Slim, whom all of us remember as a highly esteemed friend and colleague, with whom we worked so happily together.

24. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic): Mr. Chairman, the United Arab Republic delegation wishes to join you and the representatives who spoke before us in expressing our profound sorrow at the death of Mongi Slim and in offering our heartfelt sympathies to our colleague the Ambassador of Tunisia and, through him, to his Government and people.

25. Many Arab delegations, besides those who spoke before us, have asked me also to express these feelings in their name, but I personally would like to say here how fortunate I consider myself to have known, to have worked with and to have had the occasion to appreciate Mongi Slim.

26. In the Dag Hammarskjöld Advisory Committee for the Congo, in the meetings of the Organization of African Unity, as well as here in the United Nations, I have had the good fortune of being able to co-operate and collaborate with Mr. Mongi Slim, and I have always appreciated him not only as a most distinguished representative of his country but also, and certainly, as one of the most valued statesmen of the world. The United Arab delegation and other Arab delegations wish to express their sorrow and again to ask their colleague the representative of Tunisia to convey our feelings to the family of Mongi Slim and to his people.

27. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): On behalf of the Asian group I should like to express our deep sense of distress and sorrow at the death of Mr. Mongi Slim. Mr. Mongi Slim dedicated the whole of his life to the service of his country, Tunisia, and indeed to the service of Africa and Asia. He fought alongside all who were struggling towards the dawn of African freedom, independence and a better life.

28. The African and Asian continents will remember the man who fought so gallantly in all fields to give shape, with dignity and honour, to the future generations of Africa, Asia and the Arab world. The item we have been debating

for the last two weeks was close to his heart. As President of the Assembly, as a leader of the delegation of Tunisia to many sessions of the Assembly, as the representative of the Organization of African Unity to the Security Council, Mongi Slim made a great contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security. We extend our heartfelt condolences to his brother, our dear friend Ambassador Taieb Slim, to his family, and to the Government and people of Tunisia.

29. Mr. COLEMAN (United States of America): The death yesterday in Tunis of the Honourable Mongi Slim is and will be mourned far beyond the borders of the country he served with skill, learning and devoted loyalty throughout his life. To the United States Mongi Slim was an outstanding Ambassador of his young nation during the first years of its independence. To the United Nations Mongi Slim was an ardent advocate of the spirit of the Charter and a very distinguished President of the Assembly, having been elected in 1961 by a unanimous vote.

30. To Tunisia Mongi Slim was a nation-builder and an eminent exponent of his country's policies in the councils where statesmen sought peaceful solutions to some of the most anguishing problems of our days. He often said, in explanation of his bachelorhood: "I am married to Tunisia; I am married to my work". More to the point is the fact that Mongi Slim's revolutionary roots did not interfere with his being widely regarded by all of us as one of the most understanding diplomats to have come out of his region. He was one of the bridges between East and West, hopeful that his efforts could prevent East-West controversies from developing into a third world war.

31. I should like to ask the representative of Tunisia to convey to Mongi Slim's family and to the Government and the people of Tunisia the sincere and profound condolences of my delegation and all the peoples of the United States.

32. Mr. PILAVACHI (Greece) (*translated from French*): To the feeling of deep sorrow expressed by the President of our Committee and other representatives, I should like to add the expression of deep emotion and sadness felt by the delegation of Greece on the occasion of this grievous loss to Tunisia.

33. Mongi Slim, a great statesman, a great diplomat and a friend of Greece, had family ties with my country. Several times he came to Athens on official and unofficial visits and I had the honour of welcoming him and accompanying him on several of those occasions. It was a great privilege for me to have known such an outstanding man.

34. May I ask the representative of Tunisia to be kind enough to accept and transmit to his Government and family the heartfelt condolences of Greece and my delegation.

35. Mr. EL BOURI (Libyan Arab Republic) (*translated from French*): We were shocked and most grieved to hear the news of the death of Mr. Mongi Slim, a former President of the General Assembly, one of the most outstanding personalities of the world of today and one of the greatest fighters for freedom of his country and of all oppressed peoples.

36. The world and the United Nations have lost one of the most devoted champions of the cause of the United Nations and of the freedom and progress of mankind.

37. The Libyan delegation shares with its sister delegation of Tunisia the mourning and sorrow that has afflicted Tunisia at a time when the natural disasters which befell it have caused untold material damage and the loss of many lives.

38. Mr. Chairman, I would ask you to transmit to the delegation of Tunisia our expressions of sympathy and condolence at the great loss that Tunisia has just suffered. We would request the Tunisian delegation to transmit these feelings to the Government of Tunisia and to the bereaved family.

39. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Yemen) (*translated from French*): In the name of my delegation and people I would like to express my sorrow at the blow that has just struck Tunisia in the death of its famous statesman, Mongi Slim.

40. The great work he accomplished will remain a part of history. He was the skilled diplomat of the old school, but he also fought fiercely for the independence of his country and he was a determined builder of the unity of the Arab Maghreb. His role in the United Nations is well known and it reached its peak in his election to the presidency of the General Assembly.

41. May I ask the permanent representative of Tunisia to express our heartfelt condolences to the Government and people of Tunisia and the family of the deceased.

42. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (*translated from French*): I should like to express our feelings of sorrow at the death of Mongi Slim, a former President of the General Assembly, a great Tunisian patriot and an eminent statesman.

43. The history of this Organization and contemporary history go hand in hand. Among those who have played a great role in shaping events linked with the emergence of nations on the world stage and with the struggle for the independence and emancipation of peoples, and among those who have shown the meaning of these events here in the United Nations by transforming them into universal principles, Mongi Slim will undoubtedly be remembered by future generations.

44. I feel I must mention the patience, tact and calm which he displayed on the surface and which hid his emotion, his fervour and his generosity. During his visit to my own country a year ago we could not have imagined that this man, so endowed with intelligence and possessing such a store of experience and wisdom, would be snatched from us by destiny so soon.

45. He was a big-hearted man deeply attached to those elements of civilization and culture that the Arabs have contributed for centuries to European and world history. At the same time he was a diplomat who was perfectly acquainted with the instruments for political solution which the Charter and the Organization have placed at our disposal.

46. I would request the delegation of Tunisia to transmit to the Government of Tunisia and to the family of this great man the sincere condolences of the Romanian delegation and of the other socialist countries.

47. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): The death of so eminent a world statesman again reminds us of the inevitable fate of man. Mongi Slim devoted his life and work to the promotion of better understanding in our world. It is therefore the sincere desire of the delegation of Liberia, as one of the founder members of this world Organization which had the great pleasure of working with him and admiring his leadership, to be associated with those who have expressed condolences at the passing of so great a man.

48. We wish to convey our deepest condolences to the Ambassador of Tunisia, and through him to the President, Government and people of Tunisia, and most especially to the family.

49. May his work live after him and may it continue to inspire those of us who are to follow. May his soul rest in peace and may light perpetually shine on him.

50. Mr. EL GOULLI (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): I am deeply moved by the touching tribute which the Chairman and representatives have paid to the memory of Mr. Mongi Slim, whose death is a great loss to Tunisia and the international community.

51. For our country, he was one of the great pioneers of Tunisian nationalism which, under the inspired and effective leadership of Habib Bourguiba, led Tunisia to international sovereignty.

52. After our accession to independence, Mr. Mongi Slim was the first representative of our young State to the United Nations, and very soon his experience, his outstanding qualities as a diplomat and statesman, his passionate desire for peace, his firm determination to be a moderating influence and his devotion to the principles governing the United Nations made him a great personality in this Organization. In Tunisia he had become the symbol of the United Nations.

53. I feel this loss all the more deeply because I had the privilege of working closely with him for four years and was able to appreciate his great human qualities and to benefit by his vast experience.

54. May I thank the Chairman and representatives on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf for their condolences which I shall not fail to transmit to the Government and the people of Tunisia, as well as to the family of the deceased.

55. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his assurance that he will transmit the condolences of this Committee, as expressed by the Chairman and representatives, to the family of Mr. Mongi Slim and to the Government and people of Tunisia.

AGENDA ITEM 103

The strengthening of international security (continued) (A/7654, A/C.1/L.468)

56. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): One of the most solemn moments of life is when life faces death. We are indeed experiencing such a moment, and after the eloquent, human and moving tributes that have been paid by you, Mr. Chairman, and the speakers who preceded me, the delegation of Syria can add little. We can only most sincerely and sadly convey our condolences, through the representative of Tunisia, to the Tunisian Government and people and to the family of the late Mr. Mongi Slim, a great statesman of Tunisia, a great statesman of the world.

57. All the representatives who have taken the floor so far have been hard put—especially today—to abide by your appeal, Mr. Chairman, to omit congratulations. May I, however, like others, address to you our sincerest commendation for the great qualities of leadership which you, together with the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, are bringing to the conduct of this Committee's work.

58. The great response to the item under discussion—in which, I understand, 88 speakers will have participated by the end of the debate—is in itself a tribute to the initiative taken by the USSR delegation in introducing it. That positive response reflects the seriousness, gravity and importance of the item to the peoples of the world.

59. Although the ineffectiveness of the United Nations as an Organization has been constantly decried, when one lifts the matter above catch-word criticism it remains in its various aspects a chronic illness from which our Organization suffers. The confidence of the past, when the Charter was drafted, has become the frustration of the present. The Second World War ended in 1945, but peace did not come. Instead, the world was treated to the spectacle of a new kind of war, an undeclared limited war, a war with its own peculiar tactics, its own definitions of victory and defeat, its own grim necessities. Although a world conflagration has been avoided, there have been, since the establishment of the Charter, 50 conflicts, warlike in measure and proportion. In 1966 the United States Department of Defense counted 164 internationally significant outbreaks of violence which had occurred in the preceding eight years alone. Nevertheless the Charter remains a most important treaty so far in the history of mankind. Thus, to look into realistic and rational ways and means of strengthening international security is not an idle attempt to rewrite or reinterpret the Charter; we are in conscience bound to do that and to submit ourselves to self-examination and self-criticism. To miss that duty is indeed to miss the historic importance of the moment.

60. Our generation has seen history knock at our doors with the explosion of bombs. We have seen our countries occupied, divided and parcelled out. We have seen our cities burned, our people killed at the threshold of their homes, or driven out by the hundreds of thousands. That becomes all the more relevant when it is recalled that Arab battalions fighting in the ranks of the allies in the Second World War were among the first to land on the shores of Europe. And

among their first feats was the opening of the doors of Nazi prison camps and the freeing of the victims. Our elder Arab statesmen contributed to the writing of the Charter.

61. On the human level, therefore, the item under discussion reopens the door to optimism and to a sound approach towards abating the anguish of insecurity plaguing mankind and the rebellious younger generation of the world. Now, as we near the end of the debate on this item, each one of us should look beyond mere words to the bedrock of humanity. To place this item within the human, moral, historic context is to place it within its basic framework.

62. The opening statement of the Permanent Representative of the USSR, Ambassador Malik [*1652nd meeting*], as well as the opening statements of the representatives of Brazil [*1653rd meeting*], Sweden [*1654th meeting*], Finland [*ibid.*] and many, many others have indeed set a very high standard for the debate. But as the general debate has progressed, a number of constructive proposals have been submitted by many representatives. On 21 October Ambassador Malik's statement in response to those proposals [*1660th meeting*] marked a new constructive advance when it particularly emphasized the following: first, the importance of finding a solution to the problem of disarmament for the purpose of strengthening international security to be included in a relevant provision in the original draft of the USSR; second, the inclusion of concrete proposals on the interdependence of economic underdevelopment and the problem of disarmament; third, the readiness of the Soviet Union delegation to take into full consideration the various constructive suggestions made with respect to the original Soviet draft [*A/C.1/L.468*].

63. As a suggestion from my delegation, we humbly submit that we should like to see the two words "peoples" and "generations" included in section I of the original Soviet draft. Our stand is consistent with the policy formulated by our Government and elaborated in our statement to the General Assembly on 2 October [*1776th plenary meeting*].

64. With regard to section II of the draft appeal, it has been made abundantly clear by the overwhelming majority of statements in this Committee that the conditions stipulated there for strengthening international security are indeed very strong: specifically, withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of action by armed forces; the cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial rule or who are denied the right to self-determination; the granting of independence to all such peoples in implementation of resolution 1514 (XV); observance by the States of all—and I mean "all"—the decisions of the Security Council. Many eloquent statements have been made to that effect and I wish particularly, in the whole framework of the item, to quote the following words of the representative of Spain:

"With regard to the persistence of colonialism and the establishment of military bases in colonial territories . . . such bases represent an intolerable violation of territorial integrity, infringe the sovereign rights of States, hinder decolonization, and are also a dangerous threat to international peace and security." [*1659th meeting, para. 59.*]

Equally important is the following from the statement of the representative of Mali:

"The tragedy of Viet-Nam, of Arab Palestine, the unspeakable and inhuman behaviour of the white racists in South Africa and Rhodesia and the barbarous repression by Portugal in Africa are not elements of the past or even of the recent past. They are parts of everyday reality which we experience and regard with feelings of utmost indignation." [Ibid., *para.* 72.]

65. With regard to section IV concerning regional security systems in various parts of the world, I wish here to pay a tribute to the many speakers from the four continents, Asia, Africa, South America, Eastern and Western Europe, who have dealt with this problem, allowing for disagreement and also for a clash of ideas, which is inherent in any dialectical approach to grave human problems. They have indeed indicated to those of us who are not and cannot be fully familiar with the intricate problems of regional security, the many factors at play in their specific situations and given us a deeper knowledge of the great dimensions of this problem.

66. What we venture to add is that, although regional security systems are facts of present international life, it is an equally important fact that all continents and all regions of the world are not only interdependent, but also more related than they seem to be on the surface of things. The irreversible historical trend is the march of humanity towards fuller and more complete unity. For although we are still living in a world swayed by nationalism, this very period is a transitory one towards an epoch in history in which the whole of humanity will attain a sounder unity when the problems of all peoples of the world have found a solution. Basic among them is the problem of self-determination. Our own understanding of section IV of the USSR draft is that it does not exclude any people or any nation from becoming an integral part of any given regional security system in any of the various parts of the world—and that includes peoples and States which are not Members of the United Nations, which are still not liberated from the colonial yoke or which still do not enjoy their right to self-determination.

67. With regard to section V of the USSR draft concerning the powers of the Security Council, we find it in full agreement with the Charter, especially Article 28, paragraph 2. But we humbly submit that this section must be further strengthened. Here we fully support the cogent remark made by the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Republic, Ambassador El-Zayyat, in his statement of 17 October 1969 [1657th meeting] invoking Article 6 of the Charter, which states:

"A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

68. Permit me to devote some brief remarks to one of the most explosive areas in the world today, the Middle East—and here I address myself, through you, Mr. Chairman, to the representative of the United States. I

hope that my speaking on the Middle East crisis will not be construed as a deviation from the main line which we have followed in our deliberations so far, for a great many of the speakers from the four continents have indeed addressed themselves to the problems of major importance to their respective regions in the context of international security. It is within the context of law as bearing on international security and human relationships that my remarks must be viewed. To make my remarks acceptable, especially to the eminent jurist representing the United States, I might introduce them with the words of an eminent United States Supreme Court Justice, Judge Brandeis, who wrote: "Few laws are of universal application. It is of the nature of our law that it has dealt not with man in general, but with him in relationships."¹ By invoking this great legal authority, I hope to forestall the complaint, which I anticipate, that we are indulging in regional outlooks.

69. Certainly, in this moment of anxious concern for the Arab States, the Arab Member nations of the United Nations may be understood if they plead, and go on pleading, for the rights they claim. However, when we plead the case for their rights in the United Nations, we do so in a perspective of understanding of the great issues in the world, questions of international security, of war and peace, of equity and of the faltering steps of the world toward international order under law. That is what the United Nations is for.

70. It would not be meaningful to deal with all the explosive aspects of the Middle East crisis divorced from its underlying fundamentals. To speak of the currently debated question of United States citizens enlisting in the Israeli army, which all official United States statements so far have but confirmed, or the granting of the most sophisticated offensive weapons by the United States to Israel, while Israel occupies large territories of three Member States of the United Nations, or the billions of dollars that have poured into Israel from the United States, the Israeli and West German *revanchists* would be like looking only at the top of an iceberg. I shall therefore deal very briefly with some of the fundamentals, and within the context of the statement of the United States representative.

71. First among them is his emphasis on the freedom of speech and the free flow of information. I entirely agree with my United States colleague that this is indeed a fundamental principle in international relationships and security, but keeping in mind what Judge Brandeis formulated we surely are entitled to ask the United States representative about the role of American mass media vis-à-vis the Arab world, both qualitatively and quantitatively. It is a sad fact of life that Western, particularly American, reactions to the Middle East crisis have been conditioned over half a century by systematic pro-Zionist propaganda, the obverse side of which has in turn ignored, belittled, derided and vilified the Arabs. The campaign has created a set pattern of political activity and public opinion response and all objectivity has been lost in the process.

72. Dissent, claimed by the United States representative in his statement here as a basic ingredient of American

¹ *Sissent, Truax v. Corrigan*, 257 U.S. 312 (1921).

political life, has indeed leavened many issues of our time, but the massive campaign carried on by the communications media on questions touching Zionism and Israel has permitted the merest trickle of contrary opinion. The Arab case has simply been suppressed. The most telling commentary on this conspiracy of silence I borrow again from Supreme Court Justice Brandeis: "To misstate or suppress the news is a breach of trust."²

73. Second, all the explosive features of international security in the Middle East, including United States-Arab relations, have been generated by the doctrine of world Zionism, which is a direct cause of the Middle East crisis and a factor threatening international security, which we are discussing here.

74. In ventilating this problem here and now, I wish to state in advance that the evidence I shall adduce is not gathered from the propaganda speeches of Israeli officials, or electioneering addresses of United States politicians including the President. I state that in advance—and with great emphasis—because what I have to say is based upon the public international law duly enacted by Israel and upon clearly evident public policies of the United States. The distinction between evidence from such sources, on the one hand, and propaganda from any source, on the other hand, is crucially important. None of us wishes to attempt, even by indirection, to invade the rights granted United States citizens by their own laws and form of government. But we who represent other nations in this United Nations also cannot withhold comment when public policies of the United States or any other nation affect the national interests of countries and the fate of peoples who are Members of the United Nations.

75. What I have to say, therefore, is of vital interest not only to the Arabs or Israelis or Americans, but also to the Member States of the United Nations. It is relevant to the raw fundamentals of international security. By its own duly enacted law the State of Israel flouts a great many of the established rules and laws of the international community, and my first piece of evidence is the Israeli law known as the World Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency for Palestine (Status) Law, 1952, article 2 of which reads:

"2. The World Zionist Organization, from its foundation five decades ago, headed the movement and efforts of the Jewish people to realize the age-old vision of the return to its homeland and, with the assistance of other Jewish circles and bodies, carried the main responsibility for establishing the State of Israel."

76. I submit that this may be one of the most unique paragraphs in any legislation of any State which is a Member of the United Nations. And I also submit, Mr. Chairman, that this is the only situation which exists in the world wherein an integral part of an alien Government is permitted to operate freely as a part of that Government in another country—specifically as the Jewish Agency Zionist Organization operates in the United States. It is this same World Zionist Organization that is now providing Israel, with the tacit and very clear approval of the United States Government, with billions of dollars to colonize the

conquered Arab territories by establishing Israeli settlements on them.

77. Furthermore, I respectfully request the United States representative to look into cases of clear violation of American law by American citizens in which American courts did not pass judgements called for by the offences. Such cases took place as early as 1945, 1946 and 1947, before the partition resolution was passed by the United Nations and before Israel was established. They included smuggling arms from United States army quarters, enlisting in the Jewish terrorist organizations operating in Palestine and, after 1947, smuggling among other arms three United States bombers from a United States military airfield which were used to bomb the two Arab capitals, Cairo and Damascus, in the summer of 1948. These and similar flagrant violations of American law are described in a book entitled *The United States and the Jewish State Movement, The Crucial Decade: 1939-1949*, by Joseph B. Schechtman,³ a well-known American Zionist leader. I commend it to the attention of my eminent colleague from the United States.

78. This might sound like past and ancient history, but again I invite the United States representative to look into the United States *Congressional Record* of 25 September 1969, page E7853 in which, under the heading, "Secret Studies Ordered on Startling Questions", one reads:

"Washington: Henry Kissinger, the White House national security adviser, has ordered some secret studies from the Rand Corporation on some startling questions.

"...

"1. Circumstances in which American nuclear weapons might be used in the Middle East.

"2. Circumstances in which the Government of Brazil might be overthrown if it decides to expropriate American assets.

"...

"4. Prospects for nuclear proliferation around the world, in addition to the five existing nuclear Powers."

The *Congressional Record* goes on to say: "The Government does not buy such studies idly, for the exercise."

79. Are we Arabs to be blamed, therefore, if we warn the world community about the steps the United States Government is taking to strengthen international security? The United States representative in his statement of 16 October spoke of the appearance before the United Nations of four United States Presidents, the last being President Nixon, all of whom have, in the words of the United States representative:

"... indicated that the foreign policy and the basic policy of the United States has, as one of its foundations, the conviction that this Organization must continue and must become even more effective, and that it is one of

² *Collier's Magazine*, 23 March 1921.

³ New York, Herzl Press, Thomas Yoseloff, 1966.

the vital organizations of the world that will aid all of us to enjoy peace and security.” [1656th meeting, para. 132.]

80. But surely all of us heard the speech of President Nixon, and, bearing in mind the basic principle of the Charter preventing any acquisition of territory by force, President Nixon, addressing the General Assembly and speaking on the Middle East crisis, said: “We are convinced that peace cannot be achieved on the basis of substantial alterations in the map of the Middle East.” [1755th plenary meeting, para. 65.]

81. My delegation from the rostrum of the General Assembly asked: How substantial? And altered by what methods, if at all? Is the virtual annexation of Arab Jerusalem “substantial”? Is the planting of new settlements on the Golan heights and the west bank of Jordan “substantial”? Is the published plan for installing military bases in the Sinai “substantial”? Is the eviction of over half a million Arabs from occupied territories after 1967—including the expelling of old refugees from their camps—“substantial”? I wonder who is reinterpreting the Charter, who is rewriting the Charter and who is giving a new meaning to the Charter.

82. To conclude, my delegation submits that in view of the wide dimensions of the item under discussion and its great importance to the world community, and since many suggestions and proposals have been submitted and the Permanent Representative of the USSR has signified the willingness of his delegation to discuss various proposals and amendments with a view to improving the Soviet draft; you, Mr. Chairman, in your wisdom, might find the adequate way, after necessary consultation, of bringing it to an appropriate conclusion at this, the twenty-fourth, session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Kolo (Nigeria), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

83. Mr. MAVOUNGOU (Congo (Brazzaville)) (*translated from French*): First of all may I express the regrets and sorrow of our delegation upon learning of the decease of the eminent statesman, Mr. Mongi Slim. At the moment when Africa has lost one of its great statesmen, may I, on behalf of my delegation express our heartfelt condolences to the delegation and Government of Tunisia and the family of the deceased.

84. On behalf of my delegation may I also address to you, Mr. Chairman, warm congratulations on your election as Chairman of the Committee. We also extend our congratulations to the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur.

85. We welcome the initiative of the Soviet Union [A/7654] which has presented to this session of the General Assembly the item on the strengthening of international security. The importance and urgency of this question is obvious to all. The question of the strengthening of international security will always be a matter of concern to peoples as long as the danger of war is not eliminated and as long as the security of all States is not firmly guaranteed. All States, whether small, medium, large or super-powerful, are interested in ensuring international security. As international relations are at present and with

the modern developments of technology, even what are called local conflicts can, if appropriate measures are not taken, easily deteriorate into a world thermonuclear war which, like a dreadful scourge, would ravage our whole planet.

86. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the fundamental objective of our Organization is to guarantee international security. Next year the United Nations will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, but up to the present the main goal of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security, has not been attained. International tension persists. Military conflicts arise on territories of independent States, first in one place and then in another. In some areas of the world, wars are still being waged against people defending their independence and national freedom. With the violation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] ever more attempts are being made to stifle national liberation movements through armed force and ultra-modern military weapons. Despite requests and clear-cut resolutions of the Security Council some States refuse to free the territory of other States occupied as a result of military action. The arms race continues at an ever-increasing pace. It has reached such a level that the whole of mankind could be drawn into a nuclear war the consequences of which could not be foretold even by the greatest military or political experts. Thus peace is most precarious and the security of States most uncertain.

87. At the same time the world every day is witnessing changes wrought by the forces of progress which, in international organizations, defend the ideals of peace and the freedom and equality of nations and peoples. The composition of the United Nations has also changed. Its membership has more than doubled with the accession of new States born from the ruins of the colonial empires. They too wish to contribute to the common efforts of the United Nations with a view to strengthening international security. Every State knows that in the present international situation measures to strengthen security are becoming not only important and necessary, but that they can be achieved in practice. To take such measures, collective efforts must be made and new initiatives suggested which take into account the people's aspirations to lasting peace and security. These efforts must be made without any further delay by all States Members of the United Nations, by all the States of the world.

88. If a world war were to break out all the efforts of the countries of the third world to develop their economy, improve the standard of their people and eliminate the sequels of the colonial era would come to nothing. Only peace and security can ensure economic and social progress which would liquidate the existing imbalance between industrialized and developing countries. The arms race diverts tremendous natural and human resources to the manufacture of weapons and for the maintenance of outsized armies. According to figures quoted in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, military expenditures of States have reached the astronomical figure of 200,000 million.⁴ That shows that enormous reserves could be freed

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, para. 40.

in every continent of the world for creative work if an end could be put to this ruinous arms race.

89. The developing countries, especially those of Africa, which are in one way or another involved in this arms race, are compelled to spend part of their resources on the maintenance of armies and the acquisition of the weapons needed to deal with the constant conflicts which break out everywhere and to guarantee their security. Many foreign military bases spread over every continent continue to be used as an instrument of imperialist Powers for purposes of interference in the internal affairs of States and in particular to impose their will on small countries. All this proves quite clearly the importance and urgency of the item now under consideration in the First Committee.

90. The conscience of the peoples of Africa and of all the peoples of the world cannot tolerate a situation where the colonial system and the racist yoke still exist in large parts of the African continent, where the most brutal military force is still being used to maintain racist and colonial régimes and to put down the national liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. Punitive operations against peoples of occupied territories fighting for their independence create an immediate danger to the security of neighbouring States. Colonialism inevitably leads to war, and the maintenance of colonial domination threatens international peace and security.

91. The General Assembly and the Security Council have already stressed this when considering various world conflicts. It is obvious that as long as the vestiges of colonialism subsist, as long as colonial wars and other military operations continue against national liberation movements, the tasks of the United Nations in maintaining peace and strengthening international security can likewise not be regarded as having been achieved. Therefore we consider that it is extremely important for the United Nations to ensure that an end is put to all manoeuvres aimed at maintaining peoples under imperialist and colonial rule. More than anybody else, the peoples of Africa know from their own experience the harm caused them by the refusal of some States to apply the decisions of the United Nations—of the General Assembly and of the Security Council—aimed at freeing the territories of southern Africa from the domination of cruel racist régimes. We know very well that some States Members of the United Nations persist in their refusal to apply the decisions of the Security Council relating to sanctions against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia as well as many General Assembly resolutions defending the just cause of the peoples of Rhodesia and Namibia oppressed by the racists. Despite decisions of the United Nations some States continue to grant political, economic and military assistance to the racists as well as to support them in various ways.

92. We also see the maintenance in the territories of States Members of the United Nations, in violation of a clear-cut decision of the Security Council, of foreign troops which are occupying those territories following upon a war of aggression. And here too an attempt is being made to ignore outright the principle that conquest and territorial annexation are inadmissible.

93. At the same time at the other end of the Asian continent a hot war has been raging for a number of years already against a brave people fighting for its national salvation, freedom and independence. And disloyal attempts are being made to cover up with the flag of the United Nations the occupation by foreign troops of another Asian country whose people want only unity, peace and independence. There is not the slightest doubt that such actions are a direct threat to international peace and security. There can be no hope of any stable international security until such actions come to an end.

94. The United Nations must use every means to ensure the withdrawal of foreign troops from territories occupied as a result of military actions undertaken by some States against other States. It is also essential that the appropriate decisions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of occupation troops from foreign territories should be carried out. Nor should certain States be allowed to continue to ignore and violate without scruple important resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly which lay down the measures to be taken against racists and colonialists. All these are urgent problems closely linked to the strengthening of international security.

95. The Soviet draft appeal to all the States of the world [*A/C.1/L.468*] stresses—in our view—the need for all States of the world to respect the principles of sovereignty, equal rights, the territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their social system.

96. It is impossible to contemplate a system guaranteeing international security if those principles did not become the law governing the relations between States; implementation of those principles would put an end to direct or indirect attempts to intervene in various open or hidden ways in the internal affairs of States for the purpose of preserving ancient privileges, to impose a system which the people reject and to divert the efforts of those peoples, especially in new countries, from the vital tasks of ensuring economic freedom and national independence.

97. The United Nations has a responsible role to play in the solution of problems relating to the strengthening of international security and the young States lay great hopes in it. If the United Nations is to shoulder its responsibilities in ensuring international peace and security, its effectiveness and its ability to act in conformity with the Charter must be strengthened. That is the concern first and foremost of the Security Council, which under the Charter has great powers and primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

98. At a time when we are celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the United Nations and preparing to commemorate the twenty-fifth, it is more urgent than ever that the People's Republic of China should have its lawful rights restored. One of the causes of the weakness of our Organization—and probably the greatest—is that the Peking Government, the obvious representative of the great Chinese people, has been kept out. No slander and no unfounded accusations can conceal the fact that the People's Republic of China has a determining, dynamic and invaluable role to play in such fields as science, technology

and economic progress, and that it is now one of the great Powers of our era.

99. The adoption by the General Assembly of the draft declaration proposed by the Soviet Union would make it possible to unite and direct into one channel the efforts of all Members for the solution of the fundamental problem of our time, a vital problem for present and future generations, namely how to save the world from the perils of war and to ensure stable international security. That is in our view the meaning and the scope of the document before us.

100. The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Bureau I thank the representative of Congo (Brazzaville) for his compliments.

101. Mr. ANTOINE (Haiti) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Haiti associates itself with the Chairman's expression of sorrow at the loss of the remarkable North African statesman, Mr. Mongi Slim, who at one time was President of the General Assembly and who left his mark on contemporary history.

102. It is man's fate to be born and to die. But what is important is to have lived and to have done one's work, and to die honourably because of the work done on this earth.

103. Despite the desire of the Chairman not to be congratulated, the Haitian delegation feels it must express its admiration at the prestige that the Chairman enjoys in our Organization. But so as not to inject a discordant note the Haitian delegation will fall in line with the indiscipline that has been displayed and congratulate the Chairman, and also the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur who are assisting him in his task.

104. The item on our agenda that has been given priority because of its exceptional importance has been considered by the First Committee for a number of days. It is entitled "The strengthening of international security" and is embodied in a draft resolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/C.1/L.468] for the serious consideration of all States Members of the United Nations.

105. The small States, which are in a majority here, share the concern of the two blocs into which mankind is divided and which have engaged in the fantastic arms race, creating ever more murderous weapons. The two unchallenged leaders of these two blocs have in their arsenals weapons of destruction which could in an instant reduce the world to a heap of ashes—a vain battle, with heroes without laurels and no winners.

106. Speakers outstanding both for their intellectual attainments and their diplomatic experience have spoken on this most important and difficult question for mankind and given their opinions on international security, a matter of particular importance to the small and defenceless nations, of which Haiti is one. It is to be expected that we should share in the anguish of mankind at this crucial moment but, despite all the eloquence of the sponsor of the draft resolution, we fear that this problem will not be dealt with fully and with all the objectivity necessary to ensure some relaxation of tension.

107. In the circumstances, in view of the fact that a feature of international politics today is that it refuses to accept as well-founded the explanations that might dispel the scepticism of the small nations, if the two great Powers cannot decide to give guarantees that they will renounce the practice of the cold war—a new tactic that involves keeping the nations under their respective influences constantly under the threat of a nuclear war—humanity will be the sufferer, because, in spite of all their goodwill, no concrete decision has been reached for definitely outlawing these weapons.

108. I would request at this time that those nations that confronted each other in the Second World War should forget the past, since millions of men died for a better world. We have seen the decolonization of peoples who had lived in the most degrading conditions of servitude but whose representatives today give the United Nations the benefit of their knowledge and contribute to our discussions all the weight of their skills and of their wisdom in the settlement of the most complex problems.

109. The preamble of the Soviet draft appeal begins:

"Assembled in its twenty-fourth session on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory over the Fascist aggressors in the Second World War, the General Assembly . . ."

and further on:

"Armed attacks on independent States are occurring in various parts of the world and attempts are being made to revise the results of the Second World War, which ended in victory over the Fascist aggressors."

110. If we wish to be fair to ourselves, we must admit that a new kind of law came into existence after the Second World War. It has thus far prevented any relaxation of tension between East and West, and this is the reason for the disarray in which the present-day world struggles.

111. If the search for international security is to be something really genuine and sincere, we must reconsider the consequences of this new kind of law. It is not too late to come together, under the aegis of the United Nations, which represents the collective international conscience, and to seek by common agreement the reason for the division of the present-day world into two entrenched camps. Peace is indispensable on this earth which we did not create and which we are now wanting to destroy. As Paul Valéry said in his *Regards sur le monde*:

"The immediate result of the Great War was what it was bound to be: the process of decadence in Europe was merely accentuated and accelerated. All its great nations simultaneously weakened, the internal contradictions in their principles became glaringly obvious, two of the parties resorted desperately to non-European nations in the same way that the parties in civil wars have recourse to help from abroad, Western nations destroyed each other's prestige by their propaganda wars, and I need hardly mention the accelerated dissemination of military methods and means, or the extermination of élites. Such were the consequences, as far as the status of Europe in

the world was concerned, of that long-prepared crisis springing from so many illusions and leaving behind it so many problems, so many enigmas, so many fears, and a more uncertain situation, greater confusion of minds, and an even darker future than that of 1913. At that time there had existed in Europe a balance of forces; but the peace of today we can regard only as a sort of balance of weaknesses, which of necessity is more unstable."

That opinion of this eminent French writer throws a vivid light onto the darkness of the post-war world. It shows how the super-Powers, the guardians of international peace, must be dissuaded so that they may better understand the role they must play as leaders.

112. This was also the view of General de Gaulle, ex-President of France, in his broad vision of an international peace based on close co-operation between East and West. In a press conference on 9 September 1968 he said:

"The division into two blocs—and you know how I have always felt about this—which was imposed on Europe as a result of its upheavals, is a misfortune succeeding other misfortunes. This division is, in fact, for the peoples of our continent, a permanent infringement of their right to independence, though each people is quite capable of looking after its own affairs. Besides, to divide the nations of Europe into two camps dominated by two rivals, is to prevent the establishment of economic, cultural and human ties between them, in keeping with their nature and age-old trends. In our present era, where everything depends on modern development, relaxation of tension, understanding and co-operation are what the common interest of these nations demands. Furthermore, the political and military tension prevailing between these blocs is a constant threat to peace. No ideology can warrant such an artificial and dangerous situation.

"This situation has been rejected by France from the very beginning. Need I recall that in Moscow, in December 1944, on the question of Poland, I refused to subscribe to and to endorse in advance the Soviet suzerainty that Stalin wished to impose upon it, through communism and by means of a government formed at his discretion? Need I recall too that in 1945 France, though it was belligerent and had its sovereignty, its territory, its empire and its armies, was not invited to Yalta, by a deliberate agreement between Moscow and Washington, and that before the opening of the Conference I challenged in every possible way the composition of that Conference? Once its conclusions were known, I did not adopt them and, in order publicly to show my disagreement, I did not attend the talks to which Roosevelt spectacularly invited me. I could not, in effect, agree that the fate of Europe should be determined without Europe. Furthermore, and leaving aside the vague formulations of principles that covered such an unauthorized assumption of power, I could not admit that—enemies or allies—two Powers, which were already rivals, should *ex officio* attribute to themselves the supreme right to dispose of others, whether allies or enemies, each on its own side of the line of demarcation they had traced for their troops, thus inevitably leaving to Soviet domination the central and eastern part of our continent and cutting the

continent in two. If subsequently my Government recognized that these were accomplished facts, because we had been unable to prevent them, it never recognized them as justifiable or justified.

"Since 1958, we Frenchmen have never ceased trying to put an end to this system of two blocs. Thus, while enjoying close relations with the countries of Western Europe, and going so far, in the case of Germany, as to change our old animosity into cordial co-operation, we have gradually detached ourselves from the NATO military organization, which subordinates Europeans to Americans. Thus, while participating in the Common Market, we have never agreed that the six nations of the so-called 'supranational' system should submerge France in a non-national group whose only policy would be that of the protector across the ocean. This determination not to risk this Atlantic absorption was one of the reasons for which, to our great regret, we have thus far deferred the entrance of the United Kingdom into the Community.

"At the same time, while making it impossible for a communist régime to take over among us, we have repewed with the countries of the East, and first of all with Russia, practical relations which are growing. In so doing, we are assisting in general economic, scientific, technical and cultural development, but we are also helping to bring about a relaxation of political tension. At the same time, with the countries of the Vistula, the Danube and with the Balkans, we are renewing the special ties of friendship that for many centuries linked us with them in so many ways. We have made clear to the great Russian people, whom in the course of history the French people, for reasons of pure sentiment, have regarded as their designated friends, that Europe as a whole expected much better of them than to see them shut themselves in and wall in their satellites under an oppressive totalitarian system."

113. My delegation has given the opinion of a great French writer and the even higher opinion of a military leader and ex-President of the French Republic, who had known all the anguish of the Second World War and also the outcome of that war, which we might term tragic since it did not bring the true peace for which so many human lives had been sacrificed and property destroyed in order to ensure, as General de Gaulle pointed out, a better world for the generations to come.

114. The present situation is more European than world-wide. It should be added that the difficulties that exist at present in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East, South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America, also result from the macabre game which threatens to dim more and more any hopes of lasting international peace.

115. Twenty-five years will soon have lapsed since the 1939 conflagration ended. The peoples of the American hemisphere and the peoples of Europe are still beset by economic difficulties and conflicts of a geo-political nature which tend to widen even more the breaches between them that will not be easy to heal if—as we are about to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization set up in San Francisco—we do not adopt here and now the firm and energetic decision to eliminate the main

causes that led the great men of Europe, the Americas and other parts of the world, to meet in order to find a formula that might guarantee and strengthen peace in the great family that lives on our planet. For all these reasons, my delegation associates itself with the draft appeal of the delegation of the Soviet Union, but in a modified form, along more objective lines, that will allow us to believe in a strengthening of international security. For there can be no true peace without a generalized treaty. In achieving such a treaty, the United Nations would attain the true purpose for which it was originally conceived, and the peoples of the world, particularly the smaller peoples, would be less pessimistic and would be able to believe in a better future.

116. In conclusion, if viewed in the light of basic and permanent historical principles, a lesson may be drawn by the economically weak peoples from what I have said, which should help them to achieve their proper status. The delegation of Haiti believes that the future of the United Nations depends on its finding a way of establishing a peace that will guarantee the stability of great and small nations, in peace, by eliminating all forms of aggression that might cause relations among States to deteriorate. But from the time of the resolution submitted by the Soviet Union on the definition of aggression [2330 (XXII)], until the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization and despite all the efforts made by the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression both in Geneva and in New York, no one has yet discovered this philosopher's stone.

117. The draft appeal of the Soviet Union on international security will be useless unless it accords with the aims of the Charter.

118. The permanent members of the Security Council have assumed a solemn commitment to save mankind from a terrible disaster. We note that that obligation has caused political tergiversations. For some time permanent members of the Security Council have, through their abuse of the right of veto, not infrequently prevented the solution of many problems that confront our Organization. They do not appear to regard the legal equality of States, the self-determination of peoples and non-intervention to be sacred principles of the Charter.

119. But the moment seems to have come to transform and modify the Charter in accordance with the new circumstances and the evolution of ideas that are no longer the same as they were 25 years ago.

120. As a result of these debates on international security which are being held in the United Nations for the sake of the rules of peace on earth, the Haitian delegation still hopes that our Organization will finally find the right road, so as to establish and guarantee the noble principles for which it was created.

Mr. Shahi (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

121. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (*translated from French*): I can only in part abide by the appeal made by the Chairman of the Committee. While I feel I can refrain from describing his qualities which deserve high praise, and from

expressing my feelings of friendship and admiration which are quite obvious, I feel bound nevertheless to recall his past achievements before he was elected Chairman. Ten years ago his name and that of his country were associated with an initiative which made much headway in this Organization, namely the economic aspects of disarmament. He acquired a lasting prestige thanks to his ideas and activities in the United Nations. If we add to this the feelings my country has about Pakistan, with which we have relations of close co-operation and friendship, it is easy to understand the confidence with which we work under his guidance.

122. I am also happy to express my sincere congratulations to Mr. Kolo of Nigeria and Mr. Barnett of Jamaica on their elections as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively of this Committee.

123. May I, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, address warm congratulations to the delegation of the Soviet Union on its initiative in presenting for debate in the General Assembly the important problem of the strengthening of international security. The inclusion on the agenda of the General Assembly, at the proposal of the Soviet Union [A/7654], of the problem of strengthening international security points once again to the active participation of the socialist States in, and their significant contribution to, the activities of the United Nations and the consideration and solution in a constructive spirit, together with the other States of the world, of the great problems confronting mankind today. From the moment of its establishment socialism became, in the field of theory and practice in international relations, a powerful factor for the promotion of the rights of peoples to peace and security and to a free and independent existence.

124. The problem of international security arises out of the basic obligations assumed by Member States of the United Nations in adhering to the principles of the Charter. At the same time it restores a function which is reflected in the actual title of our Committee, one which is sometimes forgotten.

125. We think this debate most appropriate since it is being held at a time when in many parts of the globe the situation is tense and there are many actual and potential dangers to world peace, at a time when, as the Secretary-General said in his message on United Nations Day, "international action to bring these goals to fruition is at least as urgent as it was in 1945".

126. This debate is all the more welcome because we are on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which is a particularly appropriate moment to count our successes and the difficulties we have encountered, and to review the prospects for strengthening the defence of peace and security.

127. The achievement of security is of fundamental importance for all peoples of the world.

128. Throughout history they have strongly shown their desire to exclude from social life any resort to force and war, to replace them by reason and principles of law, and to promote institutions and procedures which would facilitate

co-operation between independent sovereign States, so that disputes could be settled through peaceful means and peace and security could be strengthened.

129. Our century has known two important attempts to set up an organized system of international security. Each one was conceived after a world war, because of the imperative need to avoid similar conflagrations and to spare men all the suffering, loss of life, and the tremendous destruction of spiritual and material values that accompany them. In the search for an effective and advanced security system, the United Nations marks an important, valuable and significant step forward, and its reserves are far from being exhausted.

130. By placing first among its aims the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations has assumed not only the obligation of avoiding conflicts but also that of establishing active co-operation between its Members.

131. The attainment of the Charter objectives, especially the maintenance of international security, which has pride of place, inevitably requires all Member States to respect the fundamental principles of international law laid down in the Charter.

132. The Chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, said recently: "The continuous promotion of good relations and collaboration between States is, in our opinion, an essential condition for the creation of a climate of international peace and security. To achieve such a climate it is essential to establish enduring relations between States on the principle of independence, sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantages, with strict respect for the right of each people to decide its own destiny."

133. Life shows that in the final count, the deep-lying causes of all conflicts and situations which have threatened world peace are precisely the result of ignoring these principles. It is obvious that international security will be truly strengthened only if these principles are effectively respected by all States in their dealings with all other States, not only in their statements, but in the actual behaviour of each one of them.

134. The General Assembly of the United Nations has, through the years, adopted a number of important resolutions for the implementation of these principles, strict observance of which would ensure the maintenance of a climate of peace and security. We would refer to such documents as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Interference in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty [*resolution 2131 (XX)*], or the resolution relating to strict observance of the prohibition of resort to the threat or use of force in international relations and the right of people to self-determination.

135. The firm link between respect for the principles laid down in the Charter and the maintenance of a climate of

peace and security was logically bound to lead the United Nations to undertake the task of codifying principles of international law in the light of contemporary events.

136. As the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs stated in the General Assembly [*1775th plenary meeting*], the Romanian delegation considers that it would be a great tribute to our Organization at its commemorative session if, in the presence of Heads of State or Government, a solemn declaration were adopted on the principles of international law governing friendly relations and co-operation among States in conformity with the Charter. By expressing universal recognition of the principles on which relations between States should be based, such a declaration would help to implement these principles and strengthen legality and security in the world.

137. Of course, if international security is to be strengthened, the effectiveness of institutions, means and methods provided in the Charter, to which a State can have recourse to defend its lawful rights and interests, must be increased.

138. In order to safeguard its security, each State has, first of all, the inherent right to self-defence, which is an inalienable right laid down in the Charter.

139. In addition, throughout history, two concepts have been put forward by their advocates as solutions of the problem of security: military alliances and the system of collective security.

140. The system of alliances and military blocs has failed, through the centuries, to provide solutions for the safeguarding of peace and the establishment of a climate of security. In our day and age, the existence of military blocs has resulted in the growth of armaments and a correspondingly stronger threat of war which, in the final analysis, further increases the insecurity of all peoples, great and small.

141. When the Charter was adopted, the shortcomings of the system of alliances, its instability and its precarious nature, led to the search for a system of collective security. Under such a system, a firm undertaking is given by all States that not only the victim State and its allies but the whole international community will retaliate against the aggressor, in accordance with a number of principles jointly adopted.

142. The system of collective security as laid down in the Charter is taking a long time to bear fruit. As soon as the "cold war" started, many blocs sprang up again because of the attempts of the imperialist Powers to surround the socialist States with a network of aggressive pacts, in spite of the so-called "containment" policy. Without going into details, I would stress the fact that the true reason why the collective security system provided for by the Charter has not been established sooner has been this return to the policy of blocs.

143. At present, political and military blocs constitute a factor delaying the favourable development of international relations, a source of distrust and suspicion, and an obstacle to the development of broad collaboration between States.

The existence of these blocs, which maintain in international life the spirit and practices of the "cold war", is an anachronism in direct contradiction with the trend towards a sound development of international life.

144. The strengthening of international peace and security requires firm action to eliminate the blocs. Several times, States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have asserted that they were ready to take measures to put an end to the Warsaw Treaty Organization if the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were abolished at the same time. Similarly, by the Bucharest Declaration of July 1966,⁵ the members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization undertook to work for the adoption of partial measures aimed at bringing about a military *détente* in Europe, where the largest stocks of armaments, including nuclear weapons are concentrated. Such measures would include the liquidation of foreign military bases, the withdrawal inside their own natural borders of all foreign troops stationed in the territories of other States, and the creation of nuclear-free zones. Relaxation of tension and co-operation are incompatible with all military manifestations aimed at intimidating peoples including threats to use force and all demonstrations of strength which poison the international political atmosphere.

145. This is why the Romanian delegation considers that the debate on the restoration of the security machinery provided for in the Charter is extremely important, for it may make it possible for the machinery to operate with all necessary efficiency for the protection of each member of the international community. We see in this an indication of the efforts States must make to get beyond the obsolete policy of blocs.

146. The United Nations system which is being called upon through this debate to acquire a new lease on life, answers our questions by providing the model of international security.

147. At this time there are more than 130 independent States in the world and about as many subjects of international law. Their differences in social and political structure, in size and in economic capacity do not affect the fundamental principle of equal rights on which the United Nations system is founded.

148. If the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council have, under the provisions of the Charter, a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, their positive role in world developments is directly proportionate to the responsibility they evince in protecting the principles of international justice and in promoting equal rights among States and the principles and rules of law. Life shows that small and medium States can and must play an important role in international life and make a useful contribution to the safeguarding of international peace and security. In the time in which we live, each State, large or small, each nation, is responsible for peace, and is in duty bound to help actively in averting a new war, easing tension and promoting international co-operation. At the same time the

right to security is equal for all. It is an invariant factor as opposed to the variants of power and size.

149. Any collective security system, if it is to be really effective and useful, must be universal.

150. If peace is to be maintained, each member of the international community must show respect for certain basic principles, and in the same way a system of world security must be based on the principle of universality.

151. In view of this incontrovertible principle, the fact that the People's Republic of China, a permanent member of the Security Council, has been prevented from exercising its functions in the maintenance of international peace and security is in direct contradiction with the principles of the Charter.

152. The problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will soon be debated once again in the plenary Assembly. However, since we are talking about the role of the Security Council, I should like to point out what the Romanian delegation, like others, has stressed many times, that it is absolutely essential, if the Security Council is to play the role attributed to it by the Charter, for all illusion to disappear, for reality to be restored, and for conditions to be created enabling the People's Republic of China, a Member of our Organization, to occupy the place that belongs to it in that body as well as in other bodies of the United Nations.

153. Other socialist countries—the Democratic Republic of Germany, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam—are also prevented from taking part in the life of this Organization because of this discrimination which has done us a great deal of harm.

154. The universal security system cannot be limited, as to its principles, to laying down obligations; such a system must ensure equal rights for all States, including the right to speak out on any problem concerning international peace and security.

155. In the operation of any security system, a definition of aggression serves as the key device which promptly sets the whole system in motion. The machinery which must prevent or put an end to acts of aggression as soon as they occur would be strengthened if a universally recognized definition of aggression could be worked out. That is why we support the proposal of the Soviet Union to devote to the definition of aggression all the attention consonant with the part it plays among the general principles of security.

156. After carefully examining the realities of contemporary international life, Romania considers that today, when the will for peace and the progress of all peoples are so clearly manifested, favourable conditions exist for the strengthening of international security and for the creation of a climate of understanding and peaceful co-operation among all the nations of the world.

157. Today the appearance of newly independent States and their adherence to their own systems of development

⁵ Adopted at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

after centuries of oppression, the powerful surge of technology, the development of communications among men, access to new resources in energy and food, the enthusiasm aroused by great space, sea and biological projects, are so many symptoms of the growing strength of human reason and of its possible application to international relations.

158. Among the causes which have made difficult the effective functioning of the security system laid down by the Charter we must mention in the first place the persistence of manifestations of the policy of force in international relations.

159. That is why the Romanian delegation considers it useful to point to the fundamental obligation of States to substitute for threats, for the use of force or any economic, political or other pressures, the peaceful methods provided for in the Charter. The reproaches addressed to diplomats for their failure or lack of progress in some situations are not due to the lack of diplomatic resourcefulness or ingenuity, which are not inferior to those to be found in other professions. The difficulties encountered on the road to solutions of international problems are due largely to the efforts to settle them from positions of strength, without taking into account the legitimate interests and rights of peoples.

160. The second circumstance which makes it difficult to solve the problem of security arises from the state of affairs in the field of disarmament. If we examine the negotiations on disarmament which have been held in recent years, we are bound to note that they have not resulted in any real or effective agreement on disarmament that might lead to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and to the reduction of existing stocks. At the same time the pace and proportions of the arms race have increased unprecedentedly, a fact which constitutes a grave threat to mankind.

161. There is no doubt that as long as there is a possibility of sudden destruction through a nuclear conflagration, security cannot be lastingly restored.

162. The Romanian delegation is convinced that if security is to be strengthened, there must be serious negotiations that could lead to effective measures of general disarmament and, above all, nuclear disarmament. It may be worth reminding the Committee that in the political and legal thought of States, as may be seen from the work of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, the idea of the compulsory nature of negotiations on disarmament has become definitely established as a corollary of the principles relating to the prohibition of force. Furthermore, the obligatory nature of negotiations on disarmament was laid down in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [see resolution 2373 (XXII)].

163. The third characteristic of contemporary relations springs from the fact that international security presupposes a diminution in the disparities which threaten to divide mankind into distinct categories. The widening of the economic, scientific and technological gaps between

countries, a trend about which the representatives of many States have expressed well-justified concern at the present session, not only perpetuates the economic and social underdevelopment of many countries, but is also likely to give rise to new forms of dependence on the international stage by creating conditions for the maintenance of neo-colonialist practices.

164. While we would emphasize that it is of fundamental importance that every State must be responsible for the development of its national economy, we consider that it is essential in international life today that comprehensive and effective assistance should be given to developing countries, and that the United Nations has the duty to play a particularly important role in bringing this about.

165. In our view and that of many other States, international co-operation can and must actively help the constructive efforts of every people and stimulate multi-lateral development of the economy of young States in the interest of strengthening international peace and security.

166. In putting forward these considerations, the Romanian delegation wishes to draw attention, as other delegations have done, to those areas in which it considers it vitally important that action should be taken to strengthen co-operation and security in the world.

167. The foreign policy of Romania is a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation among States. Its international policy is based primarily on friendship, alliance and co-operation with all socialist countries. At the same time, Romania is extremely active in developing relations of co-operation in the economic, political, cultural, technical and scientific fields with all States, regardless of their social and political systems.

168. Romania is endeavouring to promote a policy of active co-operation with all States and it is taking part in the debates on, and the constructive solution of, international problems. It wants to make its own contribution that way to the strengthening of international peace and security.

169. In the view of the Romanian Government an important factor in the efforts to improve the international atmosphere and to strengthen peace is the development of co-operation and the creation of an effective security system in Europe.

170. My country attaches exceptional importance to measures aimed at improving relations between all the States of Europe, since it considers that the achievement of security in Europe is a very important factor not only for each State of our continent but for the whole situation in the world. The people of Romania sees in the accomplishment of this task of European security a basic condition for its own peaceful work, for its own efforts to establish a prosperous life in a developed society which would allow every one of its members to fulfill their personality.

171. Deeply convinced that it is discharging its high task as a socialist State, a European country, and a Member of the United Nations, Romania is maintaining an active dialogue with the countries of the European continent, has

put forward constructive proposals, has not allowed itself to be dismayed by the size and difficulties of unsolved problems, and has always urged the use of international organs to improve the climate in Europe.

172. In that spirit four years ago the delegation of Romania, together with the delegations of eight other European States, proposed to this Committee a resolution entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems" [*resolution 2124 (XX)*]. Expressing the unanimous conviction of the General Assembly that any improvement in relations among European countries would at the same time have a beneficial effect on international relations as a whole, the resolution stated that the General Assembly:

"Emphasizes the importance of maintaining and increasing contacts between European States for the purpose of developing peaceful co-operation among the peoples of the European continent, with a view to strengthening peace and security in Europe by all possible means."

173. In order effectively to deal with the problems of European security and the strengthening of peace on our continent, it is essential, in our view, to take into account the actual situation after the Second World War and to recognize the existence of two German States and the inviolability of existing borders including the Oder-Neisse border.

174. The experience of my country, the contacts, conversations and negotiations with representatives of other States at various levels and in the most diverse fields bears out our conviction that the development of co-operation amongst all States is the real road leading towards a strengthening of security in Europe and in the world.

175. Romania considers that the organization of a conference devoted to problems of European co-operation and security as proposed by the socialist States parties to the Warsaw Treaty in the Budapest statement⁶ would be of fundamental importance and pave the way towards the building of a lasting peace not only in Europe but in the whole world.

176. As a European country we attach particular importance to the establishment of a climate of peace and security on the European continent. Romania is in favour of, and is working systematically to promote, the settlement of contentious issues in other continents, the promotion of peaceful settlements of international disputes and the creation of a climate of understanding and co-operation among all the peoples of the world.

177. Because of its position of principle in matters of peace and security, Romania has supported the need to settle the Viet-Nam conflict through a peaceful solution at the conference table with strict respect for the basic national interests of the Viet-Nameese people. We express

the hope that the Paris negotiations will lead to a final cessation of the war and withdrawal of foreign troops from Viet-Nam and thus create conditions for the Viet-Nameese people to settle its own problems by itself, including the problem of the re-unification of its homeland in conformity with its inalienable right freely to decide its fate without any foreign interference.

178. As is well known, Romania has always come out against military operations in the Middle East and firmly believes in the need for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in accordance with the interests and legitimate rights of all the peoples living in that area. My country is consistently in favour of the solution of the Middle East conflict in the spirit of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which offers a reasonable basis for the solution of the situation in that area.

179. I can only conclude by reiterating the importance which the Romanian delegation attaches to these debates, which should lead to useful results in the interest of all and help to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the defence of the peace and security of all peoples, in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

180. The CHAIRMAN: I thank Deputy Foreign Minister Malitza for the compliments he has addressed to me and the other members of the Bureau.

181. Before I give the floor to a speaker in the exercise of the right of reply, I should like to make a brief statement. At the end of yesterday's meeting I said that at the end of this morning's meeting the names of a few delegations might still be left on the list of speakers and that I would consult the Committee concerning our future programme of work. Since I made that statement I have had informal consultations with some delegations, including a few from among those whose names remain on the list, about our next meeting.

182. These consultations lead me to believe that there is no general support for the idea of a meeting tonight or on Saturday. In the circumstances and subject to any other proposals that representatives might wish to make, I would suggest that we continue with and conclude the general debate on this item on Monday, 27 October. Are there any other suggestions? Since there are none I take it it is so agreed.

183. Before adjourning the meeting I should like to remind Members that the next item on the Committee's agenda is the invitation aspect of the question of Korea. I hope that delegations which wish to take part in the discussion of this item will be ready to do so when we begin that discussion.

184. I give the floor to the representative of Israel in exercise of the right of reply.

185. Mr. LOURIE (Israel): The hour is late and I shall be very brief. The participation of Syria in this discussion as an upholder of international peace and security has been one of the less edifying aspects of this debate. Syria was notorious for the malign, the evil and calculated role it played in bringing about the war of June 1967. Statements

⁶ Statement adopted in Budapest on 17 March 1969 by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (document A/4536).

such as that of President Al-Atassi in May 1967 that: "We want total war with no limits, a war which will destroy the Zionist base", or again, a few months earlier, the blood-thirsty comments of Defence Minister Hafez Assad: "We are resolved to drench this land with blood, to oust you aggressors and throw you into the sea for good", were accompanied by organized murder and sabotage by units sent from Syria into Israel and by the indiscriminate shelling by Syrian artillery entrenched in the heights above of the Israel settlements in the valley below. This is the country which in a letter addressed last year by its Minister of Education to the Director-General of UNESCO declared: "The hatred which we indoctrinate into the minds of our children is sacred".

186. This is the Member State which has refused not merely to enter into negotiations with Israel but to co-operate with and even to meet the Representative of the Secretary-General in the task imposed upon him by the Security Council to promote a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and this is the country which in recent weeks has not failed to abet a gross act of air piracy. On the one hand it has released the two hijackers of an American airliner, subsequently destroyed by a bomb which they had placed in the fuselage, while on the other it continues to fly in the face of international law and opinion by the

continuing detention of two Israeli citizens who happened to be among the passengers aboard. And this is the country, finally, whose election at this time to membership of the Security Council can only be described as a mockery of the aims and aspirations of the Charter.

187. The Syrian representative spoke at length in the general debate on the problem of the Middle East. Whether it was appropriate for him to take up the time of the Committee this morning with the material he has excavated from a curious variety of sources, including his extraordinary discovery that Syria had helped in the Second World War in the struggle against the Nazis, Members of this Committee will decide for themselves.

188. On the general problems of our region I would limit myself to referring the Committee to the statement in the general debate by my Foreign Minister Mr. Abba Eban on 19 September [1757th plenary meeting].

189. Mr. AWAD (Syria): In view of the lateness of the hour my delegation reserves its right to reply at a subsequent meeting to the distortion we have just heard from the Israeli representative.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.