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**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 and 567)**

1. Mr. LONCAR (Yugoslavia): Mr. Chairman, since I am speaking for the first time, I should like to congratulate you on your election as Chairman of our Committee. I also should like to extend our congratulations to the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur on their election. The present officers, with the assistance of the Secretariat, will, we are confident, effectively contribute to the successful conduct of the proceedings of our Committee.

2. My delegation attaches special significance to the continuing examination of the question of the strengthening of international security by the General Assembly. In the life of the international community as a whole, as well as in the life of each State, the safeguarding of world peace and security constitutes the precondition for the survival of one and all. When we speak about the security of nations and States we are, above all, thinking in terms of security as a vital component of the independent development of all States, as an over-all aspect of relations rendering possible the survival, freedom from outside intervention, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of every State, including the indisputable right to choose one's own socio-economic system.

3. International security, in a wider sense of the word, reflects both the complexity of international trends and the degree of the readiness of the world Organization to defend, in a concerted manner and through an effective system of measures, the independence and security of each State against the threat or use of force. General peace can have a genuine and universal meaning only if it stands for the peace of each area and each State. In the past, this has not been possible in practice; nevertheless, the rudimentary postulates have remained unchallenged in their substance.

4. The adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security by the General Assembly at its

anniversary session last year [resolution 2734 (XXV)] marks a breakthrough in this area. First, we have a unanimously adopted document elaborating the fundamental and relevant principles; second, this document stipulates a series of concrete measures aimed at having international security applied in practice in world relations as a universal system, serving as the basis for general and peaceful coexistence among all States. We can note with satisfaction that the Declaration has already proved its justification and feasibility. I do not wish to analyse its content at length, but I should like to single out the balance between the rights and duties of States, spelled out in the Declaration, and the relationship between security and economic development, more specifically the close connexion with the basic long-range elements of an over-all international development. In any case, the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter remains as a lasting basis for relations among all States without exception. Moreover, violation of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever. An inescapable inference is that the Declaration is a document of long-term significance, which should be gradually implemented in practice. Therefore, it is essential to have this item on the agenda in order to review its application and, when necessary, to adapt and further perfect the instruments stipulated in the Declaration.

5. During the past year, as many speakers have rightly observed, we have witnessed many changes and new developments in international relations. First of all, among the great Powers the relaxation of tension is continuing, resulting in a *détente*. The progress in relations between the United States of America and the USSR, the initiation of a dialogue between China and the United States of America, including the four-Power Berlin agreement, clearly are events of major significance both in terms of relations among the great Powers and in respect of the consolidation of peace in the world. The decision of the General Assembly to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, as the sole representative of the Chinese people in the United Nations, has a historical meaning. This will enable our Organization, with the co-operation and participation of the People's Republic of China, to contribute in a more meaningful way, and with more meritorious responsibility, to the promotion and strengthening of the general security of the world and towards the search for an equitable solution of many outstanding issues in this area.

6. At the same time, the process of emancipation of nations and States, and their express aspirations for independent development and the creation of conditions permitting greater equality and more active participation in the settlement of world problems, constitutes very vital factors irreversibly interwoven into the developments aimed

at changing the existing structures in the world and at establishing new and more equitable relations—in which the principles of democratic decision-making will prevail, in contrast to monopolism and bloc policy deriving from the position of force.

7. Therefore, *détente* is for us—and we believe for the great majority of countries as well—the objective need of the contemporary world. It confirms that we are now witnessing a turning point in international relations. The evolution in the perception of new realities and the declared willingness to recognize the rights of others will assume even greater vitality if this is followed by a more rapid elimination of the existing hotbeds of conflicts in individual regions and by greater progress in the implementation of long-term programmes in the field of development, disarmament and decolonization. I have particularly in mind the favourable prospects for the reaching of an agreement within the framework of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), as well as for the convening of a disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations, in which all States should participate. In this way it will be possible gradually to evolve conditions whereby the present state of instability and the seeking of security within the confines of blocs would be replaced by a new concept and a new system of universal security within the framework of the United Nations.

8. In projecting some of the essential principles upon which the international system of security should rest, and in stressing certain positive changes, under no circumstances should we neglect the manifestations and trends running counter to them. Here we are thinking mainly of the persistent efforts made to retain the obsolete relations which make for foreign domination, pressure and interference in the internal affairs of others, especially small and developing countries. The most dangerous forms obviously are the crises and conflicts in specific areas—southern Africa, the Middle East, Indo-China and the Indian sub-continent. These are the source of a more pronounced threat to world peace and security.

9. In spite of numerous and clearly formulated resolutions by United Nations organs, there exists an apparent stalemate in the process of decolonization, especially in southern Africa. Furthermore, colonialists and neo-colonialists, through their concerted forces, continue to pose a direct threat to individual African States. Aggressive acts against Zambia, Guinea and Senegal serve as a warning to the international community of the existence of a highly dangerous situation in that region. An end should be put to such adverse developments lest the validity of our commitments and the capacity of the United Nations—especially of the Security Council—to assist a victim of aggression is even further reduced. That would only encourage the protagonists of colonialism to embark upon new adventures.

10. In the Middle East the occupation of the Arab territories by Israel is continuing in flagrant violation of the Charter and the Declaration on the inadmissibility of military occupation and territorial acquisition by force. Attempts at imposing unilateral solutions by reliance upon force have not in the past been demonstrated to have been a foolproof guarantee for security even for those who insist

upon such arrangements. Secure boundaries lie in the peaceful solution of conflicts, in withdrawal from occupied territories and in mutual respect for the legitimate interests of each party to existence, independence and free development. The policy of annexation and the refusal to permit the Arab people of Palestine to exercise their right to self-determination can lead only to new conflicts and violence and not to the final settlement of crises on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

11. The most recent developments show that the war in Indo-China can be brought to an end provided that its lesson is fully perceived. The security of each side will best be served if the peoples of Indo-China are finally given a possibility of living in peace and freedom—without foreign intervention. We are convinced that the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam offer a sound basis for a way out of the present war.

12. The massive flow of refugees is a very disturbing phenomenon, which, in addition to causing untold suffering to the refugees, threatens peace and security in the respective regions and the international community cannot remain indifferent to this. My delegation, like many others, has pointed out on a number of occasions that it is essential to create without interference and as soon as possible conditions facilitating the return of refugees who have come to India from East Pakistan in such large numbers.

13. Europe, a one-time cradle of the cold war, offers as of late a very encouraging example both of the recognition of reality and the readiness for bilateral and regional co-operation. That sentiment can turn the course of events in a direction beneficial to all the partners, and beyond. By proceeding from a mutual respect for the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity and sovereignty, a number of contractual and practical solutions have emerged which have opened wide the door to the co-operation of the European peoples in almost all domains. Developments in Central Europe are undoubtedly in the forefront. However, the stabilization of these processes is possible only if it fully encompasses all the areas of Europe, including the Mediterranean. My Government has always held the position that the principles contained in the United Nations Charter, in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*]—should apply equally to Europe, regardless of the differences or similarities of internal systems and forms of development. We are now in a situation which is favourable for the early convening of a European conference on co-operation and security. By pledging to convene it and to provide for the equitable participation of all European States—as well as the United States of America and Canada—we are expressing our confidence that that conference will above all enhance the sanctioning of positive achievements, especially by injecting a more organized impulse of general European co-operation. As we understand it, the conference on European co-operation and security should establish and formulate principles which would place the system of comprehensive relations in Europe upon a democratic basis. It should examine also the promotion of extensive and equitable co-operation. To that end, it would be realistic

gradually to institutionalize such co-operation, namely to set up appropriate all-European organs.

14. Obviously, among the most pressing and the most topical issues is the reduction of weapons and armed forces in Europe. We attach to this issue wider political significance, since the process of disarmament should merge with the process of building up more equitable and more secure relations for all European States. We see in such an approach the best course leading to a gradual transcendence of the division into blocs and of the present military alliances, which have emerged at different times and in different world outlooks; more specifically, we visualize their replacement by new forms of security for all European States. Such a Europe would be more capable and, we hope, better prepared to make a more substantive contribution to economic development and the stabilization of the situation in other regions as well.

15. Problems of peace and security are the most important responsibility and their solution the most important aim of the United Nations. The consideration of this question during recent years has met with the considerable interest of many Governments, which have submitted numerous suggestions concerning measures for the strengthening of international security. Common to almost all positions is the orientation towards an expanded and continuing role of the United Nations in this area. This has been especially pointed out by the non-aligned countries at their conferences of heads of State or Government, particularly the one held at Lusaka last year, as well as at the ministerial consultative meeting held recently at United Nations headquarters.

16. It would be natural to have our present debate end with the adoption of a resolution. All have emphasized the long-term validity of and need for the implementation of the Declaration as a whole. This certainly is the most important task facing us. True, we have also heard opinions to the effect that we should not adopt a new resolution since we already have the Declaration. We cannot support such a stand. Naturally, there is no need to repeat what is already formulated in the Declaration, nor to alter its structure, or the orientation which it contains, by a new document. However, it would be useful to adopt a resolution which would treat primarily the questions of implementation, stressing those aspects which are topical in the prevailing situation. The existing draft resolution of the group of socialist countries [A/C.1/L.566] contains some such elements and initiates our thinking in that direction. We are confident that with goodwill and substantive efforts it is possible to present a widely acceptable text. A resolution could, by reaffirming the principles and provisions of the Declaration, request their full implementation and outline a course of action relevant to the strengthening of international security, and at the same time uphold the spirit of decisions which we have jointly adopted.

17. Mr. DE LA GORCE (France) (*interpretation from French*): This being the first statement the French delegation has made in the First Committee, may I first congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, and express our best wishes to you. Your authority, your wisdom and your great knowledge of the United Nations assure us that our debates will be presided over in the very best of conditions.

18. May I also express our congratulations and best wishes to the Vice-Chairman of the Committee and our Rapporteur.

19. When last year we adopted unanimously, or almost unanimously, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], the General Assembly laid down for us a twofold line of action. First we have to preserve such unanimity since it reflects the interest we all attach to the main tasks of the Organization; it stresses the obvious collective nature of security and the indivisible nature of peace.

20. Furthermore, we must now bend every effort to translate into facts the principles of the Declaration. We have now to devise the means of security. We cannot disguise the difficulties inherent in this task: unanimity on principles does not necessarily mean agreement on their implementation.

21. The French Government, in its reply to the Secretary-General [see A/8431], stressed the importance which it attaches to the Declaration of 16 December 1970. As we see it, that Declaration is a balanced compromise between the different trends that emerged in the Assembly. Without creating a new international law, "it has the merit of solemnly reaffirming the determination of the international community to find solutions to current problems in accordance with the objectives and principles to which it committed itself in the Charter". Our reply to the Secretary-General stresses four points which in the eyes of the French Government have an important bearing on future progress in the field of international security.

22. The first point deals with the policy of *détente* and co-operation between East and West. This implies a permanent willingness on the part of all States concerned to co-operate and practise conciliation. It rules out the supremacy of one nation over another, confrontations between blocs and any manifestation of a spirit of conquest, of domination or intolerance. It means respect for the social, political, economic structures of States, the affirmation of national identity and the free circulation of ideas, goods and people.

23. The second point deals with disarmament, true disarmament, which must not be confused with certain partial measures whose only real consequence is to strengthen the monopoly of the nuclear Powers. The action to be undertaken must give priority to nuclear weapons and be aimed at the elimination of such weapons under effective international control. Measures of conventional disarmament should also be devised and implemented in order to counterbalance the imbalance that may be created by nuclear disarmament.

24. The third point deals with the assistance that the industrialized countries should provide to the developing countries. This is a field which touches directly on international security, since, lacking the necessary effort, the increased gap between the neediness of one and the prosperity of another might be the source of bitterness, revolt and tensions. Our reply to the Secretary-General recalls the positions and initiatives adopted in this field by the French Government: keeping the increased level of aid

under our Sixth Plan; the consolidation of the ties which link the European Community with 18 African countries, including Madagascar; the application of generalized preferences to products coming from the developing countries; and the search for solutions to the problems involved in organizing the market for major primary products.

25. The fourth point touches on the collective action of the United Nations. This is one of the basic elements of international security and it is for this reason that we support any measures that may improve this action and make it more effective. The primary responsibility in this field, of course, in accordance with the Charter, falls to the Security Council.

26. Those are the main ideas which have inspired the French Government in its action to serve international security. We intend to continue along this line in co-operation with all in keeping with the spirit of the Declaration adopted last year by the General Assembly. In fact, that Declaration is not an abstract document. It is a reminder of the principles to which we must constantly refer. Here, again, I will repeat the apt phraseology quoted by the representative of Brazil who said that the Declaration was "an element of peace, justice and progress, and not merely an instrument for the maintenance of an international *status quo*". [1806th meeting, para. 12.]

27. Having thus referred in general terms to the principles that must underlie our conduct, I would like to look rapidly at the balance-sheet of events touching on international security as they appear a year after the adoption of the Declaration.

28. This balance-sheet shows that crises subsist in different regions of the world. In some cases they have become exacerbated, and even new trouble-spots have emerged since last year. The speakers who spoke successively this week and last week in our Committee, and before them the Ministers who spoke in the general debate in the Assembly, mentioned these crises. They have pointed out the risks inherent in them; they have been exercised by the inability of the Organization to solve them. We understand their feelings: in his statement at the 1942nd plenary meeting of the Assembly, Mr. Maurice Schumann, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, himself mentioned people's impatience at the persistence of the Indo-Chinese conflict and the fact that four years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) on the settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, that resolution had yet to be implemented. He also stressed the concern caused by the tragic events in Pakistan.

29. On the other hand, considerable progress has been achieved in Europe. Treaties and agreements have been concluded, talks are proceeding which give us reason to hope that very soon we will enter the multilateral phase of the preparation of a conference on European security and co-operation. As the President of the French Republic stated on 25 October to Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, this conference may be the great hope of our continent and the lasting means for a balanced peace based not on equality through terror but on equality through mutual understanding, active co-operation and the rapprochement among nations.

30. Finally, among the positive aspects of the situation, might I mention the presence of China. That presence is a guarantee of realism. A great role falls to China in the field we are dealing with, and for two reasons: it is a permanent member of the Security Council, and by its very existence it occupies such a position that the main problems touching on international security, particularly in Asia, cannot be solved without its participation.

31. Some earlier speakers have noted that whatever progress has been achieved in the strengthening of the international situation has not directly been due to United Nations action. Where tensions and crises persist, the United Nations has too often been powerless to act. Our Organization should therefore be endowed with the necessary means to act. A few moments ago I stressed the interest the French Government attached to the strengthening of such means and particularly those of the Security Council. In point of fact, sincere and scrupulous compliance with the Charter would itself open up great possibilities if States possessed the political will to use it properly. Might I on this point stress the importance attaching to problems affecting peace-keeping operations. Only too often our Secretary-General has stressed the priority that should be given those problems. And with great regret, my delegation notes the stalemate in which the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations finds itself. We earnestly hope that its works will be resumed in the very near future.

32. Our debate will conclude with the adoption of a resolution. A draft [A/C.1/L.566] has in fact already been submitted by a group of countries, including the country which two years ago took the commendable step of having this item included in our agenda. We have been told that other draft resolutions will be forthcoming. Therefore it is too early for me to make known the views of my delegation in detail. For the moment, I shall limit myself to a few provisional comments. Last year's Declaration was adopted unanimously, or virtually unanimously, and it would be desirable that this same unanimity be reached this year. We have no preconceived notions regarding what our next resolution should be. But last year's debate and the very text of the Declaration itself has shown the multiplicity of aspects grouped under the general heading of security. Obviously, each State or each group of States will highlight its own or its immediate concern and wants these expressed even if these preoccupations are not directly concerned with the question of international security. And thus, we might suffer a watering down; there may be too loose an interpretation of this concept of security, and to a certain extent, this may be the price we have to pay for unanimity. However, we would like to draw the attention of the Committee to the order of priority which should be maintained for our particular purposes between the principles directly concerned with security—such as non-recourse to force, the non-acquisition of territory through recourse of war, non-interference in the domestic affairs of States—these are the basic principles, and other problems which, while of course important, are by their nature not exactly problems of security and peace-keeping. The question of security in itself is extremely difficult, and therefore it is pointless to link it with other problems that should be discussed in their own specific context.

33. Naturally, these views do not lessen our hope for a unanimous resolution. The strengthening of international security is a continuous act of creation which calls for joint effort. It is a long-term, arduous and difficult task. Each of us must understand that obedience to the Charter very often forces a choice upon us between immediate interests and international co-operation in the service of peace.

34. Mr. ZHABITSKY (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. Chairman, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic congratulates you, the representative of a fraternal socialist State, Bulgaria, on your election as Chairman of the First Committee, the Political Committee. We are pleased that you will be guiding discussion of the very important questions before this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are happy to note that the members of the Committee unanimously supported your suggestions on the organization of the Committee's work, including the suggestion that we should begin with the most important and pressing question—the strengthening of international security. That support bears witness both to your authority and to the general recognition of the paramount importance of the struggle for peace and international security. We wish you good health and success in the discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to you in your own country and here in the First Committee.

35. We also congratulate the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur on their election as officers of the First Committee.

36. Past experience in United Nations discussion of the question of strengthening peace and international security shows that this problem is now becoming particularly urgent, for despite some recent progress achieved in certain areas through the efforts of peace-loving forces, the world situation remains unstable and tense. In many parts of the world, especially Indo-China and the Middle East, dangerous hotbeds of armed conflict continue to constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

37. Under such circumstances the peoples of the world expect the United Nations to take specific and effective action to establish lasting peace on earth and to achieve the principal aim of the United Nations, which is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

38. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic understands and shares those aspirations, for its people have experienced the horrors of war at first hand. That is why we actively supported the initiative taken by the Soviet Union with respect to the discussion of this important question by the United Nations and joined in sponsoring the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], a text which contains all the basic provisions of the original proposal of the socialist States.

39. The significance of the Declaration rests in the fact that it spells out a comprehensive programme for the maintenance of international peace and security. In the

introduction to his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General of the United Nations stressed that the Declaration:

"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>1</sup>

40. The importance and timeliness of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session are obvious. Equally obvious is the fact that no matter how important the decisions we take, no matter how serious the problems which they raise, it is always essential for us to ensure that those decisions do not remain a dead letter; they must be put into effect, the provisions of the Declaration must be implemented, so that the renunciation of the threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes becomes a law in international life.

41. Thus, discussion of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly is a logical extension of the position adopted by the General Assembly at the anniversary session last year. The need for thorough and comprehensive consideration of this question at the current session is intensified by the failure of a number of Western States to implement the fundamental provisions of the Declaration.

42. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic pointed this out in its answer to the inquiry circulated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations [*see A/8431*], to which we draw the attention of the members of the Committee. In the course of the general debate in the plenary Assembly [*1960th plenary meeting*] the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic discussed in detail the most important questions of international life, indicated ways and means of settling outstanding problems and exposed the policies and practices of the imperialist forces. Now we wish to stress once again that the socialist States and other peace-loving countries, acting in the spirit of the Charter and the Declaration, are doing everything possible to bring about a radical improvement in the international situation and are taking effective steps to safeguard and strengthen peace and security for many years and decades to come.

43. In this connexion the decisions of the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are of outstanding importance. The Congress put forward a broad programme for the struggle for peace and international co-operation.

44. This programme embraces all the main aspects of the problem of maintaining peace—from the elimination of existing hotbeds of war and the prevention of new conflicts between States to the implementation of the principles of collective security, from measures ensuring military *détente*

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

in the most dangerous areas of confrontation to the prohibition of all types of weapons of mass destruction, from the final elimination of colonialism and racism to the development of mutually advantageous co-operation between States in the solution of the weightiest economic, scientific and technical problems.

45. The peace programme enjoys wide support everywhere and there is no need to expound all its provisions in detail. They are well known to the members of the Committee; the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union spoke about them in his statement at the 1804th meeting. Our delegation would like to dwell on a few of them. The first point of the peace programme refers to the need to eliminate the hotbeds of war in South-East Asia and the Middle East, to promote a political settlement in those areas on the basis of respect for the lawful rights of States and peoples who have been victims of aggression, and to administer an immediate and firm rebuff to any acts of aggression and international lawlessness, making full use of the possibilities offered by the United Nations.

46. It is particularly important to note that the first point of the Soviet peace programme is fully consonant with the purposes and objectives set forth in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. As is well known, the essence of this Declaration lies in the provisions to the effect that States have a duty not to permit the acquisition of territory by means of the threat or use of force in contravention of the United Nations Charter and to refuse to recognize the legality of such territorial seizures, and the requirement that States Members of the United Nations should implement the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter.

47. The second point of the Soviet peace programme presented at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union deals with the struggle to bring about a fundamental change towards *détente* and peace on the continent of Europe. The need for such action is all too obvious. Here our delegation would like to stress once again the great importance of measures to ensure collective security in Europe. We have consistently been advocating the convening at the earliest possible date of an all-European conference. We must eliminate the possibility of war ever breaking out again in the heart of Europe.

48. Thirty years ago, on 22 June 1941, the Hitlerite hordes perfidiously invaded our country, beginning the cruellest and bloodiest war in all the age-long history of mankind. On the graves of those who fell in that war we swore to preserve the peace won so dearly and to prevent the imperialists from igniting a new world conflagration. The Byelorussian people, who suffered enormous losses in the struggle against fascism, are firm advocates of the policy of transforming the continent of Europe into a zone of lasting peace, in which there would be strict observance of the territorial integrity of all States within their present frontiers. In this connexion, great importance attaches to the treaties between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The four-Power agreement on West Berlin—covering one of the most complex problems of post-war

international relations—marked another successful step towards the consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

49. It is also important that the next step in that direction should be the regulation of relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of recognition of the fact that the Munich Agreement was invalid from the start and the normalization of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of respect for the principles of sovereignty and equality of rights in their relations both with each other and with other States.

50. The efforts of the socialist States and other peace-loving countries to ensure security in Europe are clearly in full accordance with those provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which concern the role of regional co-operation in preserving peace.

51. All socialist countries in alliance with other peace-loving States actively support the policy of achieving genuine universality in the United Nations. Their joint efforts have resulted in the restoration of the lawful right of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which illegally occupied China's seat. Now the two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—must be admitted to the United Nations. In addition, discrimination in the United Nations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people must be brought to an end. There can be no doubt that such decisions would help to increase the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations.

52. The peace programme presented at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union devotes considerable space to the questions of ending the arms race, disarmament, the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and to several questions concerning mutually advantageous co-operation among all States in the economic, social, scientific and technical fields.

53. In short, the Soviet peace programme is fully in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and its practical implementation has already become a major consideration in international life.

54. The implementation of all these measures would radically change the international political climate of our planet, strengthen the cause of peace and security of peoples and open the way for broad international co-operation. Everyone can see what a huge contribution would be made to the strengthening of peace and international security if all countries fought with equal consistency, determination and energy for the solution of the major problems with which all mankind is concerned.

55. Instead, we see that the advocates of a different and contrary approach—the imperialist countries and their accomplices—are ignoring the purposes and principles of the

United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and doing everything they can to avoid implementing them. By pursuing this aggressive policy, such countries are seriously endangering the peace and security of peoples—a situation about which many delegations have spoken with conviction both in plenary meetings and here in the First Committee.

56. And now in the First Committee certain delegations are clearly anxious to prevent business-like consideration of the question of implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, putting forward all kinds of unfounded and far-fetched arguments in order to distract the Committee's attention from the essence of the matter.

57. Opposition by some Western countries to consideration in the United Nations of the question of strengthening international security did not prevent the adoption at the twenty-fifth session of that historic document, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Everyone is well aware that it was the pressure of the majority which compelled those countries to vote for its adoption. However, immediately after the adoption of the Declaration they began to hinder its implementation. The imperialists and colonialists have done nothing in the past year to bring their policies into line with the United Nations Charter and the Declaration. The distinguished representative of the United Kingdom recognized in the First Committee that this vital document "did not entirely satisfy the wishes of all delegations". [*1807th meeting, para. 44.*] Of course, he was referring, above all, to his own country which, as he said, "in the best tradition of officials drafting answers for their Ministers to give to Parliamentary questions . . . does not add anything of substance". [*Ibid., para. 41.*] In other words, they remain true to their former positions, which are not in keeping with the spirit of the times.

58. A number of Western countries, notably the United States, did not reply to the Secretary-General's inquiry and are now trying to prevent the adoption of a decision on the question of implementing the Declaration, as can be seen from the statements of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries.

59. At the same time, as the Secretary-General rightly pointed out:

"The communications received from Governments reflect the great importance they attach to this subject. These Governments confirm their adherence to the principles of the Declaration, report on various steps they have taken to further the aims of the Declaration, express their concern over unsettled situations which, in their view, hinder the strengthening of international security, and outline the action they deem necessary in order to implement the Declaration. The time has come to agree on practical means of strengthening international security." [*See A/8431, para. 3.*]

60. Those who oppose the implementation of the Declaration talk of the possibility of adopting decisions on various agenda items in other Committees. Some of them do not specify which items they have in mind, but the United

States representative listed them, demonstrating thereby that they are avoiding the key questions—the immediate ending of aggression in South-East Asia and the Middle East, the convening of a world disarmament conference, Israel's violations of those provisions of the Declaration which ban the acquisition of territory by force, Israel's crimes in the occupied Arab territories, decolonization, measures to be taken against nazism and for the punishment of war criminals and of persons who have committed crimes against humanity, early agreement on a definition of aggression and many other important questions which appear on the agenda of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

61. We consider that constructive decisions should be taken on all agenda items, decisions which would accord with the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration, in the interests of peace, justice and progress. But that in no way relieves the First Committee of the obligation to take a decision on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We must not merely confirm that it is necessary to implement the Declaration in practice but must also condemn those who disregard it and hinder its implementation in every possible way.

62. This point of view is shared by the non-aligned countries, as is attested by the communiqué of the consultative meeting of the Ministers of non-aligned countries held in New York on 30 September 1971.

63. With reference to the statement of the United States delegation [*1812th meeting*], may I say, Mr. Chairman, that we have great respect for astronaut Shepard's achievements in the peaceful exploration of outer space and the moon. We are pleased to note that, unlike professional United States diplomats, he is a firm advocate of peaceful coexistence among States. It is the first time we have heard such an opinion in an official statement by a representative of the United States and we take note of it. We can well understand that from such a beautiful and peaceful place as the moon he could not, for obvious and purely technical reasons, see the frontiers of the various States. But the United States Government is not in outer space or on the moon; it is on earth and it is duty-bound to recognize where its own frontiers and those of other States begin and end. In accordance with the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and other generally recognized principles of international law, the United States Government must respect the sovereignty of other States and peoples and their territorial integrity—not only in words, not only in declarations of its love of peace, but in deeds. It must put an end to acts of aggression and interference in the affairs of other States, including Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, and must make a positive contribution to the strengthening of peace and security among peoples.

64. It is clear from what we have said and from the statements of many other distinguished representatives that not all States model their policies on the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Many States engage in direct violation of the most important provisions of these fundamental instruments of our time, increasing

tension and posing a serious threat to general peace and the security of peoples. For this reason it is particularly urgent that the General Assembly should adopt a decision on the progress of implementation of the Declaration. The questions of peace and security are so important that the United Nations must constantly focus its attention on them in order to achieve genuine *détente* and to strengthen peace on earth. Thus, all States must take immediate measures to implement the provisions of the Declaration and to ensure that the renunciation of the threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes becomes a law of international life. All this is taken into account in the draft resolution submitted by the socialist countries.

65. As we said in the reply addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations this year:

“The Byelorussian SSR will continue to support any United Nations activities aimed at the maintenance of peace and security and at the complete and unconditional implementation of the essential provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.”

*Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

66. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the Byelorussian SSR for the compliments he paid to the members of the Bureau.

67. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Before addressing myself to the item now under consideration by this Committee I should like to express the congratulations of my delegation to our Chairman—who, unhappily, is not with us at the moment—to you yourself, Ambassador Ramphul, and to Mr. Migliuolo on your election as officers of our Committee. We can, I am sure, feel confident that the collective experience of you and your colleagues will help us towards the effective accomplishment of the business before us.

68. I think we all recognize that the adoption by the historic twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] marked an important step towards crystallizing and formalizing the attitude of the world community towards what are, after all, the primary objectives of the United Nations. Those Member States which took an active part in the formulation of the Declaration will recall the spirit which guided the process of drafting and which shaped the final document, in the form of an agreed resolution that reflected, to the greatest extent attainable, the common aspirations of the General Assembly. My delegation saw in that initiative and in the subsequent drafting process a suitable and timely opportunity for the development among Member States of a deep and widespread understanding and acceptance of the principles underlying the search for global security and of the measures by which those principles might be strengthened, bilaterally, regionally and internationally. In the belief that a declaration on this paramount question could represent a comprehensive as well as a unanimous statement of the views and desires of Member States, my delegation worked diligently to ensure that it took adequate account of all the opinions expressed in the Assembly on the causes of and remedies for the political, economic and social problems still besetting the world today.

69. The success of the Assembly in arriving, however arduously, and indeed painfully, at a text which embodied all the preoccupations of Member countries was in itself not only a further demonstration of the determination of the Assembly as a whole to make constructive recommendations aimed at giving effect to its Members' national policies on security questions, but also a significant and hopeful sign of the capacity of the United Nations to accommodate varying and even opposing shades of opinion, in the highest interests of mankind. It was in that spirit that the Australian Government supported the common effort to reach an acceptable consensus, and was able to vote in favour of the Declaration, in the hope that it would help to harmonize the attitudes of Member Governments and encourage concerted action to bring about greater stability and security in all parts of the world.

70. The fact remains that our Declaration of last year, given all the sustained and dedicated work that went into the task of reaching a broad consensus, remains exactly as it has been described by some previous speakers in the debate—a precariously balanced document. As a declaration of purposes and principles it is indivisible; it does not lend itself, at any rate at this point of time, to selective refinement and embellishment in respect of some of its parts at the expense of others. Its provisions embrace and complement the full scope of the terms of our Charter, the obligations of which our Member States must be assumed to have accepted in their entirety, not piecemeal and not with differing emphasis. My delegation subscribed to the Declaration on the understanding that it represented an inseparable set of guidelines—a comprehensive blueprint, if you like—for measures to strengthen international security in all its manifestations.

71. The Charter itself recognizes that threats to world peace and security can arise from a complex and interlocking concatenation of events and circumstances that cannot be isolated from one another and identified under some kind of simple dogmatic formula, however strongly espoused and asserted by an individual country or by a group of countries. It is just not as easy or as straightforward as that.

72. We have only to look carefully at last year's Declaration to see that the preoccupations of Member States with situations that could undermine international peace and security cover a very wide spectrum. To take only one example, some of us are very conscious of the dangers that exist to security in Asia and elsewhere from the tensions created by pressures for economic development and for raising the standards of living among the peoples of the region. Australia has been very much aware of those compelling pressures and can claim to have responded in practical terms, unconditionally, and to the best of our ability and capacity. We note from the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.566 that economic underdevelopment is not regarded, apparently, as a problem that continues to jeopardize the prospects for peace and stability in the world. I venture to suggest that this omission does not correspond with the outlook shared by a majority of members of this Committee. In fact the failure of the draft resolution before us to mention the question at all not only ignores the solemn Charter commitment of Member States “to achieve international co-operation in

solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character”, but also seems to set aside the relevant sections of our Declaration of last year, paragraph 21 of which:

“*Emphatically reiterates* the need to undertake, within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade, urgent and concerted international action based on a global strategy aimed at reducing and eliminating as soon as possible the economic gap between developed and developing countries, which is closely and essentially correlated to the strengthening of the security of all nations and the establishment of lasting international peace.”

73. It was only to be expected that the Members of this Organization would, for various practical reasons, have attached in their own national policies more importance to one principle or even to a number of principles in the Declaration than to others which they chose to regard as being of less relevance or less urgency. Nevertheless, it comes as a surprise to my delegation that a number of countries should have given formal expression to their own national preferences by submitting a draft resolution which seeks to have this Committee place particular emphasis on particular provisions of the Declaration without giving due and equal weight to the validity of its other recommendations in the Declaration for contributing to an improvement of the world security situation.

74. Indeed the draft resolution before us appears to differ little from the contents of section II of the draft appeal to all States of the world,<sup>2</sup> which was attached to the letter of 19 September 1969 from the Foreign Minister of the USSR to the Secretary-General. Members will recall that this Committee at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly showed no disposition to endorse what appeared to it to be such a one-sided view of the causes of world insecurity. Now that the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session has adopted by virtually unanimous consent a declaration giving concrete form to the collective wishes of the international community, my delegation sees even less reason for this Committee to endorse an arbitrary selection of the precariously balanced and carefully phrased provisions of resolution 2734 (XXV). My Government would find great difficulty in supporting any partial interpretation or any selective endorsement of its principles. We see no need to tamper with the Declaration and we therefore believe that the General Assembly should do no more this year than reaffirm its attachment to the terms of the Declaration and its determination to abide by its spirit and aims; and we for our part would be prepared to support such a motion.

75. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Australia for the kind words he addressed to the officers of the Committee.

76. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset may I offer my personal congratulations and those of my delegation to the Chairman and to the other officers of the First Committee, Ambassador

Ramphul of Mauritius, and the Rapporteur, Minister Migliuolo of Italy. I am sure that under your guidance our discussions will be handled in an efficient and objective manner.

77. The debate on the strengthening of international security is one which permits Costa Rica to reaffirm its unreserved and whole-hearted support for General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), of which we were a sponsor and in whose elaboration the Latin American Group took an active part. We feel that we should recall that the final text of the Declaration did include all the basic elements of the original draft we had submitted.

78. That resolution is, I think, a valid instrument by which to achieve the objectives of a true system of international security. Unfortunately, only very little has been achieved through it. Yet my delegation does not lose hope and believes that if we tenaciously continue to tackle this subject, adopting resolutions in the General Assembly to keep alive the spirit that gave rise to this resolution originally, the time will come when we will persuade those who bear the major portion of the responsibility for implementing this resolution that it is time to put words aside and to set their hands to the tasks before us all.

79. We wish to stress that there are basic elements without which the effective strengthening of international security cannot be achieved. These are obvious and logical, but I do not think that they lose anything by repetition: general and complete disarmament; just economic relations between wealthy and needy countries; the application of fundamental human rights to all corners of the globe; peaceful settlement of disputes among nations through direct negotiations leading to understanding among the parties.

80. First, general and complete disarmament should, in truth, signify a reduction in military expenditures and a halting of the arms race. It is a shame for humanity that \$200,000 million are squandered annually on military expenditures when in many parts of the world there is misery, want and a need for instruments for development. Famine anywhere in the world, as President Roosevelt said, threatens peace all over the world. We should stress that, as the Secretary-General has told us in his report on the *Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament*,<sup>3</sup> 85 per cent of the military expenditure which I have mentioned is by the great world Powers.

81. Surely it is high time for those nations that have achieved such a concentration of power to realize that at the present time the upward curve of the military and arms race must be stopped, since it is we, the men of this day in history, that have to decide whether we shall leave to mankind useful instruments for survival or for destruction. In the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the subject we are now discussing, the Secretary-General states:

“The world cannot tolerate the continuation of the armaments race and the existence of ever-growing stock-

<sup>2</sup> See *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 103, document A/7903, para. 7.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. 62.IX.1; also reproduced in *Basic Problems of Disarmament* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.I.17).

piles of weapons of mass destruction. In this connexion, let me affirm my belief that the five nuclear Powers have a special responsibility to find a proper forum and then to begin negotiations on both nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapons. Indeed, all nations must strive to agree on world disarmament, nuclear and conventional. Millions as yet unborn will be affected by the success of this enterprise. Neither concern nor rhetoric are sufficient for the task; it is action which is called for.” [A/8431, para. 6]

82. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has proposed a world disarmament conference. My delegation immediately offers its support to such a proposal, hoping that it will be adopted unanimously. However, let that conference not become merely another meeting where rhetoric prevails—let it rather be the beginning of joint action sincerely undertaken for effective results. The great world Powers are mainly responsible for general and complete disarmament to be carried out truly and effectively. Time presses, and we can delay no longer in this matter. In *The Challenge of the Decade*, the Secretary-General again stressed this concern of the United Nations when he writes:

“I do not wish to seem overdramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General that the Members of the United Nations have perhaps 10 years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion and to supply the required momentum to development efforts. If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control.”<sup>4</sup>

83. My small country can state with legitimate pride that it did implement general and complete disarmament many years ago. Mine is one of the very few countries of the world that has no army and makes no military expenditures of any sort. Article 12 of our national Constitution clearly states: “The army as a permanent institution is proscribed. The necessary police force shall be established for the preservation of public order.”

84. We have the civil guard in order to protect citizens; we have rural guards; and we have forest rangers to protect the flora and fauna and I can assure the Committee that we have not felt any need for a military force. Furthermore, in what were formerly army barracks before the prohibition of the army we today have schools, museums and libraries. The benefits derived from this have been great. We have been able to devote to the increase of public services such as schools, housing, hospitals, water works and so forth, that part of the national budget that formerly had been fruitlessly allocated to the maintenance of an army and the purchase of weapons.

85. If the peoples of the earth learn to live in friendly tolerance and learn to settle their conflicts by reasonable and peaceful means, military corps will be unnecessary and weapons will be redundant—and this will be far more true

for nuclear weapons, which have always held mankind in thrall.

86. Secondly, the question of relations between developed and developing countries has also been the focus of our concern for many years. Much has been written regarding the imperative need to achieve better treatment for the developing countries. We find the greatest number of injustices apparent in the field of trade relations, since it is true that today we still stand at the starting point. The industrialized nations still sell us their products at very high prices and purchase our products at very low ones. That makes it certain that we shall remain at the starting point with respect to development, and the same applies to international financing, since conditions governing the relations between the wealthy and the needy countries are not the most just.

87. My delegation must repeat that very little has been done thus far in this field. The fully developed countries as a general rule stubbornly ignore the just claims of the needy countries and, at the same time, in some cases the latter do not wish to understand that the challenge of development calls for a clear-cut domestic decision regarding the necessary change of all obsolescent structures that are obstacles to development.

88. The delegation of Brazil, in its reply to the Secretary-General’s letter of 25 January this year, was very clear. It stated:

“Peace cannot be an instrument for maintaining, or, even worse, increasing the distance separating the poor nations from the rich ones. . . .

“. . . in the opinion of the Brazilian Government, a review and eventual actualization of the Charter of the United Nations and the creation of a mechanism of collective economic security, paralleling that which has existed since 1945 in the political field, in order to extend to all countries, especially the developing ones, protection against all kinds of economic aggression, threat or pressure.” [see A/8431]

89. Costa Rica is entirely in agreement with that important statement made by the delegation of Brazil. We would suggest to the other developing countries as well as the other nations that they support this lucid suggestion. Surely this might be the instrument we are seeking to achieve fair trade relations among all nations. Let us embody this suggestion in whatever resolution this Committee adopts on the subject before us and we shall have made a great contribution towards achieving the goals of universal economic justice.

90. Thirdly, I referred to obstacles in the way of the full achievement of international security, disarmament and world trade. Yet there are other obstacles of equal gravity, that have been a massive barrier to true peace among nations. These are colonialism and *apartheid*, two blemishes on our era which should be totally eradicated in order to ensure the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms by mankind, and also in order to eliminate all types of oppression, tyranny and discrimination wherever they may exist. In these fields also, as well as in those

<sup>4</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.I.26, p. 1.

which I previously mentioned, we shall have to find effective solutions that will once and for all allow us to solve these vexing problems that have been the main object of concern at various sessions of the General Assembly. To these, we must add the effective implementation of the principle of self-determination of peoples as a fundamental norm whereby to achieve true peace in the world.

91. All of us are quite justifiably concerned over the fact that despite the agreement that should exist among peoples, there still exist states of war in different parts of the world. This surely should lead those of us who sincerely believe in peace to make another joint effort to bring together, in understanding, the nations pitted against one another today. In the light of the grave economic and social problems afflicting so much of mankind, no possible justification can be found for the fact that, because of war, a number of brotherly nations of the world are forced to expend in weapons what they should more effectively invest in a solution to their problems, in the struggle against under-development and in obtaining better standards of living for all.

92. Fourthly, General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), in paragraph 1:

*“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.”*

Furthermore, in paragraph 6, the resolution:

*“Urges Member States to make full use and seek improved implementation of the means and methods*

*provided for in the Charter for the exclusively peaceful settlement of any dispute or any situation, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, including negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, good offices including those of the Secretary-General, or other peaceful means of their own choice . . .”*

All of which expresses the desire for understanding among men and the hope that, over and above their disagreements, they be wise enough to find common ground. An end must be put to the cruel war in Viet-Nam; armed conflict between India and Eastern Pakistan must be avoided, and a final and definitive peace in the Middle East must be found by advocating negotiations that will lead to direct understanding among the peoples. It does not appear logical nor appropriate for the parties to an armed conflict to lack an opportunity to meet face to face, to converse, while interests alien to the conflict ensure their own profits and give no thought to the parties concerned or their peoples.

93. As war is pushed away and men begin to understand one another, so we will start a fight to the finish against under-development, and weapons and armies will be replaced by schools and teachers. With this, we mean that we will be replacing all these values by others that are an expression of the rule of intellect over barbarism.

94. In conclusion, I should like to suggest, for the consideration of my colleagues, the profound words of Secretary-General U Thant, when he stated in *The Challenge of a Decade*: “The choice is ours. We must decide the world we want for 1980.”

*The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.*