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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 25

Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States: report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today the Assembly begins its consideration of agenda item 25. Before I call on the first speaker, I should like to recall that, in accordance with my announcement on Friday last, it is my intention to close the list of speakers in the debate on this item tomorrow, Wednesday, at noon. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly agrees with that procedure.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The question of the strengthening of the role of the United Nations has again come before the Assembly as one of the items of great concern to it at the current session, by virtue of resolution 2925 (XXVII), adopted by consensus last year on the initiative of 32 Member States, from all the geographic areas in the world.

3. As the country which originally proposed the inclusion of this item on the agenda of the General Assembly, Romania naturally has a great interest in its consideration and in the way it will be followed up at this session and, in general, in the future.

4. I should like on this occasion to reaffirm that Romania's initiative stems from the unshakable attachment of the people and Government of Romania to the United Nations

and to the purposes and principles of the Charter. It is the expression of our sincere desire to see our Organization effectively play the role entrusted to it, with a view to eliminating the sources of conflict and tension, developing co-operation among nations and ensuring lasting peace throughout the world. The Romanian Government sincerely believes in the purposes of the United Nations and in its mission. My Government appreciates at its true worth the role the Organization must play in international life.

5. The Romanian Government's concept of this Organization's role was defined succinctly by the President of the Council of State of my country, Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, when he stated:

"We attribute a special role to international bodies, to the United Nations, because in our view those bodies, and first and foremost the United Nations, must contribute to a greater extent to the solution of international problems. It is in the interest of all peoples, and first of all of the small and medium-sized countries, for this Organization to be as viable as possible. The settlement of international problems, the continuation of the trend towards détente and the safeguarding of the independence of all States in the world depend to a large degree on the vigour and strength of the United Nations."

6. The need to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations is today greater than ever. The developments that have recently taken place in the international arena give proof of this.

7. We are the witnesses of profound changes and innovating transformations on the world scene. A new trend is taking root in international life: a trend towards the establishment of a climate of confidence and understanding among States, towards the settlement of problems of general interest with the participation of all States. The democratization of international relations has become an imperative need in our time.

8. These new progressive orientations will not gain ground by themselves; they must be promoted actively and effectively sustained. The United Nations, which today includes almost all the States in the world, appears to be the most appropriate framework and forum for supporting and stimulating these new trends. Our Organization can and must keep pace with the changes that are taking place in international life; it cannot and must not let itself be overtaken by events.

9. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the admission to membership in the Organization of the two German States and of new countries which have freed themselves

from the colonial yoke have in these past years marked important steps towards universality in the United Nations. These steps were necessary. They strengthen the capacity of the Organization to act effectively for the consolidation of peace and international security and the development of co-operation among nations. However, they are not enough, because universality has a second aspect: it demands at the same time that general international problems and disputes among States be brought before the Organization; it also demands that all the countries concerned take part in their solution and that the same principles are applied to all members of the international community, at all times and everywhere. This type of universality, embracing these two aspects, is the condition *sine qua non* of genuine co-operation for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter.

10. Unfortunately, we are far from achieving such universality. Our Organization, despite the responsibilities entrusted to it, has not succeeded—and we must all recognize this—in exercising a decisive influence in international life. Most appropriately, the political declaration of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, expressed the opinion of a large number of Members of the United Nations and stressed the fact that “current operational conditions in the Organization are not always in line with the new realities of international life and do not fully permit it to perform its mission of peace and development”. [See A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 80.]

11. While the changes that are taking place in the world confirm ever more definitely each day the validity of the principles on which the Organization rests and demand its increased participation in the solution of general international problems, we witness practices that promote a process of erosion of its prestige and effectiveness; there are trends which seek to take away from the Organization the most urgent and important problems which naturally fall within the framework of its field of activities and relate to international peace and security, and the interests of all Member States; in other trends, there is an attempt to bring before the Organization matters that are of secondary importance compared with the duties devolving upon it under the Charter. The events in the Middle East have shown once again how necessary the Organization is for settling, through political means, disputes between States, with the participation of the international community as a whole. That is why the growing concern of Member States concerning the role to be given to our Organization in international life, and which is fully shared by Romania, is quite legitimate.

12. The consequence of this is the growing concern, borne out by the general debate at the current session and by the replies from Governments to the Secretary-General, to find ways and means to enable the Organization to play a more active and effective role in the expansion and generalization of the process of détente and, in general, in international life as a whole.

13. This item offers an appropriate framework within the General Assembly for the search and the efforts of Member States to achieve that objective.

14. Undoubtedly, strengthening of the role of the United Nations depends, above all, on the political will of Member

States, on their determination to co-operate within the Organization for the solution of problems of common interest, while at the same time fulfilling their obligations under the Charter.

15. At the same time, it is also true that there is still much to be done at the level of the United Nations itself to imbue Member States with confidence in the Organization, to stimulate them to resort more frequently to the framework and the possibilities that it offers. We must create conditions to enable Member States to acquire the confidence that, by addressing themselves to the United Nations, they will find there strong support for the defence of their independence and sovereignty and effective support for the safeguard of their legitimate rights and interests and their economic and social development.

16. The task of ensuring the premises that will enable the Organization to meet these demands is highly complex; its realization cannot be the result of immediate measures. Above all, it is a process that will undoubtedly demand continued effort and perseverance.

17. A first step was taken at the last session of the General Assembly. It was, it is true, only a first step; but, in our view, an essential one. The important thing now is to persevere in identifying and exploring ways and means of achieving common objectives, to work together patiently and, above all, with the necessary political will, in order to achieve practical results.

18. This is the spirit that prompts the Romanian delegation as we begin a new series of debates on ways and means of strengthening the role of the United Nations in international life.

19. In our view, the basic guidelines for efforts aimed at the strengthening of the United Nations and the enhancement of its role in contemporary international relations cannot be other than the purposes and principles of the Charter.

20. The Romanian Government feels that the full utilization and perfecting of the means which the Charter places at the disposal of Member States will make it possible to achieve progress and make the activities of our Organization more effective so that it may respond to the realities of today and those of the future. In our eyes, the Charter has offered and continues to offer possibilities of identifying a broad field of action which will eventually lead to the enhancement of the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations.

21. We must at all times place at the very centre of our efforts one of the major purposes which were at the root of the creation of the United Nations, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. These efforts must meet the imperative need, as proclaimed in paragraph 1 of resolution 2925 (XXVII) of recognizing

“... that the Organization should become a more effective instrument in safeguarding and strengthening the independence and sovereignty of all States, as well as the inalienable right of every people to decide its own fate without any outside interference, and that it should take firm action, in accordance with the Charter of the United

Nations, for the prevention and suppression of acts of aggression or any other acts which may jeopardize international peace and security”.

22. These efforts must at the same time take account of an undeniable reality of our time, namely, the affirmation of the will and determination of peoples to participate directly and on an equal footing in the solution of problems affecting the very fate of peace and human civilization. Today more than ever the great problems affecting mankind cannot be settled solely by a few countries. Their lasting solution demands the participation of all the countries concerned, whose interests and positions must be taken into account, while ensuring conditions enabling small and medium-sized countries fully to express their views and to participate in the elaboration of any solutions adopted. Starting from this premise, we believe that the United Nations must become a true forum of the whole of the international community, offering the necessary framework for active participation by all States in the solution of international problems in the interest of the peoples, of co-operation and of peace.

23. The Romanian delegation believes that the efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations should, at the present stage of our consideration of this item, concentrate on several essential courses.

24. First, we have in view the strengthening of the capacity of the United Nations to contribute increasingly to the consolidation of peace and security in general, which is one of its major functions.

25. In order to meet the hopes and aspirations of peoples, we must proceed in such a manner that the Organization may become, as envisaged in the Charter, the main international instrument for the prevention of the perpetuation of situations of tension, crisis and conflict, as well as the instrument for dealing with the emergence of new situations of this kind likely to endanger international peace and security.

26. An essential contribution towards the realization of this purpose, in the opinion of the Romanian delegation, could well be the adoption of strong measures aimed at the elimination in international relations of all elements of the obsolete imperialist policy of force, pressure, intimidation and *diktat*, so that every people may decide for itself the path of its own development in keeping with its will and without outside interference. The United Nations must take resolute measures firmly to establish relations among all States on new democratic bases, on the principles of equality of rights and mutual respect, of independence and national sovereignty, of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and of the right of every people freely to decide its own economic and social development. We are convinced that the reaffirmation, strengthening and development of these principles, which are still being violated, as well as action designed to elucidate the rights and fundamental duties of States and to define them in legal instruments of a universal character, would greatly contribute to diminishing the possibility of their violation and consolidate international legality and equity. In our time, there is a particular need, in order to support the new trend in international life, for strict respect by all States and between all States of the obligation inscribed in the Charter and in other international instruments not to resort to the threat or use of force

and to refrain in international relations from any kind of military, political, economic or other constraints in any circumstance and in any form.

27. The realization of the function of the United Nations of maintaining international peace and security demands, at the same time, more effective use of the machinery and broad attributes offered to the Organization by the Charter itself to prevent conflicts and encourage the peaceful settlement of disputes among States. We share, therefore, the view expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, of August 1973, according to which

“The use of multilateral preventive diplomacy and good offices by one or other organ of the United Nations are activities which can certainly be further developed.”
[See *A/9001/Add.1*, p. 2.]

Moreover, the lack of a broad institution with permanent tasks in the field of peaceful settlement of disputes among States is felt.

28. Still within this context, we are of the opinion that it is necessary to redouble our efforts in order to strengthen the Organization's capacity for action in the field of peace-keeping operations. It is still more evident today that we must speed up the settlement of problems relating to the creation and functioning of United Nations peace-keeping forces. In our view, these forces should be used to prevent and liquidate all acts of aggression and any attempt against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, irrespective of origin or pretext.

29. Secondly, we believe that an important contribution to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations can be made by the constant improvement of the functioning of its main organs and the increasing of their effectiveness.

30. We insist on this because among the major preoccupations of our time are the maintenance of international peace and security, the adoption of genuine disarmament measures and military disengagement, the liquidation of all vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the support for the efforts of peoples which have embarked upon the path of free and independent development and the elimination of the state of under-development in which many countries still find themselves. The viability of the solutions that are adopted depends on the manner in which these problems are tackled and considered and in which decisions are elaborated. Until now, experience in this area has been unsatisfactory.

31. That is why we believe that the General Assembly, a body in which all Member States are represented on an equal footing, must play an increasing role in the solution of the great problems of international life, in the interests of all peoples. This presupposes the creation of conditions enabling the General Assembly to concentrate effectively on the important and urgent problems affecting the whole of the international community. It is necessary also to apply, with a spirit of continuity, the principle of equality of rights of Member States in all activities of the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies, while ensuring for all countries concerned the possibility of participating in the process of the elaboration and adoption of decisions.

32. Bearing in mind all these considerations, we believe that it is important to try to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in the exercise of its functions, conferred upon it by Member States, with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. In our view the operation of the Security Council must be perfected so that, by its composition and the manner in which it takes decisions, it will reflect the place, the role and the weight of the small and medium-sized countries in the world.

33. From the economic and social standpoint, although some results have been achieved, we must give the objective of development its rightful place among the activities of the United Nations system. This demands, above all, that we invigorate the appropriate structures of the United Nations, and above all its specialized body—the Economic and Social Council. The enlargement of the membership of the Council has created favourable conditions for this. It is our view that we must continue with perseverance the process already begun which aims at the rationalization and improvement of the activities of the Economic and Social Council, so that it may make a more substantial contribution to the establishment of a more equitable international division of labour and effectively support the economic development and social progress of the developing countries.

34. In another important sphere, namely, that of decolonization, we are of the opinion that we must assess the activities carried out thus far and the mechanisms existing within the United Nations in order to identify ways and means of increasing the contribution of the United Nations to the speeding up of the process of accession to independence by colonial countries and peoples.

35. Finally, in our view, we must improve and rationalize the structure of the United Nations Secretariat by ensuring adequate representation for small and medium-sized countries, in particular in the higher-level posts.

36. Moreover, it seems to us that, in general, measures must be taken for the full implementation of the principle of equitable geographical representation in the different United Nations bodies and the expansion of their membership so as to reflect appropriately the increased membership of the Organization as a whole.

37. Thirdly, we believe that, as part of the efforts aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations, special attention must be paid to the area where the results of our deliberations are expressed in specific terms, that is to say, the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies.

38. We must express our concern at the fact that the growing number of resolutions adopted each year is accompanied, on a parallel, by an increasingly pronounced decline in the attention that is paid to them. In our view, failure to implement adopted decisions and recommendations is one of the major causes of the loss of prestige and of the decline of the role of the United Nations throughout the world.

39. The constant use of the method of consultation between all countries concerned is, in our view, one of the best ways of harmonizing positions while taking account of

the interests of all Member States. It is also one of the means of enhancing the effectiveness of resolutions adopted in the United Nations. It is on this basis that we must act so that the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council may be implemented in keeping with the provisions of the Charter. Similarly, it is necessary, we believe, to consider and agree upon ways and means of enhancing the authority of the resolutions we adopt. We are convinced that the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international relations demands that States firmly undertake to fulfil, in good faith, the obligations devolving upon them by virtue of the Charter and the resolutions adopted.

40. I have put forward a few observations concerning the principal lines along which, in our view, the actions and efforts designed to strengthen the role of the United Nations should be directed.

41. In line with these observations the Romanian Government has offered, in its reply to the Secretary-General, several specific suggestions, which are to be found in the Secretary-General's report.

42. A number of other States have also in their communications to the Secretary-General made comments and put forward valuable suggestions that deserve attentive consideration. We are convinced that these opinions and suggestions will prove useful in the process of identifying the most appropriate ways and means of strengthening the Organization.

43. In such an important and complex process, the active participation and co-operation of all States is indispensable, in our view. The strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, which is in point of fact a process of self-improvement, can be carried out gradually through continuous and persevering efforts within the context of the development of international relations and of the attitude of States towards the United Nations. These efforts will succeed only if all Member States give their active co-operation.

44. The Romanian delegation would wish this session to mark a step forward along this path.

45. During the period between the inclusion of this item on the General Assembly's agenda and the next session, we shall undoubtedly receive a great wealth of material expressing points of view, suggestions, and proposals from Member States. Some opinions have already been expressed, during the consideration last year of the item on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and during the general debates at the last two sessions. Others were formulated in replies sent to the Secretary-General. Points of view and suggestions relating directly to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations are to be found also in the observations on means of enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council submitted to the Secretary-General in accordance with resolutions 2864 (XXVI) and 2991 (XXVII), and recent communications addressed by States to the Secretary-General.

46. We hope that valuable ideas and suggestions will also be put forward in the course of the present debate. We express here our conviction that between now and the next

session a large number of Member States will express and elaborate on their views concerning the means of strengthening the role of the United Nations.

47. A methodical compilation of all those points of view, suggestions and proposals in a report of the Secretary-General, to be submitted at the next session, would greatly facilitate consideration of them by the appropriate bodies of the United Nations and identification of those which might constitute the basis of measures designed to contribute to the enhancement of the capacity for action and the effectiveness of the United Nations.

48. The Romanian delegation is convinced that the discussions on this item will be carried out in a constructive spirit of co-operation and that the decision we adopt at the end of this debate will represent a synthesis of the common will of Member States to co-operate in seeking appropriate ways of enabling the United Nations to meet the aspirations and interests of peace, security and progress for all nations.

49. In this spirit, the Romanian delegation has begun important consultations with the delegations concerned, and a draft resolution will be handed in to the Secretariat shortly.

AGENDA ITEM 102

Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries (*continued*)

50. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): I wish at the outset to state that our contribution is, regretfully, of a general nature with regard to the item introduced by the USSR aimed at the reduction of the military budgets of the five permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent.

51. Since the dawn of civilization, man has stood helpless in the face of each piece of armament he has newly invented. Every time he created a new weapon to destroy an enemy, he perceived in it a means for his own destruction. The means for his protection more than once led him to his doom. He finally realized through bitter experience that disarmament could guarantee his self-protection. However, the genesis of mankind's search for disarmament, and concomitantly for peace, has followed a long trail of failures. Each failure resulted in a further escalation of the arms race. That escalation has nowadays assumed such proportions as to threaten life itself on this earth.

52. Today, mankind is more concerned about its fate than ever before, for the dangers of armament, especially in its thermonuclear form, are of an apocalyptic nature. And yet the richest and strongest nations are ravenous in their appetite for more and more arms. Is armament in our contemporary society intrinsically related to wealth, or is it an unavoidable part of a nation's structure so that it may assert its power? The excess in armament—or, rather, over-armament—is an excess in waste. The resources committed to the production and stockpiling of arms are indeed condemned at best to unproductiveness, to dissipation and to deterioration in storage. The result is that the wheels of progress are slowed down in the more productive sectors of the economy. The peoples of

developed as well as developing countries are deprived of useful resources which may improve their conditions of life. Together they stand to share in the fruits of peace and disarmament as together they stand to face the dangers of mounting military expenditures and the risks of war.

53. The peoples of the world are united in their moral protest against armaments and the arms race. So many human and physical resources have been directed and devoted to means of death and destruction. Humanity has the right not only to call for a halt to this plundering but also for a refund. That refund could be made only by a more judicious future investment of funds liberated by disarmament. The large reservoir of funds earmarked for armament should be tapped for the purpose of accelerating the process of development.

54. In the achievement of that goal we are faced with an uphill struggle. The United Nations is still wandering in the depths of a valley. We cannot see the foothills of disarmament, let alone the summit of the hill. Here we are, still prisoners of petrified debates that are repeated year after year with no apparent significant result. That situation is, however, not reason enough for despair. The debate must continue vibrant and strong. Relaxation of our vigilance against armament may well serve the interests of those nations indulging in the production and stockpiling of weapons. It may very well be an invitation to disaster.

55. From that point of view we welcome the proposal of the USSR in document A/L.701/Rev.1, which has as its objective the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. In principle, the proposal is in accordance with our general philosophy regarding disarmament and with the recognized link between disarmament and development during the current twin decade as proclaimed by the United Nations at its commemorative twenty-fifth anniversary session in 1970.

56. Since 1968, I have had the privilege of presenting the views of my delegation in both the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council with regard to the economic and social consequences of disarmament. Many of us have had occasion to elaborate on the ideas and proposals circulating among us and to listen to one another's viewpoints on the matter. Such exchanges of views have had great value and have served to clarify many shades of international opinion. But when a proposal such as the one at hand is advanced by a major nuclear Power with a huge budget for armaments that will undoubtedly be affected, then the proposal takes on concrete shape and becomes more serious and attractive.

57. There are many truisms regarding disarmament and development about which there is a wide range of agreement among us here.

58. It is a known fact that \$200,000 million is spent annually on armaments. This means that during this proclaimed Disarmament Decade, \$2 million million will have been spent on armaments by 1980, provided the present level of spending is not increased. Instead of going to waste, such

huge funds could indeed change the face of the earth, and for the better, if properly used for the benefit of mankind.

59. It is also a known fact that 92 per cent of this sum is being spent by the most powerful nations, as if huge arsenals of arms and more sophisticated weapons were necessary conditions for their own security and that of the world. Furthermore, such arms are dead weights which hamper the economic and social progress of a nation without providing it with the added advantage of absolute security.

60. We also note that a very disturbing feature of armament is the fact that military expenditures by the developing countries themselves have been increasing and have reached the proportion of 8 per cent of the total of such world expenditures. This is an unfortunate situation at a time when the developing countries need every available financial resource in order to promote their own economic and social progress.

61. Nevertheless, we must understand that oftentimes the developing countries find it necessary to divert badly needed resources to counteract the remaining traces of colonialism, such as in Africa, and to protect themselves from onslaught and occupation, as has occurred in the Middle East because of Israel's aggressive and expansionist policies.

62. The twenty-fifth commemorative session of the General Assembly was significant in the life of our Organization, for it clearly recognized that peace and security can best be achieved by the cessation of the production of arms, the reduction and destruction of arms stockpiles, and the diversion of the human, financial, and economic resources thus released to the field of development on both the national and the international levels. Thus resolutions were adopted which simultaneously launched the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] and the Disarmament Decade [*resolution 2661 C (XXV)*]. At the same time, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] was adopted. Those three important decisions established the firm linkage between development, international security, and disarmament. It has become certain that progress in one field would enhance progress in the others, and, conversely, that lack of progress in one would impede progress in the others.

63. But at a time when we are reviewing and appraising the progress achieved so far in the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade, we feel distressed that the financial resources needed to attain the objectives we set forth in it are falling far short of the requirements. The first United Nations Development Decade failed to achieve its anticipated results for lack of resources. The Second Development Decade is threatened with the same fate if we do not provide the necessary funding. One of our great dreams of achieving progress in development would then collapse. What is badly needed for the success of our development programme is money—money, which is all-evasive when it comes to problems of economic and social progress but which nevertheless flows in abundance into the coffers of military budgets. This phenomenon is not only abnormal but immoral.

64. Most available financial resources have already been tapped on both the bilateral and the multilateral levels; the

one huge reservoir which has remained untapped is that of military expenditures. The progress of humanity as a whole—for peoples of the developed as well as the developing countries—depends largely on how much money we can divert from that reservoir to development, because the effects of military expenditures and build-up are nefarious to all. In this respect let us imagine how much better, more efficient and productive the organizations of the United Nations system, such as the United Nations Development Programme [*UNDP*], the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [*UNIDO*], the World Health Organization [*WHO*], the Food and Agriculture Organization [*FAO*], the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [*UNESCO*] and the United Nations Children's Fund [*UNICEF*], might become if their budgets were supplied with additional financial resources released from disarmament.

65. Are we going to succeed in persuading a few of the most industrialized Powers to be more forthcoming? Mr. McNamara, President of the World Bank, stated recently before the Economic and Social Council at its resumed fifty-fifth session that it was not going to be easy, for the privileged countries were politically powerful, and tended to resist reform. That was short-sighted, of course, and ultimately self-defeating. He emphasized that "... the fundamental case for [development assistance] is the moral one, namely, that the rich and powerful of the world have a moral obligation to assist the poor and weak".¹ That is what the sense of community is all about—the community of the family, of the village, of the nations, the community of nations itself.

66. Humanity as a whole is facing and will continue in the future to face staggering problems such as mass poverty, food shortages, illiteracy and other decadent conditions unless immediate measures are taken to offset them. Mr. Boerma and his agency, the FAO, have sounded the alarm in one respect: they have warned of the impending food crisis which will threaten the world for years to come unless a co-ordinated system of national food reserves is adopted, and unless the productivity of small-scale agriculture is increased.

67. At this time we are discussing a very interesting proposal which, if implemented, will make a significant contribution to the solution of these problems. This session of the General Assembly has before it another concrete proposal, introduced by the United States of America, regarding the convocation of a world food conference under the auspices of the United Nations [*A/9194*]. This proposal is also very timely, and wise and necessary. For although such a conference should deal with the food crisis independently of the question of disarmament, we cannot but foresee the benefits to be derived from the allocation of funds released from the arms race to overcoming the food crisis. Both proposals serve as reminders of the proclamation of the 1970s as a decade of simultaneous disarmament and development.

68. It is also timely to remind the General Assembly that my delegation advocated at its twenty-fourth session, and subsequently at the Economic and Social Council: first, the

¹ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Second Special Session and Resumed Fifty-fifth Session*, 1881st meeting.

voluntary reduction of armaments by 2 per cent and the allocation of resources thus released to development; secondly, the establishment of a "fund of funds" within the framework of the United Nations; that is, a master fund to be supplied out of such resources. The reduction we advocated went beyond that proposed in the draft resolution of the Soviet Union which is at present before us. This reduction, for purposes of development in the developing countries, is confined to 10 per cent of 10 per cent of the military budgets of the five permanent members of the Security Council, which amounts, in fact, to 1 per cent of their total military expenditures. While we see a great deal of merit in the Soviet proposal, we are nevertheless concerned about the fact that its implementation would require the agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council, a possibility which seems to be a remote one. The fear is also entertained by many delegations that the proposal may give rise to hopes in the developing world which cannot be realized in the near future.

69. When we advocated the establishment of a master fund, we felt that some of the proceeds could be used to combat mass poverty, illiteracy and disease in the most vulnerable areas of the world. We had advocated the establishment of silos and food reserves as well, along with the creation of a United Nations emergency fleet to come to the aid of those regions critically stricken by natural disasters and those suffering from chronic economic ills and impediments. This master fund could not be better supplied than from the resources released by disarmament. It could also be supplemented by resources drawn from the use of the seabed and ocean floor for peaceful purposes. We are not speaking here about the additional reductions in armaments in national budgets which would directly benefit the peoples of those countries themselves. We are all aware of the strain put on available international resources to meet the requirements of development, natural disasters, food shortages, growing populations, environmental problems, and the like.

70. It must be our objective that our Organization should have a fund that is rich and capable enough to meet all these requirements. The funds should provide assistance through the United Nations agencies as well, especially to the least developed among the developing countries according to their needs. We welcome the fact that the Soviet proposal provides that a portion of the funds saved from disarmament will benefit the developing countries, as we also welcome the fact that these would be additional funds earmarked for development and not for the replacement of funds allocated under already established channels and agencies.

71. There is an infinite number of possibilities that will occur if at least partial disarmament leads eventually to an international planning and development fund. The peoples of the military Powers themselves will be the first to benefit, while those of the developing countries would not fail to reap large benefits as well. A new era would be inaugurated in which warehouses would shelter vast stocks of food, medicaments and books, rather than weapons; in which manpower would be released from refining the art of destruction to that of creativity; and in which humanity can enjoy the fruits of peace, rather than the harassment of war.

72. It is apparent from the foregoing that the Soviet draft resolution on the item we are now discussing meets with the broad outline of my delegation's views with respect to the beneficial use of funds released from disarmament spending. Although the draft may suffer from many deficiencies, and such deficiencies could perhaps be corrected, we nevertheless support it because we consider it a step in the right direction. It is in general accord with our position on the close relationship between disarmament and development, and meets with our most urgent desires. It serves the objectives we advocate regarding disarmament, development and international security. We may be hoping against hope, but we shall continue to be idealistic, however, and hope for better things to come.

73. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): Disarmament and development constitute, in my delegation's view, two of the most important preoccupations of our Organization in its attempts to achieve its Charter objectives of peace and the well-being of man. Unfortunately, these two objectives were in the past pursued separately and without any deliberate attempts to link them together. In the opinion of my delegation, the draft resolution submitted by the USSR [*A/L.701/Rev. I*] seeks to ensure the indispensable link between disarmament and development, thereby giving life and meaning to the various resolutions and declarations on the subject.

74. To put the matter in its perspective, it is necessary to recall a few statistics. It is estimated that the world military expenditure is currently running at about \$225,000 million per annum and that six countries alone are responsible for 80 per cent of this total. Moreover, the industrialized countries spend nearly 7 per cent of their gross national product on armaments, or 25 times the official development assistance provided by them. On the other hand, the developing countries as a whole are responsible for only 7 per cent of total world expenditure on armaments.

75. Even if the modest objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade were achieved on schedule, the magnitude of the problem is such that vast sections of the human race will still be plagued by intolerable levels of living, mass unemployment, hunger and disease. That fact is that even these modest objectives are not being attained as the current exercise in review and appraisal of the Strategy by the Assembly [*item 46*] clearly bears out. The aid target of 1 per cent of the gross national product of the industrialized countries now appears most unlikely to be attained by the stipulated date of 1975 and the target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product for official development assistance is, in fact, running at half that rate, or at the rate of 0.35 per cent.

76. If we contrast the staggering thousands of millions of dollars spent—or, should I say, wasted—in the ever-growing arms race with the crying needs of millions of people in the developing world it is easy to see why, for a number of years now, the developing countries have argued that there is a need to establish a link between disarmament and development.

77. In 1970 the General Assembly took the first concrete steps aimed at establishing such a link. It is no accident that the 1970s have been designated both as the Disarmament

Decade and as the Second United Nations Development Decade. The Strategy for the Second Development Decade, among other things, recognized in its paragraph 5, that

“The success of international development activities will depend in large measure on improvement in the general international situation, particularly on concrete progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control...”.

Furthermore, by resolution 2685 (XXV) the Assembly authorized the appointment of a panel of experts to study the problem and to formulate suggestions for establishing a link between the two decades

“... so that an appropriate portion of the resources that are released as a consequence of progress towards general and complete disarmament would be used to increase assistance for the economic and social development of developing countries”.

It further requested the Secretary-General to submit his report on the matter to the General Assembly in time for consideration at the twenty-eighth session when it would be engaged in the first biennial review of the International Development Strategy.

78. The Group of Experts set up by the Secretary-General comprised a formidable list of disciplined minds under the chairmanship of Alva Myrdal, Minister of State in the Foreign Office of Sweden. Its report² bears out in no uncertain terms what common sense indicated many years before. Recalling that it would take only a 5 per cent shift of current expenditures on arms to development to make it possible to approach the official target for aid, as indicated in the earlier report of the Secretary-General,³ the major conclusion of the experts may be summarized as follows: that the link is a reasonable proposition in view of the enormous amount of resources spent or wasted in the arms race which could be utilized to facilitate development and progress. The report of the Group of Experts goes on to suggest that the “blatant contrast” between this waste of resources and the unfilled needs of development could be used to rouse public opinion in favour of both disarmament and development and that for this purpose the “shocking discrepancy” between international expenditure on armaments and international expenditure for aid to the developing countries should be regularly publicized.

79. In view of the foregoing it is the opinion of my delegation that the proposal of the USSR is essentially a timely one in view of the fact that the Assembly is currently engaged in the first review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy. Now is the time for the Assembly to take a positive political decision to establish a link between disarmament and development and to set up workable modalities for giving effect to that decision. We believe that the Soviet draft resolution is a useful basis for negotiating such an arrangement.

80. Our first doubt, however, about the draft proposal concerns the reference to permanent members of the Security Council as opposed to nuclear Powers. Even though

² *Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.IX.1).

³ *Economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.IX.16).

there is at present a coincidence of membership in both clubs since the United Nations is, or should be, a dynamic organization, such coincidence need not be taken for granted. It is conceivable in our opinion that some day we could have permanent members of the Security Council which are neither nuclear Powers nor major arms spenders and who should therefore be outside the purview of our current exercise. My delegation believes that we should start this exercise with the nuclear Powers and then move down the line to the other major military spenders as appropriate.

81. In view of the finding of the Secretary-General, to which I referred earlier, namely that a 5 per cent shift of resources from arms to aid would make it possible to approach the official development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product, it seems to me that the proposal in operative paragraph 2 is extremely modest: 10 per cent of the funds released through a 10 per cent cut in the military budgets of the five Powers involved would in fact, according to my calculation, amount to 1 per cent of the current military budgets of those countries.

82. No matter how the current climate of détente or coexistence between the major Powers may be qualified, it is clear in my own mind that the developing countries contributed in many ways towards it. For many years we spoke out against the exclusion of large sections of humanity from the Assembly and persistently argued in favour of the principle of universality of membership in this Organization. Through the non-aligned movement we resisted attempts to split the world into two opposing camps. In time, our persistent plea for mutual accommodation seems to have yielded some results. We have a right, therefore, to expect that détente should engender a more positive spirit towards disarmament negotiations; we have a right to expect positive results and benefits from the disarmament dividends resulting from such disarmament.

83. It is in the spirit of these comments therefore that my delegation will approach further consultations on the draft resolution of the Soviet Union.

84. Mr. BOUBACAR KANTÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The proposal of the Soviet delegation to reduce the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council and to utilize part of the funds thus saved to assist development, a proposal which is the subject of item 102 of our agenda, is without doubt one of the many ways open to our Organization for accelerating the process of strengthening peace and the harmonious development of nations.

85. This has already been envisaged in the Charter, Article 26 of which states:

“In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world’s human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.”

86. The Soviet proposal is important for a second reason too. This is because the Soviet Union has chosen for it a time

which falls within the first third of the Second United Nations Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade, two periods of particular relevance in the life of our Organization. And this context can only throw it into greater relief.

87. It is clear, however, as was so well pointed out by the Ambassador of the Soviet Union on 15 October last [2154th meeting], when he introduced the draft resolution, that this is not the first time that this proposal has come before the General Assembly of the United Nations. His country took the initiative of proposing this in 1957 and in 1958, and then in 1961 and 1964.

88. The failure of these attempts was due at the time to the cold war, which had created in the world a climate of suspicion which strengthened the feeling among States that they must, above all, be concerned for self-preservation, a feeling incompatible with altruistic self-denial.

89. But since that time some changes have occurred in the world. However, we should not celebrate too soon because the latest act of aggression by Israel against the Arab nation revealed to us quite recently that the much vaunted détente is, unfortunately, a very chancy thing and that the fragile equilibrium upon which international peace and security are based may be broken at any time by the overflowing of any local or regional conflict. This would explain the hesitation or, rather, the reservations of certain Powers with regard to this proposal.

90. But, although it remains to make this détente more concrete and to make it more general by extending it to all continents and by associating with it all States, we do think that the present trend does make it possible for us to contemplate, without too much risk, a reduction of military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council for the benefit of development assistance.

91. Such a measure would certainly encourage us to renounce the arms race in which, unfortunately, great and small Powers are somewhat frantically engaged at the moment; the former continue to strengthen, qualitatively and quantitatively, their military potential for the purposes of their policy of hegemony, while encouraging the latter to over-arm themselves, from which they derive a double profit, both economic and strategic.

92. The developing countries, after being delivered from the spectre of war in which they are cynically maintained, would then be able to devote to equipping themselves a substantial proportion of the enormous resources which they have been keeping idle, uselessly, in armaments.

93. The vicious circle in which the world has been suffering since the end of the Second World War will gradually be broken for the benefit of peace.

94. However, the proposal before us will achieve all its objectives only to the extent that at the same time, with its implementation, we strive to create a genuine climate of confidence, tolerance and understanding among States. My delegation feels that this is the nub of the question.

95. The assessment of military expenditures is problematic because of the fact that some of the ramifications of these budgets within the over-all budget are State secrets. Furthermore, it is difficult to decide where the military budget begins and ends, because national defence budgets finance, among other things, current research expenditures, as well as high priority scientific research carried out in universities and private companies. Officially published figures are generally only the tip of the iceberg. Not to mention the fact that a State may very well give up, for our present undertaking, a certain proportion of its known budgetary resources, without in any way affecting the continuity of its policy of arms at all costs.

96. The Soviet delegation has been very realistic and has left it up to States to assess their military budgets. It is relying at this stage much more heavily on their spirit of co-operation and devotion to the cause of peace than on enforcement measures, which can only be illusory.

97. While supporting the Soviet proposal before us, my delegation would like to stress the need for improving the international climate which remains for us the *sine qua non* of any progress towards general and effective disarmament forming the basis of peace, that very peace which we have decided to make our primary objective. This genuine détente which would no longer be just an impression but an objective fact, would require above all the establishment in relations among States of new rules based on justice, equality, tolerance, understanding, mutual advantage and the elimination of all impediments and anachronisms which curb our energies, particularly colonialism and *apartheid*.

98. The dismantling of foreign military bases scattered throughout the world and the renunciation of policies of supremacy, the arms race and the use of puppets would be a first step, and an important step, towards the improvement of the international climate.

99. In spite of the serious problems which still afflict our world, we may take the risk of giving our support to the draft resolution before us. It has the merit of attempting to create a desirable trend. Indeed, it is trying to combine in the same action two fundamental programmes of our Organization—disarmament and economic development—although the role reserved in the draft resolution for this latter aspect remains very modest. It should not, however, be confused with the commitments and objectives of the Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, to which it is complementary.

100. Freed from the nightmare of war, we will be able then to divert to the harmonious development of our countries the enormous financial and human resources wasted in the folly of the arms race, which is now running at a rate of about \$240,000 million a year.

101. Before concluding, my delegation would like to be enlightened, for its own guidance, of course, on three points. In order to make the text comprehensible, we would like to ask three questions.

102. First, is the proposed reduction of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council

to be an operation which will be continuing? In other words, is it something which will happen henceforth every year?

103. Secondly, if that is the case, is the share of funds allocated for development assistance to be something which evolves?

104. Thirdly, under what system will the funds allotted to development assistance be administered? Will the system be centralized and administered by the Special Committee under the authority of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as in the case of the other programmes in our Organization such as UNDP, UNIDO and the United Nations Environment Programme? Or will it be administered under a special system which will have to be defined?

105. In Mali we are practical and simple men. We do not therefore conceal the fact that it is not always easy for us to grasp the subtleties of texts. That is why we have asked these questions, and the answers will certainly help us to interpret correctly the resolution to be adopted on this important question. This request for clarification does not, however, constitute for my delegation a reservation of any kind with regard to the Soviet proposal. We shall therefore vote in favour of it.

106. Mr. IBINGIRA (Uganda): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express our support for draft resolution A/L.701/Rev.1, submitted by the USSR. We are doing so, not because this is the best draft resolution that could have been submitted on this matter; it is not because we are interested in 10 per cent of the military budgets—we would be interested in 100 per cent of the military budgets; we support the draft resolution in the absence of anything not only comparable but better.

107. It is, we believe, a welcome trend that great Powers which have spent so much on investment in weapons for human destruction should start thinking in terms of saving the amount thus invested in death and diverting it to the salvation of human lives, in terms of their material well-being. There are obviously definite questions and difficulties raised by this proposal: how, for example, are we going to determine the defence budgets of the countries involved so as to ascertain the 10 per cent for which we ask?

108. We have heard in other Committees at this session of other great Powers which are engaged in the armaments race, of their determination to continue arming themselves for the safety of their States and in accordance with their inherent right, as set forth in the Charter, to defend themselves.

109. The role of a country like my own—where we neither have nor desire to have nuclear weapons—in such a matter can be limited only to giving advice and to pleading with those with the capacity not only to destroy us but also to commit suicide.

110. We fail to see the purpose, at this time and at this stage of human evolution, for such enormous investments in weapons of such horrendous mass destruction, when all of us should be engaged in the task of developing a planetary community free from war, as the Charter that gave birth to our Organization has instructed us to seek.

111. When one carries out some survey in the leading nations of the world and one finds that violence seems to be endemic, even among the most advanced of them, one must surely wonder whether that endemic violence will perpetually be prevented from penetrating the top echelons of leadership which have the capacity and the command of all these destructive weapons.

112. We have many times been led to believe that the great Powers which hold the arsenals of world destruction would never engage in nuclear war, but yet they permanently arm themselves and continue to develop ever-more destructive weapons, both in their accuracy and in their capacity to destroy life on earth. But we must not believe that they can destroy life on earth, because these weapons are just there—perhaps, we are persuaded to believe, purely as a psychological deterrent. We have no evidence, through the whole span of human history, to believe that those who have told us so have any precedent to back up or to justify the credibility that they claim.

113. On the contrary, we have seen that all weapons that have been devised throughout the whole span of human history have always been used in war. The fact that nuclear weapons—which are still being manufactured by various countries even at the moment that we are debating this draft resolution—have not been used for the last quarter century should surely not deceive us, because when we discuss in terms of human history we are not talking in terms of a quarter of a century; we are talking in terms of centuries and thousands of years. And you, Mr. President, in your inaugural address at this session [2117th meeting], quite ably illustrated the fact that there have been hundreds of wars—even after the end of the Second World War and up to the last war that took place in the Middle East, which we hope will not be repeated.

114. All this provides a very compelling background for us to support a proposal of this nature, one directed at reducing investments in human destruction and at using that sum of money for investment in relieving of poverty and misery among the greater part of mankind which is today still so afflicted.

115. If our civilizations on earth were threatened by some exterior force—on the order of, for example, Orson Welles' radio play "The War of the Worlds" in which the earth was supposed to have been invaded by creatures from Mars—we would understand why the great Powers invest so much in the defence of the planet and its civilizations; but there is no such danger, and this is an investment which has been continually made in preparation for suicide.

116. We hope that people will not take this motion to be polemical. We have been told that the sponsors have put forward this motion before, but in our view that only goes to prove the consistency of their wish. It surely does not mean that it is a repetition of a polemic. We believe that the Soviet Union, in bringing forward this motion, is taking a constructive step in the right direction, and we should like to hope that at some future date the other great Powers involved in the investment in weapons of mass destruction will come forward and engage in an exercise that is even more extensive and more comprehensive, so that we can manage to

divert those resources to efforts for a brighter planetary civilization.

117. It is a great shame that the first Development Decade failed and that the Second Development Decade certainly does not appear likely to fare any better. The 1 per cent target failed, and it is likely to continue to fail.

118. In those circumstances, we think that this is a very good beginning and worthy of the endorsement of this august Assembly.

119. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The Soviet Union has submitted a laudable draft resolution. Whatever may be said by others who express doubts about the motives behind that draft resolution, the least that can be said about it is that it has great merit. We should give the Soviet Union more than the benefit of the doubt for its praiseworthy intention, for having thought of practical measures to reduce tension not with empty words but by a commitment on the part of the five permanent members of the Security Council to reduce their respective armament budgets by at least 10 per cent.

120. Some opponents of the Soviet draft resolution have intimated that it is propagandistic in its approach to the question of disarmament. What is wrong with propaganda if it is for a good cause? Remember that it was through propaganda that the major world religions spread, for the good of believers. In the field of political persuasion, or what is known as ideologies, had it not been for propaganda principles predicated on changing the *status quo*, the world would have continued to suffer from stagnation. Propaganda for good is the right sort of propaganda. What we take exception to is propaganda that distorts the news in the mass media of information, or that has evil purposes. I challenge anyone here to question the sanity of the alleged propaganda behind the Soviet draft resolution.

121. It is quite ominous that four of the permanent members of the Security Council have so far chosen a course of deep silence to manifest their lack of enthusiasm about—not to speak of their opposition to—the Soviet proposal. This negative attitude of the major Powers betrays the fact that they still do not trust one another on the question of reducing the stupendous expenditure on the development and manufacture of instruments of mass destruction.

122. The purpose of having arsenals replete with diabolical weapons seems to me to be not to maintain the alleged national security of a given State but rather, when it suits that State, to threaten any other State that does not comply with its will. The misleading term “deterrent weapons” becomes necessary for such States, notwithstanding the risk of miscalculation which may bring about the end of the human race.

123. What is this “détente”? Whom are we fooling here with that word “détente”, as if it were a symphony by Beethoven? The chords are discordant. The word “détente” seems to soothe the nerves of some, but they are duped by the word. Heads of State wine and dine together in the so-called spirit of détente, and then they direct their defence ministers to do everything possible to see to it that they increase, instead of decreasing, their so-called defence budgets or their armaments budgets—you can choose the

word that suits you. It is schizophrenic behaviour to use a word that sounds sweet to the ears of the populace, when the leaders are actually doing nothing to implement détente.

124. Now the Soviet Union comes with a creative measure. Incidentally, it is not new to the United Nations because I, as representative of Saudi Arabia, have time and again stated in the First Committee that with the armament budgets of the world amounting to \$200,000 million, it was high time something was done to reduce that expenditure and try to apply it to the development of many countries that were in need of funds. And this was not altogether for altruistic purposes because the prospering developed countries cannot continue to prosper unless the developing countries have their share of prosperity. These developed, highly industrialized countries cannot live by trading exclusively with one another. It is not only altruistic for the highly industrialized countries to divert funds to the developing countries but it also benefits the industrialized countries themselves.

125. And what do we find? Really, it is ludicrous. We find certain States considering sanctions and embargoes which are peaceful in nature. They do not resort to weapons as being in the nature of swindles, blackmail and distortions—they tell us. How funny. These economic sanctions or embargoes are considered threats even by a certain major Power. But why should I not be frank? I have always been frank since I started here. They are considered threats, for example, by the United States.

126. Are members not reading the press? The Arabs are blackmailing, extorting—they are extortionists. They condition the minds of the people with such epithets and by repetition they finally prepare the ground for possible aggression with those weapons which they do not want to reduce. But we are not intimidated. We would rather die than live in indignity.

127. To illustrate how beneficial would be such a step as we find in the Soviet draft resolution which, as I said, has positive values, I must do so with facts and not in the abstract. None other than the Secretary of State of this host country, Mr. Kissinger, when asked what the United States would do—and, incidentally, that State does not depend on Arab oil as Western European countries do; it depends only to the extent of 6 or 7 per cent—said: “We will use counter-measures”. What does he mean by “counter-measures”? Why does he not spell them out like a man of the third part of the twentieth century? What “counter-measures”? He thinks that the might of the United States will make us change a peaceful embargo which does not depend on the weapons that are to be found in the arsenals of the United States and the other major Power. You cannot bend the will of human beings to stand on the dignity and worth of the individual. Let him come out and spell out what he means by “counter-measures”. This sneaky, hypocritical terminology should not be the order of the day in the United Nations era, I submit and maintain.

128. There is something else that will illustrate what I mean by the positive merit to be found in the Soviet draft resolution. The five major Powers can—by miscalculation or by intent or by derangement on the part of some of their leaders—bring an end to life on this planet; and must we, the rest of us, the 130 nations, whether African, Asian, Latin

American or coming from Australia, New Zealand and the other islands surrounding the five continents, remain at their mercy? Yes, we are at their mercy. But, as one or two of my colleagues stated, they will not bring an end to us without bringing an end to themselves.

129. And what is wrong with the Soviet Union proposal if it makes a start? Why should we question the motives of those who propose it? I am a monarchist; they are communist; and I do not go by solidarity. I judge the merit of a proposal. But who speaks here, including myself, but the representatives of small States? The others keep mum; they have swallowed their tongues. Now, do not swallow your tongues; you might not only have indigestion but also lose the skill of arguing. Come, you other four major Powers which are States Members of the Organization, tell us something: persuade us that it is for security—your security, not our security—that you maintain your arsenals and increase them.

130. I asked one of my English colleagues and he said that his country's armaments budget has been maintained at a plateau. I forgot to tell him: "No, laudably, it is less because the British pound is not what it used to be". So the British are spending less in purchasing power and services. But the United States has increased its budget this year to the tune of \$76,000 million or \$77,000 million. Last year it was less by \$5,000 million or \$6,000 million. And in one day the decision was made to send about \$2,000 million to the Middle East. Of course, if you want to play the policeman of the world, you have to keep replenishing your arsenals and raising your budgets.

131. And here we have the Soviet Union coming forward with a proposal. Immediately, we try to find fault with it.

132. Members will excuse me if I cite a story, an incident, in my life which occurred when I was a child and best illustrates what sometimes the major Powers do unto one another. Where I was born, apples were scarce, but my father had a friend who had an orchard about 200 miles away. Every year that friend sent us a big basket of apples as a gift to the family. I remember one day how my mother took an apple to give to each one of us. Mine happened to have an "eye" which was due to damage during transportation. There was no refrigeration in those days. Petulant as I a seven-year-old boy was, I threw the apple on the floor. My mother very sweetly said: "Jamil, why are you throwing that apple away?" I said, "The apples you gave my sisters and my brother do not have 'eyes'. This is a bad apple". Very gently she picked up the apple and asked a servant to bring a knife; she shaved away that small spot, no larger than a dime, and said "Look, it's white inside; it's not putrid. Why don't you look at the good part of the apple?" And she gave me a lesson that has stayed with me until today.

133. Why do you not look at the good features of the Soviet draft resolution? You are looking at the alleged propaganda motive. Look at the good side of the apple. Give the Soviet Union the benefit of the doubt.

134. I remember when I first came to this country over three decades ago some patriotic Americans would recall what their ancestors had said: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian". And then during McCarthy's day they used to

say, "The only good Communist is a dead Communist". You remember McCarthy in the 1950s? For McCarthy and his followers I was a monarchist. I believe in Islamic monarchism, because the monarch, the king, is subject to the law, unlike the monarchs who lived in Europe—I am not talking about the modern monarchs, who are constitutional monarchs. Our kings are subject to the law; they are not above the law.

135. Then I said, "Good Lord, there are many of those Communists who are as human as we are here in the United States, inside and outside the Committees". If I had been an American I would have been questioned by Mr. McCarthy.

136. And then that great philosopher who did honour to the Britain that produced him, Bertrand Russell, forgot he was British and taught the British people that the Communists were human.

137. And I remember what was said by those who were wise, who tried to refute the chauvinists and jingoists among the Western Powers: "It is better to be red"—meaning Communist—"than dead". Now we find the reverse taking place: the other major Powers would prefer that we all be dead rather than that the Soviet Union be right. That is the gist of the opposition. That is the gist of the silence with which this item is treated.

138. I understand why the People's Republic of China seems not to be in accord with the Soviet Union and the United States. I understand why the Powers, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], sometimes have deep differences among themselves with regard to policies of peace and of war, with regard to security. It is understandable; they are human. But let us be generous, and when somebody submits something that may become the nucleus of peace—"may become", not "will necessarily become"—we should not only give him the benefit of the doubt but we should co-operate with him and find out how we can put our heads together and further the positive factors in any proposal such as the one the Soviet Union has formally presented during this session.

139. In conclusion, I should like to state that it would be praiseworthy for us not to treat the Soviet proposal as Johar was treated. Johar is a character in Arab folklore, a jester who entertained—but with a lot of wisdom sometimes—the people and the king in those days, centuries ago, maybe a thousand years ago. Johar was seen hastening towards the palace, and his friends said, "Why are you in such a hurry?" He said, "Don't talk to me. I'm going to ask the king for his daughter's hand in marriage". They laughed. It was not long before Johar emerged from the palace, jubilant. "Johar, how are things getting on?" they asked. He said, "Wonderful. Things are going pretty well. I've accepted". "What about the king's daughter?" "She hasn't yet accepted"—the king's daughter had not yet accepted his proposal of marriage.

140. You four major Powers are acting like the king's daughter, keeping away from Johar. But it is not Johar here; the Soviet Union is no Johar. The Soviet Union is one of the two super-Powers. Do not treat the Soviet Union wantonly. Believe that the Soviet Union is human, as you are. Give it the benefit of the doubt.

141. And to my Chinese friends I have this to say—something that was attributed to the famous Mao Tse-tung, who is reported to have said that “a journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step”. What is wrong in the Soviet Union taking the first step?

142. Sir Donald MAITLAND (United Kingdom): The proposal before us deals with two subjects: disarmament and development. Since for most Members of the United Nations the main interest of the Soviet proposal lies in the possibility of an increase in aid to developing countries, I propose to deal first with the development aspect.

143. My Government will welcome any practical and constructive initiative which will increase the flow of resources to developing countries. The United Kingdom, for its part, is continuing to improve its effort in this field. In 1972, our net disbursement of aid amounted to the equivalent of some \$625 million. This, incidentally, is not far short of 10 per cent of British defence expenditure. We are not complacent about our aid programme, and we plan substantially to increase our effort. I will not go into the details of the United Kingdom's programme, since these are published. Unfortunately, similar details of the Soviet Union's aid to developing countries are not published. As far as my delegation can make out, the net outflow of Soviet assistance last year was about \$100 million—that is, one sixth of the United Kingdom's total. The United Kingdom's share of the Fourth Replenishment of the International Development Association is \$166 million a year. The Soviet Union does not belong to the World Bank Group and therefore did not participate at all in this Replenishment. At the UNDP Pledging Conference last month, the United Kingdom pledged the equivalent of rather over \$22 million. This was 15 per cent more than our pledge last year. The Soviet Union made the same pledge as last year. This amounted to just over 2.5 million roubles, which would be the equivalent of \$3.5 million if the whole sum, instead of only a quarter, were in convertible currency: \$3.5 million as against the United Kingdom's \$22 million. These figures illustrate the disparity between the British and Soviet aid programmes.

144. There are marked differences, too, in the terms of British and Soviet aid. The United Kingdom's terms of aid are published in detail. From such information as is available, the terms of Soviet aid seem to be substantially less generous than ours. It appears, for instance, that something like two thirds of the Soviet Union's gross aid disbursement last year was used for repayment by the developing countries of previous aid.

145. My delegation hopes that in launching—or perhaps I should say relaunching—the proposal now under consideration the Soviet Government is now truly committing itself to the cause of world development. There is, after all, a lot of leeway to be made up.

146. I turn now to the disarmament aspect of the Soviet proposal. Since the beginning of this session, members of the Soviet delegation have suggested from time to time how funds saved from military budgets could be used. They have given the impression that if their draft resolution, as revised [*A/L.701/Rev. I*], were adopted, the problems of housing, of drought relief and of closing the gap between the rich and poor nations could be solved overnight. When introducing

the proposal on 15 October [*2154th meeting*], the representative of the Soviet Union claimed that it was a very concrete one. It seems to my delegation, however, that this concrete proposal rests on a foundation of sand. That foundation of sand is the military budget of the Soviet Union, which I should like to quote in full. It will not take long. It reads as follows: “To set in the State budget of the USSR for 1973 allocations for the country's defence at a sum of 17.9 milliard roubles”. That, Mr. President, is the only information about the Soviet Union's military expenditure vouchsafed to the Soviet people and the rest of the world. It is scarcely informative. Can this be a serious starting-point for disarmament? Can a budget presented in such discreet form really cover all defence expenditure? Do we all mean the same thing when we talk about the level of military expenditure? How are we to be sure? In his statement on 15 October, the representative of the Soviet Union specifically rejected any idea of verification, any idea of control over the reduction of military budgets.

147. We can set about disarmament seriously if we think and act in concrete terms. If we reduce the actual levels of forces and weapons, we will reduce military budgets. Who will take us seriously if our suggested starting-point is arbitrary and unverifiable deductions from an unknown quantity?

148. The United Kingdom delegation is interested in the serious way forward. And we have good cause. The International Institute for Strategic Studies has indicated that in Central Europe there are 58 Warsaw Pact divisions as opposed to 21 from the NATO countries; nearly 40,000 main battle-tanks as opposed to NATO's 7,000; 2,700 tactical aircraft as opposed to NATO's 1,700. According to the Yearbooks of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, military expenditure by the Warsaw Pact countries has nearly doubled since 1958. During the same period, NATO defence expenditure rose by only one quarter. These figures speak for themselves.

149. My delegation would welcome the co-operation of the Soviet Union in seeking balanced reductions of men and weapons in real terms, conducted in such a way that security remains undiminished. This would impress us more than a demand for a percentage reduction in military budgets. In the view of my delegation, draft resolution *A/L.701/Rev. I* does not offer a sufficiently serious way forward towards disarmament. And if it does not lead to disarmament, then it cannot result in additional funds becoming available for development or, indeed, for any other purpose. My delegation will therefore abstain on the draft resolution if it comes to a vote.

150. May I refer in conclusion to the study presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations last year by a group of experts working under the chairmanship of Mrs. Myrdal of Sweden? This study included the following passage:

“Disarmament and development are of the greatest importance to the world community. But fundamentally they stand separately from one another. The United Nations has agreed to seek each one vigorously in its own right, regardless of the pace of progress in approaching the other. Specifically, nations have agreed that national

and international efforts to promote development should be neither postponed nor allowed to lag merely because progress in disarmament is slow.”⁴

The United Kingdom delegation agrees with that conclusion. We offer the Soviet Union this challenge. It talks of the

arms race; let us instead compete in the development race. Instead of trying to establish links which could be merely an excuse for the dragging of feet, let us commit ourselves in a spirit of partnership to the cause of development. Let us seek together realistic solutions to this major world problem.

⁴ See *Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.IX.1), para. 53.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.