Question of amending the United Nations Charter, in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 108 of the Charter, to increase the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the number of votes required for decisions of the Council (A/3138, A/SPC/L.28/Rev.1) (concluded)

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter I, section VI) (A/3848, A/SPC/30, A/SPC/L.29 and Add.1) (concluded)

3. Mr. PLAZA (Venezuela) offered the condolences of his delegation to the Bulgarian delegation.

4. He recalled that he had voted in favour of the seventeen-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.28/Rev.1), which noted that the proposed amendment of the Charter required a larger area of agreement than at present prevailed, although he would have liked the Assembly to add a statement expressing regret that the technical progress of the Economic and Social Council, one of the most important organs of the United Nations, was still being hampered by political considerations. The fact that his delegation had voted in favour of the nineteen-Power draft resolution did not imply that it had adopted a definite position on the question of increasing the number of judges of the International Court of Justice. His delegation was merely agreeing that the question should be examined at the next session of the General Assembly.

5. Mr. HOLLAII (Hungary) also offered the condolences of his delegation to the Bulgarian delegation.

6. His delegation had voted against the nineteen-Power draft resolution because it thought that the text prejudged the question. By the terms of the draft, the Assembly would be compelled at its next session to discuss an increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council whether or not the conditions necessary for such a step actually existed. Moreover, his delegation thought that any attempt to amend the Charter would be doomed to failure if the People's Republic of China did not participate in it.

7. His delegation had abstained from voting on the seven-Power draft resolution because the preamble touched on the substance of the matter and did not reflect the real motives for keeping the item on the agenda. The operative part of the text would have been acceptable to his delegation, and had a vote been taken paragraph by paragraph, it would have voted for the text. His delegation had voted for paragraph 2 of the nineteen-Power draft resolution, which closely resembled the operative part of the seven-Power draft resolution.

8. Mr. JANTUAH (Ghana) said he had abstained from voting on the nineteen-Power draft resolution on the grounds that a more equitable geographical distribution of the present membership could be achieved...
without amendment to the Charter. All that would be required was a redistribution of the seats so that the less developed nations of Asia, and more especially of Africa, could have an opportunity to help render the Economic and Social Council a more effective organ.

9. Mr. HU (China) said that though he had voted in favour of the seven-Power draft resolution, his delegation did not approve the text in its entirety. It had some reservations concerning the fourth paragraph of the preamble. In the opinion of his delegation, a larger area of agreement could have been attained at least in relation to some of the organs of the United Nations involved, if it had not been for the obstructionist tactics of the Soviet Union.

10. Mr. AMADEO (Argentina) offered his condolences to the Bulgarian delegation.

11. Presenting the nine-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.27), he pointed out that the text reflected the general views of the Committee and had secured the support of delegations representing the various geographical regions and the political systems in the Assembly. He thanked all those whose constructive co-operation had enabled the sponsors of the draft resolution to work out a generally acceptable formula on that difficult question, and observed that he was speaking in the absence of Ambassador Adolfo Scilingo, representative of Argentina on the Special Political Committee, whose work in the field of peaceful co-operation was well known.

12. The question before the Committee had been considered at the Assembly's twelfth session and resolution 1236 (XII) had been adopted unanimously. He expressed the gratitude of the sponsors of the present text to the three countries, India, Sweden and Yugoslavia, which had originally submitted resolution 1236 (XII). Their efforts had paved the way for the successful outcome of the discussions on the subject.

13. The nine-Power draft resolution went further than resolution 1236 (XII) and in six paragraphs defined the essentials of international co-operation. His delegation appreciated the reservations and objections which any optimistic attitude in respect of the question under consideration might give rise, in the light of the existing international situation. It was obvious that the adoption of the draft resolution would not be enough to dispel, as if by magic, the present tensions in international relations; if the action taken was to produce results, its scope must be defined precisely and objectively. The draft resolution stated clearly what could be done, within the limitations imposed by the powers and capacities of the United Nations, to improve the international situation. Although it merely represented a beginning, the sponsors of the draft resolution were convinced that if each paragraph of the text was scrupulously respected, all the countries of the world would be able to face the future with greater optimism.

14. The preamble to the draft resolution stated the issue, so to speak, while the operative part contained specific recommendations calculated to facilitate friendly and neighbourly relations among States. There were two aspects of the draft resolution which called for special emphasis. In the first place, current events were making quite obvious the need for States, in particular the great Powers, to respect in their relations the authority of the law, in other words, the rules of international law and the provisions of the Charter, and to abstain from all recourse to violence in the settlement of any disputes which might arise among them. That was the point stressed in the draft resolution. In the second place, the text stressed the growing importance of cultural, economic, scientific and technical contacts.

15. In a recent statement before the First Committee (985th meeting), he had suggested that the United Nations would be taking a highly constructive step if it separated the scientific and cultural aspects of international co-operation from the political aspects. Now that all regions of the world shared the same fate, economic self-sufficiency had given place to the idea of economic interdependence, and encouragement to exchanges in all fields where political questions were not at stake would help to reduce existing political tensions. His delegation was aware that the agreement reached on the draft resolution did not justify undue optimism, and would automatically lead to the conclusion of agreements on the many problems dividing the world. It did not think that faithful adherence to a political or ideological conviction entailed any obligation to keep stirring up ill-feeling. The Argentine Government would certainly seize any opportunity, however slight, which was likely to lead to the reduction of tension and the establishment in the world of the peace and security desired by all peoples.

16. Peace was no longer a luxury—it was a necessary condition for the survival of mankind, to which the advances of science gave the choice between peace or annihilation. Although the draft resolution under discussion represented for the time being no more than words arranged with a certain felicity, those words had strength and certain appeal. They should be also taken as interpreting the facts of international life, which must not be underestimated, particularly when they were set forth in an adequate formula, unanimously agreed upon, for friendly co-operation.

17. In conclusion he expressed the hope that, as in the previous year's debate on the question, the present discussions would be free from polemics. That would reflect the spirit of unity which had led the sponsors of the draft resolution to present it.

18. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia) expressed his Government's condolences to the Bulgarian delegation.

19. He recalled General Assembly resolution 1236 (XII), adopted unanimously at the twelfth session, under which all States were called upon to make every effort to strengthen international peace, to develop friendly and co-operative relations and to settle disputes by peaceful means. Developments since then had shown that it was urgent for the United Nations to take fresh measures to ensure the application of the principle of peaceful coexistence. Moreover, if further aggravation of the international situation was to be avoided, Governments must endeavour to improve relations between States and unite their efforts to settle the most urgent international problems. The only way of doing that was to develop among States
friendship based on the principles of mutual respect and advantage, equal rights, non-aggression, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States and respect for their territorial integrity.

20. The application of those principles implied the obligation of renouncing the policy of force and threats, war as a means of settling disputes, and the armaments race. The overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world had come out in favour of the peaceful coexistence of States, irrespective of their social and political systems and the ideologies they represented. The socialist States had consistently practised the policy of peaceful coexistence and friendly relations among nations, which was supported by many of the Asian and African States and had been reaffirmed by those States at the 1955 Bandung Conference. Peaceful coexistence was not merely the elimination of war between two systems or the isolated existence of two armed camps; the constructive co-operation of States was required.

21. Czechoslovakia firmly supported the development of friendly relations between States on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. United with all the forces of peace, it was trying to bring about a relaxation of the international situation, to consolidate international peace and to promote co-operation among the various countries. That peaceful policy was the natural result of its social system and its past experience. Czechoslovakia's geographical situation in the centre of Europe gave it a special interest in improving relations between the countries of that important region and it was therefore trying to establish peaceful relations with all its neighbours, both East and West.

22. Czechoslovakia was trying to develop its economic relations with all countries, and had concluded economic agreements with sixty-six States. It also maintained relations with an increasing number of States in cultural, scientific and technical matters. It was convinced of the need for the United Nations to take effective measures to institute and promote peaceful and good-neighbourly relations between States, and had therefore asked that the item should be placed on the agenda of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly and had submitted the draft resolution contained in document A/SPC/L.24 to the Committee. It had also co-sponsored the nine-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.27) before the Committee. The core of that proposal was to be found in the last three paragraphs, particularly operative paragraph 4, in which the Assembly called upon Member States to take effective steps towards the implementation of the principles of peaceful and neighbourly relations. Such relations could not be established on a firm basis while opposing military blocs still existed and until the system of groupings was replaced by a system of real collective security.

23. The first step in that direction was to conclude multilateral or bilateral non-aggression pacts, under which the parties would undertake, first, not to resort to force or threat of force; secondly, to refrain from any interference in the domestic affairs of other States; thirdly, to settle their disputes by peaceful means; and fourthly, to consult together if a situation arose which might constitute a threat to peace. Czechoslovakia was prepared to conclude such pacts. As far as Europe in particular was concerned, the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and co-operation among the countries of the region, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would establish an atmosphere of trust that would greatly promote the cause of peace in that region. Czechoslovakia had welcomed that step by the Soviet Union and would be prepared to become a part to the proposed treaty.

24. In order to establish the peaceful coexistence of States on a firm basis, it was necessary to familiarize Governments with the principles concerned and to encourage them to adopt and apply those principles. It was the task of the United Nations to help Governments to disseminate those principles by all the means of information at their disposal, particularly through education, the press, radio and television.

25. In submitting its proposals to the General Assembly, the Czechoslovak delegation had proceeded from the purposes of the Charter as proclaimed in Article 1, and particularly in paragraphs 2 and 4 of that Article, to develop friendly relations and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends.

26. The Czechoslovak delegation hoped that the nine-Power draft resolution would be unanimously adopted by the Committee and by the plenary Assembly.

27. U TUN SHEIN (Burma) spoke of the devastation, sufferings and horrors which Burma had undergone during the Second World War; thirteen years after the war, Burma was still struggling to recover from its effects.

28. If there was another war, in the present age of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles, no continent would be spared. War would not solve any of the contemporary problems. In fact, the problems it would leave in its wake would be worse than those which it had been intended to solve. In a modern war there would be neither victor nor vanquished; the loser would be mankind.

29. Yet, instead of co-operating to outlaw war, the great Powers were divided into two armed camps, with the small nations taking sides. The armaments race was becoming increasingly dangerous, for preparation for war, far from ensuring peace, led to war. The hydrogen bomb, long-range missiles and all the other developments in that field were a warning to humanity that the idea of war must be completely abandoned. Any war, however small or localized, must be stopped before it started, for only with the greatest difficulty could it be prevented from spreading like wildfire. War or the use of force as a means of settling international disputes was a relic of the barbaric past which intelligent human beings should abandon.

30. If war and the use of force were ruled out, the only alternative remaining to man was peaceful coexistence among nations and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means: negotiation, conciliation and mediation. Nations must learn to be tolerant and not try to impose their will on others. In spite of their divergencies of view on ideological and other questions, they must learn to live together in close co-operation, because the world was shrinking and no country could live in isolation.

31. The Burmese delegation noted that those principles were accepted by an overwhelming majority of States, as was proved by the support given to General
Assembly resolution 1236 (XII) at the previous session. At the present session a further step towards the application of those principles was being made. One of the most effective measures States could take to develop peaceful and neighbourly relations would be to remove the barriers to international communication and allow people and information to move freely. At the same time, the exchange of experts and information in the field of science and culture should be encouraged and there should be increased contacts in trade.

32. He hoped that the Committee's debates would lead to the adoption of measures which would be effective in developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States, thus reducing the fear and suspicion which darkened the international scene.

33. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland) extended his delegation's sympathy and condolences to the Bulgarian delegation on the death of Mr. Georgi Damianov.

34. Since the end of the Second World War the world had witnessed a steady deterioration of the relations between the principal Powers, although it had been thanks to their joint efforts that peace had been restored and the United Nations founded. It had witnessed the birth, development and consolidation of a policy which had led to military pacts and had prevented the solution of many international problems. Furthermore, new problems had arisen, on the solution of which the future of humanity depended. After the manufacture of the atomic bomb and the more recent development of intercontinental missiles, the nations had now involved outer space in their earthly disputes. The difficulties in establishing full co-operation and coexistence were the main cause of the armaments race, the erection of trade barriers and many other obstacles. The cold war and international tension were the most striking symptoms of that state of affairs.

35. It was an undisputed fact that the present world was divided into two political systems, which were living side by side and must continue to coexist. It was therefore necessary to recognize that any approach to international disputes other than negotiation was ineffective and dangerous. Negotiation must be based on political realism and respect for the parties concerned.

36. During the debates on disarmament, there had seemed to be a trend towards the abandonment of rigid positions and a willingness to seek compromise solutions, which must be the basis of all negotiations. The establishment of a new Disarmament Commission confirmed that impression. The same tendency had been apparent in the debate on the reunification of Korea, when various delegations had called for a more realistic approach to the question and the opening of negotiations between the two Korean States. The Polish delegation would like to see in that trend the influence of public opinion in the matter of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

37. A particularly fruitful ground for co-operation lay in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields. In the economic field, the policy of restrictions of excluding one group of countries from the normal flow of trade, had proved harmful to the world's economy. Fortunately, there was now a trend towards the removal of such barriers. The same was true in the scientific field. The restriction of contacts among the scientists of the different countries had led to a waste of time, energy and resources. The two International Conferences on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held in Geneva in 1955 and 1958 had proved that through co-operation among scientists results could be produced at less cost for the benefit of all peoples. Cultural contacts, which brought peoples of different traditions together, led to better mutual understanding and helped to diminish distrust among peoples. The Polish delegation hoped that the adoption of the nine-Power resolution (A/SPC/27) would promote the development of cultural exchanges, which were already becoming more extensive. Similarly, there was an improvement in communications between States, which promoted better relations between peoples.

38. The draft resolution called for the peaceful solution of international disputes through negotiation, increased co-operation between States in all fields and constructive coexistence. The Polish delegation could not but support those objectives. Poland's entire policy was aimed at constructive and peaceful coexistence between States, regardless of their social, economic and political structure.

39. The Polish delegation favoured a gradual rapprochement between countries belonging to opposing military blocs and hoped that such blocs would be replaced by a system of collective security. It was in favour of a gradual solution of all outstanding problems, particularly the problem of disarmament. It hoped for an extension of co-operation in all fields—economic, cultural, scientific and technical—based on equality and mutual benefit. It was aware that the reconstruction and development of Poland depended to a large extent on the political atmosphere prevailing in the world. Détente and international co-operation could facilitate economic, political and cultural progress in Poland and many other countries.

40. Poland had proposed the establishment of a zone in central Europe where nuclear weapons would be forbidden. The establishment of such a zone would, in its view, facilitate the subsequent conclusion of wider agreements in the disarmament field. Poland was cooperating with an increasing number of States in all fields and wished to develop its relations still further with all States. The Polish delegation hoped that the Committee would adopt the nine-Power draft resolution unanimously. In accordance with paragraph 6 of that draft resolution, Poland would welcome with satisfaction any agreements working towards increased international co-operation and the strengthening of peaceful and constructive coexistence among States.

41. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria) expressed his delegation's appreciation of the sympathy which had been expressed in the Committee in connexion with the death of the President of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.