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Chairman: Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL
(Mauritius).

AGENDA ITEMS 26 AND 34

World Disarmament Conference: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*) (A/8654, A/8668, A/8681, A/8693 and Corr.1, A/8757 and A/8817 and Add.1, A/C.1/1027, A/C.1/L.618 and 629)

Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) (A/8809)

1. The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with the decision taken at our last meeting, the Committee will vote today on draft resolution A/C.1/L.629 relating to agenda item 26. In this connexion, I wish to draw the Committee's attention to the statement by the Secretary-General, contained in document A/C.1/L.630, on the financial implications of the draft resolution, submitted in accordance with rule 155 of the rules of procedure.

2. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would like to add its congratulations to those that have already been extended here to the members of the contact group, in particular to the representative of Zambia, Mr. Lusaka, who presided over that group with such wisdom, and the representative of Argentina, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas, who was doubtless one of the Chairman's most effective collaborators. We address our congratulations to them because of the results they achieved in the negotiations, which made possible the submission of draft resolution A/C.1/L.629, of which the Mexican delegation is one of the many sponsors.

3. Doubtless, a large majority of representatives might have preferred to go further and set up at the present session of the General Assembly a preparatory organ to deal immediately with the concrete subjects which are mentioned in General Assembly resolution 2833 (XXVI) and on which recommendations will have to be submitted in due

course to the General Assembly, so that final decisions can be adopted regarding the world disarmament conference, particularly on the final objectives and provisional agenda of that conference and its site, date and duration. However, if that was not achieved, as is evident from the first four paragraphs of the preamble to the draft resolution we have at least been able to reaffirm once again the responsibility of the United Nations on the question of disarmament, the vital interest of all peoples of the world in the success of negotiations on the subject, the duty of all States to exert further efforts for the adoption of effective disarmament measures, and particularly nuclear disarmament, and also the conviction that a world disarmament conference could promote and facilitate the realization of such aims. But that is not all, for conclusions have also been arrived at that obviously constitute progress, although modest, since in operative paragraph 1 the Governments of all States are invited to "exert further efforts with a view to creating adequate conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference at an appropriate time" and in paragraph 2 the necessity is expressed of setting up a special committee to examine all the views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

4. We trust that the work which the special committee will carry out will make it easier for us to adopt a favourable decision next year on the convening of a world disarmament conference and, with general agreement, to set up a preparatory body to that end.

5. Before concluding, and with regard to the fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs, I should like to recall what Mr. Lusaka told us at the 1897th meeting, when he introduced draft resolution A/C.1/L.629 to the First Committee:

"The meaning of the next two paragraphs is clear and therefore needs no further explanation. I would, however, wish to mention that they deal with the conditions of security to which all States legitimately aspire. The sponsors believe that these paragraphs do not prejudice the various views on this fundamental aspect of international politics. The wording has been very carefully chosen in order to register the non-controversial fact that security is an element always linked to disarmament, for we believe that it is useless to talk of *détente* without including the question of disarmament." [1897th meeting, para. 62.]

6. The interpretation that my delegation attaches to those paragraphs—and it is entirely in conformity with that of Mr. Lusaka—leads us to believe that there is nothing in

them that might be deemed incompatible with our interpretation. We feel that these paragraphs should be viewed in the light of what was established in the principles of the comprehensive disarmament programme circulated in 1970.¹ The principle in question reads as follows: "The comprehensive programme is correlated with other United Nations programmes for peace-keeping and international security". And then the part which is most relevant to the statement I am making, namely "Progress in the former should not, however, be made dependent on progress in the latter and vice-versa."

7. Mr. NOUAMA (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Ivory Coast did not take part in the general debate on this agenda item. Therefore, I should like to set forth the position of the Ivory Coast on this important item submitted by the Soviet delegation at the twenty-sixth session.

8. Like all other Member States, the Ivory Coast has always spoken out in favour of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. To that end we have always given our full support and encouragement to all initiatives taken here and there, and particularly within the framework of the United Nations, to achieve an agreement in this field in order to establish greater peace and security for all, in progress and justice.

9. Therefore, we have consistently voted in favour of the majority of the resolutions adopted in this Committee on the problems of general and complete disarmament and related questions. Furthermore, we have adhered to the Moscow Treaty of 5 August 1963 banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water and the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We hope to take the same action on the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof and on the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, of 16 December 1971. We were gratified also at the bilateral negotiations undertaken by the Soviet Union and the United States within the framework of the SALT talks, which led to the conclusion by the two super-Powers in May 1972 of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, which they expect to transform into a permanent agreement at a later time [see A/C.1/1026]. We consider these treaties or agreements as positive measures and important steps along the difficult road that will lead us to our distant—but very noble—objective.

10. The progress achieved thus far in this field must not blind us to the fact that the arms race continues inexorably and that we have not as yet succeeded in braking or reversing it. Therefore, we must not relax our vigilance, but rather must redouble our efforts to reach a general agreement acceptable to all, an agreement which, we dare to hope, will allow us to free part of the enormous sums

devoted yearly to armaments for the fight against the scourges of our day and to bring greater well-being to the large majority of the peoples that is still a victim.

11. It is in that spirit that we welcome the Soviet initiative concerning the convening of a world disarmament conference. That conference can give an impetus to our efforts and allow us to make further progress in the field of the control of armaments and of disarmament, obviously on condition that the conference is carefully prepared for and that precise but not limited objectives are set. While we do not underestimate the value of bilateral or other talks among the great Powers in a field where their co-operation or agreement is indispensable, it is in the interest of all mankind for all States to be associated in such an undertaking. We believe that the United Nations, which is coming close to universality, is the most appropriate framework within which such a conference should be held, and it is therefore under its aegis that the conference should take place. These results should be submitted to the General Assembly for consideration and endorsement.

12. The development of the international situation allows us to believe that there is no longer any reason for the reservations which may have been entered in this matter. We believe that the conference should consider all the problems relating to general and complete disarmament in all its aspects, political, military, economic and social, so as to adopt effective and reasonably feasible measures that would be applied by all States and primarily by the nuclear Powers that hold the key to the solution of these problems. The success of such a conference presupposes first of all the participation of all States, and particularly all the nuclear Powers, regardless of any possible divergencies that may exist among them regarding the approach to one aspect or another of the problem of disarmament. The refusal of a single one of these great Powers to participate in the conference would deprive it of much of its significance and would, to a large extent, limit the scope of its possible results. In the light of the position adopted in this matter by certain Powers, we feel that we should act with prudence and realism and, as far as possible, avoid adopting hasty decisions which might deprive us of their participation.

13. We should encourage all that might bring the nuclear Powers together and set aside what might divide them in order to create conditions conducive to their participation, since the latter is imperative if we truly wish to do useful work and ensure success for the conference. In this matter we share the opinion of those who feel that it would be useful to entrust a special committee with examining the views and suggestions put forward by governments on the problem in order to define the common denominators which might encourage the convening of a world disarmament conference at an appropriate time. The General Assembly, in the light of the conclusions arrived at in the committee, could pronounce itself on the timeliness of convening the conference and establish a preparatory committee to ensure its success.

14. However, we do not have many illusions regarding the results of such a conference in view of the complexity of the problem and the interests at stake. It is for this reason that we believe that we have everything to gain and nothing

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 93 and 94, document A/8191, sect. II, para. 6.

to lose by taking whatever time is necessary to carry out preparatory work and to try to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable points of view and thus ensure the effective participation of all States, particularly of the nuclear-weapon States. We venture to hope that these last will rise to their responsibilities and bring their precious and indispensable co-operation to the gradual achievement of our dream, a peaceful and fraternal world.

15. In the light of these comments, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/L.629, which was introduced by the representative of Zambia [1897th meeting].

16. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote.

17. Mr. NISHIBORI (Japan): I should like to explain briefly the Japanese position on draft resolution A/C.1/L.629. In keeping with our views on the question of a world disarmament conference, as clearly expressed both in our memorandum to the Secretary-General in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2833 (XXVI) and in my general statement at the 1877th meeting, the Japanese delegation considers that the holding of a world disarmament conference could be a useful instrument to give impetus to disarmament negotiations, provided that the participation of all the nuclear-weapon States was ensured. It would also be essential, as I said in my statement, to ensure the active participation of the five nuclear Powers from the outset in the preparatory work.

18. Many views on this question have been expressed in this Committee, and we are well aware that conflicting opinions still prevail among the five nuclear-weapon States. It is, however, safe to say that the overwhelming majority of States share the basic view that the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, both in a world disarmament conference and in its preparatory work, is a necessary condition for holding such a conference and for ensuring its success.

19. We understand that draft resolution A/C.1/L.629 was the product of the reconciling of different positions among various States. Although this draft resolution does not explicitly ensure the participation of the five nuclear Powers either in a special committee or in a world disarmament conference, my delegation takes note of the fact that, as indicated in Mr. Lusaka's lucid introduction of the draft resolution, its sponsors are unanimously agreed that the participation of the five nuclear-weapon States is essential in order to ensure the success of the work entrusted to the special committee.

20. We also attach especial importance to and take particular note of Mr. Lusaka's remarks to the effect that this is a procedural resolution, that the special committee will not adopt decisions or recommendations of any kind and that its report to the General Assembly will be adopted on the basis of consensus.

21. In these circumstances my delegation is going to cast its vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. However, our vote in favour should in no way be interpreted as prejudicing the final position of the Japanese

Government on the question of whether or when a world disarmament conference will be held.

22. Furthermore, while casting our affirmative vote on the draft resolution, my delegation considers it to be of the utmost importance that the participation of all the five nuclear-weapon States shall have been secured when the special committee embarks upon its work.

23. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): In the written comments we addressed to the Secretary-General on the question of a world disarmament conference we indicated that Belgium had an open mind concerning the preparatory procedure for such a conference. However, we added "if a preparatory committee were to be established, it would be essential that all the major military Powers should be represented in it" [see A/8817]. In referring to the major military Powers we had in mind, of course, the five nuclear Powers.

24. In draft resolution A/C.1/L.629 we find a proposal which is somewhat different in nature. First of all, we should like to say that we have followed with sympathy the efforts made by the non-aligned countries to seek ways that would make it possible to start a dialogue between the nuclear Powers. We also express our gratitude to the representative of Zambia, Mr. Lusaka, for having given us clarifications and further valid information concerning the general structure of the draft [1897th meeting].

25. In our general statement of 30 October in this Committee we already indicated that "the delegation of Belgium would be happy to associate itself with those efforts and we hope that, as happened last year in the plenary meeting, the Committee will be able to arrive at a consensus which will reflect our general concern" [1878th meeting, para. 15]. Further, we stated that "our delegation will be prepared to associate itself with any appeal or initiative that can meet with the agreement of those Powers and promote dialogue and consultation among them". [Ibid., para. 17.]

26. It is this appeal and this initiative that we now witness in the case of draft resolution A/C.1/L.629, which certainly constitutes the maximum of what in fact can be done in the present circumstances and at the stage reached in our work. This initiative, of course, will be able to reach its fullest scope only when all the nuclear Powers have agreed to contribute to the work of the Committee, and we are bound to acknowledge that, as far as this point is concerned, we are not entirely satisfied. Be that as it may, at the present stage of our work Belgium will vote in favour of this draft resolution. It should be interpreted both as an encouragement to those who have spared no efforts to initiate the long-awaited dialogue and as an indication of the interest Belgium has always had since the United Nations began in the efforts that we have been making, frequently under difficult conditions, to achieve disarmament.

27. The CHAIRMAN: There being no more speakers, I shall now put to the vote draft resolution A/C.1/L.629 sponsored by 59 Powers. A roll-call vote has been requested by the delegation of Zambia.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Barbados, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 111 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

28. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

29. Mr. HAINWORTH (United Kingdom): I should like to make two points in explanation of the vote I have just cast in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/L.629. Both points are related to the statement made by the representative of Zambia, Mr. Lusaka, when he introduced the draft resolution on 20 November on behalf of its sponsors. He said then: "... it is the unanimous view of the sponsors of the draft resolution that the participation of the five nuclear-weapon States is essential in order to ensure the success of the work which will be entrusted to the special committee". [1897th meeting, para. 66.]

30. In the first place, I wish to put on record that the United Kingdom, as one of the five nuclear-weapon States, is willing to serve on the special committee to be established under the terms of this resolution as soon as the other nuclear-weapon States are willing to do so. Secondly, it is the view of my Government—and I think implicit in all I have heard from the sponsors about the importance of the eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs—that the special committee should be convened only when the President of the General Assembly has been informed by all the five Member States in question that they are ready to take their seats at the table.

31. Mr. BARTON (Canada): I should like to put on record an explanation of the Canadian vote in favour of this draft

resolution in order to ensure that our position on this issue is clearly understood. In the general statement on disarmament which I made to this Committee on 26 October I reiterated the Canadian view that we could see value in convening "a world disarmament conference if there were good reason to believe that it could make a positive contribution to the achievement of agreements on arms limitation" [1875th meeting, para. 46].

32. We continue to believe now, as we have since this item was introduced last year, that in order to give such promise it would be essential for the conference to have the support of most of the nations of the world, and in particular of the five nuclear Powers. We have also stressed the necessity of careful preparation for any such conference.

33. The draft resolution we have just adopted calls for the establishment of a special committee made up of 35 Member States. In our view, the President, in appointing States to the special committee, should take carefully into account the experience, demonstrated interested and representative nature of the States now active in arms control and disarmament negotiations, and on that basis Canada would expect the States members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to be invited to participate if and when the special committee is established.

34. In considering my delegation's vote, we took particular note of three points dealt with in the statement of the representative of Zambia when he introduced the draft resolution. First, he stated that it was the unanimous view of the sponsors that the participation of the five nuclear-weapon States was essential in order to ensure the success of the work that would be entrusted to the committee. We share that view, and would add that we question the wisdom of any efforts to have the committee attempt to proceed with its work until that participation is assured. Secondly, the representative of Zambia stated that the committee will not adopt decisions or recommendations of any kind, but will simply adopt a report to the General Assembly on the basis of consensus with no question of majority votes. That is, of course, also stated in the draft resolution. My delegation endorses that approach. Thirdly, the representative of Zambia drew attention to the fact that the terms of the draft resolution provide that the Committee may also deal with what he called related problems. My delegation is not certain just what is comprehended by that term, but in any event it is our assumption that any items dealt with under this heading would also be subject to the principle of consensus, with no attempt to adopt decisions or recommendations.

35. Mr. GIUFFRIDA (Italy): In his statement at the 1882nd meeting the head of the Italian delegation, Mr. Piero Vinci, stressed the need to carry on consultations in the spirit of accommodation that has so often reigned in this Committee in order to find a generally acceptable solution for our debate on the world disarmament conference. We note with satisfaction that the draft resolution already approved reflects the willingness of its sponsors to proceed on the way of co-operation and mutual understanding, as we had suggested. We therefore voted in favour of the draft resolution. Without prejudging the position of the various Governments on the merits of the problem, we believe it will serve the purpose of keeping alive the idea of

the world disarmament conference, to which, as Mr. Vinci pointed out, no delegation has objected in principle.

36. The establishment of the special committee provided for in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution represents a step forward in relation to resolution 2833 (XXVI), adopted at the last session. It is a constructive approach, in our view, to base its mandate on the principle of consensus. It is also the considered opinion of our delegation that the participation of nuclear and other major Powers would undoubtedly contribute to the effectiveness of that body, and we are confident that the President of the General Assembly, in appointing its members in accordance with operative paragraph 3, will give careful consideration to the views and suggestions expressed in this connexion by the majority of the Assembly.

37. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): In briefly explaining Austria's vote on the draft resolution concerning a world disarmament conference just adopted, let me first of all express my delegation's gratitude to the group of sponsors, and in particular to Mr. Lusaka of Zambia and Mr. Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina, for their successful efforts in undertaking the extremely difficult task of working out a compromise acceptable to a wide majority, as the list of more than 50 sponsors and the vote taken indicate. We wish to congratulate them sincerely on their success.

38. It lies in the nature of compromise that it cannot provide complete satisfaction for everyone, but at the same time the proposal before us has, in our opinion, the undisputable essential quality of providing the means—in our opinion, efficient and appropriate means—to meet the desire expressed here by so many delegations, including my own, to deploy increased efforts directed at world-wide disarmament in the widest possible sense and with the widest possible participation. It has been repeated many times in this Committee that the participation of nuclear Powers in the world disarmament conference and, consequently, in any preparatory steps towards that conference is indispensable.

39. I should like to say that in voting for a proposal providing for the establishment of the special committee, it is our sincere hope that all the nuclear Powers will find it possible eventually to participate at as early a stage as possible in the work of the proposed committee.

40. For its part, Austria is ready to respond in a positive way should it be called upon to join its efforts with other countries to work for the attainment of the goals expressed in draft resolution A/C.1/L.629.

41. Mr. ROSCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation regards as positive the adoption of the draft resolution sponsored by 50 delegations on the world disarmament conference, inasmuch as that text is a further development of the decision taken at the last session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2833 (XXVI)*].

42. The draft resolution just adopted by the First Committee provides for the implementation of practical measures aimed at the implementation of the convening of

a world conference on disarmament. Therein lies the principal significance of the resolution in question.

43. As will be seen from the reply of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, to the Secretary-General on 14 August [*A/8757*], as also from his statement in the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly on 26 September [*2040th plenary meeting*], the Soviet Union has firmly been in favour of taking concrete steps to implement the resolution adopted at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly approving the proposal for the holding of a world forum of States on disarmament. The Soviet Union thanks all the States that supported its position on the question of the convening of a world conference on disarmament and have contributed to the adoption of a positive decision in this sphere at the present session of the General Assembly.

44. The Soviet delegation wishes especially to emphasize the active role of the non-aligned countries in the process of the elaboration of such a positive decision. In spite of the objections of certain delegations, the non-aligned countries, pursuant to the resolutions of conferences held by those States, and in particular the Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of those countries held in August 1972, undertook energetic efforts in favour of the adoption by the Assembly of the resolution which opens the way to the holding of a conference on disarmament.

45. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, with the adoption of the resolution at the present session of the General Assembly we are entering a new important stage in the preparation for the world disarmament conference. The preparatory work for that conference must be done by the special committee which will be convened in accordance with the provisions of the draft resolution adopted today.

46. In view of that fact the membership of the special committee, which will include the representatives of 35 States, has great significance. In the letter to which I have already referred from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR to the Secretary-General, as well as in the statements of the Soviet delegation and a whole series of other delegations at the present session of the General Assembly, the position of the countries concerned regarding the membership of the special committee has already been expressed. Many delegations are in favour of the special committee being composed of the five nuclear Powers, which are permanent members of the Security Council; the members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, and eight other States to be selected on the basis of strict compliance with the principle of equitable geographical and political distribution.

47. The participation of members of the Committee on Disarmament in the work of the special committee will heighten its effectiveness inasmuch as it will ensure participation of States which have accumulated considerable experience during the talks on disarmament. The inclusion in the membership of the special committee of eight other States will strengthen the representative character of that organ.

48. The Soviet delegation considers that the special committee has before it an important and clearly defined

task: to ensure the preparation, convening and holding of a world disarmament conference. In view of that, the work of that organ, as well as the holding of the world conference, should not, in our opinion, entail any difficulties for the continued success of the talks of existing disarmament organs, whatever their membership may be, bilateral or multilateral. In this respect, we wish to emphasize that the Soviet Union will continue to make its constructive contribution to the work of the Committee on Disarmament, to which it attaches great significance.

49. Mr. CHEN (China) (*translation from Chinese*): After the voting on the draft resolution on the world disarmament conference, the Chinese delegation would like to make the following comments. First, both in the General Assembly and in the First Committee, the Chinese delegation has repeatedly stated the Chinese Government's position and views on the question of disarmament. In our opinion, if there is to be disarmament, it must be genuine disarmament, and the one or two super-Powers must not be allowed to use the slogan of disarmament to deceive the people of various countries.

50. If a world disarmament conference is to be convened, it must help promote the struggle of the people of various countries against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, it must be truly conducive to world peace, and it must not allow the one or two super-Powers to carry out arms expansion and war preparations under the name of disarmament. Both past experience and the present state of affairs tell us that the high-sounding talk about general and complete disarmament over the past decade and more has resulted in the general and complete arms expansion by the two super-Powers, and in all the small and medium-sized countries still being constantly under threat. The disarmament fraud of the one or two super-Powers should not be allowed to continue.

51. Secondly, in the opinion of the Chinese delegation, in order not to turn the world disarmament conference into a kind of deceptive empty talk, and to enable it truly to make a start and proceed fruitfully, a clear objective must be set and the necessary conditions created; that is, all nuclear countries, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States, which possess the greatest amount of nuclear weapons, must first of all undertake unequivocal obligations not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances, not only against each other, but, more importantly, against the non-nuclear countries; they must withdraw all armed forces, including missile and nuclear armed forces, from abroad, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territory of other countries. Only thus can there be a guarantee for all countries, big and small, to participate, on an equal basis and free from any threat, in the discussion and settlement of such major questions as the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional arms. If the two super-Powers have no intention of doing even these elementary things, while some of them still keep on talking about convening a world disarmament conference and making preparations for it, their talk is not worth a penny, and that only shows that they harbour ulterior motives. There is an old Chinese saying which goes like this: "Hear their words and judge them by their words." The Chinese delegation categorically

cannot agree to, nor will it ever participate in, such a world disarmament conference and its preparatory work.

52. Thirdly, the Chinese Government fully understands the good intention of many countries upholding peace and justice which oppose the super-Powers' arms race and demand their disarmament, and we are ready to work together with them to promote the convening and smooth progress of a true world disarmament conference. But historical experience merits attention, and we should not be under fond illusions. In view of the fact that the draft resolution which has been voted upon reflects the efforts made by many small and medium-sized peace-loving countries, we are ready to support it. Just as the Chinese delegation has stated many times during the consultations on the draft resolution, although China will not participate in the special committee referred to therein, the Chinese delegation can agree to maintain contact with the special committee and exchange views on the question of disarmament.

53. After voting for the draft resolution, the Chinese delegation makes this statement and reservation.

54. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): In voting for draft resolution A/C.1/L.629, my delegation took into account certain interpretations of the draft put forward on behalf of the sponsors by the representative of Zambia.

55. When he introduced this draft during the 1897th meeting of the Committee the representative of Zambia stated that the sponsors unanimously shared the view that the participation of the five nuclear-weapon States would be essential in order to ensure the success of the work of the special committee provided for in operative paragraph 3. My delegation shares this view. In fact, we would go so far as to state that an attempt to convene the special committee on any basis other than that of the participation of all the nuclear Powers would serve no useful purpose.

56. Despite this overwhelming expression of support for the establishment of a special committee, I am bound to say that some of the explanations of position we have heard in this debate are not conducive to an attitude of confidence that the special committee will be able to make early or significant progress with its task.

57. The representative of Zambia also told us that the special committee would not adopt any decisions or recommendations of any kind; that it would merely present a report to the General Assembly and that this report would itself be adopted by consensus. My delegation would find it difficult to accept any other procedure.

58. Finally, my delegation hopes that the States appointed to the special committee will undertake their difficult task with as broad a vision as possible of the complex pressures that combine to make disarmament a compelling, urgent and vital necessity for every Member of this Organization.

59. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution that has just been adopted I should like to thank all the representatives in the First Committee for the overwhelming support they gave to this text. It is indeed an expression of concern among all of us that the

subject of a world disarmament conference should be kept alive. In this connexion, therefore, and on behalf of the sponsors, we should like to express our gratitude to all those who share our view.

60. We have heard statements expressing different positions regarding the world disarmament conference, but I think we are heartened by the fact that everyone is aware of the implications if we do not keep this subject alive all the time. It is the hope of the sponsors of the draft resolution which has just been adopted that the consultations held by the President of the General Assembly will have fruitful results and that the full participation of the five nuclear Powers and others will be realized. I am aware of the difficult job that the President of the General Assembly is going to have, but I am sure that with full co-operation from all delegations and Governments our aims will be achieved.

61. As I have said in my earlier statements, the report which will be provided at the end of the work of the special committee will be merely a report of views and expressions of the different delegations. It will not be binding at all and it is our hope that all those concerned—in this case all Member States—will indeed express their views or their positions again and contribute to the success of the special committee.

62. Having said that, I should like to reiterate the gratitude of the sponsors for the kind words that representatives have said about them and also for the kind words they have said about the representative of Argentina and me.

63. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was among the first to support the idea, the principle of holding a world disarmament conference. We were therefore gratified at the vote that has just taken place. Our position on the holding and preparation of the conference was made clear in the course of the general debate on disarmament in the First Committee [*1882nd meeting*] and I shall not go into it again.

64. The draft resolution that we have just adopted is obviously the result of a compromise. It is now up to us to make it a reality.

AGENDA ITEM 35 (*continued*)

Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General (A/8661, A/8665 and Corr.1, A/8673, A/8680, A/8749, A/8775 and Add.1-3, A/C.1/1024, A/C.1/L.627)

65. Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia): The questions relating to the strengthening of world peace and security have to be viewed, justly and necessarily, as issues of vital and essential importance which directly concern all mankind and all peoples. If, at the twenty-seventh session, the General Assembly is considering those questions anew as a part of its agenda, then this is evidence of the fact that the United Nations has increasingly and consistently been making efforts to implement the main postulates of the Charter with a view to turning the strengthening of world peace and international security, as well as the developing

of friendly relations among peoples, into a generally recognized principle of international relations. The questions of peace and international security have also been subjects of interest on the part of the United Nations in the past. The Czechoslovak delegation is, however, of the opinion that a turning-point in that direction was noted precisely at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly when the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

66. At the twenty-sixth session the General Assembly extended and widened certain principles proclaimed in the Declaration by adopting the resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2880 (XXVI)*]. With the adoption of the resolutions I have mentioned, a certain success has undoubtedly been achieved in the efforts of progressive countries to strengthen universal peace and international security. In spite of that, however, it must be borne in mind that those efforts have to be continued. Principles governing the relations between States, which are explicitly and concretely formulated in those documents and which proceed from the spirit of the Charter, would, assuming respect for them on the part of all States, create a sufficient guarantee of peace and tranquillity in all continents. The main sense of our further deliberations lies in objectively assessing whether and to what extent those significant documents are followed up in international relations, and to what extent they are respected by individual States Members of the United Nations in their relations with other countries, particularly the weaker ones.

67. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which consistently proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist principles in its ideology and practice in all spheres of the life of society, is interested to the highest degree in the peaceful development of the world, free of wars. That is precisely why we have approached the current session of the General Assembly with a feeling of high responsibility and the hope that, through the joint efforts of all delegations which wish responsibility to fulfil the mandates entrusted to them by their peace-loving nations, we shall achieve further progress at this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

68. In the course of the current session much has been said on other occasions about the contemporary questions of world peace and security. It is in connexion with deliberations on ensuring international security that we become best aware of all the positive developments which have recently occurred in the world. Yet we have also heard views to the effect that nothing positive has in fact been done, that everything is only "superficial", "temporary" and "illusory".

69. There is no doubt that we cannot describe as illusory the treaty recently concluded between the two German States, striven for over a period of many years. Undoubtedly we may not so describe the widening of contacts in the spheres of trade and economy among countries with different social systems. It is indisputable that we may not underrate the new atmosphere in relations among peoples, where matter-of-fact arguments prevail in an effort to resolve conflicts by peaceful means rather than by attacks, invective and distrust, as was the case previously.

70. One would think that those who say that everything achieved so far is superficial and temporary would be glad if the positive were indeed only temporary. Yet we believe that attempts designed to stop the growing understanding and co-operation will be unsuccessful, and that the people of the entire world will soon recognize who has the more sincere interest in their well-being and who, on the contrary, would like to fish in the troubled waters of revived crises and disputes.

71. We wish to reiterate that when speaking about the positive we do not ignore matters which still afflict the world. We do not forget the conflict in Indo-China, where barbaric bombing is still continuing in spite of the increasingly numerous reports to the effect that the war there is drawing to a close and that peace is only a short time away. We wish that this might really be so. Still, we cannot permit the ruthless and merciless destruction of human lives and values under the cover of sweet words about peace.

72. We do not either, close our eyes to what is happening in the Near and Middle East. In that region, too, the ruthless killing of innocent people is continuing under various pretexts, among them that of "retaliatory measures"—words which are now so frequently used by Israel and which the Czechoslovak people remember all too well from the time of the Nazi occupation, when they were used as an excuse for annihilating the Slavic civilian populations of the east European countries occupied by the Nazis. We concur with the view expressed by the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic in connexion with the item of our agenda now under discussion that "unless the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations are made to operate effectively [in this very region], the whole spirit and organization of the United Nations would be defeated." [See A/8775.]

73. We are also well aware that without the definite resolution of colonial issues and the final victory in their national liberation struggle of all peoples oppressed by colonialism we cannot be satisfied with the present world situation.

74. The socialist States—in co-operation with certain progressive countries of the third world and certain Western countries whose foreign policy proceeds from a realistic understanding of world developments—counter the aggressive imperialist policy by a policy of active defence of peace and strengthening of international security. The peace-loving policy of the socialist countries, the policy of friendship and co-operation with all peoples, which represents the general line of their foreign relations, is firmly enshrined in the documents of Congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the individual socialist countries. Resolutions and conclusions of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia undoubtedly provide sufficient evidence in that respect.

75. This policy of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems is being increasingly recognized throughout the world as the sole possible rational basis for international relations in the present period. That peace-

loving policy has had concrete results in certain advances and relaxations in the development of international relations, in better contacts in the spheres of policy, economy and culture, and in the ever broader resistance encountered by aggressors as a consequence of their hazardous political and military adventures.

76. In that connexion I deem it necessary to mention the ever growing influence of the non-aligned countries and the countries of the third world on the shaping of world policy and the positive forming of world relations. I have in mind the conferences at Rabat² and Georgetown,³ which took place recently and which adopted significant resolutions and conclusions. Both conferences provide in essence further evidence of the fact that the developing and non-aligned countries have assumed—and will increasingly assume in the future—a significant role and important positions in world developments, as they are entitled to do. That is in harmony with the logics of the development of our society that all peoples in the world, irrespective of their race, colour or religion, should be freed from the national and social oppression and injustice forced upon them over a long period in history by the capitalist colonial system and that they should be given the opportunity to take a full part in creating a new world, a world more just to all peoples.

77. What is now at stake is how to close those unhappy chapters in the history of world developments through our joint efforts; how to ensure that nothing like that happens again. The communications received from Member States pursuant to resolution 2880 (XXVI) [A/8775 and Add.1-3] regarding the means they have adopted in pursuance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, indicate that a number of countries take a realistic and similar position on those questions.

78. One of the problems at the forefront of the deliberations on ensuring better international security consists in questions related to regional security systems. The greatest progress in the work of the creation of a system of security and co-operation has recently been made mainly in Europe. That is all the more important since it is in Europe that the two different social systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, confront one another; it was in Europe that in the past there originated numerous military conflicts which twice in the history of mankind became world conflicts; and it is in Europe that after a long period of time a number of problems giving rise to conflict are being solved, problems which for a long time seemed to be insoluble. The conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held in Prague in January of this year, provided a clear line with respect to negotiations in that direction.

79. Today when the multilateral preparations for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have started in Helsinki, where they have found practical expression, it is possible to assess fully the far-reaching and

² Ninth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Rabat, from 12 to 15 February 1972.

³ Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 12 August 1972.

consistent policy which will enable all peoples in Europe, as well as in the United States and Canada, to take their places at a conference table in Helsinki and to contribute through their efforts to turning the European conference into an act of historic significance. We in Czechoslovakia are sincerely interested in the full success of that conference.

80. Permit me to express, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, our deep respect to the Government of Finland and our thanks for its remarkable initiative and the efforts it has been exerting during the whole course of the preparations for the conference, thus contributing to its convening. The many years of initiative by the socialist States aimed at decreasing tension and eliminating the remnants of the Second World War, as well as the cold war, are thus producing tangible results.

81. In the statement by the Government of the German Democratic Republic of 25 October 1972 on questions relating to disarmament and arms limitation,⁴ it is rightly stated that the convening of that conference "holds out further prospects that the relations among the European States, irrespective of their differing social orders, can be shaped on a peaceful basis and that trustful co-operation can be developed between them."

82. In our opinion, the General Assembly should promote all the trends which aim at the creation of a system of security and co-operation in the entire world. Europe has already taken an evident step forward. The system of collective security would, no doubt, be of assistance also in the largest continent, Asia, which has not enjoyed peace over many decades, and where weapons still speak and people are still being killed by imperialist aggression.

83. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic expressed our opinion also when it pointed out, in the communication which it sent pursuant to resolution 2880 (XXVI), that:

"the creation of a collective system of security in Asia based on such fundamental principles as renunciation of the use of force, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of frontiers, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, would be the most practical and dependable way of achieving the goal of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems in Asia." [See A/8775.]

84. The proposals of the Government of the USSR submitted at the previous session of the General Assembly on the convening of a world disarmament conference and its proposals put before the current session of the General Assembly on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons are closely related to the promotion of international security. The Czechoslovak Government has expressed its views on those questions on other occasions.

85. We deem it necessary to mention in this context that our efforts in that respect are closely followed by endeavours to secure the universality of our Organization. The

Government of India was right when it stated in its communication that the continued exclusion of important States from membership of the United Nations can only detract from and defeat the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the foremost of which is the maintenance of international security. We regret that membership of our Organization is being denied to the eighth largest country in the world, Bangladesh. We believe that soon both German States will take their places among us at conference tables and that other countries also which so far are not Members of our Organization will be admitted to membership before long.

86. All those efforts that we have mentioned here are exerted in an endeavour to implement the Charter of the United Nations. We share with the Government of India the view expressed in its reply that the Charter, as a means for the maintenance of international peace and security, must be viewed in its totality. Within the framework of the Charter—and, of course, of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security—systematic attempts must be made continuously to work out new ideas and to explore new areas of co-operation with a view to maintaining international peace and security and to solving existing problems.

87. We are pleased that in a joint communiqué from such important negotiations as the meetings of the representatives of the Heads of State of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America in Moscow in May 1972 both sides have stated that they will strive to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of strict observance of the Charter.

88. Also, the statement on international security and disarmament, adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held at Georgetown, Guyana, in August 1972, states in paragraph 2 that:

"International security can only be based on the strict observance of the principles and purposes of the Charter, and it is imperative that existing conflicts and situations likely to endanger international peace and security be resolved in accordance with these principles and purposes, and in keeping with the Declaration."

89. The Charter provides sufficient possibilities for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations. This demands, however, that we do away with violations of the Charter and that we in the United Nations finally get rid of the views which remain here from the cold-war period. We must also prevent all attempts, made under any pretext and adorned perhaps with pseudo-revolutionary slogans, to reintroduce the practices of the cold war into the United Nations. Efforts to review the Charter and its provisions instead of strictly observing and implementing those provisions in practice and in a proper spirit would serve no purpose either.

90. On the assumption that States, and particularly great Powers and the permanent members of the Security Council, will prove their goodwill and genuine interest in the maintenance of peace, it will be possible to make greater use of the peaceful means provided for in the Charter with a view to settling international disputes.

⁴ See A/C.1/1025.

91. Permit me to point out in this connexion that this responsibility is explicitly conferred on the members of the Security Council in a special article—and not without reason. They, in particular, must proceed in cohesion and not in collision, so that peace and security in the world are ensured. That, of course, does not relieve other Members of the United Nations—large, medium-sized and small—of their responsibility; they must all be equally interested in peace for their countries and for the whole of mankind, and they must join in an effort to secure it in a unified way, disregarding narrow, nationalist interests and tendencies.

92. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue firmly to support these efforts and it will actively contribute to their success.

93. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, in attributing great significance to the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627 on this item.

94. The historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly two years ago constitutes a concrete programme which, in supporting and enriching the fundamental principles of the United Nations, concentrates the attention of the international community upon the cardinal problems of modern times and outlines the basic ways for strengthening peace and the security of peoples. The implementation of that Declaration is entirely in accord with the vital interests of all peoples, the interest of the strengthening of good-neighbourly relations, mutual understanding and trust between States.

95. The Mongolian People's Republic has stated its point of view in detail on the question of the implementation of this Declaration in its reply to the Secretary-General [*see A/8775*].

96. The consideration of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is, in the opinion of our delegation, particularly relevant today in view of the new, positive trends in the international arena. We would wish to emphasize that the times and life itself confirm the validity of the ideas and principles that have been built into the Declaration. Thanks to the active and consistent foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community and the efforts of other peace-loving forces, significant and positive transformations are taking place towards the relaxation of international tensions and the establishment of constructive collaboration between States based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

97. In our opinion, a favourable influence on the whole international atmosphere has been exerted by such events as the entry into force of the Treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland which confirm the inviolability of the post-war borders of Europe. These Treaties and the conclusion of the four-Power agreement on West Berlin, as well as the recent initialling of the Treaty on the basis for relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic

of Germany, have laid the foundation for the further improvement of the political climate on that continent.

98. The Mongolian People's Republic considers that the convening of a European conference on questions of security and co-operation, the practical preparation for which have already been begun in Helsinki, would have great significance for the further normalization of relations between the States of that region.

99. An event of special significance and importance in the relaxation of international tensions has been the results of the fruitful Soviet-American summit talks.

100. I shall not enumerate all the facts pointing to the relaxation of the political atmosphere, but all this indicates that, with goodwill and efforts at mutual understanding, with compliance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-use of force in the solution of controversial questions, it is possible to achieve a political settlement of even the most complex problems in inter-State relations.

101. We consider that there now exist favourable conditions for implementing decisions already adopted by the United Nations to strengthen international security and for taking further steps in this general direction. The socialist countries, basing themselves on the Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of the international situation, have always been the initiators of consideration in the United Nations of the most topical problems relating to the safeguarding of international peace and security.

102. In this connexion my delegation would wish to refer to the important significance of the recent initiative of the Soviet Union, which proposed for consideration at the present session of the General Assembly the item on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.⁵ The new Soviet initiative is a further development of the idea and spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, whose principal content lies in the principle of the non-use of force in international relations and the settlement of disputes between States by peaceful means.

103. As I have already emphasized in my statement in the General Assembly, in the Soviet proposal the question of the non-use of force is placed for the first time on a concrete and practical plane and its intimately related to the prohibition of the means of carrying out aggressive acts—in the first instance, the use of nuclear weapons. The implementation of this proposal would be an important step towards avoiding thermonuclear war and limiting the conventional as well as the nuclear-arms race, and would make it possible to direct the additional funds and means towards creative purposes and improving the welfare of peoples.

104. The positive transformations in the international arena make it possible to hope that other complex problems will be settled also in the interests of the peace and the security of peoples. However, there are no grounds for complacency. In spite of the fact that the enemies of

⁵ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes, agenda item 25, document A/8793.

peace are obliged to adapt themselves to the change in the relation of forces on the world arena, this does not mean that imperialism has ceased to be aggressive. Those who find the improvement in the international situation not to their liking are not idle; they are trying to poison the international atmosphere by every means possible, to reduce to naught the positive trends that have emerged and to sow fear and distrust among peoples by resorting to slander and insinuation. The peace-loving peoples have to exert efforts to surmount the obstacles that are created by the opponents of the relaxation of tension.

105. The Mongolian delegation considers that one of the most important conditions for the strengthening of international security is the liquidation of existing hotbeds of war and aggression in Indo-China and the Near East. As a result of the heroic war and the inflexible will of the Viet-Nameese people, which bases itself on the support of the socialist countries and of all the peace-loving peoples of the world, the policy of the United States to achieve a military solution to the Viet-Nameese problem has been a failure. As a result of further initiatives on the part of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, a genuine possibility has now emerged to put an end to the aggressive war of the United States against the Viet-Nameese people and to open the way for a political settlement of the Indo-China problem. However, the United States, ignoring world public opinion and raising artificial barriers, is trying by all means to postpone the signing of the agreement on a cease-fire and the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam elaborated by the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States in Paris as a result of lengthy talks.

106. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, in its statement on 28 October of this year, distributed as Security Council document S/10821,⁶ fully supported the peaceful action of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and demanded that the United States carry out the obligations arising from the bilateral agreement concerning the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. We hope that the new round of talks in Paris will yield positive results and will lead at an early date to the cessation of military operations in Viet-Nam.

107. The Mongolian People's Republic will continue to consistently support the selfless struggle of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia for freedom and national independence and their inalienable right to decide for themselves what their fate should be, without any interference from outside.

108. The further relaxation of international tension is being hampered by the aggression of Israel, which, having acquired the support of the United States, in violation of resolutions of the United Nations, is deliberately prolonging the crisis in the Near East in order to achieve the final annexation of the Arab lands overrun by it. Israel is thereby violating one of the most important principles of the

Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which states:

"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".

109. It is necessary for our Organization to make further efforts for the political settlement of the Middle East crisis on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently stood on the side of the Arab peoples struggling for the liquidation of the consequences of the Israeli aggression and it will support all efforts aimed at the establishment of a lasting and just peace in that part of the world. In this connexion, my delegation would like to point out that it supports the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jarring.

110. My delegation assigns great significance to the provision of the Declaration where it is recommended to all States to contribute to the efforts to ensure peace and security for all nations and to establish, in accordance with the Charter, an effective system of universal collective security without military alliances.

111. The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian socialist country, is vitally interested in ensuring peace and security in that continent. Mongolia supports the idea of the creation of an effective security system on a pan-Asian basis outside any blocs. Such a system must be based upon such principles as the non-use of force in relations between States, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality of rights and mutual co-operation, irrespective of the social or political systems involved, in strict compliance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

112. Of important significance for the relaxation of tensions upon the Asian continent is the unification of Korea by peaceful means and the granting to the Korean people of an opportunity to decide its own fate without any interference from outside. The necessary conditions for the settlement of the Korean question remain the early withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

113. As is stated in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, any progress towards the attainment of disarmament will constitute progress in the strengthening of international security. Mongolia, being a member of the Committee on Disarmament, has to the extent of its capabilities taken an active part in its efforts to put into practice the age-old dream of mankind which is general and complete disarmament. The Mongolian People's Republic was among the first to sign the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. The Mongolian People's Republic this

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1972*.

year has concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency an agreement on the application of guarantees in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Our country is in favour of the early convening of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all States. It should be pointed out that an important step towards the limitation of the arms race was the agreement concluded in Moscow in May 1972 between the Soviet Union and the United States on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms. The United Nations should continue its efforts for the early attainment of an agreement on the cessation of all forms of nuclear-weapon tests by all States, the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and the convening of a world disarmament conference in the near future.

114. As is well known, among the measures for strengthening international security an important place is occupied by the problem of the liquidation of colonialism and the elimination of racism and *apartheid*. It is necessary to secure the implementation of United Nations decisions on these questions and to increase assistance and support to the national liberation movements of peoples languishing under colonial and racist domination.

115. The admission of both German States into the United Nations would, in our opinion, be of great significance for the heightening of its role and effectiveness. In this connexion my delegation notes with satisfaction the statement of the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France concerning their agreement to support the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in regard to their application for membership in the United Nations. We note with satisfaction and we welcome the admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership of UNESCO.

116. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour also of allowing the People's Republic of Bangladesh to occupy its lawful seat among the Members of our Organization.

117. In conclusion, the Mongolian delegation would like to express its confidence that a comprehensive review of the course of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the elaboration on this basis of concrete measures which would contribute to the further implementation of its provisions would be an important achievement of the General Assembly at the present session.

118. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The question of the strengthening of international security is the basic question, the very corner-stone of our present-day world and of the activities of the United Nations. It is not by chance that in the Charter it is clearly stated that the main objective of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. In fact, when all is said and done, all the activities of the Organization and its various organs are either directly or indirectly concerned with the achievement of that goal. Therefore, when speaking of disarmament, of a world disarmament conference, of the non-use of force, of the permanent prohibition of nuclear weapons, of economic development and of many other problems, as far as the substance of the subjects is concerned we are speaking of the strengthening of inter-

national security; and, conversely, when speaking of international security we must inevitably end by discussing these other questions, since organically they are linked and they complement and supplement one another and have a bearing on one another. If the strengthening of international peace and security is our goal, the solution of all the other problems constitutes the means by which we can assist in achieving it.

119. It is for this reason that we regard as unfounded the views of some who prefer not to examine specifically the question of the strengthening of international security, supposedly because they have discussed the matter when dealing with other questions.

120. Although in accordance with the Charter the strengthening of international security constitutes the main objective of the United Nations, at the twenty-fifth commemorative session the General Assembly solemnly adopted a special Declaration on this very matter. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] is a document of exceptional importance and is an honour both to the Organization and to its Members. Its basic objective is to orient the efforts of all States towards the achievement of the supreme objective for which our Organization was created.

121. The unanimity that was evident when the Declaration was adopted is the best proof of the fact that Member States accord due attention to the question of the maintenance and strengthening of world peace as a prior and indispensable condition for the solution of all the other problems of a political, economic, social or other nature which confront the peoples of the world and the United Nations itself.

122. The unchallengeable priority of the question of the strengthening of international peace and security makes it imperative that our Organization keep this basic problem uppermost in all its discussions. The subject cannot be allowed to be eclipsed or shelved in favour of the numerous and varied problems that have been created in our contemporary and dynamic life. We must deploy incessant and persevering efforts in order to find ways and means to implement this. Any conscious or unconscious effort to underestimate, or to neglect the problem of the strengthening of international security—a problem, incidentally, that is of primary importance for the fate of mankind—would be tantamount to the very negation of the reason for the existence of the United Nations.

123. It is therefore our duty not to allow the Declaration to remain a dead letter. Its provisions of principle must be made a practical programme of action to be followed by all States, and the concrete imperatives that it contains must assist in transforming that document into a living reality. It is only in these circumstances that the world will be able to evolve along a road towards the objective that is so eagerly sought by all peoples, namely, the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security.

124. We are gratified by the importance the Security Council gives to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as is evident from the Council's reply to the letter dated 25 February last from the Secretary-

General [see A/8775/Add.2] and we unreservedly support it. I should like to quote the following from that reply:

“The Security Council, on which the Charter of the United Nations has conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, attaches great importance to that Declaration, in which Member States proclaimed above all their loyalty to the Charter. The Declaration is, in fact, a solemn reaffirmation of the purposes and principles of the Charter; it emphasizes the obligations that the Member States are bound to respect and sets forth recommendations for strengthening co-operation among States.”

125. The years that have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration have been filled with events which quite justifiably allow one to consider that a favourable evolution has taken place in different regions of the world, and that this is in a way an implementation of the basic requirement of that Declaration. These are positive and important events, such as the entry into force of the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, the documents signed in Moscow last May between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, which are of capital importance, not only for bilateral Soviet-American relations, but also for international relations as a whole. But pride of place must be given the agreement recently signed on the normalization on the basis of international law of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Haldstein Doctrine and a series of other theories and practical acts to deny the existence and the recognition of the German Democratic Republic will for all time be held as an unhappy memory of the past. The vitality of the socialist régime, the success of its highly developed economy and its consistent struggle for peace and understanding have yielded their fruits. The number of States that have recognized the German Democratic Republic and that have established diplomatic relations with it grows daily. In fact, yesterday it was unanimously admitted to UNESCO. The artificially created barriers to the admission of that truly democratic country to international organizations where it has a legitimate place to occupy fall one after the other and are exploded like soap bubbles. The road of admission to the United Nations of the two German States is now open, and we trust that as soon as possible they will be able to complete all the procedural and other formalities so that in the nearest future we will be able to welcome those States among us. We believe it would be highly desirable for the General Assembly at the twenty-seventh session to commemorate the end of its work by admitting the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations.

126. I would more particularly wish to stress the immense progress achieved in the preparation for the conference on security and co-operation in Europe. The idea launched by the socialist countries was welcomed by peoples and supported by the Governments of other European States. It went through a series of bilateral consultations and conversations and overcame a number of difficulties, and it was also able to overcome conservatism. Today, in Helsinki, the multilateral conversations so long prepared have now

begun. These conversations will greatly contribute to the preparation and the convening of the full conference next year. May I take advantage of this opportunity, on behalf of the Bulgarian Government and through the delegation of friendly Finland, to express our sincere acknowledgement to the Finnish Government, not only for the hospitality it has shown by offering Helsinki for the preliminary consultations and the conference itself, but also for its considerable activity in the preparation of these talks. Our best wishes and feelings go towards all the men of goodwill that so ardently embrace the idea of a pan-European conference and that have made such great efforts to establish a system of collective security and fruitful co-operation in Europe.

127. In fact, the European continent—and this was stated in his speech in Moscow on 13 November last by the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov—“is on the threshold of a new era, one that may well be a turning-point towards lasting and stable peace, towards collective security and effective co-operation.

128. We are convinced that in that conference on security and co-operation Europe will give an example worthy of being followed by the other regions and continents of the world to strengthen international peace and increase understanding among peoples. The international events I have mentioned, as also a number of others which would have been unimaginable even to certain political optimists, are in fact the implementation of the ideas of Lenin on peaceful coexistence, ideas which are reflected in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

129. The facts I have mentioned allow us to draw the conclusion that since the adoption of the Declaration incontestable progress has been made in efforts to ensure its implementation.

130. As far as the People's Republic of Bulgaria is concerned, our intense activity in international affairs is fully consistent with the principles and aims of the Charter of the United Nations and the requirements of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. As we stated in the reply of the Bulgarian Government [see A/8775] to the note of the Secretary-General, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is carrying out and following a policy of co-operation with all States regardless of their social systems and on the strength of the principles of peaceful coexistence. May I specifically stress the positive contribution of the policies of my country in encouraging good-neighbourly relations among the States of the Balkan Peninsula to lead to a healthy political climate in that region of the world.

131. The peaceful foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a logical consequence of our socialist system, which is totally alien to war, aggression and oppression. This policy is an integral part of the joint struggle of the countries of the world socialist community, whose efforts to strengthen international peace and security have so decisively contributed to the achievement of the favourable changes in the international situation we have already mentioned.

132. It is regrettable that the favourable development of the international situation that has emerged has nevertheless been accompanied by what the Secretary-General has in the introduction to his report on the activities of the Organization termed "a discouraging trend", and it is expressed in a number of negative phenomena at the root of which it is not difficult to find the forces of imperialism and colonialism—the burning or latent cockpits of wars of aggression in different regions of the world; the obstinate refusal of colonial and racist régimes to recognize the inalienable right of peoples to freedom and national independence, to national and racial equality; the opposition of those reactionary and militaristic forces to the aspirations of the peoples to put an end to the arms race. The existence of these phenomena, which are incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, can in no way please us. On the contrary, all this dictates a greater mobilization of forces to overcome the obstacles which imperialism and colonialism raise to the ultimate development of the process of détente and the strengthening of international security.

133. No one can deny that one of the main factors in poisoning the international situation, and sapping the very foundations of international security is the imperialist war of aggression against the peoples of South-East Asia. Events have proved that it was not worth deploying so many efforts to impose upon a people against its will a puppet régime with no support other than foreign bayonets. That régime is a puppet régime, and it is too small a screen to hide anyone. It is insignificant and unworthy of the material, moral and human sacrifices it has cost thus far. It is even less reasonable to continue to follow these capricious and unfounded requirements which prevent putting an end to the bloodshed. But real possibilities are now appearing for an effective cessation of the war in Viet-Nam. The honest, peace-loving people of the world are quite justifiably awaiting signature of the agreement obtained on the cease-fire without any delays or tergiversations. Let us hope that the negotiations now taking place in Paris will bring us that much closer to such signature. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will greet the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Viet-Nam, since that will put an end to a very dangerous hotbed of war and will considerably assist in the process of clearing the international atmosphere.

134. Another source of international tension, the conflict in the Middle East, continues, however, despite the clearly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of States, and, flouting the decisions of the United Nations, the Israeli invaders obstinately refuse to withdraw their forces from occupied Arab territories as called for in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). What is more, they not only refuse to stop their military provocations against neighbouring Arab States but lately have strengthened them, having recourse to premeditated acts of terrorism, on fallacious pretexts. Israel has destroyed efforts to eliminate this dangerous focus of war. It is not difficult to see behind this arrogant policy the expansionist aims of the Israeli leaders, a policy supported and encouraged by certain well-known Western Powers. In this case also one is confronted with a flagrant violation of one of the most important conditions set forth in the Declaration on the Strengthening of

International Security—that is, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the threat or use of force.

135. Respect for the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and national independence is a *sine qua non* condition for the establishment of lasting peace and security in the world. Any effort to hinder subjected peoples from acquiring that right runs counter to the Charter and a number of decisions of the United Nations, including the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. But despite all that a handful of colonizers and racists continue their arrogant efforts to ensure the subsistence of colonial domination and racial inequality in a large part of the African continent. A Portuguese army of 150,000 men equipped with modern weapons wages a cruel war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), which are struggling for their freedom and national independence. The racist leaders of the Republic of South Africa deprive the indigenous population of any rights and try to impose their inhuman régime on neighbouring Namibia. The white minority in Southern Rhodesia refuses to recognize the legitimate rights and freedom of the people of Zimbabwe. It has often been emphasized that those reactionary régimes cannot with impunity continue to defy world public opinion and for so long unless they continue to receive support from certain imperialist circles of NATO.

136. It is amazing to see these recidivists of colonialism and racism subsist and receive support at a time when 50 years have passed since the Soviet State gave the overwhelming example of national equality and fraternal co-operation among nations, when we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and when 12 years have elapsed since the United Nations solemnly declared that an end has to be put to the shameful colonial system.

137. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security calls upon States to make every effort to put an end to the arms race, to eliminate all weapons of mass destruction, and to conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

138. It has already been stressed, in the course of the debate on another subject which we are still discussing—namely, the disarmament problem—that undoubted progress has been made lately in this field. The entry into force of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [*resolution 2660 (XXV), annex*]; the signature of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*]; the conclusion of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms,⁷ are so many positive measures on the road to a cessation of the arms race.

⁷ See A/C.1/1026.

139. However, the results obtained thus far are meagre and cannot satisfy us. New and determined steps will have to be taken to bring us closer to the final goal, which is general and complete disarmament. The world disarmament conference might well play a basic role in the achievement of this important objective, since all States, without exception, will be able to discuss there all aspects of this complex problem in the search for the most effective measures to achieve a radical solution.

140. The factors conditioning international security are many and varied. However, no one can doubt that the attention of our Organization should first of all be turned to those that are of capital and decisive importance to the development of international relations as a whole. This means that in the efforts to strengthen international security, priority should be given to solving the basic problems of international life, such as the elimination of hotbeds of war that still exist; the transformation into firm international law of the prohibition of the resort to force in relations among States and for the acquisition of foreign territory through the use of force; the final elimination of all the vestiges of a shameful colonial system, and of all forms of racial discrimination and national inequality; and the stimulation of efforts to limit and halt the arms race in order to arrive at general and complete disarmament.

141. It is obvious that the fulfilment of these tasks of such importance calls for constant efforts, redoubled efforts, to fight those forces which oppose the fulfilment of the universal aspirations of peoples to peace, freedom, security and social progress.

142. It is the duty of our Organization to contribute to the development and further strengthening of this process toward *détente*. The present situation in the world is propitious to the adoption of measures to that end. We must take full advantage of existing possibilities to take new initiatives, be they bilateral, regional or multilateral, that will contribute to the ultimate strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the encouragement of broad economic co-operation among States, on a mutually beneficial basis.

143. An effective safeguard could be the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In the reply addressed to the Secretary-General by

the Security Council—to which I have already referred—it quite justifiably stressed the following:

“The Security Council remains convinced that implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in its entirety will depend on strict and full observance by all Member States of the objectives, principles and obligations of the Charter as a whole and on the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter. The Security Council is equally convinced of the need for all Member States to do everything in their power to enhance by all possible means the Council's authority and effectiveness. The Security Council shares the concern expressed unanimously by the General Assembly to see the Organization discharge its mission of ‘saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war’.”

144. It is therefore necessary for all States to comply fully with the terms of the Charter of the United Nations and particularly with those provisions that deal with non-resort to force, non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty and independence of countries.

145. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627, appeals to all delegations to support that draft resolution and to vote in favour of it.

146. That would be further manifestation of political wisdom on the part of our Committee and of the United Nations. We will thus contribute to the implementation of the Declaration and will give a new impetus to the efforts directed towards the goal that we seek: namely, the establishment of lasting peace and the strengthening of international security, the encouragement of understanding and fruitful co-operation among all peoples.

147. The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with what I said at our meeting yesterday, I should like to suggest to the Committee that we close the list of speakers in the general debate on item 35 of 12 noon on Friday, 24 November. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.