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CONTENTS

Agenda item 34 (*continued*):

Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security: report of the Secretary-General

Page

1

Chairman: Mr. Milko TARABANOV (Bulgaria).

AGENDA ITEM 34 (*continued*)

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security: report of the Secretary-General
(A/8431 and Add.1-4, A/C.1/1015, A/C.1/L.566)**

1. Mr. TOUKAN (Jordan): Mr. Chairman, I should like to take this opportunity of my first statement before this Committee to express to you and to the other officers of the Committee my delegation's heartiest congratulations and best wishes on your election to guide the proceedings of this important Committee. I am confident that under your wise guidance the First Committee will dispose of the important items on its agenda with success and expedition.

2. The General Assembly's Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which was adopted at the twenty-fifth session last year, has, in the nature of the situation, a unique and profound significance which, my delegation feels, should not be allowed to pass unheeded in the statement we are about to make.

3. International security within the framework of the United Nations—the avowed objective of its Charter—was never intended by the founders of the Organization to be rhetoric devoid of substance or a moralistic sermon on the virtues of good international conduct.

4. We are living in the era of the independent sovereign State as the basic unit regulating the community of nations. Until we have supplanted it by the supranational system, the inviolability of each basic unit is the true test, indeed the only test, of the health or sickness of the international order in which we live.

5. I could not find better words to describe the prevailing state of affairs, the dilemma confronting the United Nations, than to refer to those provisions in the Declaration which reaffirm that it is the duty of every State to refrain from the threat or use of force, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the Charter, and that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. One of the main prerequisites to the strengthening of

international security is that all States shall live up—I repeat, live up—to the principles of the Charter and shall constantly rededicate themselves to the standards of international morality and behaviour set out in the Charter.

6. These are lofty principles, to which every peace-loving people subscribes. However, I must state, in sorrow, that these principles make strange reading nowadays. They may not appear so strange to the distinguished and mighty statesmen in their ivory towers, with all due respect to them. To my people, who have been the victims of well over four years of occupation, they have a faded and sour strangeness, because they are so unrelated to reality. My country, Jordan, sees nothing else so real—and there is in fact nothing else that my people can see, no matter how hard they try—as a ruthless Israeli occupation and colonization. My delegation has no doubt whatsoever that the General Assembly, representing the collective will of humanity, was sincere and genuinely concerned when it adopted last year its Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in such forthright, categorical and unequivocal terms. These were not words but fundamental convictions.

7. The emphasis on deeds rather than on words is the only avenue to the strengthening of international security. To give but a few examples, the United Nations has promulgated agreements with a view to achieving the non-proliferation of atomic weapons and thereby lessening the dangers to humanity resulting from proliferation. Israel has openly and persistently refused to abide by such agreements and is going full speed ahead in the opposite direction. Is this Israel's contribution to the strengthening of international security?

8. Another example, as I have said earlier, is Israel's open declarations of its intention to retain the Arab territories occupied in 1967. Is this repudiation of the fundamental premise in the United Nations Charter Israel's contribution to international security?

9. A third example is the refusal of Israel to permit the victims of war to return to their ancestral homes and homeland, in utter disregard of United Nations resolutions.

10. I could go on *ad infinitum* enumerating Israel's disregard of all international conventions and the structures and functions which embody the ideals of the United Nations and the prerequisites to the strengthening of international security.

11. Yet what else can ideals, structures and functions be but meaningless terms unless every Member State abides by their provisions? What else can they be but words unless and until the Member States, big and small, feel sufficiently

motivated and concerned to strive for their fulfilment, and thereby prove that their collective convictions and will are stronger than the will of any Member which chooses to flout them?

12. The founders of the United Nations were fully aware of the dangers resulting from individual defiance. It is for this reason that an executive organ, namely the Security Council, possessing the supreme power of enforcement, was established. It is likewise for this reason that the General Assembly, though not an enforcement agency, was empowered, under certain conditions, to adopt enforcement measures, and to indicate its collective will.

13. This is the crux and the essence of the United Nations Declaration, namely, to strengthen international security in deeds and not in words. The real danger to international security is that by inaction, by complacency, by getting accustomed to an accomplished fact, no matter how blatantly it runs counter to everything that the United Nations stands for, the United Nations might become as ineffectual as its predecessor, the League of Nations, when it was put to the test. Need we recall the catastrophes which befell international security and the human race when such complacency was allowed to prevail?

14. My Government, faithful to the Charter of the United Nations, fully and without reservations endorsed the General Assembly's Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. At the same time, it can only assess the Declaration as meaningful if such endorsement by Member States is lifted from the pigeon-holes and archives where they are at present stacked to become a live, dynamic and operative reality in the lives of nations.

15. All decisions involve a choice. All attitudes involve a scale of priorities. All courses of action involve a price.

16. Are we, the United Nations, sufficiently motivated to make the choice, to select our priorities and to pay the price for peace and for what we believe to be moral right and justice?

17. That is our challenge and it is our fervent belief that it is not a challenge which exceeds our innermost convictions and our capabilities.

18. Mr. ISMAIL (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen): Mr. Chairman, it is with great pleasure that my delegation welcomes your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. Your dedication to the cause of peace and justice, your great wisdom and your vast experience, appropriately qualify you for this high post. Your election is also a tribute to your peace-loving country and people, with whom my Government and people enjoy the most intimate and comradely relationship. My congratulations also go to our distinguished Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur.

19. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is certainly a contributing factor to the strengthening of international peace and security. A major world Power and a peace-loving State, the presence of the representative of the People's Republic of China in our midst will revitalize the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and

security. I welcome General Assembly resolution 2758 (XXVI), which underlines the universality of this world Organization.

20. It is my delegation's belief that the item under consideration is vital and fundamental and therefore merits the full participation of all Member States. I must assume that any disinterest in this discussion is tantamount to heedlessness for international peace and security and for the lofty ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. The question is whether or not our Organization can abide by and implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. To my mind, international security cannot and will not be strengthened when poverty and backwardness prevail in most areas of the world. International security will not be strengthened in an atmosphere of oppression and domination and racial discrimination. International security will not be strengthened by the arms race or by the development of destructive weapons. Indeed, every bullet manufactured is ammunition against the cause of peace and international security.

21. I shall try not to repeat what other representatives have mentioned in their statements, but allow me to express my point of view as a representative of a small nation. I wonder how we as an Arab nation can anticipate the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in our area when since 1948 millions of our Palestinian brothers have been driven from their homes and forced to flee to the desert as refugees, due to the alien usurpation and domination of Zionism. These colonizers, purporting to be refugees and victims of fascism and Nazism, are themselves using Nazi and Fascist tactics to occupy the land of a peaceful people and to establish the so-called State of Israel in Palestine, with the continuing aid and support of the United States of America.

22. Morally and materially the support of the United States encouraged the Nazi-like régime of the so-called State of Israel to launch several acts of aggression against the Arab land and people, the latest of which was the 1967 aggression. Our Organization and its main organs adopted several resolutions condemning the so-called State of Israel and calling for its compliance with the United Nations Charter. These resolutions were heedlessly refused by the Zionist colonizers, who openly disregard the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and who repeatedly announce that Israel will not now or ever comply with the resolutions of our Organization and our Charter.

23. I am aware that we are debating not the Middle East but an item listed as strengthening international security. That is why I shall limit my remarks, but this is only an example of the threat to peace and international security in our area, to our people and specifically to the Palestinians who are struggling and who will continue to struggle against Zionists and Zionism until victory.

24. This struggle serves the cause of international peace and security. Peace is not to be achieved by declarations only. It is sometimes obtainable at great sacrifice. Today, Israel and its aggressive policies constitute one of the gravest threats to international peace and security in our area.

25. As an Asian, I cannot help but be concerned about another act of aggression on our continent—the aggression launched by the imperialistic United States against the great people of Viet-Nam. The valiant Viet-Nameese people are struggling against and opposing all efforts of the United States to impose an artificial régime of stooges upon them. With all the destructive weapons at its disposal, the United States has failed and will continue to fail to protect the American puppet régime in South Viet-Nam. The brave people of Viet-Nam are fighting for the cause of international security. With their firm belief, their bravery and their readiness to sacrifice for their land and people—with all that, the people of Viet-Nam will inflict a total defeat on the imperialist Powers and their stooges, as will the people of Laos and Cambodia.

26. Several days ago, the United Nations restored the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. My delegation considers that to be a firm, positive step taken by the United Nations to strengthen peace. The report of the Secretary-General [A/8431] stated in this connexion that "It remains true, nevertheless, that it is difficult to make progress on major issues, including disarmament, as long as one of the major Powers and several other States are not represented in the world Organization". I should also like to quote from the statement submitted by Ambassador Dobrynin of the USSR:

"The achievement of genuine universality in the United Nations as soon as possible would be of great importance in considerably increasing the effectiveness and authority of the Organization. An important contribution would be the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and the expulsion of the irresponsible supporters of Chiang Kai-Shek, who represent no one." [1804th meeting, para. 35.]

27. In South East Asia the Korean people are represented by two Governments as a result of the war and, as usual, the United States has installed its puppets in South Korea. Using the name of our Organization, the United States is dominating the South Korean people under the guise of protecting it from communism. Who has given the United States the right to be the policeman of the world?

28. My delegation regrets deeply that the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly overlooked the inclusion of an item in our agenda regarding the Korean problem. We, the Member States of this Organization, must look closely and continuously into this critical problem, in which the United Nations is directly involved. Unfortunately the flag of the United Nations is being used in Korea as a sign of belligerence instead of a symbol of peace. The United States is using the flag of the United Nations to protect its puppet South Korean régime against the wishes of the Korean people for reunification. A real threat to peace exists in this area. Non-intervention and the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea is the first important step towards peace. Adherence to the United Nations Charter forms the basis for peace.

29. One cannot limit the problems arising between India and Pakistan to a discussion of refugees and displaced people. If a solution is not found soon, or at least if an attempt at a solution is not begun, this area will erupt into

a bloody holocaust that will spread far beyond the borders of India and Pakistan. My Government is deeply concerned about the situation that exists between these two friendly countries. Our peoples are bound together by strong ties that have existed for generations. My Government understands clearly the burden which has been transferred to India by the millions of inhabitants of East Pakistan. Any minor clash between India and Pakistan will greatly affect the major Powers. There is also a great possibility that religion will become an issue and that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to contain the outbreak of an armed conflict.

30. In Africa, the South African policy of *apartheid* continues as racial discrimination is flaunted. Nineteenth century colonist thoughts and ideology persist despite contemporary progressive opinions and social forces. Portuguese colonizers still believe in intrigue and attack sovereign States in Africa; they occupy Guinea (Bissau). The white minority of South Africa implements its policy of *apartheid*.

31. All the peace-loving people of the world will give their whole-hearted support to the legitimate struggle of our African brothers for their freedom and self-determination. The nationalist Africans in South Africa, in Namibia and in Guinea (Bissau) are fighting to strengthen international peace and security, and it is our duty to stand beside them.

32. My Government is fully aware that any unresolved conflict in Europe is a major threat to international peace and security. My delegation supports the ceaseless efforts of the USSR Government to preserve world peace in that area. The agreement signed between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany recognizing the sovereign borders of European States is a fundamental effort on behalf of international peace. Other such agreements must be negotiated and implemented if world peace is to be maintained.

33. I have studied carefully all the statements made in this Committee regarding the subject before us. My delegation feels that it is appropriate to call attention to and to praise the statement made by the Soviet Union representative, Ambassador Dobrynin. This statement is evidence of the sincere desire of the Soviet Union for world peace and security.

34. Full membership in this world body is the wish of both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Our delegation fully endorses this move. The German Democratic Republic is a peace-loving State which supports our Organization and its work although it is not a member. It contributes to the development of emerging nations in trying to raise their standards of living. My country is a recipient of such aid and we appreciate fully the assistance and co-operation of this Government. And we are convinced that the membership of the German Democratic Republic in the United Nations would be another effort by our Organization on behalf of world peace.

35. As I stated at the commencement of my speech, the strengthening of international peace and security is the core of our Charter: but it is not the strengthening of inter-

national peace and security that is in question, but rather its implementation. The word "implementation" is the foundation of our debate in this Committee. Let us dedicate ourselves with all energy towards this cause, keeping in mind that our world is not one nation, but one human family of nations and that this human family should consider the situation and the background of its Members. However, consideration does not mean and must not be interpreted as condoning injustice and inhumane actions. The struggle for justice and freedom is a legitimate struggle for the implementation of international peace and security throughout the world, and, as such, must be respected.

36. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen for the congratulations he was so good as to extend to the officers of the Committee.

37. Mr. St. PIERRE (Canada): Mr. Chairman, let me first compliment you and the other officers of the Committee on your election. I hope you will recognize my brevity as evidence of our sincerity in seeking in every way that we can to make your task easier. Let me say secondly that in Canada's view the fact that this debate is being held, its style and its content are a reflection and not a cause of the strengthening of international security.

38. This Committee is a barometer of international tensions. The atmosphere it registers should be an indicator for Governments of where dangers lie for themselves and for others.

39. But our deliberations and the recommendations we adopt do not by themselves add directly to the security of nations. Some speakers have pointed to developments during the past year which have strengthened international security. Others have dwelt on areas where there has been no improvement. Others still have spoken forcefully of new tensions and new conflicts.

40. We can say that where international security has been strengthened, the policies of Governments coincide more closely with the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. It would be a bold man who would go further to argue that there is necessarily a cause-and-effect relationship here. Equally, it would be difficult to maintain that all tensions and threats to world peace can be ascribed simplistically to violations of the Charter and failure to implement the Declaration.

41. It is here that my delegation has some difficulty with the draft resolution submitted by Bulgaria and others in document A/C.1/L.566. Clearly, violations of Charter principles arise from tensions just as much as tensions arise from violations of the Charter, and this is true across the whole range and variety of sources of insecurity with which the Declaration deals. The draft resolution identifies conspicuous sources of tension. They exist. So do many others. And each Member State feels most acutely those which impinge most directly upon it. I need not repeat the list which speakers, even in the relatively short debate we have had on this item, have enumerated. But because we are dealing here with those questions of security which loom largest for each one of us, I am constrained to define that which most concerns Canada at this very moment.

42. The question of international security today transcends traditional concepts concerning threats to the security of States. It is well known, for example, that certain inherently dangerous objects, such as nuclear-powered vessels, or an object launched into outer space or a loaded and unseaworthy tanker, may pose a more serious threat to the security of a coastal State than a gunboat. The concept of the protection of the territorial integrity of States in the Charter must, in the contemporary world, be viewed as subsuming the new threats posed by technology to the environment beyond national jurisdiction.

43. When the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty banning tests in the atmosphere, in the oceans and in space was adopted by three of the five nuclear Powers, we were all aware that it was a less than perfect document, but it represented some progress. Today, we may wonder if it and the non-proliferation Treaty may not have induced a false sense of security in the people of the world and among us here. Nuclear weapon testing continues. It continues at what seems to be an accelerated pace. It has largely been driven underground, but all too often not completely underground.

44. Close on the heels of a major Soviet nuclear test series, the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States yesterday announced its decision to detonate a nuclear device at Amchitka in the Aleutian Islands.

45. The Canadian Government has both publicly and privately made clear Canada's firm and consistent opposition to the continuation and escalation of nuclear weapon testing, and our specific concern about the threat the Amchitka test poses to the North Pacific environment. The hard fact is that, in the end, the American Government has the legal right to carry out this test. It presumably is doing so in accordance with what it perceives to be the national interest of the United States. We have also never suggested that this test involves a high element of risk, but no one denies that the risks exist.

46. The Canadian Government deeply regrets this decision, as it regretted the Soviet tests, and shares the widespread concern of the people of Canada as expressed in a resolution of the Canadian Parliament on 15 October.

47. That resolution was not unanimous. We are like most legislatures. We seldom find ourselves in total agreement. On this vote, one member of the House of Commons dissented. The text of this resolution was as follows:

"Whereas the continued testing of nuclear warheads by the nuclear Powers adds to the dangers of the nuclear arms race and may seriously pollute the human environment, and whereas the scheduled test at Amchitka is of particular concern to Canadians because of its proximity to Canada's West Coast, this Canadian House of Commons calls on all nuclear Powers to cease all testing of nuclear devices, and particularly, calls upon the President of the United States of America to cancel the test at Amchitka scheduled for this month."

48. If this explosion in the Aleutians proves to be one of the underground tests which vent, it is scarcely conceivable that its effects will not extend beyond the territory of the

United States. And in this event, we should remember article I paragraph 1(b), of the partial test-ban Treaty, which states that each of the Parties undertakes not to carry out any nuclear-weapon-test explosion "... if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the State under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted".

49. Despite all these considerations, the United States Government apparently finds itself obliged to proceed with what may be the largest underground explosion yet and it has, of course, as we have said, the legal right to do so. The Amchitka test, of course, is not unique. In the present state of affairs, it cannot be called unexpected. Nuclear arms will proliferate and underground tests will continue as long as nations fear that their rivals are surpassing them in military strength.

50. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has contributed its full share to heightening international tension, exploding nuclear devices in recent weeks. France and China have not signed the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty, and they have exploded devices in the atmosphere which have carried radioactive poisons into the world's skies. Although we may welcome the pause in the French Government's tests we are not told how long this pause may continue. There has been no indication whatever that the People's Republic of China is pausing in its atmospheric nuclear tests which bring down radioactive material on my country as well as on others. The super-Powers are engaged in a contest that is poisonous, dangerous and, in the ultimate, futile. We cannot find security in this narrow world of ours until nuclear testing and the nuclear arms race are ended.

51. I am not so disingenuous as to suggest that Canada does not have a special interest in the Amchitka test. We do, because it is on our doorstep. But our concern is also general and has been so consistently since 1945 when the then Prime Minister of Canada first called for the exclusively peaceful use of atomic devices. The Canadian Government has consistently pursued that policy, whether tests were conducted in our own backyard or in central Asia.

52. Draft resolution A/C.1/L.566 says nothing about this issue. One course open to us would be to ask the sponsors to include our particular and deep preoccupation with the matter in their draft. But if we did so why should not every delegation here which has its own direct concerns do the same? And what would be the result? A repetition of last year's Declaration.

53. Our intention is, therefore, to pursue the question of nuclear testing vigorously in this Committee under the disarmament item. In that context, we shall seek support for a serious effort to deal with the clearly defined danger to the security of all nations, the nuclear testers no less than the rest of us. We see no purpose in picking and choosing among the provisions of the Declaration. To select the special concerns of any one State or group of States for emphasis would be to slight the legitimate preoccupations of others. That is no contribution to the strengthening of international security. It could even be the opposite, if any Member State had grounds to believe that its national interests were disregarded.

54. This is not a plea for complacency. It is an argument for a rational and considered approach to a subject which is too fundamental to the common interest of all Members to become the private property of a few.

55. This debate has been useful; this item is of value. The agenda of the General Assembly provides ample further opportunity for pursuing the discussion in detail on almost all the specific points that have been raised. Substantive resolutions can best be adopted after such detailed discussion.

56. It would be ironic if we allowed this item above all to be exploited for partisan purposes and thus ended only by weakening international security.

57. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I have a feeling of particular satisfaction at the fact that the chairmanship of the political Committee has been entrusted to you, Mr. Chairman, an outstanding personality in the diplomacy of your country. Your diplomatic and human qualities, the sympathy and respect which you enjoy, as well as your long accumulated experience in the political and diplomatic fields, are so many reasons for certainty that under your leadership the work of the Committee will be successful. I cannot fail to recall that between our two countries, Bulgaria and Romania, neighbouring countries, we have for a long time enjoyed relations based on esteem, friendship and many forms of co-operation.

58. I should also like to convey my best wishes for success in their posts to the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur.

59. The Romanian delegation attaches particular importance to the debate on the question of strengthening international security, which has been brought to the General Assembly for discussion on the initiative of the Soviet Union. We believe that since it is one of the vital aspirations of all peoples, it should occupy a privileged and permanent place within the activities of the United Nations.

60. The debates which were held on this subject at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly led, as a result of a broad collective effort of Member States, to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. The Declaration is a political document of undeniable value for guiding the activities of States in their international relations, as well as the work of the Organization itself in an area which constitutes the primary purpose of the United Nations. That Declaration contains a set of provisions which are mutually dependent and thus form a single whole. All those conditions, therefore, should be fulfilled in good faith and in their totality. In our view, it is for all Member States and the United Nations as a whole to shoulder the great responsibility of ensuring respect for the principles of the Declaration and to do everything in their power to see that those provisions are translated into practice.

61. The manner in which the Romanian Government contemplates the implementation of that Declaration was set forth in its reply to the letter of the Secretary-General on this question [*see A/8431*]. Consequently we should like in our statement today to highlight certain aspects

which in our view are essential for the strengthening of international security and hence should be included among the primary concerns of the Committee.

62. The Declaration adopted last year stressed the imperative nature of the principles which should underlie relations among States. It is becoming ever clearer in contemporary international life that the strengthening of world security depends upon respect for the independence and sovereignty of nations, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, equality in law and mutual advantage, principles which are inscribed in the Charter and reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The Declaration also highlights the generally valid and binding nature of those principles as a condition for international security when it

“Solemnly reaffirms the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems and declares that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever;”

These principles are in essence the expression of the sacred right of every people to live and develop in a free and sovereign way in its own country, and to decide its own fate. Respect for this right has become a decisive factor on which the maintenance of international peace and security depends.

63. We are convinced that since respect for those principles is the condition for the free and independent life of all nations in the world, it constitutes at the present time the indispensable guarantee for healthy political evolution in relations among States and progress towards the strengthening of international peace and security.

64. My country considers that observance of the right of each people to a free existence, to decide its own destiny, as well as the complete and total exclusion of the use or the threat of the use of force constitute the essential condition for the establishment of normal relations among States and for the development of co-operation and the strengthening of international security. In paragraphs 4 and 5 the Declaration also

“Solemnly reaffirms that States must fully request the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country;”

and that

“every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and 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 and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State;”

65. The failure to discharge the fundamental obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force, pressure and constraint of all kinds, gravely endangers the peace and security of peoples. That is why it is so necessary that the fundamental rights and obligations of States be reaffirmed in international law and that their observance by all States with regard to all other States become a dominant feature of inter-state relations.

66. The elimination of force from relations among States is a primary requirement if we want international life to take a positive direction. A long historical experience clearly demonstrates that no international problem has been solved on a lasting basis by the use of force. Today conditions do exist making it possible to erect a new system of relations among States, a system in which promoting peaceful co-operation among States would replace force, a system in which security, independence, economic and social advancement and the liberty of all peoples would be the condition for the security, the independence, the economic and social advancement and the liberty of all other peoples.

67. This trend in relations among States responds to the will of the peoples, which are ever more firmly rejecting the outmoded imperialist policy of wars, domination and *diktat* and are rising up, determined to safeguard the right to decide their own destiny and to bring about among themselves peaceful co-operation on the basis of perfect equality. We believe that this principle must be appropriately reflected in the document we are going to adopt, after the discussion which is now going on, on the practical application of the Declaration. The Romanian delegation expresses its desire to make, along with other States, its contribution to those efforts.

68. Similarly, the development of normal and positive tendencies in relations among States make it particularly necessary for concrete measures to be taken in the field of disarmament in accordance with the general interests of the peoples. Since questions relating to disarmament will be broadly debated in the Committee, the Romanian delegation does not propose to refer to that matter in this statement.

69. International life testifies eloquently to the extremely harmful consequences of non-compliance with the principles I have just mentioned for peace, security and the independent existence of peoples. The policy of violation of the national sovereignty and independence of peoples, as well as intervention in their affairs by acts of force or the threat of the use of force, continues to give rise to new sources of tension and conflict.

70. That is why today more than ever there is an imperative need to strengthen the security of peoples, to improve the international climate and to act firmly in order

to prevent a deterioration of existing conflicts and the emergence of other conflicts, to put a stop to wars and to snuff out all hotbeds of tension.

71. In this spirit, Romania wants the war in Viet-Nam to be ended and constantly supports the struggle waged by the Viet-Nameese people and the other peoples of Indo-China against imperialist intervention. We support the seven-point proposals presented by the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, realizing that these constitute a real basis for a political settlement of the conflict. We likewise support the initiatives of the Royal Government of National Unity, the United National Front of Cambodia, as well as the Patriotic Front of Laos. The sure way to bring about peace in Indo-China is the total withdrawal of United States troops and the troops of their allies from this region, so that the Viet-Nameese, Laotian and Khmer peoples can be left to resolve their own problems by themselves, without any outside interference.

72. The intensification of efforts to put a stop to the Middle East conflict remains an important objective of the United Nations. We believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 constitutes a basis for a political settlement of the conflict. Only such a settlement can bring about lasting peace. In our view, it is time for firmer action to be taken, within the spirit of that resolution, to bring about a solution that would guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of all States in the region concerned, and leading to a withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories. It is also necessary, at the same time, that a solution be found to the problem of the Palestine people in accordance with its interests and aspirations.

73. It is in the same cause—that is, the elimination of hotbeds of tension and the strengthening of security throughout the world—that Romania takes a firm stand in favour of the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and the dismantling of United States military bases there, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people, and respect for its right to decide its own destiny.

74. In like manner, we firmly support the just demand of the People's Republic of China that United States troops be withdrawn from Taiwan, which is an integral part of China.

75. In the same context, we also stress the unreserved support accorded by Romania to the struggle for the freedom and independence of all peoples, for the liquidation of colonial domination, the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination which still prevail, particularly in the south of the African continent.

76. To eliminate all conflicts and situations which give rise to tension, and to settle disputes exclusively by peaceful means, is an imperative of our day and, consequently, the primary duty of all States. We consider that we must carry out a systematic effort to make the fullest and most unreserved use of the methods and machinery provided for in the Charter, so that they can become effective instruments for the strengthening of the security of all States. We

therefore believe that it will be particularly useful to undertake a study of the content of the peaceful means contained in the Charter for the settlement of disputes.

77. The debates which have been held so far, at the present session of the General Assembly, have specifically underlined in a significant way—as a result of the efforts made by all the peoples of Europe and their resolution to live in peace, in a spirit of good-neighbourliness and harmony—the fact that the political situation on the continent is constantly improving, accompanied by a trend towards the elimination of the consequences of the last world conflagration and of the cold war, and towards a general recognition of the realities which have been established there in the period since the Second World War. Furthermore, a series of steps have been noted, which have been taken in recent times along these lines, such as the treaties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, between the People's Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, the talks between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany, the talks between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the agreement on West Berlin. Thinking along these lines, we also appreciate the intensification of meetings and talks among European statesmen and Heads of States and Governments. Without any doubt, the improvement in the political climate owes something to the exchanges, both commercial and cultural, among the peoples of the continent.

78. We note with satisfaction that the United Nations has not contented itself with being a mere onlooker of the evolution of relations among European States. At a time when steps towards *rapprochement* among European countries were still timid, the United Nations made a positive contribution to encourage and stimulate a process of *détente* and co-operation, which was to be vigorously affirmed in subsequent years. We refer to General Assembly resolution 2129 (XX) entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems". That resolution was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 1965 on the initiative of Romania, along with eight other European countries. That resolution, as is known, appeals for an expansion of contacts among States for the development of peaceful co-operation, the improvement of reciprocal relations, with a view to creating a climate of confidence and *détente* in Europe and throughout the world.

79. We would like to express the conviction that the General Assembly will continue, as it is laid down in that resolution, to give its attention to such measures and actions as will promote relations of good neighbourliness and co-operation in Europe, having in mind that any improvement in relations on the European continent will exert a positive influence on international relations as a whole and on the strengthening of international peace and security.

80. European security, in our view, requires a system of clear commitments on the part of all States, as well as concrete measures that would offer all States the fullest guarantee of freedom from any danger of aggression or use or threat of use of force, and ensure the peaceful

development of each country in a climate of *détente*, understanding and co-operation. A system of this kind requires mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-intervention in the internal affairs of others, the exclusion from relations among States of the use of force and the threat of force, as well as the development of multilateral economic, cultural, technological and scientific relations to remove obstacles and open the way towards broader co-operation among all the States of the continent.

81. A valuable contribution to the attainment of that objective would be the convening of a general European conference on security and co-operation, with the participation of all interested States. Romania has constantly acted and spoken in favour of such a conference.

82. The multitude of political acts which I have just mentioned is involved in a dynamic process of development, on many levels, in inter-European relations and has, in our view, created a set of political conditions for the undertaking of concrete actions with a view to the preparation of a European conference. According to our estimates, real possibilities exist for the acceleration of these preparations, by proceeding more quickly, without preconditions and with the participation of all interested States, to multilateral meetings. The preparations and the conference itself, and all activity undertaken with a view to bringing about security in Europe, cannot and should not assume the character of inter-bloc discussions. On the contrary, the holding of the conference and specific steps towards European security should open a way which with the dissolution of military alliances will lead to a Europe without blocs. The creation of a system of security without military alliances is furthermore one of the fundamental objectives of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security itself, the application of which we are discussing now.

83. The recognition of the Democratic Republic of Germany by all States, the normalization of relations between the Democratic Republic of Germany and the participation of the two German States in the activities of the United Nations and in those of other international organizations would add new and important elements to the process of building European security.

84. It is in the context of Romania's consistent efforts to contribute to the attainment of European security that we find most naturally the unswerving position of the Romanian Government in favour of the development of relations among all Balkan countries and the transformation of that region into a zone of peace and co-operation, free from nuclear arms, military bases and foreign troops. In our view, it is not only necessary but also possible for practical measures to be taken both bilaterally and multilaterally to establish relations of friendship and broad co-operation among the peoples of the Balkans, and to make the Balkans a factor for stability, a factor for European and international security.

85. Lasting security can only be built, in the final analysis, on the solid foundation of broad co-operation in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields. The promotion and intensification of international co-operation

are necessary not only as an objective need for the progress of each nation separately, and for the flourishing of human civilization in general, but also as an essential condition for the building of a climate of respect and confidence among peoples, and security and peace in the world. It is a fact which life itself confirms that the development of relations on many different levels, based upon equality in law and mutual advantage, constitutes the real and best way to bring about a climate of confidence among States, a confidence which, in turn, is the absolutely indispensable condition for any progress in the field of the genuine strengthening of international security.

86. The affirmation of fruitful co-operation among nations today requires, as an essential precondition, the economic and social progress of the developing countries, the elimination of the phenomenon of underdevelopment and the gaps which still separate them from the industrialized countries, in the interest of the increasingly active participation of those countries in overall contemporary international life.

87. The United Nations, under the terms of the Charter, has the duty to make an increased contribution to the promotion of *détente* and international co-operation. Now that the seat which belongs to China in the Organization has been restored to the Government of the People's Republic of China—the only legitimate representative of the Chinese people—the preconditions have been created for the United Nations to tackle more effectively and with greater realism the major questions which confront it with regard to the strengthening of international peace and security.

88. We continue to advocate the full and entire application of the principle of universality by the creation of conditions permitting other countries arbitrarily kept out of the United Nations to occupy their proper place in our Organization.

89. I should like to conclude by repeating what the Romanian Government states in conclusion in its reply to the letter of the Secretary-General:

“... the need to strengthen international security requires that the United Nations should act more firmly to ensure that all its Members and all States respect the principles of international law. The United Nations is called upon to make a greater contribution towards strengthening international legality and ensuring that all States comply with the fundamental obligation of refraining from the threat or use of force and from pressures and constraints of all kinds, and respecting the national independence and sovereignty of each State, since that is the corner-stone of peace and security in the world.”

90. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since this is the first time that I address this Committee, Mr. Chairman, I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of saying how happy my delegation is to see our work guided by an illustrious diplomat from Bulgaria with so many qualifications and so much prestige. We are sure that this will be positively reflected in the course of our work. Our satisfaction is all the greater on seeing Amba-

sador Tarabanov flanked by the eminent representative of Mauritius, Ambassador Ramphul, and the distinguished Minister Counsellor Migliuolo, of Italy.

91. Without prejudice to a later statement in the debate on measures to strengthen international security, I have asked to speak at this time in order to share the consternation expressed by the representative of Canada today on learning the news, which was announced only yesterday, that very shortly there will be an underground explosion of a nuclear device of enormous power on Amchitka Island in the Aleutians.

92. The consternation is all the greater since the appeals of world public opinion and the studies on the human environment, as well as the expressions of alarm of several Governments and successive postponements of the tests, had nourished the hope that these would be cancelled.

93. In a note to the Secretary-General of 15 September last informing him of the protest by Peru against nuclear tests in the South Pacific, I said that the Government of Peru demands the complete cessation of those tests in the atmosphere "as well as the cessation of any other tests in other environments, including underground tests".

94. So that alarm is not limited to Alaska and Canada. The magnitude of the scheduled explosion leads us to suspect and fear new and ever greater threats.

95. The representative of Canada has just told us that, *stricto sensu*, one cannot allege that these explosions constitute a violation of international law or conventions. I believe he will agree with me, however, that one can affirm that continuing the nuclear tests in defiance of the repeated pronouncements of the General Assembly results in subordinating the United Nations Charter to the requirements of power politics, in turn based precariously on a balance of terror.

96. In any case, if it is not possible to place this test in a strictly legal classification within the framework of legal instruments such as the Moscow partial test-ban Treaty, when what is at stake is the health and survival of human beings, I wonder whether there is room for an exercise in extraneous legal interpretations to justify such acts.

97. I shall end my statement here and reserve the right to refer once again to this matter, which so deeply concerns the Government and people of Peru; indeed this question comes under more than one item on the agenda of the General Assembly.

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

99. Mr. DORON (Israel): It is regrettable that the representative of Jordan saw fit to introduce into his statement this morning, which was supposed to be devoted to the present item on our agenda, matters which have been and are being dealt with in other forums of the United Nations.

100. Some speakers, the representative of Jordan among them, persistently bring up the problem of the Middle East

at every discussion whether it is relevant to the subject matter on the agenda or not. These speakers, while paying lip service to the principles of the Charter, conveniently forget that the problem of the Middle East has arisen only because of the armed aggression by Arab States, including Jordan, against Israel ever since the decision of the United Nations on the establishment of our State. But for such aggression there would have been no Middle East problem and the area would have been one of peace and not one of strife.

101. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the USSR, who wishes to make a statement.

102. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Taking advantage of or, more precisely speaking, in view of the fact that because of well-known circumstances I have not had an opportunity to make a statement on behalf of the Soviet delegation in the First Committee and am speaking for the first time here, I should like to take this opportunity to express the most sincere, heartfelt and friendly congratulations on your election to the responsible post of Chairman of the First Committee and to wish you and your colleagues the greatest success in the important and responsible work which you are doing together and will do at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I should also like to congratulate the Vice-Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Ramphul, of Mauritius, and the Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Migliuolo, of Italy, who is a great expert in the Russian language, which makes it particularly agreeable for me to congratulate him. In this connexion I cannot fail to note that two thirds of the officers of the First Committee, two out of three—I am thinking of the Chairman and the Rapporteur—are at the same time highly qualified experts in the question of the strengthening of international security. During the discussion of this item at the previous, twenty-fifth commemorative session of the General Assembly, both of them—Comrade Tarabanov and Mr. Migliuolo—took an active part in the formulation and preparation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which was adopted by the commemorative session of the General Assembly and has assumed the aura and significance of a historic document of the United Nations. This makes us confident that their work and participation in the consideration of this important question will be constructive and will facilitate the adoption of decisions which will promote the further strengthening of all the measures envisaged in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and further the proper implementation by all States of the provisions of that historic document.

103. On behalf of the Soviet delegation, I wish to refer to the statement of the Canadian delegation and its reference to underground nuclear explosions.

104. Allow me, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to stress that for many years the Soviet Union has consistently and steadfastly advocated the halting of all nuclear weapon tests, including underground tests.

105. The Soviet delegation sympathizes with what has been said here on behalf of the Canadian Government by

Mr. St. Pierre, Parliamentary Secretary to the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, about Canada's concern at the intention of the United States Government to set off in the near future an extremely powerful underground nuclear explosion—to judge by United Press communiqués, it would be of the order of five megatons—on one of the Aleutian Islands, Amchitka Island.

106. We share this concern of the Canadian delegation and the Canadian Government. In this connexion, we should like to recall that the programme for peace and international co-operation approved this year by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provides that “the Soviet Union”—as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, has also stated in his report to that Congress—“will work for an end to nuclear weapon tests, including underground tests by everyone everywhere”.

107. The CHAIRMAN (*translation from Russian*): I should like to express my gratitude to the representative of the Soviet Union, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, for the very cordial congratulations he addressed to the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur and to me personally.

[The speaker continued in French.]

108. Before we adjourn, I should like to remind members of the Committee that, in accordance with the decision taken yesterday, the list of speakers for the general debate on this item will be closed today at 1 p.m. Therefore I would ask those representatives who wish to participate in the general debate and have not yet inscribed their names to do so at the end of this meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.