

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FIRST COMMITTEE, 1917th
MEETING**

Monday, 11 December 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 . 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, 1029, A/C.1/L.627
and 640)

1. Mr. HASSAN (Sudan): My Government has always viewed the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] as the most significant document adopted by the United Nations since its Charter. By discussing the question of the implementation of the Declaration at its subsequent sessions, the General Assembly has sought to give new impetus to the streamlining of the Organization's activities with regard to its paramount objective of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Never has the world stage been so favourably set for the realization of a durable and lasting peace. The United Nations in the 27 years of its existence has never been as close as it is now to the attainment of universality and full representation of the world community. The bilateral contacts between the two German States, being held on the basis of the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of both, will we hope not only enhance the process of universality of this Organization, but also advance the prevailing spirit of détente and further the cause of peace in Europe and the security of the international community.

3. In this spirit, we welcomed the multilateral consultations among European States as a long and overdue process which, if pursued a little earlier, would have spared the world the sufferings and miseries of two great world wars.

4. The Agreements on Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union ought, in our view, to be placed in the right perspective: they would have been tantamount to wishful thinking if even contemplated when the cold war was at its peak.

5. All the aforementioned events which have taken place in the European scene, if viewed in conjunction with the

recent understanding among the States concerned on the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would cause one to note with satisfaction that perhaps Europe, the region which staged so many devastating wars, the region which nursed and nurtured the cold war and power politics, has at long last come to grips with the stern realization that, to bring about peace and security for its people, it ought to acquire new ideals and discard the old ones, that perhaps to transform itself into a region of peace is a far easier approach towards the realization of objectives of peace and security than to cling to the old power rivalries and short-sighted policies. At last a new image of Europe as a region of tranquillity and a zone of peace seems to be emerging and the world community, while jubilantly applauding this metamorphosis, is asked to respect it.

6. Notwithstanding these happy developments in the arena of European politics, a feeling of constraint and disquiet can hardly be evaded. One would logically come to the conclusion that perhaps to bring about peace and security to the international community, bearing in mind past experience, there remains only one path to be taken, and that is the containment of power rivalries and areas of tension by the creation of zones of peace through multi-lateral and regional co-operation. Yet one notes with regret that while pursuing the policy of regional security, those groups of countries meet with indifference the calls for the creation of zones of peace and regions of security in other parts of the world.

7. Only the other day we witnessed in this Committee the outcome of the voting on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The same treatment has been accorded to requests by other groups of States to spare their regions the conflicts of power rivalries.

8. Needless to say, the reason for the repeated failure of the United Nations in solving many problems lies in its practice and not in the concepts or principles of its Charter. Those concepts and principles of the Charter, such a dynamic constitutional instrument, are in danger of being relegated and robbed of their spirit in an era where double standards mark the policies and attitudes of certain influential States. Unless all States live up to the principles of the Charter and constantly rededicate themselves to the standards of international morality and behaviour set out in that document, the strengthening of international peace and security will always remain a dream beyond reach.

9. Lamentably, discrimination of various kinds still, in the last third of the twentieth century, exists as an established institution. Yet never has it been practised with such ferocity and in such a repugnant way as it is now through the inhuman and cruel doctrine of *apartheid*. World-wide

disgust and abhorrence of this doctrine have failed to persuade the brutal and racist régime of South Africa to let go of the peoples of South Africa, nor have they managed to alleviate the misery and wretchedness of those peoples.

10. States claiming concern for the human race indulge unabashedly in breaching the arms embargo and clamour to invest huge capitals in South Africa in full support of the imposition of *apartheid*—an immoral support of an immoral practice.

11. Sizeable territories of the African continent remain under colonial domination. Argola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) suffer from the abominable Portuguese colonization which deploys, in its repressive campaigns against the nationals of those countries, the arms and war machinery it acquires by virtue of its membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

12. Namibia remains under the illegal occupation of South Africa despite the ruling of the International Court of Justice and yet not a single concrete measure has been initiated by the United Nations, particularly its Security Council, to terminate that occupation.

13. In Southern Rhodesia a white minority has declared unilateral independence and arrogated to itself the right to rule the African majority without interference by the United Kingdom, the administering Power, to restore justice and majority rule. Because of the defiance by South Africa, Portugal and others, the economic sanctions and trade embargo decided upon by the United Nations on Rhodesia are devoid of any weight or effect.

14. It is obvious to anyone with the least sense of history and judgement that in the deteriorating situation in the Middle East there is a major threat to international peace and security. Five and a half years have elapsed since the premeditated and well-planned third Zionist invasion of Arab States. Territories of three Member States remain under Israeli military occupation in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter that are further reaffirmed by the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in its statement that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from use of force.

15. Members of this Committee are well acquainted with the score of resolutions which have emanated from this Organization pertaining to the question of the Middle East, ever since this item was placed on the agenda of this Organization, session after session. So I would rather spare this distinguished gathering the futile exercise of enumerating the resolutions of this Organization repeatedly condemning the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and explicitly demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli troops.

16. Israel has chosen to obstruct and frustrate all those resolutions—one after the other—and has feverishly embarked upon a sinister policy of shielding its expansionist designs and atrocious practices behind an intensive barrage of propaganda and false allegations.

17. We have witnessed in this Organization, over the last two decades, situations where double standards and dual

vision have prevailed in the discussion, and where words have meant different things to different peoples.

18. This year, however, this Organization was made to go far beyond that: instead of addressing itself to all the resolutions on various problems recurring in the General Assembly's agenda every year and which were flagrantly contravened by Member States, and of seeking ways and means to preserve its prestige; instead of trying to implement and enforce those resolutions by invoking relevant articles of the Charter, it fragmented and preoccupied itself with the visible manifestation of those problems besetting the world today.

19. Reference is made here to the havoc raised at this session regarding the item on "terrorism".

20. At the outset, let me quote from the statement of our Foreign Minister at this session of the General Assembly:

"Wanton terror by individuals or groups of individuals stands condemned. At the national level it is a grievous affliction; at the international level, an unmitigated disaster. No Government that believes in a better world order and the well-being of man can wink at the former or license the latter." [2056th plenary meeting, para. 78.]

21. While some Member States went on flouting every resolution of this Organization and contravened the spirit and purposes of the Charter—a direct result of which was this wave of terrorism—the same group of countries managed to side-track the main issue and instead tried to dissuade this Organization from dealing with the root-causes of terrorism. Israel and its allies, while taking pride in disregarding and frustrating United Nations initiatives towards peaceful settlement of this question and dismissing United Nations efforts as not being congenial to the craftsmanship of peace, requested this Organization to engage in the process of drafting and signing a convention on this issue. We are in effect asked to hold the rattlesnake by the tail.

22. Had this been the case with regard to the Middle East question alone, one would have been able to dismiss this spirit of melancholy dampening the air of this Organization as a waning and transitional phenomenon. But a glance at the state of affairs besetting our world today, ranging from the nuclear armaments race to the widening economic gap and the exercise, which is dragging on, concerning the definition of aggression, as well as the situation in South-East Asia and in Africa, reveals the extent to which this process of double standards and dual vision has branded international relations.

23. Small and medium-sized countries continue to be harassed by colonialism in its new form of neo-colonialism. Their integrity and sovereign rights continue to be infringed, and Governments intent upon attaining a high rate of development and economic growth for their peoples are left no choice but to leave them unattended, lest their peoples' inalienable right to self-defence and security be jeopardized.

24. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade is almost at

the half-way stage, and its goals and objectives, far from being attained, continue to be viewed in a luke-warm and indifferent attitude by those who would have been able to contribute to its success.

25. In conclusion, may I be allowed to quote the words of my Foreign Minister in his statement to the General Assembly:

“Peace and security cannot be fragmented into political, economic, social or cultural components in the vain hope of solving the one without tackling the other. Development is a precondition for stability and expansion and a fundamental prerequisite for international peace and security. As such, the development of the proletarian nations of the world is an international responsibility as well as a national one. The very philosophy underlying the provisions of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade stems from the awareness that the international community has a global responsibility for the solution of social and economic problems.” [*Ibid.*, para. 115.]

26. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The strengthening of international security, a vital aspiration of all peoples of the world, should occupy a central place among the concerns of the United Nations, and we note with satisfaction that the consideration of this question has already become a regular feature of sessions of the General Assembly. However, in my delegation's view, the point of these discussions should be to highlight measures and effective action aimed at strengthening international security and, to that end, stimulating the efforts of all States and of the Organization.

27. It is with this conviction that Romania took part, with other States, in the drafting of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] which was adopted unanimously, and of resolution 2880 (XXVI) on the implementation of that Declaration. But the mere adoption of those documents, important as it is, is not however sufficient in itself to increase the security of peoples. The attainment of this objective requires that the Declaration, which contains a set of interdependent principles and measures which are essential if international security is to be strengthened, be implemented fully and in good faith by all States. There is an urgent need, therefore, in this field too, for us to bridge the gap between words and deeds and for us to pass from declarations of intent to practical measures.

28. My delegation believes that it would be most useful for the General Assembly to reaffirm, in their entirety, the principles and provisions contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and in resolution 2880 (XXVI) and to address an urgent appeal to all States to undertake effective measures to give full practical effect to those principles and provisions.

29. Similarly, we believe that the Secretary-General should be requested to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, on the basis of the opinions and replies he will have received from Governments, a report on the measures taken by States and by the Organization with a view to implementing that Declaration.

30. The Romanian Government's understanding of the implementation of these universally important documents was set forth in the reply it sent to the Secretary-General on 30 August 1972, which is contained in document A/8775. Accordingly, I shall address myself today only to some of the most important aspects, having to do with the strengthening of international security.

31. On the world scene, a new tendency is becoming more and more marked in relations among States. The participation of all countries—large, small and medium-sized—on a footing of equality, in the settlement of international problems has become an essential precondition to equitable and lasting solutions. Peoples are taking a more and more active role, revealing their determination to put an end to the policy of force and *diktat* in international life. Following these developments, contacts and negotiations have recently been initiated, and steps have been taken towards the solution of certain knotty problems.

32. However, many urgent problems still await settlement. In various parts of the world armed conflicts are still taking place, and hotbeds of tension persist, endangering peace throughout the world; the arms race continues unabated, representing a heavy burden for all peoples; colonialism and under-development have not been abolished. All of this is contrary to the interests of peace and the progress of peoples and directly affects international security.

33. In present circumstances, the strengthening of international security means, first and foremost, establishing relations among States on new and democratic bases; it means securing the strict compliance by all States, and in regard to each one of them, with the fundamental principles of international law. In my delegation's view, our debates on the question should therefore give fresh impetus to the efforts to strengthen international security and to improve and strengthen the system of rules that should govern relations among States.

34. The Romanian Government considers that an important step in this direction would be the conclusion of an agreement, universal in character, embodying the guiding principles of the conduct and action of States in their international relations. Such an agreement should, among other things, state firmly the necessity to respect the sacred right of all countries to free existence, to sovereignty, to independence, to peace and to security; establish the right of every nation to decide its own destiny in accordance with its own interests, with no interference from outside; recognize the right of all States to defend themselves by all means, including military means, against any encroachment on their national sovereignty and independence; establish the obligation of all States to observe the principles that should govern international relations; rule on any breach of those principles and on any active interference in the affairs of other States, with the stipulation that these would be considered as contrary to peace and to humanity; recognize and establish the principle that no problem of concern to several States may be settled except with the direct participation of, and with respect for the interests of, all the parties involved; require observance of the right of all States to participate, on a footing of strict equality in the solution of problems of general interest; require respect for the right of every State to take part in international

co-operation and enjoy free access to the benefits of modern scientific and technological progress; state the obligation of all countries not to have recourse to the use or threat of force against other States; state the obligation for the nuclear Powers not to have recourse to the threat or the use of such weapons against anyone or in any circumstances; and require that all States respect the obligation to settle their disputes by exclusively peaceful methods, through negotiation and contacts.

35. The Romanian delegation is firmly convinced that the drafting, adoption and strict respect for such a code for the conduct and action of States in international relations would have a particularly positive effect on the strengthening of international security. We express the hope that this problem will be considered with all due attention and that it will be one of the real concerns of our Organization.

36. Of great importance for the strengthening of international security is the progress that has been achieved in Europe and the progress now in the course of being achieved.

37. The political life of our continent has in recent years, undergone a process of normalizing and fostering relations among the European States. Sustained efforts have been made to build in Europe a system of security and co-operation. My country, Romania, has constantly made an active contribution, together with other European countries, to the development of that process.

38. In this connexion, may I remind the Committee here that in 1960, 12 years ago, the Romanian Government proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the question entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems". That initiative, five years later in 1965, was given practical expression in resolution 2129 (XX), unanimously adopted. That resolution called on the Governments of the European States to intensify their efforts to improve their mutual relations, with a view to creating a climate of confidence favourable to effective consideration of the problems still impeding détente in Europe and throughout the world.

39. Similarly, Romania, together with other socialist European countries, contributed to the drafting of the Bucharest Declaration on the strengthening of peace and security in Europe, dated 5 July 1966, which emphasized the important role of a pan-European conference for transforming Europe into an area of peaceful coexistence, of understanding and of co-operation. Acting in the spirit of that Declaration, Romania, as far back as 1967, normalized its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany—an action which not only fostered the development of bilateral relations on many levels, but also had a positive influence in terms of promoting the trend towards détente. My country is maintaining and developing relations with the countries of the continent, to the mutual advantage of all and to the benefit of European security and co-operation. Many summit visits have been made abroad and received in Romania. We should like to mention recent visits made by the Chairman of the Council of State of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, to Belgium and Luxembourg,

following which solemn joint declarations were issued. Enshrining the principles that the signatory States undertake to apply in their reciprocal relations and their relations with all other States, these documents go far beyond mere bilateral relations. At the same time, Romania has welcomed and supported the initiatives and actions of other countries aimed at normalizing relations among European States and promoting security and co-operation on the continent.

40. Our country looks forward to the forthcoming European conference and to its making an effective contribution so that Europe may become a continent of co-operation, security and peace. European security can be achieved only through the direct participation and effective support of all States, on a footing of equality, irrespective of their social system, size, potential or level of development, and whether or not they are members of existing military alliances. The Conference should lay down, in a document signed by all the participating countries, the principles on which relations among all European States should be based, namely, equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. It should, above all, culminate in a firm undertaking, assumed by all participating States, never, under any circumstances, in any form or under any pretext, to have recourse to the threat or the use of force in their international relations. At the same time, the Romanian Government believes it necessary for the Conference to take appropriate steps with a view to the unrestricted expansion of economic, scientific and cultural co-operation, together with other forms of co-operation.

41. In the view of my country, the problems of European security cannot be separated from the fundamental questions of international life and of the life of the continent, and above all, from efforts aimed at military disengagement, the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in the territory of other States and within their national frontiers, the reduction of national troop-levels, the dismantling of foreign military bases, and the problems of disarmament in general. Romania has put forward proposals to that effect and will continue to work for specific solutions, beginning, of course, with partial measures—such as, for example, a solemn undertaking on the part of all States to renounce the carrying out of military manoeuvres, putting on displays of force and massing troops along the frontiers of other States, and to reduce military budgets. Military disengagement must also find its expression in the creation of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world, including the Balkans.

42. Since all the peoples of Europe, like the peoples in the rest of the world, are interested in disarmament, it is entirely natural and legitimate for all countries to take part with equal rights in the solution of this crucial problem. We feel, therefore, that the continent's military problems, which are an integral and essential part of security, must be considered with the participation of all States of Europe.

43. My country regards the present Helsinki meetings as a constructive start on the great collective work on peace, security and co-operation which the all-European conference must carry out.

44. The vital interests in peace and security of all the peoples concerned, as well as the peoples of the whole world, require that measures be taken to put an end to wars and military conflicts among States, to eliminate hotbeds of tension and put an end to the use of force.

45. To that end the Romanian people, which has displayed its active solidarity with and given its full support to the just struggle of the heroic Viet-Name people, welcomed with satisfaction the news of the agreement concluded between the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States of America on the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace. The postponement of the signing of the agreement was a matter for concern. We hope that the present talks in Paris will culminate in the signing of an agreement as soon as possible, thus putting an end to the Viet-Nam war and creating conditions for the restoration of peace and free development of the Viet-Name people and other peoples of Indo-China in conformity with their own will.

46. In another part of the world, the Middle East, the persistence of a state of tension is cause for legitimate concern. Romania is consistently in favour of a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East, on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which presupposes the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, guaranteeing the integrity and sovereignty of each State of the region, and settlement of the problem of the Palestinian population.

47. My delegation has already had an opportunity at this session to express in detail the viewpoint of the Romanian Government on those problems with which the strengthening of international security is bound up: disarmament, development and decolonization.

48. We should like to stress briefly however, that the strengthening of international security means a halt to the arms race, concrete progress towards disarmament, effective measures for elimination of under-development, economic and social progress, and the setting up of a collective economic security system, a concept eloquently developed by our colleague the representative of Brazil [1898th meeting]. The strengthening of international security also requires the abolition without further delay of all forms of colonial domination, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

49. A task of the utmost importance with regard to efforts to strengthen international security devolves upon the United Nations. Romania believes it necessary to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. The debates at this session of the General Assembly on resolution 2925 (XXVII) have fully confirmed the fact that the strengthening of the role of the United Nations corresponds to an increasingly understood objective necessity, at the present historic stage of international relations. Romania is firmly convinced that each new step on the road to enhancing our Organization's capacity for action and effectiveness and broadening its role helps at the same time to strengthen the security of peoples and to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

50. We followed with interest the introduction of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 by the representative of Zambia at the preceding meeting. We are particularly glad the sponsors found it useful to stress the importance of considering the question of strengthening the role of the United Nations, which, co-ordinated with the consideration of other, related questions, will go far towards enhancing the political and diplomatic effectiveness of the Organization and the work of the General Assembly. We regard this as confirmation of the usefulness of the Romanian Government's initiative. My delegation believes that the draft resolution reflects the concerns of Member States, and I have the honour to announce that Romania has decided to co-sponsor it.

51. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Oman): Today, in 1972, 27 years after the establishment of the United Nations, a body whose primary purpose and mission was to maintain peace and strengthen international security in a world that had just suffered from two devastating world wars, we find ourselves here at the United Nations still groping for ways and means of establishing the peace, international security and harmony that are the desire of all humanity. The first Article of the Charter, to which we have all committed ourselves, states in unambiguous terms that:

"The Purposes of the United Nations are . . . to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace . . .".

52. It is indeed paradoxical that after all these years, clouded as they have been by constant turmoil and severe tension, we find ourselves no closer to realizing our objectives of ensuring peace and international security.

53. The political atmosphere remains clouded with suspicions and fears despite the fact that many constructive steps have been taken in past years to allay those fears and dispel those mutual suspicions in the international relations of the major Powers. Those steps have undoubtedly contributed to the raising of hopes in the smaller nations that this tendency will spread to all international relations.

54. It would be suitable in this context to ask the following very important and relevant question: Who is to blame for the present tension and suspicion in international relations? Surely it cannot be the smaller nations, unless they are being encouraged and incited by the interested big Powers, seeking to further their own political, economic or strategic interests in that particular part of our planet or seeking to prevent and frustrate the interests and objectives of rival big Powers in that area. The fact that all the nations of the world, whether they be big Powers or small nations, developed or developing, nuclear or non-nuclear, are clamouring for peace and security is indeed paradoxical in today's context.

55. We firmly believe that the key to peace and security lies in the hands of the big Powers. Peace can be a feasible and practical political venture if the big Powers will show a little regard for the well-being and interests of the smaller nations of the world, which need to live in peace and security in order to devote all their resources to the cause of economic and social development. The underdeveloped

countries of this world must be assured of peace and security if they are to strive for the raising of the standards of living of their people and thereby contribute to the material, cultural and political development of mankind. Otherwise, in order to defend themselves they will feel compelled to waste their precious limited resources in arms races and military mobilizations that will only delay their development.

56. No country, big or small, would flinch from giving explicit consent and adherence to any pledge or convention regarding the maintenance of peace and security in our world; any such undertaking would, however, in the final analysis prove meaningless if practical steps were not envisaged and taken towards the realization of any such pledge. Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have greatly improved in recent times. Those two great Powers have concluded many agreements, surmounting great difficulties, especially with regard to the limitation of strategic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. It is our sincere hope that those agreements will pave the way for further co-operation and concord among those Powers, perhaps involving general disarmament and détente. Similarly, the world has recently witnessed a step of great historical significance in the improvement in relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States. Those improvements are of great significance not only to the countries immediately involved but also to all nations which seek to live in peace, harmony and friendly co-operation with all other nations.

57. Constructive progress has also been achieved by the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic in bridging the differences that have for so long prevented their reaching an understanding beneficial to all their peoples.

58. North and South Korea have also embarked on a project that deserves our greatest support and admiration, namely, engagement in a dialogue directed towards their achieving understanding and reunification by peaceful means. Even in Viet-Nam, a country that has been ravaged by war and misery for a long time, a peaceful settlement seems at last to be on the horizon.

59. All those instances of lessening of tension and strengthening of peace in Indo-China, Asia and Europe are gratifying to us. We can only hope that that tendency will widen and that from agreement and understanding the countries involved will progress to co-operation and friendly relations in all fields. I must, however, draw the attention of the Committee to other trouble spots in our world that have not as yet been affected by the spread of détente around the world. Those trouble spots warrant our deep concern and anxiety, as they remain highly dangerous and explosive.

60. The Middle East area is certainly the most serious of those trouble spots, as a result of shameful acts of aggression by the Israeli militarists, who have on many occasions shown their expansionist desires directed towards obtaining *Lebensraum* for a people which is altogether alien to the area. Neo-nazism is emerging in the Middle East, as exemplified by recent Israeli military action against Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria—and who knows where else that

military adventurism will take the Zionists? The United Nations is called upon to curb this dangerous trend before it is too late.

61. In South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, millions of indigenous people are being deprived of their legitimate political and civil rights and are at present living in inhuman conditions and in subjugation.

62. My delegation firmly believes in the sanctity of the Charter of the United Nations, as it enshrines all the principles on which all the Member States can and should base their international relations. To our shock and dismay, those principles have too often been flouted and trampled upon, not by small nations but by the major Powers when they find that those principles do not correspond to their own vested interests. We believe that the Security Council can answer and effectively deal with all the problems that face us today. It is therefore deplorable indeed that that organ of the United Nations has so far failed to live up to expectations in ensuring peace based upon the principles enshrined in the Charter.

63. The failure of the big Powers to observe at all times the principles of the Charter of the United Nations has resulted only in the encouragement of other nations to do the same thing with impunity. Some nations, like Israel, have repeatedly and consistently acted in defiance of our Charter, in order to pursue their sinister goals.

64. Article 15 of the Charter states very clearly:

“The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.”

I wonder what sort of reports the General Assembly has been receiving from the Security Council for the last 27 years, in view of its inability to solve the problems of our contemporary world?

65. Furthermore, Article 24 of the Charter states that:

“In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.”

Under that unambiguous Article the Security Council has full responsibility, conferred on it by the Member States, to fulfil its duties regarding the strengthening of international peace and security. That constitutes a mandate that cannot be evaded or shirked. The achievement of peace and security rests firmly upon the members of the Security Council, which is duty bound to carry out those duties in a highly effective manner.

66. Under Chapter VII of the Charter the Security Council is endowed with full authority to apply any measures directed towards enforcing peace and security in any area

that is considered a threat to international peace and security. Article 42 of that Chapter states:

“Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations”.

67. It has become apparent that the continued suffering of millions of people in Africa and the repeated aggressions of Israel against the Arab countries are a direct result of the fact that the Security Council has failed so far to perform its duties and discharge its obligations under the Charter.

68. There is no ambiguity as to the role of the Security Council and its powers in enforcing peace and international security. Its primary responsibility, conferred upon it by the Charter, is the maintenance of peace and security in international affairs. Medium-sized and small nations have pinned their hopes on this international body to solve international problems and inspire a sense of security. But these nations have noted with concern, and even horror, the inability of the United Nations to solve the problems that are challenging this Organization.

69. In conclusion, I should like to state that too often in past years have peace-making efforts been undertaken outside the auspices of the United Nations. Too often in past years has the United Nations been neglected and not used in efforts to promote peace, mutual understanding, and security in various trouble spots of our world. Although such efforts are admirable, under whatever auspices they may take place, the time has come to make full use of this Organization with its great experience and machinery. The time has come for the United Nations to assume its full duties and powers in the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international security.

70. Mr. OZGUR (Cyprus): The maintenance of international peace and security is the primary purpose of the Charter of the United Nations. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted in 1970 [resolution 2734 (XXV)], is regarded by my delegation as very important. Our Organization is the best ever created for international security, especially for small States. Although Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations made the first attempt at a collective security system, it was more limited. It was applicable only to violations of the provisions of Articles 12, 13 and 15 of the Covenant. In any case, the system did not work for well-known reasons. My delegation has, on many occasions, declared its support for, and belief in, the United Nations. It is in this spirit that, at the current session, we supported and co-sponsored the resolution on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations [resolution 2925 (XXVII)], the resolution on the world disarmament conference [resolution 2930 (XXVII)] and the resolution on the non-use of force [resolution 2936 (XXVII)].

71. The Declaration under review calls upon all States to adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and to the non-use of force or threat of force; it reaffirms that obligations under the Charter shall prevail over those arising from other treaties, and that States must respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of other States. It also calls for certain specific actions.

72. I shall refrain from repeating the positive developments on the international scene because enough has been said of them by the distinguished speakers who preceded me, and by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization.¹ We do not underestimate the importance and the effects of these developments, but we do not consider either that these developments are based on solid grounds. Likewise, we will refrain from mentioning the international hotbeds of tension.

73. We are aware also of the fact that the most important factors in the implementation of the Declaration are the willingness of Member States fully to respect the principles of the Charter, their readiness to give priority and preponderance to the greater interests of the international community over their narrow, nationalistic interests, and their political will to implement the recommendations and decisions of our Organization. On the other hand, the reality is that the greatest portion of the world's power, in other words, its capacity for destruction, is in the hands of the super-Powers. Therefore, we can see why the implementation of the Declaration depends so much on the big Powers and thus, primarily, on the Security Council which, unfortunately, has not functioned as satisfactorily as the authors of the Charter had intended.

74. We do not cherish the illusion of a fool-proof collective security system under the present circumstances, but we believe that no effort should be spared from taking any step that might strengthen the United Nations, and thereby international security. In this respect, the third world has a potential role to play within the framework of the United Nations. It should be borne in mind that under present world conditions, no State is omnipotent. The argument that it is no use adopting resolutions which will not get the support of the big Powers for their implementation cannot be maintained. Resolutions should be adopted on their intrinsic merits; if they are not implemented let those responsible reckon with world moral conscience and history, if nothing else.

75. My delegation strongly believes that matters of international concern should be reviewed within the framework of the United Nations. Unfortunately, and as stated by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, there is an unwillingness on the part of Member States to bring their international disputes before the Organization. More intensive and urgent consideration should be given, therefore, to enhancing the authority and power of our Organization. Assignment of responsibilities to any organ, as in domestic law, is not enough without the accompanying power which should go *pari passu*. Authority, having its origin in law, should be reinforced with actual power to be effective. This is imperative for the implementation of United Nations decisions and recommendations.

76. We will not go into the subject of whether or not the principles of the Charter are adequate. But we can safely say that there is certainly room for improvement towards the implementation of the provisions of the Charter, such

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

as the development of modalities and procedures to allow the proper functioning of the means and methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes which appear in Article 33 of the Charter. No doubt, any such development should encourage Member States to resort to such means of settlement and facilitate such recourse. Furthermore, to catch up with the dynamics of international realities, the provisions of the Charter must be subject to evolution, as are social institutions in our present-day life. Indeed, in certain cases, such as the peace-keeping operations, the provisions of the Charter have already gone through such a process of dynamic interpretation and practice. But it is still imperative to put the United Nations peace-keeping and peace-making operations on a systematic and organized basis. In view of the fact that we have the United Nations peace-keeping forces in Cyprus we know how valuable such forces can be. In this connexion, I should like to point out that paragraph 7 of the Declaration—on more effective peace-keeping operations—is still awaiting positive action.

77. My delegation believes that, if the Declaration is not to become a dead letter, it is necessary to follow up its implementation at regular intervals. The implementation of the Declaration, unfortunately, leaves much to be desired. Paragraph 9—recommending that the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter—has yet to be implemented. In the absence of such agreements, the whole concept of the United Nations security system is left practically dependent on Article 106 of the Charter which, in its ultimate effect, does not differ from Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

78. This shortcoming greatly reduces the effectiveness of the whole of Chapter VII of the Charter. Furthermore, the power of veto constitutes a great limitation on centralized law enforcement, which is the essence of a collective security system. Also, we cannot fail to observe that the power of veto has been used rather unsparingly. When we speak of the concept of a collective security system, let us not confuse it with the retention of spheres of influence and similar situations, and let us all try to understand the concept in the same way.

79. Similarly, other recommendations to the Security Council, such as appear in operative paragraph 11 on the universal collective security system and in operative paragraph 14 on the question of defining aggression, have yet to be fulfilled, although the taking of collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression is one of the main purposes of the Charter.

80. The interrelationship of international security, disarmament, and economic development was pointed out by my delegation in a draft resolution we submitted in 1968.² This link has become even clearer since then. In fact, the newly emerged concept of collective economic security deserves the strongest consideration.

81. Regarding regional security measures, my delegation supports such measures so long as they are not tantamount to military alliances. We have no doubt that regional

measures for demilitarization or for the creation of peace zones or for the peaceful settlement of disputes are most valuable. Military alliances, however, contradict the spirit and the letter of paragraph 11 of the Declaration. So does the out-dated concept of balance of power which, in the event of the establishment of a true and effective collective security system, will automatically become obsolete. In fact, a military alliance is but a form of balance of power.

82. The Declaration embodies principles and guidelines which call for both preventive and curative measures. Evidently, priority should, preferably, be given to preventive measures.

83. In our opinion, the development of international law and order, resort to the legal arm of our Organization as well as to the means for the peaceful settlement of disputes and to the good offices of the Secretary-General, the universality of the United Nations, the eradication of colonialism, and the full observance of human rights should be achieved and made the infrastructure of our Organization. The Declaration should, therefore, be implemented effectively and not be regarded as a mere reaffirmation of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

84. With those considerations in mind, my delegation, together with a number of other non-aligned countries, has sponsored draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, and it is our hope that this draft will receive the unanimous approval of the Committee. I take this opportunity to welcome the new sponsors of our draft and to express our appreciation for the statement of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627 to the effect that they will not press that draft to a vote.

85. Before concluding, I should like to express our satisfaction with the result of the five-day unofficial conference held last week between eminent citizens of the United States and the Soviet Union at Dartmouth College. The conference stated, *inter alia*, that effective collective security requires large-scale international efforts and urged the Governments of the participants to intensify their use of United Nations machinery for peaceful settlement and for the reinforcement of peace. We hope that Governments will find it possible, and desirable, to listen to the voice of peoples and respond to their anxieties all over the world.

86. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation participated actively in the drafting of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], which was adopted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of our Organization.

87. In the course of the debates during the last two sessions, we have on several occasions affirmed the importance which we attach to this edifice, which is the result of a major collective effort and which should inspire our action at the service of that which constitutes the main reason for the existence of the United Nations: the maintenance of peace among nations.

88. However, we should not be mistaken about the nature and exact scope of that Declaration. It could not claim to create new rules of international law nor to be an addition

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 27, document A/7441, para. 5 (f).

to our Charter; it solemnly reaffirms the common will of States to attain the objectives proclaimed, by complying with the principles and provisions of the Charter. That is what appears clearly in the second paragraph of the preamble to the Declaration, as well as in several operative paragraphs, in particular the first two. The Declaration nevertheless has great value because it concentrates attention on everything in the Charter that can be placed at the service of international security and can assist in maintaining it.

89. Last year my delegation sent the Secretary-General, within the framework of the inquiry provided for under resolution 2734 (XXV), a communication³ in which the French Government more specifically recalled certain actions which, in its opinion, are of particular importance for strengthening international security: *détente* and co-operation between East and West, which excludes the confrontation of blocs; real disarmament, which we differentiate from the efforts made to maintain a balance of existing forces; assistance to the developing countries, so as to lessen the excessive differences between them and the most industrialized countries which may become a source of tension; finally, the collective action of the United Nations, whose Charter confers on the Security Council primary responsibility in regard to the matter we are dealing with here.

90. True, much remains to be done to ensure that the objectives of the Declaration are fully attained. We can, however, note with satisfaction that the progress already registered last year in our Committee has now been enhanced.

91. The relaxation of tension is being reaffirmed in Europe with the happy outcome of the negotiations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, following the treaties concluded by those two States with several other European States. Several bilateral declarations of friendship and co-operation have been concluded, among which we too, as did the delegation of Poland, welcome the one signed by Presidents Gierek and Pompidou in Paris on 6 October last. We also attach great importance to the conference on European security and co-operation which, if the necessary conditions for its success are met, could represent for our continent an important stage in the process of relaxation of tension and normalization now under way.

92. Although in other parts of the world certain situations have not yet been settled, there are encouraging signs. One may hope that the European example will be followed. To achieve that, conciliation must supersede confrontation, patient efforts must go hand in hand to retain points of agreement, reduce opposition and silence rancour. That is the way in which relaxation of tension has proceeded in Europe. It is also by way of conciliation that two years ago we were able to arrive at the Declaration contained in resolution 2734 (XXV). Unanimity with regard to its text was achieved only because of an effort at mutual understanding in which we all participated.

93. My delegation sincerely regrets that this unanimity could not be maintained last year when we discussed the implementation of the Declaration. New ideas, on which all

Member States were not fully in agreement, were introduced in resolution 2880 (XXVI). My delegation abstained in the vote on that resolution because we felt that by introducing these new and controversial ideas we were acting outside the framework of the Declaration and bringing into question a unanimity the need for which had nevertheless been recognized. Resolution 2880 (XXVI) did not receive the votes of 16 Member States which constitute a very important segment of the international community; it did not receive the approval of four out of the five permanent members of the Security Council. That being so, one is justified in doubting its authority. Instead of contributing to the implementation of the Declaration, has that resolution rather not resulted in reducing its value, since last year's vote brought to the surface the fact that we were not all agreed on the content to be given to the very idea of international security?

94. In this field there is, in our opinion, a second rule: a draft resolution on international security should contain only provisions which refer to the specific objective of the Declaration.

95. We do not thereby fail to recognize the value of the ideas which some delegations have wished to include in draft resolutions intended to implement the Declaration. Among these ideas there are some of which we recognize the value and which we have in fact supported at appropriate times; however, they do not directly refer to the subject with which we are dealing and their inclusion in a resolution on international security runs the risk of diluting this vital idea. We must not lose sight of what is essential, and the question of security as such is so fraught with difficulties as to deserve our exclusive attention here.

96. My delegation can support a draft resolution only if it meets these conditions. In particular, we feel that in such a subject—international security, which is the main objective of the United Nations—it is necessary to come back to the practice of a consensus, the only one capable of giving full authority to the resolutions adopted by the Assembly to define positions of principle of a general character.

97. It is from the consensus to which they gave rise that the major resolutions adopted during the twenty-fifth session derive their value, be it the Declaration which we are now considering, the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*] or the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*]. Do not those unanimously adopted resolutions commend themselves more forcefully to Member States than those whose adoption brings to the surface the disparity of views in the international community? My delegation is convinced that that is so.

98. The delegation of France, which had taken note with interest of the draft resolution submitted by the group of socialist States in document A/C.1/L.627, has closely studied draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, which will be the only text on which we shall be called upon to vote. Regrettably, it does not appear to meet the conditions which I have endeavoured to define. Indeed, it refers to

³ See document A/8431, of 24 September 1971.

resolution 2880 (XXVI) and takes up again some ideas that are subject to dispute; in those circumstances it cannot obtain the consensus we consider to be necessary. Accordingly, even though we approve of part of its contents, my delegation will not be able to support it, and will abstain.

99. Mr. ELIAS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): International security is so important an element for coexistence both of individuals and peoples that it has always been felt to be inseparable from peace, even to the extent that one can say that both constitute two diverse aspects of a single, fundamental value which is basic to an orderly social life. The United Nations has so deemed it since its creation. Even though its more concerned efforts have been directed to putting an end to and avoiding armed conflicts, our Organization has also tried to find adequate instruments with which to attain that security without which peace would be reduced to a pause between two wars or to a mere cover for new acts of violence.

100. Accordingly, the General Assembly, in its Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which was adopted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, declared in the last preambular paragraph:

“*Conscious of its duty to examine in depth the present international situation and to study the means and recourses provided by the relevant provisions of the Charter in order to build peace, security and co-operation in the world*”.

101. In fact it is not enough that the principles which regulate international coexistence be solemnly proclaimed, nor that they be enshrined through being incorporated in constitutional instruments, even at so lofty a level as the Charter of the United Nations. The deliberative and supreme organs of the international community must exercise effective and permanent control to ensure the continued implementation of the same principles, by adopting collective measures to supplement bilateral and regional efforts for security. Resolution 2880 (XXVI) is a response to this need. The fourth preambular paragraph states:

“*Convinced further that such efforts should be complemented by collective measures adopted by the competent organs of the United Nations, in order to ensure the complete implementation of the Declaration*”.

102. It would serve but little to reiterate the principles, if in practice States do not use the ways and means provided for in the Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes, if they fail to make use of negotiations, good offices, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, as is recommended in paragraph 6 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. But the organs of the community should facilitate the application of these ways and means and, to that end, adapt formulas and principles and its own recommendations and petitions to the changing international situation.

103. Now that we are considering the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we should begin by asking ourselves what the

present situation is, and what are the present-day needs of international security. It is true that the danger of total war seems to have receded, in part because modern technology and the scientific development of weapons have brought about the paradoxical situation that war cannot be won by any country or group of countries because the devastating effects on both warring factions would be incompatible with the concept of a military victory. It would also seem that partial wars could come to an end and their imminence be reduced in the near future. Nevertheless, the cessation or absence of conflict, although welcome, is not enough as long as the danger remains, as long as the silence of arms is not based on a system of security other than the balance of terror and does not replace it. We must needs reiterate this once again and be fully conscious of the fact that a balance based on permanent and reciprocal threat is a system of security which should be rejected and superseded as soon as possible. The balance of terror is a bad system if it is bi-polar. It will still be a bad system even if it becomes a triangular, pentagonal or hexagonal balance, because the great Powers who exercise it will not be able to avoid the old temptation of coalitions which, although they are called defensive, will not thereby fail to increase tension and danger for all. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in paragraph 11, makes a recommendation to all States to contribute to establishing, in accordance with the Charter, “an effective system of universal collective security without military alliances”.

104. By what means can one arrive at the system of security without military alliances? The means is available: it is called co-operation. The same Declaration, adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the Assembly, in paragraph 25 states that the General Assembly:

“*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*”.

105. Co-operation can be achieved in many fields. The most urgent is, however, obviously co-operation in the economic field. A programme acceptable to all would be to march united towards political security through economic security. Resolution 2880 (XXVI), in paragraph 8, declares that “in view of the close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and development, the United Nations should evolve a concept of collective economic security”. If the Assembly sinned in any way at that time, it was because it employed an understatement. The concept of economic security need not be created since, unfortunately, economic insecurity is a fact which many countries have to face every day. When it is stated that we must elaborate a concept of economic security, what is meant is that economic security must become one of the principles of coexistence among nations. Economic security will be the result of co-operation towards development, of a common undertaking which will create the links, the resources, the energy and the ideals which are necessary to guarantee political security. When a network of common interests and aspirations is built in the economic field and in promoting cultural and social development, we shall then

already have a system which, when properly institutionalized, can to the advantage of all substitute the system of bi-polar or multi-polar arms balance.

106. In paragraph 11 of resolution 2880 (XXVI) the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to submit at the twenty-seventh session a report on the measures adopted which, *inter alia*, includes communications from Member States regarding the application of the Declaration. The delegation of Spain in due course addressed a communication to the Secretary-General [see A/8775] and we now wish to reiterate that Spain, a country which in the last three quarters of a century has not participated in any international war and which remained neutral in the first and second world wars, remains steadfast in its peaceful purposes. Spain does not belong to any of the systems of military alliances. We are determined and we have reiterated our will to use peaceful means in all international questions which affect us, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Spain is prompted in its foreign policy by the principle of respect for the sovereignty and independence of other States, with no exception, and, for some years now, we have been striving to re-establish and improve our relations with countries of diverse social régimes, since it is our conviction that in the present-day world, and specifically on the continent to which we geographically belong, there are too many gulfs and but a few bridges.

107. For that reason, Spain has from the outset been in favour of the initiative to convene a European conference on security and co-operation, in the belief that the situation on the European continent has made it necessary to supersede the old patterns of confrontation between blocs and to create a system of collective security based on a relaxation of tension and on co-operation among all countries of the continent, with no exception or discrimination of any kind.

108. May I be permitted to recall that on 21 October 1969, when many countries were still reticent about the desirability of a European security conference, the permanent representative of Spain stated the following in this First Committee:

"A matter of particular interest to my delegation is the establishment of regional security systems, with the participation on an equal footing of all the States in the region. Provision is made for this in Chapter VIII of the Charter, and it is referred to in section IV of the document submitted by the Soviet representative. My country, which is part of Europe for obvious reasons of geography, history, economics and culture, is most sympathetic to the idea of setting up a European regional security system that will provide the necessary institutional framework to secure peace on our continent and to promote co-operation at all levels; and hence the Spanish Government responded affirmatively on 2 May last to an appeal from Budapest for the convening of a conference on European security, and on 7 July gave an equally affirmative reply to the Government of Finland, accepting its generous offer to make Helsinki be the headquarters of the proposed conference." [1659th meeting, para. 56.]

That was our thinking in 1969; it still is, today.

109. I feel bound to add that for reasons similar to those which justify multilateral talks in Europe for the establishment of a collective security system, Spain has replied positively to all initiatives towards convening a world disarmament conference.

110. My country has advocated respect for and strengthening of the rules of international law which defend peace and security for all countries—in particular, those countries which for geographical or other reasons are particularly vulnerable to the dangers derived from a lack of knowledge or an underrating of those rules. We do not believe that international law, in so far as it guarantees the peace and security of countries, is to be altered, unless it be to increase its effectiveness—but never to weaken it or to call it into question on the pretext of needs derived from the policy of hegemony of the super-Powers.

111. It must not be forgotten that it is the least powerful that most need the legal protection of their rights. Obviously, to arrive at a general system of security, the most adequate method is to arrive at partial agreements which will gradually bring us closer to our goal. We welcome and extend deserved praise to the bilateral efforts which some Powers have been making to lessen international tension. And yet, bilateral action is not enough to create the necessary confidence among all other countries which need to participate in determining their own destiny. Hence regional co-operation is more necessary than ever, and accordingly we are most happy that finally the way has been paved for preparing a European conference on security and co-operation.

112. It seems to us that such a conference could be a decisive event in the establishment at the European level of a system of security based on co-operation. To that end the participating countries will have to accept some principles of peaceful coexistence, doing away with the confrontation between blocs, which, we hope, will soon be dead and buried, once and for all. Those principles must be such as to enshrine at the same time a maximum of co-operation and free communication among all the countries of the area and maximum respect for the traditions, national characteristics, ways of life and sovereign will of the member countries. Co-operation does not require uniformity. On the contrary, its results will be all the more effective and lasting the more it is based on interaction among diverse elements which retain their own characteristics.

113. At the outset of this new stage, which is so important for the security of the European continent, we wish to reiterate a warning which we believe deserves the most careful attention; that is, we cannot accept the theory of the displacement of tensions. A lack of tension in one area cannot mean that the same elements and the same degree of tension which disappear from one place can merely be transferred elsewhere, to a more or less close area. Some countries would wish the relaxation of tension to be limited to the continental territory, leaving for the indefinite future any relaxation of tension on the seas which wash the old continent. The countries bordering those seas, whether they geographically belong to the same European continent or whether they are near neighbours, cannot allow that mistake to be committed at their expense—a mistake which could later on have tragic consequences. It is a fact that the

strategic situation and the confrontation of military bases in the Mediterranean, together with the Middle East conflict, are creating a growing and threatening tension which, if it lasts, would condemn the coastal countries of that region to become powerless spectators of their own destiny. That must be avoided; we must arrive as soon as possible at a stabilization of forces in the area which could be the prelude to a later reduction of those forces. Someone has said that it would be desirable to proclaim the doctrine of "the Mediterranean for the Mediterraneans". We do not believe that the Mediterranean should be for the coastal countries only: we would prefer that it be proclaimed that the Mediterranean is for all—but not at the expense of the coastal countries. They must be the first to participate fully in the decisions on which will depend the security of their sea.

114. Peace and security in Europe are indivisible, on land, on the sea and in the air. Here there can be no discrimination between the large and the small, nor between one system and another. There must be a common consciousness among the coastal peoples, a total respect for their respective national entities, and a gradual opening towards co-operation and development of that entire group of countries which historically have contributed to the creation of one of the loftiest and richest cultures on which mankind can pride itself. Let us not deceive ourselves into believing that in Europe there can be any stable peace unless there is peace in the Mediterranean area. We hope and we desire that this will be borne in mind when the time comes to draw up a final agenda of items for that European conference, to which we now pledge our most resolute and effective co-operation.

115. In conclusion, my delegation stands ready to support any draft resolution which, in accordance with the principles already enshrined in the Charter and in a context that is acceptable to the majority, will reaffirm past appeals of the Assembly and explicitly support efforts directed at creating regional collective security systems in the various areas of the world. To this end, it seems to us desirable that the draft resolution should expressly include the basic principles of peaceful coexistence none of which must be forgotten at this time; renunciation of the use of force or the threat thereof; non-intervention in the internal affairs of others; mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and sovereign equality of all States; and open co-operation with all countries, with no discrimination whatsoever.

116. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): At the twenty-fifth session, during the debate on the strengthening of international security in this same Committee, we announced our support for a proclamation reaffirming the principles of the Charter, and expressed the hope that our action would not be confined to stating the obvious but would rather contribute, through practical measures, to bringing about the necessary changes in the political and economic spheres for the strengthening of peace and security, still threatened by the persistence of injustice and unresolved problems.

117. In our view, recourse to proclamations and general resolutions is too easy a means, one to which we should not too frequently resort in order to satisfy our consciences and

avoid having to address directly the real problems facing us, at the risk of misleading and seriously alienating international public opinion that looks to this Organization for specific solutions and not just for declarations of intention, however noble such intentions and their motivations may be. It is therefore not without hesitation that we approach the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640.

118. The question of strengthening international security is of prime importance for our Organization. The purpose for which this institution was created was to maintain peace in the world and to spare mankind from the scourge of war. After 27 years, we are still asking ourselves about the effectiveness of the steps taken to date.

119. Among the problems that our Organization began considering two decades ago, many still persist and continue to await solutions. Colonialism continues to oppress the Arab and Palestinian peoples in the Middle East as well as the peoples of southern Africa. The situation in those regions does not seem to be moving towards solution. In South Africa, in Rhodesia, in Israel, *apartheid* and segregation continue to be State policies, and our Organization has not succeeded in solving these problems. The situation of the divided countries has not been settled. The arms race and nuclear tests continue to imperil peace in the world. Poverty and unemployment are still there, and two thirds of the world's population suffer from them.

120. It is particularly alarming that the gulf separating the rich from the poor countries goes on widening. This aggravation of the economic imbalance in the world can lead but to frustration and to inevitably violent upheavals in the economic and social orders. Our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, properly points to this situation in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, as follows:

"The confidence of the 1960s has turned into the doubts of the 1970s, and there is increasingly both a question as to the nature and future of the economic and social order and a lack of determination to take the necessary measures."⁴

121. To illustrate this lack of will to reduce the gap separating the developed from the developing countries, may I recall that the assistance granted by the former to the latter will reach, during the first part of the decade, no more than 0.37 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries, or one half of the target set in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. Need I remind the Committee that population pressure in the poor countries is out of all proportion to growth in production and economic resources, because of their comparatively disadvantaged situation and the inadequacy of their international trade. Need I remind the Committee that this situation is leading to deepening poverty and alarming unemployment, to malnutrition and educational backwardness. Need I remind the Committee that world peace cannot be guaranteed in these circumstances. If the problem of poverty threatens first of all the security of the

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1A*, sect. XI.

poor countries, no less truly does it threaten likewise international security in general, and consequently the security of the rich countries. What has happened to the covenant on international economic security?

122. Concern continues to be evident with regard to disarmament. It is true that a détente among the great Powers has begun to appear and that there has been some progress towards disarmament. However, nuclear testing continues. Certain countries continue in their refusal to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. Others go on arming themselves to excess.

123. Of course, we understand the attitude of those Powers that have not yet become parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; we understand their reservations and hesitations with regard to participation in a process in which the super-Powers retain, in spite of everything, their freedom of action.

124. The report of the Secretary-General indicates that expenditures on the manufacture of weapons of war go on increasing. The report of the experts on the relation between arms policy and development indicates that the expenditures on armaments have reached \$200,000 million, approximately, while assistance to developing countries amounts to only \$8,000 million. In the Mediterranean area, for example, the arms race continues between the super-Powers, to the alarm of the coastal countries.

125. We can never repeat it often enough: colonialism, zionism, *apartheid*, segregation, the war in Viet-Nam—which we pray will soon come to an end—the tension in the divided countries, the problems of disarmament and economic development: all these continue to raise up obstacles impeding the strengthening of international security.

126. In the face of this situation, which did not begin yesterday, some praiseworthy progress has been made, but this progress remains very inadequate.

127. The détente begun among the great Powers—in the Peking and Moscow meetings and with the agreements on the limitation of nuclear weapons—can help to strengthen peace in the world and strengthen the role of the international organizations in the maintenance of international security. Co-operation on a world-scale with a view to solving problems such as the deterioration of the environment or economic development constitutes a positive step which we welcome.

128. On the regional level, too, there are positive signs of co-operation. European security is one point on which the countries of Europe seem to be arriving at a common understanding which, although in its infancy, is developing positively. I am glad to recall here that encouraging consultations are now going on among the coastal countries of the Mediterranean with a view to co-operation on the political, economic and cultural levels, co-operation which is creating an ever more favourable atmosphere. Tunisia recently took part in a meeting of Foreign Ministers from four Mediterranean countries: Libya, Italy, Malta and Tun-

sia. Decisions were taken concerning co-ordination of efforts in the fields of transport and communications. The Ministers of the four countries also expressed their will to co-operate peacefully. This meeting was one of a series of actions on behalf of co-operation and détente in the Mediterranean, and I am happy to stress the role played by Malta in these efforts. Moreover, the group of non-aligned countries, at their conference at Georgetown in August, outlined a policy of co-operation and détente which should be encouraged by the United Nations and by the European conference on security to be held in Helsinki.

129. Here I should like to quote the paragraph concerning the Mediterranean region contained in the Georgetown Declaration adopted by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries:

"The Conference noted that the Mediterranean is increasingly becoming an area for the display of rival military forces. It welcomed the initiative taken towards convening a conference of non-aligned countries and those anxious and ready to work towards making the Mediterranean a sea of peace and co-operation among the peoples of the area."

130. On the bilateral level the agreement between the two Germanys and the signs of détente between the two Koreas are encouraging and should be pursued with the assistance of all countries that can contribute to that détente. I am also happy to note the praiseworthy efforts of our Organization, and particularly of the Secretary-General, towards the strengthening of international security, both in Cyprus and in the Asian subcontinent.

131. However, our actions, no matter how strong the will that inspires them, do not seem sufficient. What weight have the declarations or condemnations of our Assembly had in the face of the threats to world peace in the colonized countries and the poor countries, and given the arms race? What weight have our declarations had in the face of Israel and South Africa? What weight have our condemnations had in the face of Portugal's obstinacy? Our declarations have certainly had no more than symbolic value.

132. Our Organization also seems to be stricken with paralysis in the face of the failure of the great Powers to shoulder their responsibilities in the strengthening of international security. If the great Powers refuse to assume fully their responsibilities in this field, is it not Utopian to speak of world peace? The responsibility of States other than the great Powers is not to be overlooked either. The indifference of the leaders in very many of these States with regard to the major international problems is all too evident.

133. My delegation emphasizes that we must find more practical solutions to many of these problems. It is no longer sufficient to make declarations of principle. The great Powers must assume greater responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and the strengthening of international security. While we congratulate them on the efforts at détente recently undertaken, we must not forget to remind them that their responsibilities in this field are greater than those of other countries.

134. In the field of economic development the necessity for each country to contribute should now be clear in the minds of all. The efforts made thus far have been very inadequate and do not permit progress towards a radical solution. Just as the poor countries have understood that the problem of the deterioration of the environment is an international problem and not one peculiar to the industrialized countries, so should the wealthy countries understand that the problem of economic development too is international and concerns all countries. Active and increased participation in development should come from the wealthy countries.

135. The maintenance of world peace is the responsibility of all of us. We must reach better co-operation in order to apply our common decisions. It is useless to condemn South Africa, Portugal or Israel if we cannot, through concerted action, impel them to respect our decisions.

136. At its next session the General Assembly could study the problem of the failure to implement the resolutions of the United Nations and the attitude of countries which continue to defy our Organization. Public opinion needs to be made more sensitive both to the major international problems and to the role of the United Nations in solving these problems. The United Nations information system should continue to be strengthened by the co-operation of the Member countries to alert public opinion to our problems and our efforts to solve them. A real international awareness would help first of all the Governments of the countries concerned to do their jobs in this field and to develop a spirit of mutual understanding.

137. For peace is a long process which must be patiently constructed. It is above all in men's minds that it exists. By our insistence on solving problems, on impelling errant Governments to rally behind an international consensus, we seek to promote in human reconciliation and peaceful co-operation an era of security in which hope for a better world can be born again and create the conditions for that peace for whose sake we should with one mind consign all our efforts.

138. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen): The delegation of Yemen attaches great importance to the item before us. I have listened with great interest to the statements made by the representatives who have spoken before me. Practically all aspects of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] have been extensively covered. It is true that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has contributed immensely to the strengthening of international peace and security. It is true that limited positive results have been achieved through negotiations and co-operation among some nations on the path of strengthening international security. It is true that the process of *détente* in Europe and the normalization of relations among the major Powers is a contribution to the strengthening of security among the big Powers. It is true that the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and of a Latin American zone free of nuclear weapons will, if really attained, be one of the major contributions to international security. There will still, however, remain the challenging and real enemies of man. These are poverty, illiteracy and disease.

139. International security, to the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, means more substantial food and shelter, more extensive economic surveys, more economic investment in industries and social development. We are witnessing the coming in of the twenty-first century, dragging with it the thousands of millions of those who are becoming poorer and the millions of those who are becoming richer and richer. The \$200,000 million spent on armaments and on mass killing could have been spent on economic surveying and the development of the resources of this planet to make it a flourishing Utopia for mankind.

140. There still exist in many parts of the world major problems which await the swift and serious implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. A quick look at the international situation should convince this Committee of the imperative and urgent need for the complete and comprehensive implementation of the provisions of the Declaration.

141. A casual glance at the situation in the Middle East shows that the Israel that was created on 11 May 1949 under General Assembly resolution 273 (III), which noted that Israel was "able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter" is the same Israel which is occupying the territories of three Arab States, Members of the United Nations.

142. Israel was admitted to membership of the United Nations on the basis of its declaration, in which it stated that it "unreservedly accepts the obligations of the United Nations Charter and undertakes to honour them from the day when it becomes a Member of the United Nations".

143. When we look at the number of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, starting with resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, which resolved that the refugees wishing to return to their homes should be permitted to do so, that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and that loss of or damage to property should be made good by the Israelis, we see that in spite of that, and of all the resolutions that came after it, Israel has become more vicious and more greedy for more Arab land.

144. On 29 November 1947 by General Assembly resolution 181 (II), Palestine was partitioned into an Arab State and a Jewish State. In 1956 Israel occupied more Arab land and evacuated more Palestinians from their homes, adding more suffering to humanity and further disturbance to international security. In 1967 Israel not only occupied a whole area of Palestine but persisted also in occupying the territories of three Arab countries, Members of the United Nations, in spite of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and of various General Assembly resolutions, most recently resolution 2799 (XXVI).

145. If Israel was admitted to United Nations membership on the basis of its declaration in which it stated that it would accept and honour the obligations of the Charter, the question is, has Israel loyally adhered to its declaration? Has Israel accepted since 1949 the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations? An affirmative answer would have been in the implementation of Articles 2, 4, 5 and 6 of the Charter of the United Nations.

146. The present situation in Viet-Nam is certainly a threat to peace and international security. The Yemeni delegation therefore demands the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Viet-Nam and respect for the lawful right of the Viet-Nameese people to self-determination.

147. It is also unquestionable that peace and international security cannot be achieved in the world until the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are given the right to self-determination and independence.

148. Speakers before me have elaborated details and specifications regarding the unhappy people of Namibia, suffering from racial discrimination and the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of the white

minority in South Africa, regarding the people of Zimbabwe, who are living under terror and racial discrimination by the apathetic white minority in Southern Rhodesia, and regarding the lawful right of the people of Korea to self-determination and reunification. The grim view which world opinion takes of international security today is the outcome of many disappointments and frustrations. We are here recording, therefore, in a clear and truthful manner, the history of this generation, which expects us to express its conscience, its aspirations, its ideals and the true meaning of world peace and security. International security is the result of the practice of sharing, the practice of tolerance, the practice of respect for fundamental human rights and the belief in the dignity and worth of the human person.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.