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**AGENDA ITEM 34 (continued)**

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of  
International Security: report of the Secretary-General  
(A/8431 and Add.1-3, A/C.1/1015, A/C.1/L.566)**

1. Mr. SHARIF (Indonesia): Mr. Chairman, speaking for the first time in this Committee, permit me first of all to add my voice to those who have congratulated you on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. I should like also to congratulate Ambassador Radha Ramphul of Mauritius and Mr. Giovanni Migliuolo of Italy on their elections as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively.

2. With such experienced and outstanding personalities as its officers, this Committee is assured of smooth and expeditious proceedings, and even if our meetings have been, or will be, much interrupted by the plenary sessions on such all-important matters as the representation of China and the Middle East, my delegation has not the slightest doubt that we will be able to complete our joint assignment well on time.

3. When, two years ago, at its twenty-fourth session, the Assembly inscribed the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" on the agenda, upon the proposal of the Soviet Union, my delegation welcomed this initiative as being very timely indeed, in view of the gloomy world situation at that time, due mainly to the insecurity or even total absence of security that was felt by many Arab States in the Middle East, and the unsolved and worsening situation in South-East Asia and in Southern Africa.

4. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970, had also given deep thought to this question. The 53 Heads of State or Government participating in that Conference declared their estimate of the prevailing world situation, *inter alia*, in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Lusaka Declaration, dated 9 September 1970, stating:

"The immediate danger of a conflict between the super-powers has lessened because their tendency to negotiate for the improvement of their mutual relations is strength-

ening. However, it has not yet contributed to the security of the small, medium-sized and developing countries, or prevented the danger of local wars.

"The practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other States, and the recourse to political and economic pressure, threats of force and subversion are acquiring alarming proportions and dangerous frequency . . ."

5. During the very detailed and extensive discussions on the subject in this Committee last year, my delegation summarized its views at the 1735th meeting, making, *inter alia*, the following points.

6. First, international security should be strengthened. This could be done by strengthening the United Nations through intensification of its activities, notably in the fields of decolonization, development and disarmament, including peace-making and peace-keeping.

7. Secondly, in the field of decolonization we have made progress. From a national struggle for independence against any kind of oppression, decolonization has since the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in 1955 become a joint regional policy of the African and Asian countries, and what is more, since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) dated 14 December 1960, decolonization has become the official policy of the United Nations, and thereby the only recognized policy of the whole of mankind. As there are still some 40 million people living in territories which have not yet attained independence, we should not abandon our efforts towards the complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. My delegation further believes that Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter (on Non-Self-Governing Territories, the International Trusteeship System and the Trusteeship Council) should be replaced by new provisions which would clearly reflect in unambiguous language a policy for complete liquidation of colonialism in the spirit of resolution 1514 (XV).

8. A more adequate status should also be considered, in accordance with the importance of its assignment, for the present Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which is charged in the first instance with the implementation of that resolution. Its composition should be considered so as to consist of members elected by the Assembly for a fixed term of office on the basis of adequate regional representation, like other United Nations organs, commissions or working groups.

9. Thirdly, in the field of disarmament, our achievements are minimal. We have not even an agreed programme of

disarmament as yet. Next to efforts towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty, nuclear disarmament, and the exclusive use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, the question of supplying conventional weapons to developing nations, in order to enable them to preserve their political independence, national unity and territorial integrity, against rebellion from within or aggression from without, should be a matter of serious consideration, in view of "the alarming proportions and dangerous frequency" of the "practice of interference in the internal affairs of other States and recourse to political and economic pressure, threats of force and subversion", as observed in the Lusaka Declaration.

10. Further, determined efforts should be made to prepare and implement a concrete programme for the first Disarmament Decade, so as to obtain in the shortest possible time an agreement on general and complete disarmament, and assist the realization of the United Nations Second Development Decade by diverting funds, which are intended for armaments, to help to finance development projects.

11. Fourthly, in the field of development my delegation urged the unanimous adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, without any reservations, and addressed an appeal particularly to the developed nations, so as to assure their positive co-operation and assistance for its implementation.

12. Fifthly, in view of the changes in the world, mainly caused by the progress of science and technology, the changed policies with new approaches and new institutional bodies, and new relationships within the enlarged family of independent nations, efforts should be made so that the achievements of our 25 years of labour could be reflected fully in the Charter of the United Nations.

13. With this position in mind and in the spirit of the Lusaka Declaration, my delegation joined the non-aligned countries in presenting our concrete proposals in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.518. Our proposal and the three other drafts in the Committee at that time, originating respectively from the socialist countries, the West European and other countries and the Latin-American group, after more than two months of consultations, were ultimately merged into one draft, which was eventually adopted unanimously by the Assembly as resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970.

14. The Indonesian Government has not submitted further comments on resolution 2734 (XXV), since it has nothing to add to the detailed statement of the Indonesian representative during the discussions of the subject in this Committee on 12 October 1970. Our position and aims have not changed. Neither has the gloomy world situation improved; the situation in the Middle East, South-East Asia and southern Africa remains unsolved. Nor have the practices of interference in the internal affairs of other States, political and economic pressure, threats of force and subversion been arrested.

15. Paragraph 4 of the communiqué issued in New York on 30 September 1971 by the Ministerial Consultative Meeting of 53 Non-Aligned Countries, reaffirmed in the same language the estimate of world developments that had

been made at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries the preceding year. It read as follows:

"World peace based on justice, equality and co-operation among all countries and of general progress of mankind has not been realized. Big Power tendency to monopolize decision-making on vital world issues, and the persistent defiance of United Nations resolutions, still continue to prevail in international relations. The practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other States, and the recourse to political and economic pressure, threats of force and subversion are acquiring alarming proportions and dangerous frequency, and thus endangering the security, independence and territorial integrity of many countries and the stability of various regions."

16. In these circumstances, it is all the more important that we should discuss during our present session the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. What is more, since this Declaration is only one inseparable part of the set of five resolutions that we adopted during the 25th anniversary sessions last year as an honest appraisal of the achievements of our 25 years of labour under the Charter and as a joint effort to supplement and improve the Charter in order to strengthen the Organization and adapt it more to the needs of our time, we should in fact also see to it that all these declarations are lived up to or implemented adequately.

17. I refer obviously to the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*] and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

18. All five resolutions, however important, are at this time no more than declarations of principles, or declarations of intent. It is therefore only natural that at this session we should consider ways and means for their proper implementation. On our part, my delegation would be satisfied if at this session we were able to agree to or to confirm some kind of division of labour or machinery for their implementation.

19. In the field of economic and social development, it is the considered view of my delegation that the Economic and Social Council in its present composition, or preferably in its enlarged membership, should be charged in the first instance with the task of review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Since the Economic and Social Council has two regular sessions each year, we can be assured of a close watch by it on its proper implementation.

20. For the implementation of the programme of action for decolonization, my delegation believes that there is no

competent organ that could be better charged with that task in the first instance than the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, with its present membership of 24 or, preferably, improved so as to consist of elected members for a fixed term of office in accordance with the adequate representative character of all United Nations organs, working groups and committees, as my delegation has had occasion to propose.

21. The remaining three declarations—the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations—are all closely related to the Charter and the behaviour of Member States in observing the Charter provisions, as well as to questions pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security.

22. While we ourselves are no doubt in the first instance fully committed to uphold and live up to the high principles of the Charter and those three declarations, the Charter has in Article 24, in order to ensure prompt and effective action, designated the Security Council as bearing the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In addition to the Charter, those three declarations should now serve further as the main guiding principles for each of the members in the deliberations in the Council.

23. The Charter further states that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on behalf of all Members of the United Nations. We are all, therefore, also duty-bound to see to it that the Security Council is strengthened and has the means and power to enable it to function properly.

24. At its 1976th plenary meeting the General Assembly approved the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, who will thus occupy the only permanent seat of Asia on the Council; that will, I am sure, strengthen the Council and in turn hopefully strengthen international security.

25. It is not my intention here to go into new proposals regarding the means and power of the Council or the functioning of the Organization; we will have sufficient time for that during future discussions on the item dealing with the review of the Charter, which has been on our agenda since 1955. Nor shall I make an analysis of world problems and crises and examine in detail whether principles of the Charter and the three declarations related to international peace and security have been violated. Such an analysis was presented in great detail by the Chairman of my delegation in the general debate in the plenary Assembly [1962nd plenary meeting]: I need not repeat it in this Committee.

26. The need for strengthening the Security Council has already been emphasized in several parts of resolution 2734 (XXV), the implementation of which we are discussing today.

27. Paragraph 12 invites Member States to do their utmost to enhance by all possible means the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council and of its decisions.

28. Paragraph 16 urges all Member States to implement the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter and to respect, as provided for in the Charter, the resolutions of the United Nations organs responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

29. Representatives who have spoken before me have cited a number of cases of violation of or non-compliance with Security Council decisions, in defiance of Article 25 of the Charter. Because of its impotency, however, the Security Council has not taken further action. We should draw lessons from past experience; deeply concerned by the lack of means and power for enforcement action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression in general, and for its peace-making and peace-keeping operations in particular, my delegation therefore attaches the utmost importance and urgency to the implementation of operative paragraph 9, which recommends that the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter, in order fully to develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

30. In this connexion, and in order to facilitate further the work of the Security Council, my delegation would like to refer to paragraph 26, welcoming the decision of the Security Council to hold periodic meetings in accordance with Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

31. We were heartened last year by the announcement of the consensus expressed by the President and approved by the Security Council on 12 June 1970 on the holding of such periodic meetings, which, in the words of the announcement “could enhance the authority of the Security Council and make it a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security” and “periodic meetings . . . would provide members with an opportunity for a general exchange of views on the international situation, rather than for dealing with any particular question”.<sup>1</sup>

32. My delegation would like to add that explosive situations and dangerous developments could also be reported and discussed immediately, with a view of preventing them from further deterioration, advisedly in private sessions, in an atmosphere different from the tense public debates resulting from a complaint by one of the parties concerned. Persistent violations of Charter principles, as well as non-compliance with decisions of the Security Council and serious defiance of obligations of States Members under the Charter should not be left unchecked and permitted to continue for too long. Through periodic meetings, the Security Council could request an immediate account from the parties concerned,

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, 1544th meeting, para. 2.*

and consider further action in cases of persistent refusal, in accordance with the provisions already existing in the Charter.

33. We now feel deeply disappointed that no further meetings or consultations were held thereafter to consider the date and other practical aspects of the first of such meetings. Nor have we seen any agenda or documents pertaining to these meetings in the course of more than a year already.

34. In summing up, my delegation would be satisfied if, as a result of our discussions, we can agree that, since the Security Council is to have the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security—and thus also for the implementation of the declarations adopted during the twenty-fifth anniversary session pertaining to international peace and security—it should be strengthened, and that in order to have it function properly, we should also confer upon it the means and power.

35. We hope most sincerely that the idea of periodic meetings of the Security Council, provided for in the Charter since 1945, and revived and its implementation agreed upon by the decision of the Security Council in June 1970 and in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in December 1970, will soon be realized, as a specific step in the follow-up of the implementation of our declarations of serious intent.

36. The early conclusion of the work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression and the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations as well as of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter, in order to fully develop the capacity of the Security Council for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, will no doubt further facilitate the work of the Security Council, while much more use could also be made of such organs as the Peace Observation Commission and the Collective Measures Committee and, with the People's Republic of China in its seat now, of the Military Staff Committee as well.

37. At the time, we should also consider ways and means to further strengthen the Security Council so as to overcome all obstructions, procedural as well as technical, which may stand in the way of or delay prompt action by the Council in its decision-making as well as in the implementation of its resolutions.

38. Those were the observations of my delegation on which it will base its position on the draft resolutions which have been or may be submitted on this item.

39. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): Many of us in this room participated at some time or another in the work of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly—the Committee of 31—where, amongst other things, we were all enjoined to cut out the frills. It will be readily understood, therefore, that my delegation's congratulations to you on your election as our Chairman are in no way diminished by being so summarily expressed. The same, of course, holds good for our friends who flank you to right and left as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur.

40. Brevity was also the characteristic of my delegation's reply to the Secretary-General's letter of 25 January 1971 [see A/8431]. Perhaps I might read it out, since it is so short. It reads:

“... the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom wishes to refer to his Government's reply to the enquiry conducted by the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV). The Government of the United Kingdom continue to be guided by the views and policies described in that reply.”

41. Those members of the Committee who are acquainted with British parliamentary practice and procedure may perhaps feel that that is in the best tradition of officials drafting answers for their Ministers to give to Parliamentary questions: it is short, it is accurate, and it does not add anything of substance. But we had already provided a comprehensive and balanced expression of views and we saw no need to supplement it with a partial and contentious review of the so-called hot-beds of tension.

42. Nor do I intend on this occasion to attempt to list what, in the view of my Government, are the principal factors at the present time affecting international security or to discuss what can be done and what we are doing to mitigate those factors. My Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs did so in his statement in the general debate at the 1944th plenary meeting—as indeed did most leaders of delegations for their own governments—and I see no point in repeating his observations.

43. What I should like to do, however, is to share with other members of this Committee my delegation's thoughts on the present discussion and on the type of resolution which might emerge from it.

44. The resolution [2734 (XXV)] adopted last year on the recommendation of this Committee, like any consensus text, did not entirely satisfy the wishes of all delegations. But it was a thorough and balanced declaration. We have come a long way from the tendentious language of the draft with which two years ago we were invited to commence the present series of discussions, and we should all be quite clear that in any constructive sense the item on the strengthening of international security is the property not of any one group of delegations, but of the First Committee as a whole. We must guard against any backsliding. For we have to look at the question of international security in its widest sense, as described in last year's resolution. That resolution brought together all those factors which the Committee as a whole regarded as essential to the strengthening of international security in the economic, social and legal fields as well as the more directly political.

45. This year we are talking about implementation. I suggest that in most fields there is no lack of machinery for following up specific topics covered by last year's resolution. There are, for reasons known to us all, serious gaps in the fields of peace-keeping and finance, but otherwise the machinery is there, first and foremost in the Charter, as reflected in the Organization of the United Nations family as a whole. For when all is said and done our 1970 resolution covers a very wide spectrum of the whole work

of the United Nations. It is precisely this consideration which leads my delegation to the views which I now wish to put before the Committee.

46. The subject of the strengthening of international security is as vast as it is important. Each of the paragraphs of last year's resolution raised directly or indirectly separate major topics. For many of those topics there is already an Assembly agenda item under which they can be dealt with specifically and in detail either in this Committee or in the Special Political Committee, the Second, Third, Fourth or the Sixth Committees. Perhaps there may be gaps in the agenda which ought to be filled. But in general the framework already exists for the discussion of these topics in the orderly manner which lends itself to greater effectiveness. And, of course, on specific matters which endanger international security there is the Security Council.

47. Naturally and rightly all delegations want also to have the opportunity of expressing their views in broad terms on the world situation as a whole, that is to say, the whole complex mosaic of problems which impinge on the strengthening of international security, and of bringing out the main factors in this field or that to which they believe special importance and emphasis should be attached. But I suggest that the general debate in plenary provides that opportunity. Perhaps I should add at this point that while the Committee may be permitted a certain healthy scepticism as to the motives of those who show signs of reverting to the tendentiousness of two years ago, no criticism can be attached to those delegations which, unlike my own, have decided to have a second bite at the cherry this year in order to restore some balance to our debate. Some delegations have indeed done so, either on specific topics or in the more comprehensive manner which was the hallmark of at least one notable intervention. However, my delegation does have serious doubts about the value of following the annual general debate in the plenary with a second annual general debate in this Committee.

48. After all, what can we expect as the outcome of such a second debate other than a series of statements as in the main general debate in plenary? Can we realistically expect to be able to adopt every year a meaningful resolution dealing adequately with this vast theme as a whole—a resolution which, to be meaningful, would have to enjoy the near unanimous support of all delegations? Frankly, my delegation doubts it. And I can illustrate our doubts by turning now to my second point, the type of resolution which might emerge from this year's debate.

49. We have before us a draft resolution presented by certain delegations in document A/C.1/L.566. Now I realize that this presents attractions to some groups of delegations. It has doubtless been carefully drafted. But it is not a draft that my delegation could support. This is not to say that the topics selected for treatment are not important ones. Equally, we recognize that for many delegations one or other of them is of such direct, central and vital concern as, not unreasonably, to transcend all others. However, they reflect problems which are already being dealt with elsewhere in the United Nations. They are only two of the problems covered by last year's declaration. And by singling them out in this way the sponsors have produced a draft

which, like the ideas which were put forward two years ago, but unlike our declaration of last year, is a partial and unbalanced one.

50. It is, of course, always possible that the Committee might nevertheless decide by some majority or other to adopt this draft, or something like it. But the result would surely not be in the spirit of this Committee's normal constructive approach to its work.

51. The strengthening of international security is one of the central purposes, the central purpose, of the United Nations. A resolution under this item must, surely, command the widest support if it is to have value and effect. A draft resolution like that contained in document A/C.1/L.566, if it were adopted with less than the widest support, could only undermine the achievement which last year's resolution represents.

52. What, then, would be the alternative if we want to have a substantive resolution? I suppose it could be to work for another comprehensive and balanced text. There is no lack of possible ingredients. Quite apart from those who are already suffering from conflict or occupation, we all have our particular problems and preoccupations in the field of international security. Some have border disputes or fear territorial claims by other nations. Some, indeed all of us, are acutely conscious of the dangers of the arms race. Some fear that the internal economic or political activities of other countries may do them economic harm or result in intolerable political, economic, social and humanitarian burdens for them. Some are concerned that the industrialized countries are not all willing to play their fair share in the important co-operative work of development, and may, not surprisingly, be somewhat surprised that those delegations which have been most active in encouraging this debate have, in effect, selected this aspect for omission.

53. Some delegations, again surely nearly all of us, are morally outraged that 26 years after the foundation of the United Nations there is still so much arbitrary injustice of man to man in the world, whether the injustice, tyranny and oppression is perpetrated on racial grounds or on any other grounds, and want to do all we can to improve the lot of oppressed peoples wherever they may be. Similarly, some States suffer from a sense, if not of moral outrage, at least of ideological outrage, when Governments, which profess to share the same ideology, appear to be straying from the straight and narrow path of received wisdom, and itch to do something about it. And, to complete my illustrative list of examples, the Governments which are looked upon with this itching suspicion not unnaturally fear that the itch to interfere, on the basis of some peculiar doctrine, may prove hard to resist.

54. Inherent in all these fears, concerns and preoccupations are, so to speak, the weeds of discord which threaten the full blooming of the flower of international security. The weeds can and must be kept under control. For no sense of outrage, no sense of actual or potential grievance or hurt, is so serious that the worst dangers cannot be averted if we all steer away from violence and force, dedicate ourselves to the search for peaceful settlement of disputes, and join together in working seriously to strengthen the peace-keeping and peace-making capabilities

of our Organization. That is indeed essential. But if we are to make progress in eradicating the weeds, this can only be on the basis of each and every one of the purposes and principles of the Charter, and by the observance by all of us of all its unconditional obligations. Last year's resolution indeed covered the entire purposes and principles of the Charter and therefore reflected all the fears, concerns and preoccupations to which I have referred.

55. What, therefore, would be the outcome of a search for another balanced substantive resolution? Last year, members of this Committee laboured long and arduously to produce a consensus text, and as I have already pointed out, anything less than a consensus text would have been pointless. But it was only by the skin of our teeth that we succeeded in reaching a consensus. Now, experience in the United Nations has surely proved beyond doubt that efforts to reinterpret unanimous or near unanimous resolutions, to give them a slant in this direction or the other, are doomed to failure, if, that is, the objective is to secure a unanimous reinterpretation, not a factional paper victory. Even, therefore, if we repeated last year's marathon exercise, can we seriously believe that the end result could be anything but a word for word repetition of last year's well-balanced but precariously-balanced resolution? And would not this be tantamount to saying that we reaffirm resolution 2734 (XXV), to use a well-worn phrase, "in all its parts"?

56. Let me repeat that it is essential that delegations should be able to express their views on all and each of the interlocking matters which in one way or another affect international security. But we have the whole Assembly at our disposal for this purpose. We have had our general debate; and my delegation doubts very much whether the cause of strengthening international security is effectively advanced by devoting time in the First Committee to a debate so generalized and lacking conclusion that it in effect repeats the general debate. On the other hand, in this Committee and in others there is a great variety of items under which we can debate specific problems related to international security and strive to make progress in individual, more sharply focused and therefore more hopeful discussions. It is by that road, my delegation believes, that we shall truly serve the cause of the strengthening of international security.

57. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): Comrade Chairman, I should like to begin by adding the voice of the Bulgarian delegation to the congratulations and best wishes that were addressed to you personally, as well as to the officers of the Committee, for your fruitful and effective work.

58. It is quite right that the First Committee, which is entrusted with tasks of exceptional importance, should start its work this year by considering matters relating to the strengthening of international security and the maintenance of peace. International peace and security are as necessary as sun or air are to all the peoples of the world. Hence the interest shown in this problem at the twenty-sixth session, both in the General Assembly and in our Committee. All this makes it incumbent upon us to be especially aware of our responsibilities in considering measures which could and should lead to an effective

strengthening of international security and the preservation of world peace.

59. These questions are on the agenda at a time when the international situation has undergone considerable change, which, in our view, makes it possible to bend every effort towards finding a solution. Many new facts and events testify to the fact that international affairs have really entered a new stage. We now see a common aspiration, a persistent desire to do away with obstacles in the way of *détente* by the adoption of concrete measures to improve the political climate. That political and diplomatic activities in the world have recently taken a positive turn is indubitable. We see new prospects for the solution of several pending problems which have been deadlocked for years.

60. Most speeches made in the General Assembly, reflecting the position of the majority of States, reveal the same will to make every effort for an abatement of tensions, for the elimination of threats to peace, no matter what their origin. We must, first of all, liquidate dangerous hotbeds of war, and put an end to arbitrary and aggressive actions in international life.

61. It is beyond doubt that there are now opportunities in the world for strengthening security and safeguarding peace. Therefore, the Governments of all countries and this Organization itself bear a historic responsibility to grasp these real opportunities to ensure world peace and preserve future generations from the scourge of war.

62. We have reason to believe that this objective is at present real and attainable. To begin with, there is the increasing number of active forces working for the strengthening of world security and the safeguarding of peace. The number of those who are convinced that national, regional and international security can and must be achieved through trying to settle disputes by way of negotiation and mutual understanding is constantly on the increase. The obvious fact that war cannot solve any of the problems of the present-day world, that it can only bring in its wake untold suffering for mankind, has become an integral part of the political philosophy of all mankind; indeed it has become its very conscience. The desire for peace, for a stable and guaranteed peace, as a condition for normal life and the survival of the human race, is becoming a universal demand.

63. For this reason, consideration of the item concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which heads the agenda of the First Committee, is not only natural but, to the highest degree, obligatory as well. Such consideration should become a regular practice in the activities of our Committee.

64. The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on matters of international security and peace is well known to all. The very nature of our socialist system, the humanitarian concepts that inspire and guide us, the present and the future of the Bulgarian people—all these determine the constant and unswerving character of Bulgaria's foreign policy, which is oriented toward peace, security, mutual understanding and co-operation with all peoples.



65. We Bulgarians have particular reason to want peace and security and to fight for them. The peace-loving Bulgarian people lived for centuries under foreign domination and was on several occasions plunged into devastating wars. It is only for the last 27 years that Bulgaria has led a truly free and peaceful life. It has been during those years of peace that our country has achieved a flourishing economy and culture of which we are proud. We have laid out bold plans the achievement of which will make the life of our people a richer and happier one. This is the basis of our positive attitude in relation to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security, adopted last year, a document in the drafting of which my delegation played an active part.

66. In its reply to the Secretary-General's letter of 25 January 1971, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria emphasized the historic importance of that exceptional document [see A/8431], stressing at the same time the great importance of all possible measures for putting the Declaration into effect. We fully share the view of Secretary-General U Thant that

"The significance of the Declaration rests in the fact that it: spells out a comprehensive and wide-ranging programme for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is a guide for action by Member States to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in discharging its main responsibility, namely, the preservation of international peace and security. This is a programme of peace. Its effective implementation would lead to a radical change in international relations."<sup>2</sup>

67. This Declaration of the United Nations represents a synthesis of its experience and does indeed spell out a comprehensive programme for the maintenance of international peace and security. The implementation of that plan can and should lead to a fundamental change in international relations. Member States have not only solemnly affirmed the fundamental principles and aims of the United Nations, but have also pointed out ways and means for implementing them. The unanimity achieved in the adoption of the Declaration compels Member States to contribute to its implementation through their activities and their positions with regard to international problems.

68. It is for this reason that it seems to us necessary today to appraise the implementation of the Declaration and to draw the appropriate conclusions therefrom.

69. During the past year several events have confirmed the usefulness of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security. These events have confirmed the validity of the evaluations and conclusions contained therein, together with the prospects and the ways and means it indicates for solution of the most serious political problems.

70. Many positive events in the world and, above all, in Europe have followed the adoption of the Declaration. Pursuant to their policy of peace and international co-operation, the countries of the socialist community have

always made, and continue to make, their contribution to relaxation of tension and improvement in the international climate. The numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are eloquent testimony to this fact. I should like to remind the Committee, among other things, of the peace programme launched by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the work of other congresses of fraternal parties, including the Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party held at the beginning of this year.

71. Stressing these initiatives and their contribution to the strengthening of international security, we also duly value the goodwill of several other countries. We are most appreciative of the positive initiatives taken by the Governments of a number of countries which are making every effort in order to direct their policies and international relations in conformity with the needs and imperatives of our times.

72. Thanks to the peaceful policy of the socialist countries and the spirit of understanding shown by several States, Europe has discovered new horizons. A proof of this is the treaty concluded between the USSR and Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the exceptionally important agreement on West Berlin. We should also like to express the hope that talks between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as those between the two German States, will be successful. We could mention other treaties and, bilateral and multilateral agreements which have contributed to improving the climate on our continent.

73. This trend is particularly propitious as regards a European conference on collective security and co-operation, a matter in the forefront of political concern. When this idea was launched in October 1969 by the socialist countries, there were many who greeted it with suspicion, and others with open hostility. Nowadays this idea has become the main theme in the diplomatic and political activities of European States. During the talks and consultations which have taken place, agreement has been reached on many questions relating to the character of the conference, its agenda, its venue, and its participants. Thus, preparations for the conference have entered their final stage.

74. Some continue to stress the difficulties in preparing and convening such a conference. There obviously are difficulties, in view of the nature of the problems. There is no doubt that the genius of the European peoples and their political maturity will be a match for problems of this kind. There are other difficulties created by the attempts of reactionary circles in some countries to delay the conference. In this connexion it would be appropriate to ask what these circles want, what they aspire to, because the upshot of their efforts is insecurity, is pitting some countries against others, is maintaining a climate of hostility and suspicion among the peoples of Europe.

75. We are convinced that the interests of the European peoples require that the conference be convened as speedily as possible in order to settle problems of vital interest for the countries of Europe. There cannot be any doubt that this conference will contribute to the establishment of new and lasting international relations.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1 A*, para. 164.

76. These new relations imply the conclusion of agreements for the protection of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States, recognition of existing boundaries, renunciation of the use or threat of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, and the settlement of disputes through peaceful means. But they also imply the conclusion of agreements and treaties for the establishment and promotion of co-operation on the basis of mutual interest and equal rights in many fields—economic, cultural, scientific, technical, tourism, transport, etc.

77. Nowadays the interdependence of States has transformed the world into a super-sensitive body which reacts to any event, even if it occurs in the most remote corner of the globe.

78. When we consider matters of international security and the strengthening of peace, we must not lose sight of the particular situation of Europe on our planet. It was in Europe that in the lifetime of one generation the two world wars, the most murderous and devastating wars that mankind has ever known, were launched. The state of persisting tension created in Europe after the Second World War was full of threats to international life, since in Europe there is direct contact between the two most powerful military groupings equipped with the most modern weapons.

79. We believe that Europe, the cradle of an ancient culture, with its enormous economic, scientific and technological potential, will make the most of the present favourable situation, a situation which has not existed for dozens of years, to transform this hotbed of wars and world conflicts into a continent of peace and security, understanding and international co-operation. By creating a system of collective security and co-operation, the peoples of Europe will provide an example for the establishment of new inter-State relations in the spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It is beyond doubt that Europe, through its growing influence in the world—as was stressed in our debates—will then be able to contribute even more to the strengthening of international peace and security, to the expansion of co-operation among countries.

80. Trying to help as effectively as possible in this matter of strengthening European and international security, the People's Republic of Bulgaria makes special efforts to promote relations of good neighbourliness and understanding among the Balkan States. Thanks to the common goodwill evinced in this area which has been so troubled in the past, conditions of confidence and co-operation have been created.

81. Together with this positive trend in Europe, we are happy to note other developments which are strengthening international security such as the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and India and the USSR and the Arab Republic of Egypt. It is the cause of peace that is served by the numerous visits and personal contacts, especially those of the Soviet leaders. We should like to believe that the visits and initiatives of other statesmen will not be directed against this world process of the strengthening of international security.

82. We should also note the progress achieved in the work of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, which has worked out the draft convention on bacteriological weapons.<sup>3</sup> The initiatives of the Soviet Government in the field of disarmament, especially those concerning the convening of a conference of the five nuclear Powers and of a world disarmament conference, are of capital importance. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the agreements signed by those two countries on 30 September last, are also encouraging signs.

83. The problems of international security are intimately linked to the problem of development. In our view, insecurity and war are the major obstacles to rapid general development. They are incompatible with economic and social progress. It is for that reason that mankind, which must face the grave problems of development, has a vital stake in the strengthening of international security.

84. Despite these encouraging trends there are unfortunately other aspects of the international situation which give rise to serious concern. In many areas the situation remains tense. The arms race continues. The aggressive acts of the United States imperialists against the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos are continuing. The Government of the United States, which is entirely responsible for the situation prevailing in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, still shows no desire for a political solution to the conflict. The crisis in the Middle East represents a grave danger, a situation which could explode at any moment. Strengthened by the support it enjoys from certain Member States of the United Nations, especially the United States, Israel, a Member State of the United Nations, systematically and with impertinence defies the decisions of the United Nations on the withdrawal of troops from occupied Arab territories. United States and other armed forces are still stationed in South Korea. The tragic events in East Pakistan have given rise to an exceptionally tense situation in that part of the world. The latest information concerning troop concentrations on the borders between India and Pakistan will quite rightly deepen the concern in the world. We should like to hope that a solution will be found to this problem, dictated by reason and justice.

85. Despite the many decisions and declarations of the United Nations for the final liquidation of the colonial system and all its vestiges, some colonial and racist régimes, supported by powerful imperialist allies, are undermining all efforts to ensure the final liquidation of the colonial system, keeping millions of Africans under the colonial yoke and imposing the infamous régime of racial discrimination upon the peoples of southern Africa.

86. It is these alarming facts which, together with others, make it more than ever imperative for the United Nations to keep under constant review questions relating to the strengthening of international security and the preservation of world peace. This is all the more important since the Governments of many States have taken no measures to bring their activities and policies into line with the requirements of the Declaration. We must know who is for

<sup>3</sup>Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1971, document DC/234, annex A.



and who is against the implementation of the Declaration. More than ever, words, promises and declarations must be followed by practical measures.

87. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is convinced that the present discussion on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will give new impetus to the process of *détente* in order to eliminate once and for all the dangerous factors delaying this process and to establish new international relations based on the United Nations Charter.

88. It is in this spirit that the socialist countries are submitting the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.566 of which Bulgaria is a sponsor. We are convinced that it will be adopted by the Committee because its aim is to foster the implementation of the Declaration so that it may be equal to the task entrusted to it in international life.

89. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasure and privilege to extend to you the congratulations of the Lebanese delegation on your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee. You are eminently qualified to occupy this post of trust and leadership. Indeed, your long-standing experience in international affairs and your fruitful participation in the work of the United Nations have won you the respect, admiration, and friendship of all your colleagues.

90. I also wish to congratulate Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius and Mr. Migliuolo of Italy on their election as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively. Both have established a reputation as capable and productive diplomats here in the United Nations.

91. The delegation of the USSR, at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth sessions of the General Assembly, won our gratitude for having introduced the item on measures to strengthen international security, which has become one of the most important questions duly given priority in our preoccupations and in the deliberations of our Committee. During its twenty-fifth anniversary session on 16 December 1970, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2734 (XXV) containing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This historic document was hailed as one of the most important pronouncements of the United Nations since the adoption of the Charter. Thanks to the contributions of many delegations representing the wide spectrum of United Nations membership, the Declaration elaborated upon, reaffirmed, clarified, and amplified the purposes and principles of the Charter in matters related to peace and international security. It defined many areas where measures could and should be taken to promote and maintain peace; to avert wars and lessen tensions; to promote international solidarity and co-operation; to activate the process of development, decolonization and disarmament; and to enhance the dignity of man through a fuller respect for human rights.

92. Another important document was also adopted during the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on 24 October 1970. That was the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance

with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*].

93. These two documents together with the Charter embody the broad conceptual, legal and political framework needed for our future actions. The two Declarations were not meant to merely repeat the purposes and principles of the Charter. The intention of delegations went beyond that. Their intention was to shake the lethargic mood which has overtaken the United Nations and to generate a new dynamic force capable of giving a living meaning to those purposes and principles. It has become incumbent upon us, therefore, to follow up on the Declaration and make certain that real progress towards peace and security can be achieved only through the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations.

94. It may be claimed that some positive and hopeful developments have taken place during the last year between sessions of the General Assembly. The world is steering further away from the brink of the cold war; the policy of confrontation is indeed yielding to that of negotiations amongst the major Powers. Moreover, *détente* amongst nations is slowly gaining the upper hand. Efforts are being actively deployed to restrict the areas of tensions and to eliminate the focuses of war. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] remains uppermost in the plans of our Organization and of national governments as providing the best hope of achieving progress in the world and solidarity amongst nations. Furthermore, preparations for the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment have awakened governments and peoples to the new enemy threatening man and his environment—pollution.

95. Rapprochement between Eastern and Western European countries is in progress. The four-power Agreement on Berlin was a welcome event. The proposed conferences on European security and disarmament, the reported optimism about the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and the announcement by President Nixon of his forthcoming visits to Peking and Moscow are positive developments of a nature such as to lessen international tensions and enhance the chances of international peace and security. Though many of these activities are being undertaken outside the United Nations, it nevertheless remains true that the spirit of the United Nations Charter is permeating international actions and interactions. The ultimate result should be the strengthening of the United Nations as the best international institution to take all nations into its embrace and to hold together and preserve all agreements arrived at whether within or outside the United Nations.

96. Another hopeful and important development which is bound to have immeasurable effects on the enhancing of international security is the impending arrival in our midst of the delegation of the People's Republic of China. The General Assembly took a historic decision on 25 October enabling that country to actively participate as a member of the General Assembly and as a permanent member of the Security Council in the primary tasks of the United Nations of serving the causes of peace, justice, progress and respect of basic human rights. Its participation will undoubtedly give fuller meaning to the principle of universality—one of

the cornerstone principles of our Charter. Our Organization will benefit immensely from the wisdom, resiliency, flexibility and peaceful spirit which have characterized the Chinese people and permeated their centuries-old civilization. My delegation seizes this opportunity to welcome in advance the delegation from the People's Republic of China.

97. What I have already said should not be construed to mean that we are fully satisfied with the state of affairs prevailing on the international scene. It means only that my delegation recognizes and hails progress, when and wherever progress is being made.

98. But how far we are still from our goal of restoring peace and legality in the world and of strengthening international security. Obdurate problems remain far from being resolved. Negative forces are still at play endangering peace in many areas. It is hard to elaborate upon all of them. Hence I shall refer to a few only.

99. It has been and still is the opinion of my delegation—as it is of all delegations—that the arms race constitutes the greatest danger to international peace and security. It is becoming more evident that unchecked and uncontrolled developments in military technology will produce new weapons which will surpass in their destructive power anything previously envisioned by military expertise. One of the most frightening elements about future weaponry is the fact that technological know-how regarding the production of sophisticated weapons is spreading and that such weapons will fill more and more arsenals, creating newer sources of danger. Even the desired shifting from offensive to defensive weapons stands to be jeopardized in the process. The deterrent power which has so far been used with a measured sense of responsibility may yield to wider and wilder armaments races with unpredictable, disastrous consequences. Barring any new developments in military weaponry, there are at present in the arsenals of the super-Powers alone enough weapons to destroy man and earth together and altogether. This frightening aspect is reason enough for Governments, peoples and the United Nations to work harder to halt the arms race, and to avert a world catastrophe man must be freed from the fears of his own annihilation and that of the civilization he has created through many centuries of hard work and suffering. This can be achieved not simply by discussing peace and disarmament—as has indeed become fashionable—but by making the fashion of the future the destruction of arms stockpiles, the control of arms production and the prohibition of their use save in the common interest of mankind to stave off wars and preserve peace. Human, technological and material resources must be freed from the grip of infernal and destructive forces and consecrated to productive, creative and peaceful purposes and to the stockpiling of material and cultural goods benefiting mankind everywhere.

100. It must be admitted that the international community has taken, and continues to take, only slow and timid steps towards disarmament. No matter how laudable these steps may be, the fact remains that they are marginal, limited in scope and ineffectual.

101. It is universally acknowledged that what is needed is the will to shift from the periphery of the problem to its

core, to attack it frontally and to quicken the tempo of action and decision-making.

102. The primordial measure to be undertaken by the United Nations to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is to tackle the basic factor affecting international security—the arms race itself.

103. Another area where international peace and security are still being endangered is that of South-East Asia, particularly Viet-Nam. Its peoples have long endured indescribable ordeals and sufferings. International public opinion has been clamouring for the cessation of all acts of war. Though fighting has diminished in intensity and the process of troop withdrawal has marked a certain progress so far, it remains a fact that conditions of peace are far from being restored and the Paris peace talks are far from showing any hopeful signs of moving forward. The whole problem of Viet-Nam has eluded the direct consideration of the United Nations; however, it has not eluded the concern and anxiety of its total membership. For the sake of humanity and for the sake of international security and peace it is our duty to continue to encourage all the parties concerned to reverse the trend of insecurity, death and destruction into one promoting security, peaceful life and construction. As a contribution towards this end my Government authorized me to state on its behalf on 9 July 1971, at the 1780th meeting of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, *inter alia* the following:

“Lebanon, as a neutral and hospitable country imbued with a spirit of friendliness, and moved only by humanitarian and peaceful considerations, would have welcomed an opportunity to host for a certain period of time a number of North Viet-Nameese and American prisoners of war, according to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2676 (XXV).

“Should the two parties to the Viet-Nam conflict reach an agreement on the exchange and repatriation of the prisoners of war and especially the disabled and the sick, the Lebanese Government and people stand ready to make a genuine and positive contribution. The two parties could then, directly or through appointed third Powers, make the necessary arrangements with the Government of Lebanon to put their agreement into effect.”

104. This offer was made with a view to ending the long sufferings of the prisoners of war, be they North Viet-Nameese or Americans, and that of their families.

105. When made, the offer was not limited in time. It still stands. It still testifies to a willingness to help not only in a humanitarian endeavour, but also in making a definite contribution towards the strengthening of international peace and security.

106. Contrary to the problem of Viet-Nam, the United Nations assumes, in the problem of the Middle East, a prime responsibility because of the Organization's involvement in it since its inception. This problem remains today more dangerous than ever. Any objective analysis of the international situation would undoubtedly come to the

conclusion that the Middle East is the area where international peace and security are most vulnerable and where the dangers of war are more real than anywhere else in the world.

107. The apparent calm and cease-fire may be deceiving. In the absence of progress towards a just and lasting peace, they do not diminish the gravity of the situation nor of the possibility of its eruption into a catastrophic conflagration. Since the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the Arabs' desire and willingness for peace has been more than tested. Egypt, Syria and Jordan have demonstrated a remarkable patience, moderation and sobriety in the face of persistent Israeli threats, provocations and displays of arrogance and force. Their attitude is all the more praiseworthy when we remember that large areas of their territories are still occupied by Israeli military forces following Israel's war of aggression against those three Arab States on 5 June 1967.

108. Imbued by a spirit of peace, the Arabs have so far given ample opportunity to every effort seeking to realize it. The Rogers plan, the bilateral American-Soviet talks, the four-Power talks at the United Nations, the Jarring efforts and now the American initiative for an interim agreement for the reopening of the Suez Canal have eroded all time limits and taxed the patience of the Arabs. All these efforts have yielded no tangible results so far because of the stubborn positions taken by the hawkish Israeli leaders, who have systematically torpedoed every initiative for peace. The Organization of African Unity, duly concerned by the lack of progress in achieving peace in the Middle East, will soon be undertaking a praiseworthy mission to help in the search for peace. Let us wish this mission success where all other efforts have failed.

109. The will of the Arabs for peace has been, as I said, tested. Last February, Ambassador Jarring decided, in the light of his talks with some of the interested parties, to move forward in an attempt to break the deadlock by seeking to implement resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, intended by the Security Council to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. He has asked from Egypt and Israel simultaneous commitments. Egypt gave the commitments requested from it. Consequently hopes for peace rose sharply. They were soon dashed by the negative and obdurate stand taken by Israel.

110. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General referred to the matter in these terms:

"The United Arab Republic accepted the specific commitments requested of it, but so far Israel has not responded to the Special Representative's request. Ambassador Jarring feels, and I agree with him, that, until there has been a change in Israel's position on the question of withdrawal, it would serve little useful purpose to attempt to reactivate the talks. It is still my hope that Israel will find it possible before too long to make a response that will enable the search for a peaceful settlement under Ambassador Jarring's auspices to continue."<sup>4</sup>

The Secretary-General has thus summarized in a most responsible, fair, objective and candid fashion the deadlocked situation brought about by the continued refusal of Israel to co-operate in a meaningful search for peace.

111. More than four years have elapsed since Israel's armed forces occupied territories in three Arab States which are Members of the United Nations. This was done in flagrant violation of the Charter and of the Declaration to which I have alluded. The Declaration which is our concern here, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, affirms as a basic principle the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory through the use of force. Allow me to quote in this respect paragraph 5 of the Declaration, which reaffirms

"that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal".

112. Yet our Organization has so far tolerated its decisions being flouted by Israel, a Member of the United Nations. Israel has had nothing but contempt for these decisions. The Palestinian refugees have continued to live for 23 years in misery, squalor and despair after having been forced out of their homes and homeland. They continue to be deprived of the exercise of their legitimate and inalienable rights. The Arab peoples in the occupied territories are constantly exposed to oppression, harassment and indignity by the Israeli military forces. The population of Gaza is exposed to the most inhuman treatment, which has aroused international indignation. The measures undertaken by Israel in Jerusalem to Judaize the city most holy to Christians and Moslems alike are proceeding despite the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, the last of them, Security Council resolution 298 (1971), adopted on 25 September last.

113. By its actions in the area, its refusal to comply with international law and United Nations decisions and the prolongation of its occupation of Arab lands, Israel is posing a grave threat to international security in the Middle East and in the world. The Security Council has a prime responsibility to give effect to its decisions and to maintain collective security. Its powers are as wide as its responsibilities. They are very clearly defined, particularly in Chapters VI and VII of the Charter. Their use is to be the principal deterrent against the violators of international law, but the Council cannot afford to become another debating committee of our Organization. Resolutions and decisions are not to be considered important *per se*. Their importance must lie in what they purport to achieve in preserving peace and security. What has been lacking on the part of the Council is the will to move with determination and speed to give effect to its decisions.

114. If the trust of States—especially the small ones—in the Security Council is to be enhanced, it is incumbent on the Council to move speedily to establish the institutional arrangements needed to carry out its decisions and for the conduct of its peace-keeping operations. The United

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1 A*, para. 219.

Nations can no longer shirk its responsibility in this regard. To continue on that path would be tantamount to encouraging all forces bent on aggression and on undermining international peace and security, tantamount to inviting disaster and the scourges of war, for the prevention of which the Charter was written and the United Nations was established.

115. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): Before I call on the next speaker I wish to consult the Committee on the date and time of the closure of the debate. Since that debate has progressed rapidly, I intend to close the speakers' list tomorrow at 1 p.m. If there is no objection that will be done.

*It was so decided.*

116. Mr. TRUONG CANG (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking for the first time in this Committee, I have the honour to address to you, Sir, and to the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, the congratulations of my delegation and to assure you of our full co-operation in your work.

117. At the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly the Khmer Republic delegation voted in favour of resolution 2734 (XXV), entitled "Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". Thus, I wish to stress that we recognize the importance and value of this Declaration which reflects the unanimous desire of Member States to work for a peaceful and prosperous world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

118. My delegation is gratified that in their replies to the Secretary-General, circulated in document A/8431 of 24 September 1971, all signatory States have reaffirmed their desire to see the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security implemented.

119. The Khmer Republic wishes solemnly to proclaim that we shall continue to give unreserved support to the efforts to make this Declaration a reality. Itself a victim of deliberate aggression on the part of the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong, the Khmer Republic asks nothing better than to back anything the United Nations may do to restore peace in South-East Asia, beginning with our own country.

120. As the head of our delegation stated in his speech at the 1956th plenary meeting of the Assembly, the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong for more than a year have striven systematically to destroy our infrastructure, our communications, our transport, our dams, our factories and our enterprises of every kind, including those built with assistance from France, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The aggressors have not spared even the Prek Thnot Dam, a purely humanitarian project under United Nations auspices involving 12 countries: France, the United Kingdom, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia, Japan, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and the Khmer Republic. They also attack the monuments at Angkor, brightest jewel in the Khmer heritage and high point of human civilization whose preservation is entrusted to the French School of the Far

East and whose fate is also a matter of close concern to UNESCO and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. They are also violating human rights, practising genocide against the Khmer population, both civilian and religious, by destroying our monasteries and not even sparing the journalists who are only doing their duty in our country of informing the world.

121. It is thus obvious that the open aggression perpetrated by the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong in Khmer territory against our basically Buddhist and peace-loving population is a threat to international security within the terms of General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV) which we earnestly hope to see scrupulously applied both in letter and in spirit.

122. It is true that we must continue to fight a war that was forced upon us by the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong, as a matter of self-defence. But we have in no way lost hope in our Organization's being able to find a peaceful solution to the crucial problems confronting us. Now that the People's Republic of China, one of the signatories of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, has become a Member of the Organization with preponderant role as a permanent member of the Security Council, it is to be hoped that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will be put into practice in the specific case of the Khmer Republic, with particular reference to the regional framework and the honouring of treaty commitments.

123. As the head of our delegation has said, "the Khmer tragedy began with the violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements by others and not by the Khmer people themselves, who have always respected them"; and we are convinced, as far as our country is concerned, that a return to strict observance of those Agreements, with the withdrawal of all foreign troops from our territory, is the way to guarantee our sovereignty, our independence, our territorial integrity and our neutrality, which are essential for restoring international peace and security in the region.

124. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I call now on the representative of Israel, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

125. Mr. DORON (Israel): Mr. Chairman, this is the first time that I have the honour of addressing this Committee presided over by you. I take pleasure in adding my congratulations to those already expressed by previous speakers here on your election to the chairmanship of this Committee. I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Ramphul and Mr. Migliuolo on their election as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively.

126. The present agenda item is supposed to deal with matters of basic principle and international organization for peace and security, and concerns implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security agreed upon last year. It should therefore be conducted in an earnest spirit of goodwill and a constructive desire to further the objectives of that Declaration. Unfortunately, however, a number of speakers could not withstand the temptation to inject tendentious allegations against my country in their statements.

127. Now, this is not a debate on the Middle East. These charges have been repeatedly refuted by us on other occasions, and in any event can be dealt with in other Committees. Should those representatives persist in making these gratuitous charges, my delegation will reserve its right to reply and going into detail, rebut again such baseless allegations and counter them with a presentation of the true picture of what has been and is occurring in the Middle East.

128. Mr. THEODOROPOULOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, may I congratulate the representatives of Mauritius and Italy on their election as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively, of the Committee. As for yourself, Mr. Chairman, my delegation is particularly gratified to see you presiding over the First Committee, both because of your own qualifications and because you represent a neighbouring country with which we are making a joint effort to strengthen ties of peaceful co-operation and good-neighbourliness.

129. The support given by my delegation last year to the Declaration that we are now considering [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] was so positive and solid that I do not need to reiterate our attachment to the principles contained in it. Furthermore, the report submitted by the Secretary-General this year on implementation of that Declaration reproduces *in extenso* the Greek Government's account of the measures it has taken to implement the Declaration. Suffice it to recall that my Government is very seriously pursuing its efforts to strengthen and widen good relations between my country and all our neighbours. True to the spirit and the letter not only of the Charter and the Declaration, but also of resolution 2129 (XX) on regional co-operation, we have resumed and hope to develop relations with Albania and, through repeated visits and contacts, have strengthened our relations with other socialist countries such as Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia. The differences in our political and social systems have not stood in the way of our making our modest contribution to *détente* and peace in our part of the world.

130. But I do not believe that the purpose of our debate on this item of the agenda should merely be to report what each of our countries has done or failed to do in the course of the past year. Nor should this discussion be a simple repetition of the arguments aroused by other questions whether they are on our agenda or not. If we are to have a yearly debate on the implementation of the 1970 Declaration, then that debate should be considered as a collective heart-searching, a quest for what we can do collectively, as Members of the Organization, to contribute to the increased effectiveness of the United Nations machinery for the maintenance of peace and the reduction of tension all over the world.

131. In point of fact, we note on the one hand a series of extremely important problems that the United Nations has not been able to settle, and on the other a series of happy developments in various sectors of international relations. But several of these developments, not to say the most important, are taking place outside our Organization. This

fact should lead us to reflect on why the United Nations has not played a more positive role in these developments.

132. It would certainly be an exaggeration to try to make the strengthening of international security synonymous with the strengthening of the United Nations. But we do believe it would be highly desirable for us to widen and increase, to the extent possible, the active role of the United Nations in this field. If that is not the case today, in the course of the debate we should try together to find out the reasons. As a significant example I might mention the fact that thus far we have not been able to equip the United Nations with effective peace-keeping machinery. We have not been able to widen the scope for concerted action by the Security Council. We see a proliferation of debates and largely academic resolutions in other organs, including the General Assembly, which is out of keeping with the weight that the recommendations of those bodies should carry. Finally, we have allowed this Organization, despite our assurances of devotion to its ideals, to slide rapidly towards financial bankruptcy.

133. These are certain points which should be of concern to us and which my delegation considers could properly be discussed under this agenda item, if we want to implement the 1970 Declaration more effectively.

134. There are also no doubt substantive problems. A number of statements already made in this debate refer to them, covering a broad range of international problems, from disarmament to *apartheid*, from economic development to the use of force for territorial occupation. This shows the scope which such a discussion could take, extending over the vast field of application of the Declaration. But for my delegation it also indicates the dangers to be avoided—the danger that our discussion of the implementation of the Declaration may degenerate into a repetition of the debates on other items, and the danger that a resolution adopted after such a debate may highlight only part of the Declaration, and thus weaken a highly valuable text that was prepared last year with such care and not without difficulties.

135. It is in this spirit that my delegation reserves the right to speak later in the debate and vote on any draft resolutions or amendments that may be before the Committee.

136. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Kuwait to exercise his right of reply.

137. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): I shall be very brief. The Israeli representative just said that this Committee was discussing international security and not the Middle East question. I wonder whether the Middle East is not a serious concern for international security. How can we achieve international security if the Middle East continues to be a hot-bed of trouble and confrontation? If the Israeli representative wants to separate the Middle East from the geography of the world that might be a nostalgia for super-humanity.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*