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Chairman: Mr. Andrés AGUILAR M. (Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 32

Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security: report of the Secretary-General (continued) (A/7922 and Add.1-5, A/7926, A/C.1/1003, A/C.1/L.513-517)

1. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): As this is my first statement, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the post of Chairman of this very important Committee and to express confidence in your ability to perform your responsible duties. We also congratulate Mr. Farah on his election to the post of Vice-Chairman and Mr. Cernik on his election as Rapporteur; we have no doubt that you will do everything possible to ensure the success of our Committee's work.

2. In co-sponsoring with other socialist countries the draft declaration on strengthening international security [A/C.1/L.513] submitted for the consideration of the First Committee, the Ukrainian SSR was prompted by the truly vital importance of international security for the fate of all peoples. Any important and constructive task facing mankind can be successfully performed only when there is peaceful coexistence, with no sources of tension or threat of war, and a reliable system of international co-operation. The importance and timeliness of this problem can be seen from the wide-ranging and constructive debates held here last year, from the answers given by many States in response to resolution 2606 (XXIV) [A/7922 and Add.1-5] and from the general political discussion at this session of the General Assembly. Lastly, this has been recognized by the First Committee, where the question of security has been given top priority and where we are to prepare a programme of action which the General Assembly can approve at its commemorative session.

3. As the Chairman rightly pointed out, we can hold simultaneously a general debate and a discussion of the various proposals submitted. My delegation's statement will be made in this spirit.

4. For the Ukrainian people, who are familiar with the horrors of destructive wars and military occupation, the

desire for peace and security is not a passing fancy but a vitally important necessity. Another reason is—and this is our essential concern—that we are building a new society and we need peace. Peace and security are also necessary for other peoples, since the successful solution of the urgent problems of social and economic progress depends on this. Meanwhile there has been an outbreak in recent years and in various areas of extremely acute conflicts, many of which are continuing to this day. The peoples' security is threatened. The occupation of territories seized forcibly is continuing. Many millions of people are being kept under the colonial yoke by force.

5. In proposing the draft declaration, we are motivated not by abstract concepts but by the actual existence of dangerous sources of tension and scenes of direct military conflict. Is this not demonstrated by the continuing United States aggression against the long-suffering peoples of Indo-China and the situation created in the Middle East as a result of the annexationist action of Israel and the imperialist forces supporting it? Is this not a direct violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter concerning sovereignty, equality of rights, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs—of the principles which should guide the United Nations?

6. Only urgent measures to strengthen security can free peoples from constant fear for the present and for the future and prevent the outbreak of new and dangerous conflicts and the intensification of the destructive arms race. It is precisely such measures which are proposed in the draft declaration submitted by eight socialist countries. We should like to stress the special importance of an obligation established in this draft: respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their social system. This right is an inseparable part of the principle of the sovereign equality of States and has rightly been included in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>1</sup>

7. It is vitally important to stress the inadmissibility of military occupation and of the acquisition of territory as a result of war or the use of force. The declaration should condemn States for such predatory and annexationist practices. The territorial integrity of States must be protected from outside encroachment and the lawful and sovereign rights of peoples to the inviolability of their frontiers must be preserved. Direct invasion for the purpose of acquiring foreign territories has in our era unfortunately not disappeared as an instrument of foreign policy but there is no condemnation of such invasions in draft resolution A/C.1/L.514. Seizures of foreign territories must

<sup>1</sup> For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

be banished from the system of contemporary international relations. We believe that the inclusion of such a provision in the declaration would help to eliminate territorial claims from the practice of inter-State relations and thus create an atmosphere of confidence.

8. We must restore the integrity of those States which have already been the subject of territorial seizures, effected as a result of armed conflicts. As everyone knows, there are pertinent decisions of the Security Council on this subject. We must most categorically reaffirm the need for strict implementation of those decisions. No proof is needed of the fact that such a reminder would be extremely timely and significant. This would by no means be an abstract condemnation of territorial seizures and occupations but would reflect the situation actually existing in a number of regions. It would be a specific way of strengthening "both the peace-keeping and peace-making functions of the United Nations", as advocated by the Secretary-General in his report [A/7922, para. 9]. The inclusion of this point in the declaration would have a restraining influence on States which are counting on going unpunished for their annexationist activities and its omission would be tantamount to tacit agreement with those who are ignoring the very important decisions of this responsible organ of the United Nations.

9. Some speakers here have tried to create the impression that the sponsors of the draft declaration contained in document A/C.1/L.513 are aiming at a selective reading and unilateral interpretation of the Charter and that the draft declaration is static, does not reflect the realities of our times and, what is more, could apparently even weaken the Charter of the United Nations.

10. As sponsors of the document in question, we naturally cannot leave unanswered these completely groundless remarks. It will suffice to compare the treatment given in the two drafts [A/C.1/L.513 and 514] to one of the most important questions—renunciation of the threat or use of force.

11. In draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 this question is posed, among a number of other questions, in an extremely general and declaratory manner. In our draft, it is given concrete expression, reflecting the very serious situation now existing: we actually demand an end to the occupation of all territories seized as a result of acts of aggression.

12. I ask you—who is static here, who is strengthening the Charter and who does not care about it? Those who simply repeat the provisions of the Charter or those who, strictly following those provisions, make demands prompted by actual realities?

13. Since we are especially conscious of the need for strict implementation of the Security Council decisions by all States, we feel it is impossible to tolerate the slightest diminution of the prestige of that organ. Under the United Nations Charter, it is the Security Council which has been given primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Bearing in mind this unique position of the Security Council, the founders of the United Nations evolved a special procedure—we may even say the only possible procedure—for the adoption of

decisions concerning the strengthening of peace and the elimination of military conflicts which would be binding on all States Members of the United Nations. The principle of unanimity among the great Powers, belonging to different social and economic systems, is a guarantee that the decisions made will really take into account international interests and not the interests of any particular group of States.

14. The road to a lasting peace lies in agreement and confidence between States. On this basis, full use can be made of all the possibilities open to the Security Council.

15. The proposals of certain delegations that responsibility for the maintenance of international security should be transferred to other organs of the United Nations, for example, the International Court, are nothing but attempts actually to revise the Charter, which confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international security on the Security Council. This is why the declaration to be adopted at this session must stress the primary role of the Security Council and reaffirm the binding nature of the decisions of that organ for all Members of the United Nations.

16. It is quite obvious that international security cannot be fully ensured while attempts are being made to curb the peoples' strivings for self-determination and national liberation.

17. There is at present in southern Africa a concentration of very acute contradictions, which could culminate in serious clashes. Widespread repressive action is constantly being taken to suppress national liberation movements in that area. The situation in that part of the world is quite well depicted in the Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations adopted at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in September 1970. The Declaration stated, *inter alia*:

"The forces of racism, *apartheid*, colonialism and imperialism continue to bedevil world peace. At the same time classical colonialism is trying to perpetuate itself in the garb of neo-colonialism—a less obvious, but in no way less dangerous, means of economic and political domination over the developing countries. These phenomena of the present-day world tend not only to perpetuate the evils of the past but also to undermine the future. They retard the liberation . . . and jeopardize the independence and territorial integrity of many . . . developing countries . . . , thereby hampering their advancement, intensifying tension and giving rise to conflicts."

18. The situation prevailing in the regions where there are still colonial régimes requires both a value judgement and a clear-cut demand for the cessation of military and other actions for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples. These would be effective measures to strengthen international security. A general appeal for completion of the process of decolonization that does not take into account this most important element is quite inadequate.

19. In this connexion, let us consider how the points concerning the elimination of colonialism and its link with

the strengthening of international security appear in the two drafts. Document A/C.1/L.514 simply reminds Member States that they "have the duty to render assistance to the United Nations in carrying out the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter for the early completion of the process of decolonization". And here is what document A/C.1/L.513 says: States must "cease all military and other action for the suppression of the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial or racist domination, and . . . provide active assistance to all these peoples in attaining their independence in accordance with their inalienable right to self-determination".

20. Thus in the first case there is a general, declaratory appeal, like many others made in the past. In the other case, there is a clear and lucid statement about the duty of States to do what is most important and most essential in order to eliminate colonialism—to do what is urgently required by the reality of our times and what, incidentally, is reflected in a number of General Assembly resolutions, including resolutions adopted on the subject of reports of the Committee of Twenty-four.<sup>2</sup>

21. The strengthening of international security is inextricably linked with the problem of general and complete disarmament. It is obvious that even a first step towards the cessation of the arms race and towards disarmament would have a beneficial influence on the international situation and bring hope for a strengthening of peace.

22. This is why, in full conformity with the desires expressed in many Governments' replies to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the subject of the strengthening of international security, the sponsors of the eight-Power draft propose that the text of the declaration should speak of the obligation of States: "to contribute in every possible way to the attainment of agreement as soon as possible on general and complete disarmament under strict international control, and the adoption of nuclear disarmament measures by all nuclear States, and also agreement on regional and other individual measures to limit and end the arms race and to achieve disarmament".

23. The draft declaration also reflects the concern that work should be completed as soon as possible on a definition of aggression and on peace-keeping operations. In addition, since the declaration on strengthening international security should be in the nature of a plan of action, the sponsors of the draft declaration in document A/C.1/L.513 have tried not to include provisions which are still being discussed in various United Nations organs, such as the question of peace-keeping operations.

24. In conclusion, reference must be made to agreements on the strengthening of security on a regional basis, which undoubtedly can have a positive influence. We should not, however, give the impression that all regional agreements and organs and all closed blocs are to be welcomed, even if they profess devotion to the United Nations Charter. This is why the draft declaration of the socialist countries refers to the advisability of establishing regional security systems

which are based on the principles of true international co-operation for the purpose of strengthening security, with the participation of all States in each region—in other words, regardless of the social and political structure of each States.

25. International security is not self-made. It is the result of the concerted efforts of States. We consider the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations to be a most propitious moment for States once again to proclaim with all their might their determination to adopt effective and specific measures for the achievement of peace, international security and co-operation.

26. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Ukrainian SSR for his congratulations to the officers of the Committee.

27. Sir LAURENCE McINTYRE (Australia): Mr. Chairman, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election as Chairman of this Committee and to assure you that my delegation is in no doubt that our work will go forward smoothly and efficiently under your firm and experienced guidance. We should also like to congratulate our Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Farah, and our Rapporteur, Ambassador Cerník, and to assure the whole of the officers of the Committee of our full confidence in their capacity to bring us through our arduous programme on schedule.

28. I am sure there can be no disagreement among us as to the need for the study of measures for the strengthening of international security. All the powerful factors that combine to create insecurity in one form or another, everywhere in the world, are well enough known to us: the friction between rival ideologies and conflicting national interests, the gap between the economic performance of developed and developing countries, the continuing social inequalities and denial of basic human freedoms, all play their part. I propose at this point of time not to try to analyse in detail all the causes of the world's unhappiness, but simply to join our discussion on possible ways of reducing the tensions that pervade the international community as a whole.

29. We have before us three proposals for strengthening international security, in other words, three different expressions of our common determination to remove or at least reduce the risks of having international disputes settled by force rather than through peaceful negotiation. I propose to address myself primarily to draft resolution A/C.1/L.514, which was ably and lucidly introduced to the Committee by the representative of Italy at the 1726th meeting on 3 October and which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor.

30. Other sponsors who have already spoken have described the main provisions of the draft resolution, and I do not intend to repeat all that they have said. I should, however, like to draw attention to some of its principal features, including some that have scarcely been touched on, if at all, in other proposals before the Committee, and particularly to some that have a special application to the region of Asia and the Pacific Ocean area.

<sup>2</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

31. The first thing I should like to emphasize about this draft resolution is its reliance on the Charter and on the language and the purposes of the Charter. In the view of my delegation, a view which we share with the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514, the Charter as it was originally conceived and formulated, and as it still stands, offers the soundest possible foundation for the establishment of international security—provided its purposes and principles are properly observed. The representative of France has referred to a recent study which states that between 1945 and 1969 there have been no less than 55 wars of significant scope and duration. So whether or not we all acknowledge the precise accuracy of that figure, it is a sad commentary on our failure to use the resources of the Charter to stop wars from breaking out. By way of illustration I might repeat what was said by the Australian Minister for External Affairs in his statement on 23 September 1970 in the general debate in the Assembly:

“It is an unhappy reflection of the failure of the United Nations in its primary role of keeper of the peace that the Viet-Nam situation has never been properly debated here, let alone considered as to possible action.” [1846th plenary meeting, para. 143.]

32. The representative of Canada has drawn attention to the very clear fact that the resources of the Charter have not been fully used in the way they were intended to be used. So has the representative of Brazil. Thus it seems to my delegation that there is no need to look outside the Charter in the hope of finding some magical formula for instant world security. There is no need to impute new principles into the Charter, or to distort beyond their true meaning principles of the Charter which are already sufficiently flexible to embrace any situation that we face today, even if it is 25 years since the Charter was drawn up, provided—and I say this again—that the provisions and the principles of the Charter are applied with the necessary will and the necessary unity of purpose.

33. Having said this, I should emphasize that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 have no wish to impose on the General Assembly their own interpretation of the rights, the obligations and the responsibilities of Member countries under the Charter. Our purpose is quite the opposite, as the representative of Italy made clear in describing the way in which the text was drawn up, as the result of lengthy consultation and on the basis of careful study of all the replies submitted by Member countries to the Secretary-General in response to his request in accordance with resolution 2606 (XXIV). We believe that our draft resolution represents a constructive and comprehensive attempt to identify the main causes of international tension and to recommend ways of easing and solving difficulties that impede progress towards a stable and secure world. We are open to suggestion on ways and means in which our draft might be improved, and we would hope that all members of the Committee will study it carefully and offer any clarifications or additions that might usefully be taken into account by the sponsors.

34. A further point that I should like to make relates to the need for consistency in the application everywhere throughout the world of any resolution or other instrument designed to promote measures for the strengthening of

international security. It is perhaps not always realized everywhere how many different forms a threat to the security of a country can take. Those of us who live in or close to Asia, for example, are very conscious of the far-reaching damage that can be done through the techniques of internal subversion by infiltration and intimidation. It is for this reason that my delegation attaches particular importance to operative paragraph 3, which asserts the right of the peoples of sovereign States to determine their destinies free from external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, covert as well as overt. This last phrase is reflected in the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations<sup>3</sup> which has just been approved without objection, and which includes the following principles:

“Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands, including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another State.

“Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts, when the acts referred to in the present paragraph involve a threat or use of force.”

35. If this precept had been respected and observed by the Government of North Viet-Nam and its allies there would now be peace in South Viet-Nam, in Laos and in Cambodia, instead of the misery, the destruction and the carnage that is now and has so long been the pattern of daily life in that area under a combination of covert subversion and terror and open invasion.

36. Turning to another area for consideration and action to foster international peace and security, my delegation endorses the reaffirmation in operative paragraph 2 of document A/C.1/L.514 that regional arrangements or agencies should deal with such matters relating to the maintenance of peace and security as are appropriate for regional action for the prevention of conflicts and the reduction of tensions, provided that such arrangements or agencies in their activities are consistent with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter. My Government has seen in the establishment of regional bodies one of the most helpful ways of pooling knowledge and resources and developing a common awareness of problems and dangers and the means to cope with them. Australia is a party to several regional arrangements, whose purpose is to help foster a collective response to common threats and shared ambitions. As my Government said in its reply to the Secretary-General [see A/7922/Add.1]:

“The United Nations Charter gives due recognition to the place of regional arrangements for dealing with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. The forms which co-operation within a region can take are varied and flexible. They may be bilateral or multilateral. Furthermore, regional arrange-

<sup>3</sup> For the text, see resolution 2625 (XXV).

ments provide a suitable institutional framework for the extension of all forms of aid which help to develop and strengthen the countries of each region. All measures which are designed to promote prosperity and economic growth everywhere are measures which will contribute towards the strengthening of international security.”

37. I might mention, as a recent example of spontaneous and purposeful action designed to limit international conflict within a region, the conference held in Djakarta on 16 and 17 May of this year by nine Governments of Asia, plus Australia and New Zealand, to consider what concerted action they might take to prevent the spread of war into Cambodia.

38. In providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the Charter not only recommends a resort to regional agencies or arrangements by parties to any dispute, the continuance of which would be likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, but it also ordains in Article 33 that solutions should be sought by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement. Operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 urges that greater use be made of improved methods of fact-finding and conciliation, for example by use of the Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation proposed by the General Assembly in resolution 268 (III) and the United Nations register of experts for fact-finding purposes established under resolution 2329 (XXII). The representative of the United States announced on 30 September 1970, in the course of the general debate in the Assembly that the United States Government would soon nominate qualified individuals for the two bodies mentioned in this operative paragraph [*see 1854th plenary meeting*]. The Australian Government supports the proposal that these bodies should be reactivated, and is prepared to consider the nomination of suitable persons to serve on them.

39. This leads me on naturally to the subject of peace-keeping. Looking back over the general debate that was concluded last week in the General Assembly, I find it hard to recall any speaker who did not stress the paramount importance of the peace-keeping function of the United Nations. As a member of one of the first mediation and peace-keeping missions set up by the United Nations, that is the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, and as a substantial contributor to most United Nations peace-keeping and peace observation operations since that time, Australia has a close and abiding interest in the peace-keeping role of this Organization. Thus we fully endorse the appeal in operative paragraph 9 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 to all Member States to respond to the urgent need for more effective, dynamic and flexible procedures for peace-making efforts and peace-keeping operations as one of the main means under the Charter of controlling situations where danger of international conflict arises.

40. Finally, among those factors which contribute to the fulfilment of all men's aspirations for a more dignified, prosperous and secure existence, we consider that policies and actions aimed at developing the economies of less fortunate nations and assisting them to make full use of their manpower and natural resources should occupy a high place in our list of priorities for international action. In the

view of my Government, economic aid is an essential concomitant to the military and diplomatic help we have extended to those countries, particularly in Asia, which are willing to accept our unconditional offers of assistance towards the creation of stable and peaceful conditions in their internal affairs. For these reasons my delegation has a special interest in operative paragraphs 17 and 18, which call for the elimination of economic and social imbalances between the nations of the world, and urge intensified efforts during the Second United Nations Development Decade to create conditions of stability and well-being throughout the globe. We note that draft resolution A/C.1/L.513 makes no reference to the Second Development Decade, which, in view of its importance to most of the Members of this Organization, seems to us a singular omission.

41. To sum up, my delegation commends with confidence draft resolution A/C.1/L.514, sponsored by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Japan and the Netherlands, for the careful consideration and support of this Committee. In our view, the observations and proposals contained in it conform fully and strictly with the purposes and principles of the Charter, and where its terms have been spelled out or elaborated it has been the intention of the co-sponsors to include notions and guidelines which, even if they do not coincide precisely with every delegation's estimate of priorities, at least represent a broad consensus of the membership of the United Nations.

42. I have stressed earlier the interdependence of all the political, economic, social and legal elements which make up the pattern that we are exhorted in the Charter to follow in our national and international conduct. By affirming in our draft resolution that the causes of tension and insecurity existing in the world can be abolished only by concerted action to remove all the grounds for international disputes and conflicts, we have sought to show that world peace and security must be fostered and strengthened through an over-all strategy, and not as a piecemeal operation.

43. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Australia for his kind references at the beginning of his statement to the Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur and me.

44. Mr. RACZ (Hungary): Mr. Chairman, allow me to commence this statement with our sincere congratulations to you on your election to this high post. We salute in your person not only the eminent diplomat, an always courteous and considerate colleague, but also the representative of Venezuela, a great Latin American country with which my country has a cordial and fruitful relationship. We are glad to see you preside over our deliberations and we pledge to you our full co-operation.

45. It is a great pleasure for me to congratulate your colleagues the representatives of Somalia and brotherly Czechoslovakia, Ambassadors Farah and Cernik, on their unanimous election to the post of Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively. Both are held in great esteem by us and both represent countries in the United Nations with which we have had close co-operation.

46. Turning now to the subject of our discussion, I can safely say that, judging from our debate last year and the great number of replies sent by Governments of Member States to the Secretary-General on the subject [*see A/7922 and Add.1-5*], the problems of international security obviously concern very closely the States represented here. That is quite natural. It is a measure of the interest that international public opinion takes in this subject.

47. My country, for many reasons, is no exception in this regard. As the Hungarian Government has stated in its reply to the Secretary-General [*see A/7922/Add.1*]:

“Mankind has attributed great importance to the activity of the United Nations during the past quarter of a century. The Organization was established with the purpose of making it possible, by uniting the peoples of the world, to secure a lasting peace and a better understanding among States. It can already be stated today that the activity of the Organization has contributed also to the success of the struggle for the prevention of a new world war. It must be conceded, however, that during the past 25 years a good many international crises have overshadowed the efforts made to strengthen peace.”

48. While we feel that it has been no mean achievement to avoid a world conflagration during the last 25 years, we are by no means fully satisfied with the situation that obtains now in different parts of our globe. At no time during all the years since the end of the Second World War have we enjoyed total peace. Whatever the label that has been used to cover wars of a colonial nature, armed suppression of national liberation movements or wars of territorial aggrandizement, war as a means of solution has not been exiled from our lives. The Charter of the United Nations—and specifically Article 2, paragraph 4—expressly forbids the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Yet at the very time we are discussing here the strengthening of international security, wars of aggression are being fought in different parts of the world. Member States, and leading ones at that, send huge armies to wage war on the other side of the globe without the slightest concern for the letter and spirit of the Charter solemnly accepted by them.

49. Many among us tend to consider these events, reminiscent of some of the saddest chapters of human history, as manifestations of what is called power politics. Regretfully we have to agree with them that the use of naked force is the only description of this conduct. This is an anachronism which has no place in this day and age. We would least expect such behaviour of those who, simultaneously with their never-ending wars, have assumed a posture of moral superiority which they are contradicting every day with their deeds.

50. Some Members of our Organization have proposed that we try to remedy this situation by revising the Charter. Others have argued, with reason, that if our code of conduct is violated by some Member States it is perhaps not proper to blame that on the Charter. Is it the fault of the Charter if an aggressive war can be waged against the people of Viet-Nam? We have carefully studied all the statements here and in the general debate and, to our regret, we have

found that not one of the Member States with great economic or military potential that have been proposing a Charter revision has uttered a word of blame against the perpetrators of that terrible war. That being so, would it not better serve the interest of peace and security to mobilize the potential of the Charter against its violators, rather than insisting that our constitution be amended?

51. In the course of our discussion some of our colleagues, while commenting on the draft declaration of which my country is a sponsor [*A/C.1/L.513*], have made a number of points. I wish to deal briefly with some of them.

52. An idea often invoked in this and other debates in the United Nations is the division of Member States and the world into big and small and, lately, medium and other Powers. These categories are used by representatives who, on the other hand, encourage others to use the terminology of the Charter. After a thorough study of the Charter I have had to come to the conclusion that the Charter recognizes no such differentiation among Member States. It is, of course, common knowledge that the authors of the Charter placed special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security on the five permanent members of the Security Council. In doing so they showed great foresight and realism. Although they could not foresee that the five permanent members would in the course of subsequent years acquire nuclear weapons, it so happens that the five nuclear Powers are the five permanent members of the Security Council.

53. Therefore it is eminently in the interest of everyone that these Powers avoid armed conflict and act as far as possible in accord. That is the assumption on which the Charter is based. It is also for that reason that the Charter conferred corresponding responsibility and power on the five permanent members. The notion, which some Member States have been cultivating in recent years, that all the problems we have to deal with are to be blamed on the big Powers, on power politics or bloc politics, bears little relation to realities. Is it a big Power that committed aggression against, occupied and still occupies territories of Arab countries? No, it is a small country, one that never fails to inform us of that fact. Of course, it enjoys the support of a big Power. Similarly, everybody knows that some Powers still pursue neo-colonialist policies in different parts of the world; but is, for instance, Portugal a big Power? No, it is one of the small European States, whose blind and mediaeval colonialism receives the support of its allies, some of which are large and some of which are small countries.

54. Consequently, the effort, although sometimes well-meaning, to draw a dividing line between big and small Powers is an arbitrary one and contrary to the facts. It blurs the basic features of international life. It puts a great Power, which has waged a relentless war against the people of Viet-Nam and uses the United Nations flag in Korea, in the same category as another which has aided those heroic people to resist the aggressors. Similarly, it lumps together victims and aggressors in the Middle East conflict—for, as far as size is concerned, small Powers are to be found on both sides. We consider that it is primarily the social system and consequently the foreign policy of a State that determines its attitude, and not its size or its military potential.



55. It is this complex international situation which my country, along with other socialist co-sponsors, has considered in drafting the text of draft resolution A/C.1/L.513. Our draft, in which we have endeavoured to avoid verbosity and its habitual companion, irrelevance, addresses itself to problems of the contemporary international situation. In doing so we have concentrated on calling attention to the primary issues of peace and security. We have not tried to draft an abridged and abstract version of the Charter, and for this reason we feel that certain comments on our text by the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.514 are beside the point. We do not find it particularly helpful to discuss the present problems in the field of international security by drafting paragraphs on practically everything without even mentioning words like "war", "aggression", "occupation" or "annexation of territories" in the text. Let me say in passing that when speaking of "aggression" we are only acting on the advice of those who prefer to use the terminology of the Charter, since that term is repeatedly used in the Charter.

56. Another issue of great importance for the strengthening of international security is disarmament. There can be no real security unless general and complete disarmament is achieved under strict international control. It is this realization that prompted the eight socialist Member States to include operative paragraph 8 in their draft declaration.

57. As has been noted several times in this debate, our draft places special emphasis on the Security Council in the maintenance of international security. This is fully borne out by the relevant provisions of the Charter. We have noted that this approach has evoked critical comment from the sponsors of the draft proposed by Australia and others [A/C.1/L.514]. It has been contended that this amounts to selective interpretation, to a reordering of priorities and so on. We beg to differ. Although it would certainly not be the first time that a *de facto* revision of the Charter has been attempted, yet no co-sponsor of our draft resolution has ever been a party to such a venture. When we recall the so-called "Uniting for peace" resolution [resolution 377 (V)] and many similar steps in the past, we wish that reproaches like the ones I have cited would be left unsaid. We in our draft have remained true to the purposes and principles of the Charter. For this reason we have tried to emphasize the importance of those provisions of the Charter which are particularly relevant at the present juncture.

58. On the other hand, it is highly regrettable that the universality of our Organization could not find a place in draft resolution A/C.1/L.514. We were glad to note the repeated references by representatives to respect for realities in many statements, but unfortunately, many of those representatives have not so far found it possible to support the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is our fervent hope that that highly important step, along with others, such as the admission of both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, will be taken as soon as possible. In this connexion, I wish to welcome the constructive ideas concerning regional, that is, European, co-operation to be found in the statement of the representative of Belgium. We express our hope that, as all of us here welcome the important and positive treaty between

the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>4</sup> so will the countries of Western Europe as well as States of other continents realize the importance of the diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic and its full participation in a European security system. The statement by its Government on the subject which has been distributed among delegations eloquently testifies to that.

59. Listening of this debate, we have become convinced that, despite the differences of opinion, the strengthening of international security involves all of us much too closely not to find a common basis for a mutually acceptable stand. I can assure members of this Committee that my country, together with other socialist countries, will do all in its power to help in achieving that goal.

60. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to thank the representative of Hungary for the generous congratulations he addressed to the members of the Bureau and for the very cordial reference he made to the relationship existing between Hungary and Venezuela.

61. I should like also to inform members of the Committee of the state of our work as I see it at present. For tomorrow we have two meetings scheduled, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. For the morning meeting there are 10 speakers on the list, and for the afternoon meeting 11. As far as Monday, 12 October, is concerned, there are eight speakers on the list for the morning meeting and 29 for the afternoon. This will doubtless force us to have a night meeting on Monday, unless some of the speakers listed for Monday would be prepared to speak this Friday instead. Even if that is the case, however, I believe it almost certain that we shall have to have a night meeting on Monday.

62. I should say also that I have the impression that a number of delegations have refrained from speaking so far or have reserved their right to speak on Monday because many of them may be awaiting the presentation of different draft resolutions. This impression has been confirmed by some of the consultations I have held with some delegations, which have stated that they would like to have all the drafts before them, as well as any amendments to those drafts that may be submitted, before addressing the Committee.

63. I understand that at least one more draft resolution will be submitted to the Committee, and that the sponsors of it have already considered the possibility of submitting it at tomorrow's meeting.

64. I would once again repeat my appeal to all delegations planning to submit draft resolutions to be good enough to do so by tomorrow, at the latest.

65. I believe that the main matter we have to consider is how to carry out consultations once all the draft resolutions have been submitted, in order to try to arrive at a text that will be acceptable to the great majority, if not all, of the members of the Committee. After the consultations I have held with some delegations, although I have not had time to consult all the members of the Committee, I feel

<sup>4</sup> Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

that the general view is that, instead of setting up a formal working group, we should, as far as possible, encourage informal consultations among the sponsors of the draft resolutions already submitted and those that may be submitted.

66. I feel that if we want to have a joint or combined draft resolution on this question ready in time, one that will gather the support of the majority of the Committee, we will have to make an effort tomorrow or over the weekend with that in mind. I think we might well take advantage of Saturday to hold that type of informal meetings and consultations among the sponsors of the different draft resolutions. I still hope that all documents will be submitted by tomorrow.

67. I know that it is not a very pleasant prospect for the sponsors to devote themselves over the weekend to working on these matters, but, frankly, I see no alternative other than to take the fullest advantage of the little time we have before us.

68. Therefore, I would stress two points to the members of the Committee. First of all, that all draft resolutions or draft amendments be submitted at the latest during tomorrow's meetings, and, secondly, that as soon as possible, perhaps on Saturday, a start may be made on consultations or negotiations between the sponsors of the different documents.

*The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.*