

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FIRST COMMITTEE, 1901st
MEETING**

Friday, 24 November 1972,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 35 (continued):

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

Page

1

Chairman: Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL
(Mauritius).

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)

1. The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the first speaker on my list, I would remind members of the Committee that, in accordance with the decision taken by the Committee, the list of speakers in the general debate on this item will be closed today at 12 noon.

2. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security is one of the most important of the tasks for the accomplishment of which the United Nations was established 27 years ago. The Charter begins by referring to the need to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and the need to ensure lasting peace on earth.

3. Guided by these objectives and the desire to strengthen the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance and strengthening of peace, the socialist and other peace-loving States prepared and achieved adoption by the United Nations of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)].

4. At the last session of the General Assembly, important resolutions were adopted on the main items of the agenda, including the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the convening of a world disarmament conference, the liquidation of bacteriological weapons, other disarmament problems, the working out of an international treaty concerning the Moon and the peaceful uses of outer space, the situation in the Middle East, measures to be taken against war criminals and crimes against humanity, liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, economic co-operation and the protection of the interests of newly independent States.

5. The Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Committee on decolonization, the Commission

on Human Rights and other United Nations bodies also adopted many useful decisions.

6. Of course, not all the problems I have mentioned on which the United Nations has expressed its views have been finally settled. There are negotiations pertaining to many of them, and acute struggles are waged around others, but it is crystal clear, as experience shows, that the adoption by the United Nations of decisions in keeping with the interests of peace and security and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations led in the final analysis to the settlement of various international problems and to important agreed documents pertaining to various problems. It would not be an exaggeration to say that at present conditions are more favourable than ever for increasing the effectiveness of the activities of the United Nations in carrying out its fundamental and key task, the maintenance and strengthening of general peace and international security.

7. At this session the General Assembly is considering the proposal of the Soviet Union about the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. As the general debate on this matter that has just concluded in the General Assembly has shown, this proposal has received large-scale support from States Members of the United Nations, and we hope that the consultations being carried on at present will lead to the preparation of a decision excluding the possibility of the use of force, with either conventional or nuclear weapons, in the settlement of matters pending amongst States. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic wants the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons to become an inflexible law in international life. All States must constantly adhere to this law in their foreign policy activities. The adoption of this principle by the United Nations would be an invaluable contribution to the further easing of international tensions.

8. The problem of disarmament is closely linked to the strengthening of peace and security in the world. This is a field of international relations in which the interests of all States, large and small, developed and developing, are at stake.

9. This year, 1972, has been marked by new achievements in the field of the limitation of the arms race and disarmament. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic expresses its deep satisfaction that in April of this year 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] was opened for signature. For the first time, we have a genuine disarmament measure. It has been signed by over 100 States. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was among the

first to sign the Convention. This year, our Republic also ratified 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].

10. Another important achievement in slowing down the arms race was the Treaty concluded in May 1972 between the USSR 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 weapons.¹ Agreement on these matters became possible only on the basis that there would be strict respect for the principle of equal security for the parties and that no party would receive any unilateral advantages. The conclusion of the agreements on the limitation of strategic weapons is a great victory for the cause of international détente. It is in the interests of all peace-loving States because security and peace are their common objective.

11. Undoubtedly, those achievements and others in the field of curbing the arms race and of disarmament, and the resumed Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on the limitation of strategic weapons, contribute to creating favourable conditions for the preparation and achievement of further measures to slow down the arms race and to move forward towards a solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. They also create important pre-conditions for the success of the world disarmament conference.

12. We are happy to note that the First Committee has adopted a decision pertaining to the world disarmament conference and further measures on liquidating chemical weapons, and has reaffirmed the importance of agreements already achieved limiting the arms race, while appealing to all States to adhere to treaties already adopted and in force prohibiting nuclear-weapons tests in three environments, the proliferation of such weapons and their emplacement in outer space, on the sea-bed and ocean floor and in their subsoil. All States and, above all, all nuclear States must bend every effort to ensure that the work of the special committee established under resolution 2930 (XXVII) on the world disarmament conference is fruitful and successful. At the same time, the Committee on Disarmament must redouble its fruitful efforts.

13. The cause of international peace and security will be helped also by positive decisions on other timely agenda items on which the General Assembly must adopt a decision. It is important that the general desire of States—which has become evident again at this session—to see the United Nations strengthened and its authority and effectiveness enhanced so that it becomes a truly effective body for the maintenance of international peace and security does not meet with any obstacles on the part of those solitary nihilists who try to swim against the current, who deny everything positive achieved by the peace-loving forces in the United Nations during the many years of its existence, and who oppose the efforts of the States endeavouring to adopt new measures to ensure lasting international peace and security and develop mutual assistance and co-operation—in other words, those who are

trying to turn the United Nations back to those days which are gone forever. They must understand that this position is condemned by the majority of Member States in the United Nations, and cannot give any political advantages to those who follow it. It is impossible to split the nucleus of peace-loving States existing in the United Nations and stop the course of positive events or cast any doubt on what has been achieved through tremendous efforts and welcomed by the overwhelming majority of States.

14. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is happy to note that the trend towards the normalization of the international situation and a sounder international climate has been strengthened of late, and that in the field of bilateral inter-State relations positive movements have occurred.

15. On the European continent very deep and positive changes are now occurring. The road has not been easy. Europe has seen much in three and a half decades. The smoke of the crematoria of Auschwitz, the ashes of Byelorussia's Katyn, the millions of dead, the destroyed cities and villages—all this now belongs to history. But the peoples do not forget these tragic lessons. And, in order to prevent a repetition of the past, from the very first days of the post-war era the struggles began in Europe to strengthen peace and security. The efforts of the Soviet Union, of other socialist States, of all the progressive forces of the continent have finally yielded their fruits. The treaties signed by the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, the four-Power agreement on West Berlin, the agreements of the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany and the continuing process of normalization of relations among them, the development of business-like and mutually advantageous co-operation between the socialist States and France and other Western European countries—all this has given rise to a new climate in Europe and created realistic possibilities for radical improvement of the political climate on the continent.

16. Now it is a matter of consolidating these changes, and this can be achieved by an all-European conference on matters of co-operation and security, the convening of which has constantly been called for by the socialist States. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic welcomes the multilateral consultations which began in Helsinki on 22 November to prepare the all-European conference. In the declaration on peace, security and co-operation in Europe in January 1972 prepared by the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty,² we find fundamental principles on the basis of which European security must be built—including, first of all, the inviolability of existing frontiers, the renunciation of the use of force in mutual relations, and peaceful coexistence. At the same time, the establishment of relations of good neighbourliness and co-operation, the establishment of multilateral mutually advantageous relations among European States in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural field, the field of tourism and other

¹ See A/C.1/1026.

² Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1972, document S/10537.

fields will lead to the development of relations of good neighbourliness and mutual understanding among the States of Europe and make it possible to overcome the division of the continent among military and political groups.

17. International détente and the strengthening of general peace in the world would be helped by measures aimed at strengthening security in other parts of the world—especially Asia, Africa and Latin America. That is why an appeal must be addressed to States to undertake negotiations to conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements on co-operation for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security on the basis of firm respect for the provisions of the Charter—among them, the principles of peaceful coexistence such as the non-use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, territorial integrity, equal rights, mutual respect for the sovereignty and independence of States, large-scale development of economic and other co-operation on the basis of mutual benefit and declared support for the efforts of States to create systems of collective regional security in different areas of the world.

18. The Byelorussian SSR views as an important factor in the easing of international tensions and the stabilization of conditions in the world the general development and strengthening of relations among all States, no matter what their social system, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, their co-operation on a bilateral or multilateral basis in order to rebuff acts of aggression and war and to strengthen the peace and security of the peoples. For that reason, the draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [A/C.1/L.627], of which the Byelorussian SSR is a sponsor, proposes that we reaffirm the urgent appeal of the General Assembly of the United Nations

“to all States to implement consistently and without any delay the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, being guided by this Declaration to take measures towards the elimination of military hotbeds and conflicts persisting in different areas of the world that bring about tensions and threats to universal peace and to contribute to political settlement in such areas based on the principles of the inadmissibility of military occupation and the acquisition of the territories by force and on respect for the legitimate rights of States and peoples against which aggression is committed”.

19. It is important that all States be guided by the Declaration in carrying out their foreign policy. In this connexion, one must stress the need for co-operation in the interest of peace by the permanent members of the Security Council, which have the highest economic and military potential and which, together with other members of the Security Council, pursuant to the Charter, are invested with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

20. Recent events in the world convincingly show that the process of détente is constantly developing, encompasses ever new areas of international life, contributes to the strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence,

sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit in relations among States.

21. Assessing objectively that which has been achieved, being duly aware of the important successes achieved on the road to the strengthening of peace, we must at the same time realize that more could have been achieved, that we could have travelled more resolutely on the road towards our objective—lasting peace—if existing hotbeds of war in South-East Asia and the Middle East had been liquidated on the basis of strict respect for the right of peoples to independent development, non-interference in their internal affairs and inviolability of their State territory. That is why the fight against the policy of aggression, for the liquidation of existing military conflicts and the creation of conditions excluding the possibility of new conflicts arising are essential conditions for the strengthening of peace and security. That is the policy carried out by the Soviet Union and other socialist States.

22. The Byelorussian SSR declares that it consistently supports the just cause of the people of Viet-Nam fighting against United States aggression. We welcome the attitude of seriousness and goodwill of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam towards the settlement of the Viet-Name problem. We categorically support the demand of the Viet-Name side concerning immediate conclusion by the Government of the United States of an agreement on the cessation of war and the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. Together with all the peoples of the world, the Soviet people demands that the American side remove the obstacles erected by it on the road to the conclusion of such an agreement and that as soon as possible an end be put to the war unleashed by the United States against the freedom-loving Viet-Name people. We also decisively demand the political settlement of the crisis in the Middle East on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, which we intend to proclaim again when the item on the situation in the Near East is under consideration.

23. Other urgent matters require a solution since that also would contribute to the strengthening of international security. I have in mind the need finally to liquidate the remnants of colonialism, to carry out the United Nations resolutions on decolonization and the liquidation of racism. We must ensure the truly universal nature of the United Nations and settle the matter of the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. We regret that the negative position of the Chinese People's Republic has prevented admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh so far.

24. This year we shall celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Byelorussian SSR has since the days of its voluntary entry into the USSR, in close co-operation with the entire multinational Soviet people, carried out an active struggle for peace and progress and against the forces of aggression and war. Our international policy is determined by the programme of peace adopted at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, which is being successfully carried out and is having a positive effect on the international situation.

25. Being a founding Member of the United Nations, the Byelorussian SSR attaches great importance to United Nations activities in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security. The way in which the United Nations discharges that task will determine its international authority and effectiveness in the solution of pending problems, including economic, social and other problems, as also the world situation as a whole. That is why the Byelorussian SSR considers that matters relating to the strengthening of international security must be on the agenda of the General Assembly as matters reflecting the fundamental direction of the activities of the United Nations.

26. The Byelorussian SSR is convinced that general peace and security can be ensured only on the basis of strict respect by all States for the purposes and principles of the Charter. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, contributes to the attainment of these objectives. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR expresses the hope that all States will take practical measures to carry out its provisions and support the proposals of a group of socialist countries, in the draft resolution on this matter, which has been prepared taking into account the views expressed by States in their replies to the questionnaire of the Secretary-General, as well as views expressed during this session, and is fully consonant with the task of the further strengthening of international peace and security.

27. The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the next speaker, the representative of Finland, may I remind the Committee that the day before yesterday 34 nations began meeting in Helsinki for multilateral talks to prepare for a conference on security and co-operation in Europe.

28. Mr. KARHILO (Finland): When this item was first dealt with in this Committee in 1969 the delegation of Finland stated that it had an active interest in proposals which aimed at strengthening the United Nations. It therefore welcomed the initiative that had been taken by the delegation of the Soviet Union to include an item on the agenda of the General Assembly which focused the attention of the Member States on the main purpose of the Organization, that is, the maintenance of international peace and security. This item provided delegations with an opportunity for a useful debate on questions of fundamental importance to this Organization as a whole and to each of its Members.

29. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which was adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)] should be seen, we believe, as an expression of the will of Member States to work together for a peaceful world order and to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Finnish delegation maintains its interest in this item, which it regards as a contribution to United Nations efforts in this field.

30. My delegation has studied with particular interest the report of the Secretary-General on the item [A/8775], dated 5 October 1972, which contains the answers sub-

mitted by a number of Member States, including Finland, to the request that the Secretary-General had made on the basis of paragraph 11 of resolution 2280 (XXVI), concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The report contains a number of interesting observations by Member States; we would, however, particularly wish to draw attention to the remarks made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report. He observed *inter alia* that if one expects the United Nations to play a crucial and meaningful role in the complex relationship among States, then one must exert greater efforts to make it more relevant to the manifold social, economic, political and security problems of our times. To make our Organization relevant, the Secretary-General continued, Member States must in the first instance strictly observe the principles of the Charter. The obligation assumed by Member States, under the terms of Article 25, to comply with decisions of the Security Council, should be scrupulously respected by all.

31. The Secretary-General reiterated this theme in the introduction to his annual report to the Assembly,³ and went on to say that only through a more effective and imaginative use of the different means provided for by the Organization can we hope to begin to influence effectively the peaceful solution of disputes in the different parts of the world.

32. My delegation believes that it is in this spirit that we must study the implementation of the Declaration we adopted two years ago. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contains a number of proposals which I referred to in some earlier interventions during this session of the Assembly. I believe that it is reasonable to make some more specific comments on them at this juncture.

33. In examining the different proposals of the Declaration, we note *inter alia*, that it:

“Urges all Member States to respond to the immediate need to agree on guidelines for more effective peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter . . .”

This would indeed increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in dealing with situations endangering international peace and security. No progress has, however, been made on this question during the last two years. It is, therefore, all the more satisfying to note that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which has been entrusted with this important task, has once more become operative. We hope that a new serious effort will be made by the Committee and that it will be able to reach, in the near future, an understanding on the first stage of an agreement on the guidelines for future peace-keeping operations and their financing.

34. The Finnish Government, for its part, believes that the use of the United Nations peace-keeping forces or other similar services remains an indispensable tool in the hands of the international community for the prevention or

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1A.

containment of crises and conflicts that might endanger world peace. The Organization will, therefore, not be capable of dealing speedily and effectively with such situations until agreement has been reached on how these peace-keeping operations should be mounted and managed.

35. The Declaration further recommends that:

“the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter in order fully to develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter”.

As far as we know, the Security Council has taken no such step so far. The Declaration also recommends that:

“the Security Council consider, in conformity with Article 29 of the Charter, whenever appropriate and necessary, the desirability of establishing subsidiary organs, on an *ad hoc* basis, and with the participation of the parties concerned, when conditions so warrant, to assist the Council in the performance of its functions as defined in the Charter”.

So far, the Security Council has given no concrete consideration to this recommendation.

36. Among the provisions of the Declaration designed to enhance the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council there was a reference to periodic meetings in accordance with Article 28 of the Charter. The Finnish delegation remains convinced that the holding of periodic meetings could significantly strengthen the role of the Council as guardian of world peace. We believe that the full value of such meetings would become apparent only once they had become customary, and thus provided a regular forum for high-level consultations on issues affecting international peace and security. To our regret, the Security Council has failed to carry out this provision of the Declaration. In fact, after the first periodic meeting held before the Declaration was adopted, no other such meetings have been organized.

37. The effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security can be further enhanced through the full use of a variety of peace-making methods. The Declaration urges Member States to seek improved implementation of the means provided for in the Charter for the exclusively peaceful settlement of disputes, including negotiation, mediation, conciliation, good offices and judicial settlement. In this connexion, the Declaration clearly presupposes the revitalization of the role of the International Court of Justice as an organ dealing with legal disputes. In our view it is proper to keep in mind that the Court can be of service to the international community also when giving legal advisory opinions. A case in point was the question of Namibia, on which Finland proposed in 1970 that an advisory opinion be requested. My delegation feels that this legal opinion was, and will still prove to be, of great importance for the subsequent deliberations in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

38. While we recognize that some limited progress has been made, it would seem to us that more serious effort is

needed to strengthen this Organization and its peace-making and peace-keeping mechanism in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the recommendations of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security.

39. The Declaration considers that the promotion of international co-operation, including regional, subregional and bilateral co-operation among States, in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and based on the principle of equal rights and on strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of States, can contribute to the strengthening of international security. Finland, being naturally interested in regional co-operation in Europe, has consistently exerted efforts for European reconciliation. To this end it has worked towards reaching an understanding on the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We are gratified at the fact that such an understanding on the multilateral preparation of the Conference has been reached among Governments responsible for European security. We see these consultations as an important phase in the on-going process of détente in Europe. The consultations in Helsinki have become a reality as a consequence of favourable political developments in general and particularly of those in Europe. Our own contribution has been scrupulously based on the policy of neutrality and in impartiality as to the substance of the questions involved. We believe it is through the continued application of the method of consensus that meaningful results can be reached on important subjects pertaining to security and co-operation in Europe.

40. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt): Never before have the peoples of the world lived in such an agonizing sense of insecurity as they do in our contemporary world. Yet never before has the community of nations had at its disposal a security system whose task it is unhesitatingly to take effective collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression and the restoration of peace.

41. More than a quarter of a century has passed since the United Nations was created, with the primary function of preserving security and maintaining peace. Yet, in spite of that, wars are still allowed to be waged, injustices committed are readily ignored and international obligations are allowed to be flouted with impunity. The shattering experiences of two world wars and the 27 years of existence of the Charter have not been enough to replace the rule of force and unlawfulness on the international plane by the rule of the Charter and of justice. That was the challenge in 1914, that was the challenge in 1939, and that is the challenge today for the people of Africa and Asia. The effectiveness of the United Nations is thus more than ever put in doubt, making it imperative that all States that did not hesitate to entrust their security to the precepts of the Charter should now exert their best endeavours to ensure that the United Nations regains the unchallenged authority it was meant to have under the Charter, or else they must face the disastrous consequences of their passive and permissive attitude.

42. Two years ago, because of the timely and wise initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], which

solemnly reaffirmed: "... the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States". The same important document also declared "... that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever".

43. It is most opportune that the General Assembly continues to devote close attention to the question of the strengthening of international security. It would be wrong to assume that with the adoption of the Declaration our work has been done and that we need no longer consider the issue. As a matter of fact, we believe that the purposes and principles of the Charter, as well as its various provisions, should not merely be reaffirmed or reasserted from time to time, although this is useful, but indeed, and above all, that all those who committed themselves to respect them should be made to implement them. Thus, there is a need each year to review the matter against the events currently taking place in order to ascertain the extent to which the rule of the Charter has been observed and its principles have been upheld. This is particularly important and urgent since the ability of States to live in peace and abide by the rule of the Charter has not yet become a reality in our contemporary world.

44. Egypt has always endeavoured to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. We do so out of a profound belief that by carrying out our commitments, together with many like-minded countries, we would, all of us, gradually succeed in bringing about more universal respect for the precepts of the Charter and thus thwart the persistent attempts of the few whose interest it is to see the United Nations ineffective and maimed because they no longer like the restrictions and constraints that the Charter places on the use of force.

45. Thus, my country has taken an active part in many important forums entrusted with the solution of problems; the effective realization of such solutions would bring us nearer to universal peace based on justice.

46. With other delegations, we worked in the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and assisted in the drafting of the well-known Declaration on the matter which was adopted during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*].

47. As a member of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for over 10 years, Egypt has participated in the negotiation of all arms control agreements that have emerged therefrom, the last of which—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*—was signed by my country earlier this year.

48. In the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, where Egypt holds the Rapporteurship, we are endeavouring, in co-operation with others, to devise effective means acceptable to all for carrying out peace-keeping operations wherever and whenever the need for them arises. At the same time, in the Special Committee on

the Question of Defining Aggression, we call and work for the elaboration of a definition of aggression.

49. Egypt upholds, and struggles for, the full recognition and application of the right to self-determination and independence of peoples still under colonial and racist rule. The persistent denial of that right is harming prospects for genuine international security. We have therefore consistently abided by all resolutions adopted in this respect.

50. We also strive to bring about more favourable social and economic conditions without strings attached, be it in the Commission on Human Rights or within the Group of 77, for we adhere to the view that international security will be greatly strengthened by each and every step forward in those fields.

51. Those are but a few of my country's endeavours for universal peace based on justice. Yet, while thus serving the purposes and principles of the United Nations, we regret to have to state that this Organization has for its part failed to serve peace and security in many of the turbulent areas of the world. In the Middle East, in clear violation of the principles of the Charter, solemnly reaffirmed two years ago in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the territories of three States Members of the United Nations still remain occupied by foreign military forces, and all efforts exerted, all attempts undertaken in response to United Nations decisions and resolutions, towards a genuine and durable peace have been openly sabotaged and publicly frustrated. In the Middle East the Israeli aggressor is kept over-armed to protect and defend his conquest and his booty. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is ignored and the provisions of the Geneva Convention are violated in the spirit and in the letter. More than that, the Israeli occupying authorities have embarked on a programme of systematically changing the demographic, ethnic, political, economic and other structures in those occupied areas. Thus, 27 years after the creation of the United Nations, during which time scores of decisions and resolutions have been adopted on the Palestinian question and on the Middle East, this Organization has utterly failed to secure Israeli compliance and to make possible a peaceful and equitable solution to the problem, because of the attitude of a permanent member of the Security Council.

52. In that connexion it might be worth while to recall what the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security solemnly reaffirmed, and thus what each and every Member of the United Nations has committed itself to uphold.

53. In paragraph 4 the General Assembly:

"Solemnly reaffirms that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States... and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the... territorial integrity of any other State or country;"

54. In paragraph 5 it

"Solemnly reaffirms... that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions

of the Charter, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal . . .”

55. In paragraph 1 it declares that “. . . the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever”.

56. In view of all that, one is entitled to ask, why has peace in the Middle East remained elusive? What has gone wrong? My Foreign Minister in his statement in the general debate in the General Assembly on 11 October 1972 offered this answer:

“... we must admit that our Organization itself has failed at times to assert its political authority. It is a fact, for example, that the Assembly has been reluctant to consider Article 6 of the Charter, dealing with the expulsion of a Member; it is a fact that the sanctions provided for in the Charter have seldom been imposed; it is a fact that certain permanent members of the Security Council have used or misused their veto power to block just and important resolutions and have thus frustrated the work of the Council; it is a fact that the United Nations has not yet overcome the serious difficulties that have prevented the creation of the enforcement machinery envisaged in Chapter VII of our Charter.”
[2062nd plenary meeting, para. 104.]

57. Yet, as if all that were in itself not enough, we are now faced with a new development whereby some of the more powerful States, looking with impatience and displeasure on the actions of Members of the United Nations, particularly medium-sized and small States of Africa and Asia, tend to bypass the United Nations on problems of vital importance. Mr. Waldheim, our Secretary-General, in section VIII of the Introduction to his report to the present session⁴ commented on that point, saying:

“Indeed, it is strange that, at a time when the United Nations and its main executive organ for international peace and security—the Security Council—are becoming more representative of the power realities in the world, there is, apparently, a certain unwillingness to involve the United Nations in the reconciliation of some conflicts.”

Mr. Waldheim's own conclusion on the matter was expressed with clarity and precision in these words:

“But when long-standing conflicts create vast humanitarian problems and may affect the peace and security of all mankind, the United Nations should surely be involved in the attempt to settle them.”

58. Now that the cold war lies behind us and a détente between the nuclear super-Powers is steadily developing, now that China is finally occupying its rightful place in the United Nations, Members of the United Nations have the right to expect that the collective security system devised by the Charter will, for the sake of peace, at long last be put into operation. Thus far cold war considerations have

been enough to impede all action by the Security Council in the field of collective security; yet now, in the light of the détente, we could reasonably expect that confrontation in the Security Council would be superseded by participation and co-operation on the basis of justice and equity for all.

59. As of now the Security Council must cease to be a mere debating organ and must remember its authority and its powers. Permanent members of the Council must live up to their responsibilities and fulfil their special obligations under the Charter. Medium-sized and smaller States should be fully satisfied that the collective security system has indeed become an adequate guarantor of global peace and security. Only thus will aggressors and would-be aggressors be resisted and deterred.

60. It therefore becomes imperative for the medium-sized and smaller countries to remind the more powerful countries of their duty to act effectively. Failure to do so could result in the unexpected—and sometimes deliberate and manipulated—eruption of escalating conflicts in regions of tension, fanned as such developments would be by the unwillingness of a permanent member of the Security Council to act in accordance with its commitments under the Charter and the tragic resignation of the Members of the United Nations to such indifference. Members of the United Nations should therefore harness their combined means to ensure compliance by all with the Charter of the United Nations and the prompt implementation of United Nations decisions and resolutions, particularly on matters where the maintenance of international peace and security is concerned.

61. Meeting in Georgetown in August this year, the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries addressed themselves to this problem. While welcoming, in their Declaration, the process of détente among the major Powers, they considered that that process should be extended to all regions of the world without exception, for unless this was done there could be no guarantee of world peace and, in particular, of the security of the developing countries. They considered that détente should be based on and accompanied by recourse to the institutions of the United Nations system.

62. The Foreign Ministers rededicated themselves to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and reaffirmed their deep conviction that the United Nations provides the most effective means to maintain and promote international peace and security. They considered as an impediment in the way of the effectiveness of the United Nations the great-Power tendency to monopolize global decisions and to bypass the United Nations in dealing with problems of vital importance; they considered that such a tendency must be resisted. Finally, they expressed their firm conviction that if the United Nations has not been very successful it is not only because of any inherent defect in the Charter but also because of the unwillingness of some Member States fully to observe the principles of the Charter.

63. Welcome as an annual debate on the strengthening of international security is, we consider that if concrete measures fail to emerge from our deliberations here we shall

⁴ *Ibid.*

not have contributed constructively to the realization of our objective, which is of vital importance to all. In this respect my delegation wishes to recall a suggestion which we submitted two years ago, at the 1734th meeting of this Committee. We then expressed the hope that the Security Council would consider

“the setting up of the structural arrangements for the enforcement action envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, and that it will then consider the desirability of establishing a subsidiary organ to follow up, oversee and report on the full implementation of the decisions of the Security Council, which the Members of the United Nations have pledged to accept and to carry out under Article 25 of the Charter.” [1734th meeting, para. 24.]

64. Our duty is clear: we must all strive to uphold the rule of the Charter and defend the values for which the struggle of the peoples of the United Nations has been waged. This we must do not by mere words but by concrete deeds; and this, I submit, should be our main concern.

65. The peoples of Asia and Africa do not have nuclear arsenals or sophisticated weapons at their disposal; they have only the system of values and goals of the Charter. Upon them has fallen the responsibility of upholding this system and defending it despite threats and deliberate attempts to destroy their will.

66. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): With the spread of education, the advance of technology and the rise of national consciousness, man is no longer the docile victim of misery, hunger and subjugation. Much as he yearns for his individual freedom and fights for it, he is also fighting for his national and social freedom.

67. The era of darkness and exploitation in Africa and of intimidation and division in Asia is unregrettably over. Social inequality, racial discrimination and the hideous policy of *apartheid* as it is rigorously practised in South Africa constitute a threat to peace and international security—a corollary that has been cogently acknowledged in this Organization. Man will never be at ease and will never rest in peace so long as he is discriminated against, his rights are abrogated and his aspirations dissipated. No one is so much better than another as to be his master, and no life is so dear as to warrant the subjugation of others for its comfort.

68. *Apartheid* in South Africa is undoubtedly a menace to peace and security in Africa. While geographical distance may prevent us from direct contacts with the victims of *apartheid*, our clear conscience must strongly respond to the calls of the denied and the oppressed, whose sins arise from Providence's decree of skin colour. No one is so perfect as to be another's lord. No one is so unblemished as to assume the role of edifying tutor.

69. In Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and other Portuguese colonies in Africa, peoples of the same soul and heart languish under the concept of the fictitious Portuguese mission to incorporate the land and its inhabitants, under duress, into the backward Portugal of Europe. The peoples in those colonies deride the concept and fight against it, demonstrating the invincible will of the colonized to tear off the yoke of foreign suppression.

70. The selfish can see the plight of the oppressed, but they see more clearly their spoils exacted from the land of the oppressed. The interminably acute conflict in man is between yielding to his interests and accepting his moral duty; more often than not he succumbs to the dictates of interests. That is the lesson we draw from *apartheid*, colonialism and subjugation. Smith, the rebel of Southern Rhodesia, has waged his defiance of the international community, relying on the weakness of the selfish to place interests and gains before ethics and morality.

71. The United Nations Charter, its purposes, aims and injunctions, embodied in voluminous resolutions and declarations, are all so many words on paper and are later kept on shelves in dusty archives.

72. We come here and annually stir up a debate on the strengthening of international security. It has been said that during the 1960s Africa felt the winds of change; it can be asserted with certainty that that disturbed continent is now suffering from the “winds of change in reverse”. The collaboration of the three evils—*apartheid*, colonialism and subjugation—has wrought havoc and disaster, threat and disruption of the order and security of that plagued, yet great, continent.

73. My region, the Middle East, the cradle of three great religions and the bastion of civilization that brought man his greatest values, has not witnessed tranquillity and peace for 50 years. On 5 June 1916 the Arabs revolted against the Turks and fought with the Allies, on the promise that unity and independence would be attained after victory. On 2 November 1917 the Balfour Declaration was communicated to the leaders of the Zionist movement with a view to creating a Jewish homeland in Palestine. To cut the story short, one million Palestinians were unjustly expelled, evicted and driven from their homeland. They lost home and hearth, living on international charity. In 1967 the third Zionist invasion of Arab countries was unleashed and resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people and the occupation of the territories of three Arab States Members of this Organization.

74. Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which stipulates the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the just settlement of the refugee problem, has not been implemented; nor has it been accepted by Israel. The Israeli leaders daily pronounce their intention to retain Arab territories in Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza. The security of the State of Israel, they contend, justifies the conquest of Arab lands, since Tel Aviv's interest is not in land but in security.

75. Since when did the world accept that the maximum security of a State should be maintained at the expense of the territory of others? Since when did the principle of an absolute security that entails the annexation of the territory of others become the guiding principle of the relations between States? Does the Charter condone the annexation of the territory of others under the pretext of security? What have we in the United Nations done to those who blatantly and unabashedly defy the United Nations, and to those who have described the Security Council as bankrupt and immoral? The answer is this: the majority has been indifferent, and a super-Power has been blindly obedient to

the demands of the aggressor. Indeed we do not understand the attitude of a super-Power which supplies arms and Phantom jets to Israel to strengthen its grip on Arab territory and to rain terror and depredation on the innocent people in Lebanon, Syria and the refugee camps of the Palestinians. For those who have tasted the bitter pills of conquest, displacement, and colonialism, the item on international security is the mark of leisure for the relatively secure, and of irony for the totally insecure.

76. The policy of *fait accompli* is starkly inimical to the order of international relations. A *de facto* arrangement may, with the passage of time, become *de jure* facts of life and realism. Hence the necessity for measures to combat *de facto* annexation and the policy of *fait accompli*.

77. My friend the representative of Brazil, Mr. Frazão, quoted words of Pascal that reflect the realities of international politics prevalent today. May I, speaking in the same vein, quote an English poet who felicitously said:

“Earth is sick and heaven is weary of the hollow words which States and kingdoms utter when they speak of truth and justice.”

78. My delegation has already welcomed the Strategic Arms Limitation agreements concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union as a sign and a tangible proof of détente among the super-Powers. We should also like to express satisfaction with the multilateral consultations of European States and of the United States and Canada which have already begun in Helsinki and have very good chances of success. They are the logical culmination of a series of measures which include the treaties between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin.

79. The non-aligned countries made it clear during their recent Conference of Foreign Ministers in Guyana that détente, in its present manifestation, has not ensured that while peace is being promoted in certain areas, interventions, subversion and power rivalries are not being pursued elsewhere. Kuwait would like to make use of this opportunity to proclaim once more its solidarity with the non-aligned countries which are eager to maintain the international balance of power and to protect the small countries from becoming a tool in the hands of the big Powers.

80. My Government has been a consistent champion of the cause of general and complete disarmament. Like most small and medium-sized countries, we feel impatient with the slow pace of progress towards the achievement of our cherished goal. We cannot be content with partial and fragmentary measures in the field of disarmament. The present trend in disarmament is to treat nuclear and sophisticated weapons as the exclusive preserve of a number of big Powers. All countries of the world, big and small, have an equal stake in disarmament. That is the real reason behind holding a world disarmament conference in which no single Power will have ascendancy. Future measures should be aimed at disarming the nuclear Powers themselves and abolishing all double standards that are being applied in the present disarmament measures.

81. Double standards have become a fact in most aspects of international life. Their application constitutes a negation of the letter and spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

82. The situation in South Viet-Nam is a living example of disregard by the big Powers of the principle in the Declaration that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destiny, free of external intervention, coercion, or constraints, especially involving the use of force. The destruction inflicted on the people of Viet-Nam as a result of foreign intervention is too wide in scope and magnitude for a single country to bear. We hope that the tragedy through which the people of Viet-Nam are now living will soon come to a close and that they will at last be able to exercise in complete freedom their right to independence and self-determination.

83. The question of defining aggression has been languishing in the United Nations for many years now. An authoritative definition of aggression not only is timely but, in the present climate of international life in some regions of the world, has become an urgent necessity.

84. In carrying out its basic responsibility for preventing the scourge of war and proscribing the acquisition of territory by use of force, the Security Council is charged with responsibility for determining what constitutes an act of aggression and for the suppression of such acts. It is true that much more is needed than a definition of aggression to dissuade some of the permanent members from abusing their veto power. However, the formulation of an accepted definition will be a good reminder to the permanent members of their solemn responsibilities under the Charter.

85. Many scoff at the United Nations and view it as an imperfect body with little capability of enforcing its decisions against the will of its more powerful Members. No doubt, the malaise of the United Nations is due to the reluctance of the permanent members of the Security Council to discharge their obligations under the Charter.

86. It is incontrovertible that the weakness of the fabric of international security stems from the fact that the Security Council, through abuse of the veto, has been prevented time and again from acting as the supreme body entrusted with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It would be a good start if the Security Council were to engage in a process of retrospective meditation and deliberation. The Security Council should hold periodic meetings to review its past decisions and those of the General Assembly which pertain to peace and security and the inalienable rights of peoples.

87. The Security Council should not hesitate, through a process of review and follow-up, to apply enforcement measures against recalcitrant States which refuse to abide by the rule of law and which flout the will of the international community. Naturally, such a gigantic step would require agreement among the permanent members. That can be achieved only if matters of international peace and security and the inalienable rights of peoples are isolated from power politics and treated dispassionately and objectively in conformity with the Declaration and the letter and spirit of the Charter.

88. The cause of peace and prosperity is one indivisible whole. The arms race and the fragile fabric of international security have very serious economic and social implications.

89. While we live in an era which daily witnesses improvements in the relations between Eastern and Western countries, there is no equivalent bridging of the gap between the developed and the developing countries. Why should the outcome of the three sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development be negligible and the strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade be doomed to failure from the start?

90. It is a well-established fact that most of the developed countries have shown a lack of faith and have, for ulterior motives, been keen to deprive developing countries of the aid which would enable them to diversify their products and make their economies self-sustaining. This fact has very serious political implications. Advancement and a high standard of living need not be a permanent boon for the minority, and backwardness and poor living conditions the permanent lot of the majority of countries.

91. My country, though a developing one, has allocated a large fraction of its national income to aid to other developing countries. Therefore it is unable to accept the argument that rich and very advanced countries are unable to spare 1 per cent of their gross national product for aid to the poor countries.

92. My Government views the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] as a basic component of the framework of international security. Gunnar Myrdal, the famous Swedish economist, was right in comparing the situation to a drama in the classical sense. The drama is exceptionally intense, as well as immense in its involvement of hundreds of millions of people. The outcome of the drama is anything but certain. History is taken to be not predetermined, but within the power of man to shape. Let us make sure that the drama thus conceived is not necessarily a tragedy.

93. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise the right of reply.

94. Mr. BARROMI (Israel): The representative of Egypt dedicated a considerable part of his statement to aspersions and slander directed against my country. He quoted extensively from United Nations resolutions. The representative of Kuwait offered us a highly personal and debatable interpretation of old and recent Middle East history. Both, however, conveniently overlooked the central and tragic truth of the present Middle East situation, namely, the support openly and brazenly given by Arab countries, and specifically by Egypt and Kuwait, to the aggressive actions of international terrorists.

95. Should we really pay attention to the suave talk about international peace and security when it comes from those who are defending or condoning a policy of systematic world-wide violence by terrorism, in defiance of every accepted principle of international law, who are defending or condoning the spilling of innocent blood as a programme

and a banner? Peace will come to the Middle East when the Arab States withdraw from the immoral, sinister and disastrous course of terrorism and agree to explore the path of dialogue, understanding and negotiation. Israel is ready for a dialogue, in the spirit of similar dialogues that have taken place and are taking place successfully in other areas of the world. It is not too late to open a new page and work together for a better future for the peoples of the Middle East.

96. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): I listened with pity to the representative of Israel. He merits pity. He does not merit a reply. In fact I have not seen him for a long time in this Committee. He has just emerged today to disrupt and destroy the harmony and dignity of this Committee. He spoke about the withdrawal of the Arab countries from belligerency and from insistence. I would say that his country would do much better for the Middle East if it were to withdraw from its myopic policy, and eventually from all the Arab territories and accord to the Palestinians their inalienable right, which is recognized by this great body, the right to their homeland. I think he should be silent. He should observe the dignity of this Committee. He should not digress and divert the deliberations of this constructive Committee to innuendoes and a course of vilification. He should be the last man to come here and lecture this dignified Committee on the course for preserving international security.

97. Mr. BARROMI (Israel): Israel is certainly not the country that started this debate. I only wanted to ask the representative of Kuwait, through you, Mr. Chairman, whether what he really meant was that Kuwait was ready to fight against international terrorism.

98. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt) (*interpretation from French*): It is not my intention to engage in the rhetoric or the polemics or the verbiage of the Israel delegation. I have already answered all those allegations in the Special Political Committee in the course of the discussion that took place on the problem of Palestinian refugees, and at that time I stated that peace in the Middle East could be established if Israel would answer the Jarring memorandum favourably, as Egypt did and as the General Assembly has recognized.

99. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Through you, Mr. Chairman, the representative of Israel has directed a question to my delegation. He should go to the Sixth Committee and discuss that, but I will, through you, just put one question to him. Is Israel ready to withdraw from Arab territories and thereby contribute to the strengthening of international security in the Middle East, or not? That is the question that is relevant to the deliberations of this Committee. He should go to the Sixth Committee and raise his question.

100. The CHAIRMAN: Am I to understand from the representative of Kuwait that he is formally requesting me to put this question to the delegation of Israel?

101. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): No, Sir.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.