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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.1024, 1029, A/C.1/L.627 and
640)

1. The CHAIRMAN: At the conclusion of our debate we shall vote on the 51-Power draft resolution concerning item 35, which appears in document A/C.1/L.640. It is my understanding that, in accordance with the statement made by the representative of Poland at the 1916th meeting of the Committee, the eight-Power draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.627 will not be pressed to a vote. Therefore, the Committee will be voting only on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. I have been requested to announce that the Niger and Honduras have become sponsors of that draft resolution.

2. Mr. JAZIĆ (Yugoslavia): Examination of the entire complex of international security and measures for its strengthening has become a component part of the agenda of the General Assembly since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]. Justification for this continuity derives from the fact that the maintenance of international peace and security remains a primary task of our Organization, whose duty it is constantly to review and insist upon the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration in an international situation which is in a process of evolution. The Declaration constitutes an organic whole and its principles and provisions require implementation in their entirety. Of course, this should always be viewed as a continuing process. Last year's resolution of the General Assembly on this matter [resolution 2880 (XXVI)] represents a part of this continuing process.

3. My Government has this year also—in compliance with that resolution—submitted its views on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; they appear in document A/8775.

4. As pointed out by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held in Georgetown, from 8 to 12 August 1972, in its statement on international security and disarmament, an annual discussion is necessary to pinpoint the causes of tension, with a view to their gradual elimination through solving the outstanding international conflicts and crises by peaceful means. Such an annual and comprehensive consideration would help to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations, by enabling all Member States to express their attitudes and proposals on the crucial issues of peace and security, and would facilitate the process of democratization of international relations. Should we encounter a repetition of views and positions already raised in previous discussions, this would be an indication and a warning only that, in reality, many problems are still pending and, consequently, that it is necessary to discuss them.

5. The urgency and need for concerted action along the lines of the implementation of the Declaration are evident. While welcoming with satisfaction the positive developments and promotion of détente which are taking place in some areas, especially in Europe, and the improvement of relations among States in the bilateral, regional and multilateral spheres, and among the big Powers in particular—which is essential for the maintenance of world peace—we are, at the same time, aware that instability and crises still persist in other regions. Aggressions in Indo-China, in the Middle East and in Africa constitute a serious threat to the security and independence of many States. It is necessary to continue concerted efforts with a view to ensuring that the détente should include all regions of the world without exception and in a manner that would safeguard the legitimate rights of peoples who are fighting for their liberation and development in freedom. The fundamental principles of the Declaration should be applied in practice between all States irrespective of their size and social system. Only on such a platform will it be possible to achieve peace, security, stability and international co-operation which will gradually eliminate the sources of tension and restrain the protagonists of the policy of repression, force and foreign domination over other peoples.

6. In combating negative tendencies it is not possible to speak only of classical forms of aggression and intervention; we must identify also those subtle forms of foreign interference which are of great importance for the independence and unhampered development of developing countries in particular. For example, the maintenance of relations and practices based upon monopoly and privileges continues to affect adversely the economic development of developing countries. Yugoslavia, like many other countries, is convinced that the comprehensive consideration of the question of the strengthening of international security should be linked with the problems of development.

7. This principle of the Declaration was reaffirmed at past sessions as well as at the current session. Furthermore, the concept of collective economic security, as the vital element of the general security of States, was introduced. At the same time, it is fundamental to stress once again that the permanent and full exercise of sovereignty over natural resources is indispensable for the economic and political independence of States. Any attempt to deprive a State of this inherent right violates the basic principles governing the relations among sovereign States and, consequently, endangers peace and security.

8. On the other hand, there is a clear link and interdependence between security and efforts towards disarmament. A whole range of negotiations, agreements and initiatives are in progress. Without in any way minimizing the progress achieved in the bilateral and multilateral area, we should like also to stress the need for a broader participation of States, including of course all nuclear States, in the resolving of the basic issues of disarmament. The convening of a world disarmament conference should prove a decisive step in this direction, in spite of the many difficulties in the way of such a conference.

9. In Europe multilateral consultations have started for the purpose of making preparations for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in which my country is also taking part. We attach great importance to this undertaking, being convinced that it will lead to the consolidation of positive trends, further strengthening of peace and security, regional disarmament measures and reduction of armed forces, and expansion of mutual co-operation on an equal footing. As a non-aligned socialist country, Yugoslavia is keenly interested in the overcoming of bloc divisions. At the same time, we wish to point out that Europe is not, nor can it be, an isolated region whose development can evolve outside the general international context. We fully share the conviction expressed in the Declaration of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, adopted at Georgetown, that the normalization of the situation in Central Europe could acquire real significance only if extended to positive endeavours to improve the situation in other regions. The security of Europe is, above all, linked to the Mediterranean and to developments in the Middle East. In the solution of all these problems the full and equitable participation of all interested States is essential. The same fundamental principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant declarations of the General Assembly should be implemented also in regional security actions. At the same time, Europe should increase its contribution to the resolving of the development problems of the third world, which rightly expects this.

10. Among a large number of countries, particularly the non-aligned, the concept of the creation of zones of peace and co-operation as an alternative to regional pacts is emerging. These efforts should be directed towards the reduction and gradual withdrawal of great-Power military presence. Initial results have already been achieved. The Indian Ocean was declared a zone of peace during the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. Efforts are under way at present to have that Declaration implemented in practice. At the initiative of the five countries of South-East Asia, a Declaration was

adopted at Kuala Lumpur in which those countries expressed their determination to secure the recognition of and respect for South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form of interference by outside Powers. Consultations are also under way among a number of countries, primarily non-aligned, on joint activities with the aim of gradually making the Mediterranean a sea of peace and co-operation among the peoples of that region.

11. In the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation, several principles of general nature, as expressed in my Government's reply, should be kept in mind with regard to the zones of peace.

12. First, it is indispensable that the relations of all countries within a zone of peace, as well as their relations with countries outside the zone, be strictly based upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. By the same token, any form of close integration within a zone should be effected on a voluntary basis and on the basis of full equality and respect for the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned.

13. Secondly, co-operation within a zone of peace should not be based primarily on military ties, although mutual solidarity and assistance in the case of threats or aggression should constitute an essential component of security. Co-operation should be founded on mutual interests in the political, economic and cultural fields.

14. Thirdly, one of the fundamental aims of a zone of peace is to create conditions for the reduction and gradual withdrawal of great-Power military presence, including the military bases of any other Power in a given region, and particularly the achievement of denuclearization in the entire zone.

15. Fourthly, a zone of peace does not constitute a new bloc or region closed to third States, but an open zone of comprehensive peaceful co-operation among all countries.

16. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. The basic purpose of this draft resolution is to preserve the continuity of ideas and efforts directed towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. On the one hand, it points in a balanced way to the development of encouraging trends and improvement of relations among States and, on the other, expresses deep concern at the persistence of armed conflicts, colonialism, racism and other situations which prevent the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence. It urges States to continue efforts to strengthen international peace and security and to take measures towards the elimination of conflicts and crises which threaten peace and security. The basis for this rests in the consistent implementation of all the principles and provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

17. Taking into account other topical issues, the draft resolution makes particular reference to the need for full respect of the principles of permanent sovereignty over natural resources and the necessity for co-ordinated consideration of related issues, including, *inter alia*, disarmament, development, peace-keeping and the strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

18. My delegation believes that, if Member States and the United Nations as a whole constantly act in the sense of strengthening universal security on the principle of peaceful coexistence, there will be better conditions for a more stable peace and progress.

19. Mr. SEN (India): The subject before us is so fundamental and so closely related to the purposes and principles of the Charter that practically all speakers referred to it directly or indirectly during the general debate that took place at the beginning of our current session. My Foreign Minister, in his statement to the General Assembly on 3 October [2051st plenary meeting], indicated the Indian view on the atmosphere of understanding spreading over several continents and particularly among the great Powers. He made three special points.

20. First, our Charter, our many declarations relating to peace, security and friendly relations, and the various resolutions we adopt in this field should be considered in their totality and must be related to all the basic considerations underlying the solemn documents to which we have adhered.

21. Secondly, he pointed out that a recent encouraging phenomenon has been the greater and more determined pursuit of bilateral solutions to many perennial international problems. There are many examples of this in areas as widely separated as central Europe, north-west and central Africa, south and east Asia where agreements have been reached for solving a number of problems through the efforts of the countries directly concerned. Such settlements, reached in full accordance with the mutual interests of the parties directly concerned and bilaterally in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, can in certain cases be of better service in strengthening peace, security and justice.

22. Thirdly, our Foreign Minister emphasized such specific problems as disarmament, colonialism, with racial discrimination as its handmaiden, and the serious problem of development, including the urgent need to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor countries. All these problems were mentioned in the context of international peace, security, friendly relations and coexistence.

23. My purpose in speaking this morning is to review briefly our work in the light of developments which have taken place in the last three months and to indicate, again briefly, the lines which in our opinion we may profitably pursue in the near future, it being understood, of course, that the momentum which has developed in working towards greater and better international relations has to be maintained by all possible means. That is why we consider that annual discussion on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] is a useful contribution to keep-

ing up the speed and direction of the present welcome trends.

24. For the last two years many speakers have emphasized the political significance of the Declaration. This Declaration, along with other documents in related fields adopted at the twenty-fifth session, can be regarded as a body of principles towards which the community of nations could move in a peaceful and organized manner.

25. While there is a close interdependence between all these declarations and resolutions and while each document maintains its own identity, the basic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is unique in that it goes beyond generalities and attempts to provide recommendations of a concrete nature.

26. Resolution 2880 (XXVI) went a little further and emphasized the need for the Declaration to be implemented in its entirety, through United Nations machinery and capabilities, and identified some of the continuing problems related to international peace and security.

27. The tendency to view international life as being amenable to bipolar or multipolar balances downgrades the initiatives towards international peace and security, which lie outside the strategic calculations of super- and great-Power relationships. With a view to defining the new quality of relationship between Member States of the United Nations, the Lusaka Declaration adopted on 10 September 1970 at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries stated that: "The democratization of international relations is therefore an imperative necessity of our times" and further that they would take measures "to assert the right of all countries to participate in international relations on an equal footing which is imperative for the democratization of international relations." Implicit in this proposition is the recognition that absolute power in a military and economic sense does not confer on anybody absolute responsibilities. Nor does it confer on any country or even a group of powerful countries the role of guarantors of international order in line with global perspectives as perceived or defined by them.

28. Specifically, in our part of the world, in a sincere search for durable peace and good-neighbourly relations, and on the basis of the realities of the subcontinent, we opened negotiations with Pakistan which culminated in the Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972. This Agreement proves that direct negotiations can provide a more dependable means by which problems can be solved to the benefit of the vast population of the region. The two Governments agreed that all problems between them should be settled by peaceful means through mutual consultations. The leaders of India and Pakistan have pledged full support for, and expressed their complete determination concerning, the faithful implementation of the Simla Agreement. For this purpose, further accords are to be arrived at by mutual consultation and discussion. The use of force has been totally abjured. An overwhelming majority of the heads of delegations, in their addresses during the general debate, welcomed the trends towards peace in the subcontinent resulting from the Simla Agreement.

29. Since the conclusion of this Agreement some of the outstanding problems have been solved. The line of control in Jammu and Kashmir has been agreed upon and the task of delineation on the ground completed, through many rounds of consultations between the military and other authorities of India and Pakistan. The withdrawal of the troops of each to agreed areas, we are confident, will take place soon. There has been a significant exchange of prisoners and affected civilians between the two countries.

30. The Assembly has taken some steps during this session to contribute towards the establishment of peace in the area. Thus, it has considered without a vote that the People's Republic of Bangladesh is eligible for membership in the United Nations and has expressed the desire that it be admitted to membership in the United Nations at an early date [resolution 2937 (XXVII)]. This reflects the reality that nearly 100 countries have recognized the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bangladesh. So long as Bangladesh is not recognized by Pakistan, the solution of the other pending problems, including the return of civilian and military personnel, which is important for the establishment of a climate of tranquillity and peace in the area, is difficult to accomplish. The simple truth of the matter is that negotiations between the three parties can take place only on the basis of mutual recognition of each other's sovereignty and equality, and steps towards this end have yet to be taken. In this context, so long as Bangladesh is kept out of the United Nations, for whatever reason, the full restoration of peace in the area will be retarded; we depend upon the international community to rectify this situation.

31. The admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations would be a further step in the direction of universality, towards which important progress was made last year. Other developments in Europe appear to allow us to hope that the exclusion of important States such as the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic will no longer continue to impede progress towards the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter. In these circumstances, it should be a matter of deep concern to all of us that the eighth largest nation in the world, and an important non-aligned developing Asian country, has not yet been able to take its rightful place in the United Nations.

32. The adoption by the First Committee during this session of the draft resolution establishing an *ad hoc* committee to examine practical issues relating to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is a contribution to the creation of areas which will be free from great-Power military rivalries and intervention, and which will bring about the removal of military bases conceived in that context. This legitimate regional effort to strengthen collective international security, without military alliances, responds to our sincere wish that the permanent members of the Security Council, other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean and interested littoral and hinterland States should co-operate in the work of the proposed committee in order to give meaning and substance to the Declaration.

33. In the Middle East the threats to international peace and security are increasing daily and at times ominously.

They illustrate clearly the relevance of the principles contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We remain convinced that the problem cannot be solved without respect for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the principle of the restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. It is because these principles have still to be applied and respected that the Middle East situation remains precarious and full of increasing hazards. We hope that the beneficial effects of the great-Power détente will also extend to other regions of the world, and in particular to the Middle East. In one more effort to make Israel follow the path of peace and reason, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2949 (XXVII) by an overwhelming majority only a few days ago. We consider that this widely supported resolution gives Israel yet another opportunity to change its negative and destructive attitude and to find a peaceful solution in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

34. In the field of colonialism and racialism the recent specific recommendation of the Security Council and also the resolution on Zimbabwe adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 2946 (XXVII)] hold out some hope of progress, but much will clearly depend on the attitude, first and foremost, of South Africa and Portugal, and to a great extent on their friends and allies.

35. The slow pace of efforts towards general and universal disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, under effective international supervision and control, is tending to be offset by heavy investment in technically superior weapons of destruction and by a fierce race for armaments which shows no signs of slackening and is indeed using up more and more resources—resources which could be used beneficially for the good of mankind. A world disarmament conference with proper adequate preparation would contribute to these objectives, and we welcome the steps taken at this session to bring about such a conference.

36. The provisions of the Charter and the different mechanisms included in it should be seen as forming part of an integrated whole. All aspects of the United Nations Charter are interrelated, as is evident from the Preamble and Chapter I. Indeed, an examination of the conflicts facing the international community or of explosive situations shows that in the past, unfortunately, there has been a tendency to cite the Charter selectively in order to suit this or that State without analysing the problem as a whole and from all aspects. Such an approach does not encourage the harmonizing of actions in the solution of specific and difficult problems. For this purpose also the principle of universality should be strengthened, and at the same time it is necessary for the organs of the United Nations to reflect more equitably the composition of its membership so that their effectiveness may increase.

37. It was against that background, in which I have deliberately left out such well-recognized problems as the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] and the ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries, that a group of non-aligned countries and a significant number of Latin American States adopted draft resolution A/C.1/L.10/Rev.1.

also indicated their welcome sponsorship of this text. The draft resolution, while reaffirming the continuing validity of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the need for its full implementation, is also timely, for it is in tune with the evolving contemporary international situation. In singling out the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the sponsors had no intention of detracting from the great importance of other major declarations, such as that on friendly relations and related matters.

38. We hope the processes envisaged in the draft resolution will receive general support. We are confident that, with the termination of military hostilities in Viet-Nam, which have continued for so long and so cruelly and unnecessarily, the pattern for peaceful coexistence for which we have been striving for so long, will become a greater reality.

39. Finally, a new equation of relationships among States is emerging all over the world, and many national governments are adjusting their policies to this changing situation. While all this is welcome and healthy we should do well, whenever we can, to keep in mind the basic principles of our Charter and declarations and resolutions and move forward, without international conflict but in a spirit of co-operation and coexistence, towards carrying out the tasks for which this great Organization was established twenty-seven years ago, tasks which still remain unfulfilled.

40. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): The Afghan delegation welcomes this opportunity to state its views on the item before us, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". We welcome it because in some respects this Declaration [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], combining principles with the methodology of co-operation, constitutes a main fuse in the very complex grid of the United Nations energy and power, or, if you prefer, a fountain-head from which flow the basic ideas of the scores of items and issues which make up the vast agenda of this Assembly. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that its comprehensive synthesis of the modalities by which an international organization must operate against the gravity of nationalism is becoming a main index to what has been done or left undone or to whether results achieved conform to generally accepted principles.

41. This approach seems to us important—certainly not less important than the method of measurement we have sought to introduce in such organizations as the United Nations Development Programme or the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. We must constantly check the course of progress if we are to make progress. If the United Nations is to make progress, it must have some yardstick by which to measure it. Otherwise we shall perpetually find ourselves in the interminable debate concerning whether or not the United Nations works, with such a debate's tiresome clichés which supply rich food for the Organization's veteran critics and its unheroic defenders.

42. In discussing the Declaration, it may be useful to recall that this document, which assumes an importance second only to the Charter itself, is only two years old, a mere moment in the time-table of the achievement of the

far-reaching goals set for a complicated and evolving world. At the same time they have been years filled with significant developments, with events which enable us to check the extent to which governments have pursued policies in the spirit of the principles enunciated and where these principles have fared less well.

43. Perhaps to all of us, but certainly to my delegation, the most important principle enunciated in the Declaration is the one which establishes the duties of States to co-operate, irrespective of their different social systems. We need hardly comment on the great détente related to this principle and manifested in the important initiatives taken by certain Powers to establish fruitful relations with one another in the Far East and the parallel policies in Western Europe for breaking down the barriers with the East. The long distances travelled to narrow this chasm, which only a few years ago seemed an ideological impossibility, make this principle now either trite or a truism. Whether this dramatic development, which marks a turning-point in the life of this Organization, was linked by the parties to the Declaration or to the Charter or to their own interests may be a problem in the psychology of subconscious emulation or it may be a matter of face-saving propaganda. Major United Nations principles have over the years achieved more than they are credited with. What is important is that this basic principle in the Declaration has fulfilled itself far beyond anything nations and peoples expected when it was so dramatically born. Perhaps it was because it became imperative to secure certain interests that such a Declaration came into existence.

44. Similarly, the sister principle of the duties of States to co-operate for the advancement and the pursuit of peace also, speaking in journalistic terms, made history. The talks in Korea, Germany's Eastern treaties, the termination of war—immediately, we hope in Indo-China, all these have shifted the emphasis, from what has been called confrontation, to negotiation, with a suddenness that may blunt our power of adequate appreciation.

45. It was the high principles of the Declaration, their spirit and the thinking that went into their genesis, that brought the People's Republic of China—and soon, we hope, the two Germanys—into the United Nations family.

46. It should be noted that in the application of science and technology to international relations the Declaration has, on the whole, carried weight. We need only recall in this connexion, the United States-Soviet programme of co-operation in the further reaches of outer space and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, at Stockholm, which is generating a spirit of international co-operation of the most decisive nature in the fusing of nations towards a common endeavour.

47. In the economic sector progress in the Second United Nations Development Decade has been discouraging, but, there, too, it can be attributed more to the general confusion in Western economies than to the rejection of principles. The third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in Santiago, seemed to plough barren ground, but its decisions have not altogether fallen on deaf ears. There are concrete indications that there may be a turning-point in the attitude of the affluent

towards the developing nations. The European community has made some important pronouncements about greater co-operation with the third world. If we are getting the right signals from Washington, there may be some important soul-searching there, too, in pondering new relations with the developing economies. We hope that there may be a general economic détente giving the developing nations more representation in the forthcoming talks on new monetary and trade agreements.

48. We have witnessed, in the past year, revolutionary changes in the trade and exchange relations in the camp of the affluent economies but we are here concerned with adherence to principles and from this point of view it appears that the economic guidelines set down in the Declaration are beginning to take root. There may be ample room for criticism but not for total discouragement.

49. A degree of limited satisfaction may be derived from the amount of ground furrowed in the field of disarmament. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) carry a greater implication than the two-Power interest in heading off a new and greater race in nuclear-weapon systems. In Europe, the main arsenal of weaponry, the conference on the mutual reduction of forces is bound to have a psychological impact on other efforts.

50. In other major categories, the principles of the Declaration, we regret to see, have been grossly violated. The use of force and coercion for territorial acquisition, the crude violation of the rights of peoples, rampant interventionism in the domestic affairs of other States, the use of armed bands and mercenaries for incursion into neighbouring countries—these and similar violations of sacred principles of the Charter, including colonialist and neo-colonialist practices in defiance of United Nations decisions, have written some of the saddest pages in the history of this Organization and they threaten the peace in strategic parts of the world.

51. We are happy to note that the parties to the war on the subcontinent of India have become the parties to the promising accord at Simla, largely in the spirit of the principle in the Declaration which stresses reconciliation. But in Africa and the Middle East the casualties in terms of principles and human rights exceed the human casualties and have unleashed in the world a climate of hostilities, completely counter to the grain of the general détente.

52. In these areas not only have the principles of the Declaration suffered disastrously, but the imperatives of the Charter and the prestige of the Organization have sustained serious blows, generating a spirit of dismay and pessimism, corrosive of the faith we must all cherish in the difficult struggle for a better world.

53. What then is the balance-sheet? Issues we are dealing with are too complex, too involved, too unrelated to throw into the scale of measurements. Each year will have its own ratio of progress. But I think we shall not be guilty of over-optimism if we conclude that, on the whole, the Declaration has asserted its authority and its pre-eminence. It may be and has been violated, but also respected and never repudiated. Like other preceding declarations, it must be evaluated as a dynamic and evolving code of inter-

national behaviour. Like the declarations on colonialism, on disarmament, on human rights, it must be upheld as our supreme point of reference, an overriding guide in the fashioning of policies by Governments. It gives life to the Charter itself and makes it a pulsating, throbbing instrument far beyond the juridical framework of which it is a political and moral elaboration.

54. But neither the Charter nor the Declaration can operate without any effectiveness, without a moral standard under which Governments are expected to comply in good faith with the obligation they have solemnly undertaken—"good faith" are the words of the Declaration. This question of good faith is one of the major principles in the Declaration and one which has unfortunately suffered from erosion in the past two years. This has recently manifested itself in a most disturbing tendency to shrug off commitments, in a manner reminiscent of the most cynical days of the Italian City States; that tendency finally plunged the continent of Europe into the abyss of two world wars.

55. It may well be part of a general moral decline which is corroding the very fabric of international law and order. But whatever the origin of this retrogression into a diplomacy of sophistry and repudiation, this much is certain—that while States may survive such fits and phases, the tender fabric of the United Nations, fashioned not by sovereign power but by the warp and woof of moral fibres, cannot long endure the moral rot of recent years.

56. In speaking of moral decline in the international situation, it is essential to note its manifestation in a disturbing disrespect for, and disregard of, the United Nations, a subject which has been a parallel preoccupation in the plenary Assembly this year under the item of strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

57. In some ways it is unfortunate that these two items were discussed separately, for they are in their very nature interlocked in the overriding issue of the United Nations as a security organization. This link clearly emerges in the overlapping points brought out by speakers in both forums. It is linked also by the language of the draft resolutions. And this is natural and logical, for there can be no effective United Nations without the Declaration, and there can be no viable Declaration without an effective and respected United Nations. They are as inseparable as mother and child.

58. Accordingly, I wish to touch on a tendency to by-pass the United Nations, to treat its resolutions lightly and to defy its decisions disdainfully and even arrogantly. As for the draft resolution introduced by the Romanian delegation,¹ we cannot overemphasize the danger of making world decisions more and more outside the United Nations framework. For years we have laid it down as a vital axiom that the objective of an effective United Nations was tragically and hopelessly ignored by the big Powers in the struggle which split this Organization down the middle and paralysed its efforts to achieve its basic goals and destiny in our time. Unanimously and with hope, we look forward to the time when the big Powers may resolve their differences

¹ Subsequently adopted as resolution 2925 (XXVII).

and achieve a coexistence which would be reflected in a more effective United Nations as a whole rather than coexistence only among themselves. But our theory apparently has not stood up under the acid-test of time and reality.

59. Instead, we have the shattering paradox of a year of détente: that the long-awaited millennium of peace among the big Powers coincides with the most blatant by-passing of the United Nations, in a manner far more perilous to its prestige than the bitterest days of power confrontations.

60. Violations of Assembly resolutions, even those of overwhelming numerical weight, are rampant. Snubs of the Assembly have turned to insults and insults are becoming gestures of arrogant defiance. In the Security Council certain big Powers refuse to implement those resolutions that they have themselves supported, even those adopted unanimously. The Organization's first enforcement measure in economic sanctions, which, by the experience of the League of Nations, involves the most sensitive nerve of collective security, has been breached in violation of solemn commitments.

61. We would point out only a few examples. Resolution 242 (1967) on the Middle East, adopted unanimously by the Security Council, has virtually become property of a single Power. The most crucial weapons of destruction have become the subject of the bilateral SALT talks in Helsinki. We were assured that the agreements between big Powers were making an important contribution to all nations, but with almost all nations and the disarmament issue itself in the United Nations, no report to the world Organization was deemed advisable or necessary.

62. We had hoped that the resurrection of big-Power relationships would shift the international community from power-making decisions to collective consultations and security within the Charter and the Declaration. Instead, we see the détente itself being fashioned into a new formula for rule by power centres.

63. Thus there is much talk these days about new centres of power. And mind you, I am speaking for a small country. This new constellation is described as the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, China and the rising collectivity of Western Europe in which nations are demoted and promoted according to arbitrary concepts of their strength. Whichever way the game is played, however, it is still the old-fashioned power game of the strong against each other and all against the smaller Powers, which are relegated to a kind of Balkanization in which, like the Balkans, they are doomed to become the battleground of a new pattern of power rivalry.

64. This is a sad reversion, in which the epic pursuit of peace, so nobly launched in 1945, reverts to the confusion of nineteenth-century nationalism.

65. We have come to that point in the United Nations where our choice is clear and even simple: we shall either go forward and build a viable international community based on genuine co-operation, or we shall slide backward into those spheres of hegemony and power influence which the peoples of the world will no longer tolerate.

66. The issue yesterday was whether the major Powers could coexist. The issue today is whether they can coexist with the United Nations. The question yesterday was whether the major Powers could abandon their position-from-strength posture and deal with each other on a basis of mutual respect and equality. The issue today is whether they can deal with over 100 medium-sized and smaller States in the same concept of equality. The issue yesterday was whether the United Nations could remain viable despite their divisionism. The issue today is whether their unity will be directed to that task, or whether they will relegate the United Nations itself to the status of a small Power. The issue yesterday was to develop a détente among the great Powers. The challenge today is to fashion a détente with the United Nations.

67. I was going to conclude my statement here, but after listening to the representatives of Yugoslavia and India, both of whom referred to regional co-operation, I must add one word.

68. While in principle I agree with them that there should be regional co-operation, anybody who speaks about regional co-operation should bear in mind that the specific points in which they are interested are not the only points that should be borne in mind. While we agree in principle, we feel those delegations—whose intentions, we are quite sure, are good—should refer to the solution of regional problems first, to the disputes that exist between countries in the region, and then talk about regional co-operation. Without a solution of problems—and all problems are important, not only one or two which have been mentioned—we cannot hope in our region, to which India is very close, for any peace and security unless all problems which are in dispute are solved. I hope that my colleague will take note of that.

69. I shall conclude by saying that we are for the implementation of the Declaration, but that it should be implemented by the United Nations.

70. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now speak as the representative of MAURITIUS.

71. I wish to say that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which Mauritius endorses, as stated in the communication from the Mauritian Government in the Secretary-General's report before the Committee [*A/8775*] is a basic document of great importance; by adopting it on 16 December 1970, all Member States rededicated themselves to upholding the principles of the Charter and reaffirmed their determination to take concerted action for the achievement of the purposes enunciated in the Charter. It is, therefore, essential that we should periodically consider ways and means to implement the Declaration and formulate specific guidelines for action that would enable us to make headway towards the ultimate goal, namely, a peaceful world order. Any meaningful consideration of the item should help us to identify clearly problems and developments that jeopardize international peace and security.

72. While welcoming the normalization of relations between various European States and the general atmosphere of détente in Europe, particularly with regard to relations

between the East and the West, we still note that peace has eluded the peoples of Asia and Africa. In Indo-China we still have to deplore the loss of lives, and our hope for the cessation of the armed conflicts in Viet-Nam has yet to be fulfilled. We are, however, encouraged by the present talks between representatives of the United States and North Viet-Nam. We hope that obstacles to the conclusion of a peace agreement will soon be removed. But, ultimately, it is through direct negotiations and dialogue between representatives of the people of North Viet-Nam and the people of South Viet-Nam that a lasting peace could be restored. Such a dialogue has brought the two Koreas closer to the resolution of their long-standing conflict. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security solemnly reaffirmed that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint. We believe that, by abiding by this principle and promoting its application, the great Powers would greatly contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia.

73. By adopting resolution 2049 (XXVII) last week, the General Assembly has set out very clearly the prerequisites for a just and lasting peace, namely, on the one hand, the end to the occupation of the territories that had been seized—that would be consonant with another principle that had been proclaimed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security—and, on the other hand, the “termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area”. Of course, in the case of the Middle East, the determining factor will be the action which the Security Council is able to take.

74. With this and other deadlocked situations in mind, particularly in southern Africa, we believe that it is high time for the Council to consider seriously the recommendation made by the General Assembly in the Declaration, that it should develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. On their part, Member States should heed the Assembly's call “to do their utmost to enhance by all possible means the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council and of its decisions”. [*Resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

75. It is essential to strengthen the role of the Security Council as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and security, and to this end Member States, particularly the permanent members of the Council, should show the political will to back up the supreme organ of the United Nations with deeds and conclude “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”, to quote paragraph 9 of the Declaration. A test case for the Security Council will come up early next year after the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Namibia is submitted in accordance with resolution 323 (1972). Should South Africa continue to refuse to co-operate with the Secretary-General in order to bring about a peaceful transfer of power in Namibia, we feel that the Security Council will have to face up to its responsibility and take all necessary steps to enable the people of Namibia to exercise the inalienable and impres-

scriptible right to self-determination, national independence and the preservation of their territorial integrity, which the Security Council has solemnly reaffirmed in that resolution.

76. Generally speaking, in order adequately to maintain peace and security the United Nations will have to devise a peace-keeping machinery which does not yet exist. This means that Members which are tackling the very difficult problem of peace-keeping operations will have to show greater wisdom and willingness to arrive at the necessary compromise solutions.

77. Many delegations have shown that the problems of strengthening international security and economic development are interrelated. The widespread poverty that still plagues many countries and the lack of development that is mainly due to exploitation by the developed nations may indeed breed tension and insecurity. It is therefore in the interest of all that the gap between rich and poor should be bridged without too much delay.

78. In concluding these brief remarks I should like to state that the main points that have emerged from the discussion thus far are adequately taken into consideration in draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, now before the Committee. The delegation of Mauritius will not, therefore, have any difficulty in voting in favour of it.

79. Speaking as CHAIRMAN, at this stage I shall call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

80. Mr. BARROMI (Israel): My delegation has been reluctant to participate in this rather sterile debate, the main feature of which has been a collective lack of candour. However, we could not possibly leave unanswered certain remarks made by a few delegations, including that of India today.

81. It is not Israel that is not following the path of peace. The cause of the continuation of the Middle East conflict is the obdurate refusal of the Arab States to enter into negotiations for a freely agreed and honourable peace.

82. A large share of responsibility is also carried by those States which give unqualified and indiscriminate support to the Arab stand and do not raise their voice against policies of “politicide”, threats and plans, border warfare or terrorism. We question the quality and sincerity of the motives of those States. We find their position inconsistent with the strengthening of international security and peace.

83. My delegation considered it necessary to put its view on record. Now, taking into consideration that this is the last day and, it is hoped, also the last hour of our deliberations, we prefer to refrain from further comments on this subject.

84. Mr. MAZARI (Pakistan): I think that the representative of India has tried to create an impression that it is Pakistan which is refusing to recognize Bangladesh. I should like to inform the Committee that the President of Pakistan has time and again invited Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, for talks in any country he

desires. But, unfortunately, I am sorry to say that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has refused such offers every time.

85. Secondly, if Bangladesh were to implement General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) adopted last year and India were to release all civilian and military prisoners of war, I am sure that Pakistan would be prepared to recognize Bangladesh. I do not want to enter into any lengthy debate on this situation now, but would request the Government of India, in keeping with the Simla Agreement, to use its good influence with Bangladesh and ask it to carry out the provisions of the resolutions passed by the General Assembly with an overwhelming majority last year and unanimously this year.

86. Mr. SEN (India): To begin with, I must congratulate myself that whatever I said has excited a certain amount of response. One of the most undesirable features of debate is when somebody makes a statement and everybody keeps quiet. To that extent at least I feel satisfied that there has been a response. I will take the three comments in turn.

87. First, the representative of Afghanistan quite rightly pointed out that regional harmony, co-operation, arrangements and solutions must not be restricted to only two or three specific problems that some countries may consider important. They must envelop the whole gamut of problems which affect the interests of the territories in question. I could not agree with him more.

88. As regards the comment made by the representative of Israel, I do not think any reply is necessary because there are many other people who have been much more vigorous in replying to Israel than has our delegation, and I think that the facts are so well known that it is unnecessary for me to enter into debate. He speaks constantly about direct negotiations with the Arab States, but he does not refer to the most important resolution of the Security Council, to which Israel is a party. I think that that is enough.

89. As regards the comments of the representative of Pakistan, I shall merely say that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or any other Head of Government or State would be blame-worthy indeed were he not to enter into any negotiations or talks with any other State if those talks were offered in a spirit of equality, sovereign equality, which is a fundamental element of our Charter.

90. Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic): The Zionist Israeli representative had the courage to distort the facts but failed to find enough courage to tell the truth. It is relevant to remind the Committee that since 1967 alone the United Nations organs and agencies—the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights, the World Health Organization and UNESCO—have so far adopted at least 60 resolutions in which they condemned, strongly condemned or specifically condemned Israel for flagrant violations of the Charter, including attacks on the Arab countries, for its refusal to apply the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and for its violation of human rights. They also deplore, or deeply deplore, or strongly deplore the refusal of Israel to co-operate in implementing specific resolutions, or urgently call upon the Government of Israel to comply with the

Charter. These resolutions have also endorsed on the international level the legitimate Arab rights, including the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people under the Charter, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force and the rights of the Arab inhabitants of occupied Arab territories to live in decent conditions, as stipulated by the Geneva Convention.

91. Israel has not yet implemented a single one of those resolutions. Therefore, the Arab countries are not responsible for the insecure situation in the Middle East. Who is responsible for this deplorable situation? Only the Zionist Israeli racist Hitlers.

92. The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has concluded the general debate. I should like to recall that, in addition to the 47 sponsors listed in document A/C.1/L.640, the draft resolution is also sponsored by El Salvador, Honduras, Liberia, Malta, Morocco, the Niger, Romania, and Trinidad and Tobago. Before we proceed to the vote I shall call on those representatives who have inscribed their names to speak in explanation of vote before the voting.

93. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): My delegation did not participate in the general debate on the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". We found ourselves at a loss to add anything new to what had been ably expounded by many representatives in this Committee or to what we had already put on record in our statements during the last three years.

94. Trusting that I shall not tax the patience of the Committee at this late hour, I should like to expound some views of my delegation. I hope I can find in your comprehension and tolerance. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, understanding for the bluntness of some of the views I shall express.

95. I should like to make the position of my delegation clear at this stage regarding draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 submitted by the delegations of many non-aligned countries.

96. The fact that we did not become a sponsor of the draft resolution should not in any way be interpreted as lack of solidarity with the non-aligned countries, for we strongly support the principles of non-alignment. Nor should it be interpreted as a lack of support for the contents of the draft resolution, for we do strongly believe in, and adhere to, the principles stated therein.

97. We certainly do not underestimate the importance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted during the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)] and the sustained efforts since then to implement that Declaration. The Declaration is a monumental and historic document and responds to the hopes and aspirations of peoples in their quest for real peace in the world. However, my delegation feels that, as we were reminded yesterday by the representative of Tunisia, resolutions of this nature are becoming easy to produce and do not have more than symbolic value. Undoubtedly, they help to clarify the issues, elucidate the principles of the Charter and give concrete form to the ideals of mankind. They also make a

significant contribution to a lessening of international tension and to détente, and encourage nations to follow the peaceful path in solving international problems and conflicts.

98. But the item under consideration deals essentially with the question of implementation. The problem we face is not whether we should have more resolutions—we already have enough of them; it is, rather, whether we have or we shall have the will to implement the resolutions already on our records and, more than that, to put into effect the provisions of the Charter itself. We seem always to be going around in circles believing that we are devising new approaches and measures to implement those political decisions and resolutions we adopt which have as their main objective the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. We seem to be, as the French say: “looking for noon at 2 o’clock”—“*chercher midi à 14 heures*”—but the fact is that the Charter itself contains all the needed approaches, steps, methods and measures to implement resolutions. The Charter has muscles, and real muscles, but they have atrophied because of the refusal to use them.

99. The Security Council has, under the Charter, the primary responsibility for preserving international peace and security. This responsibility has been either paralysed, limited or nullified by the use of the power of veto vested in the five permanent members of the Security Council. Those members have not as yet established the necessary agreements to enhance and enforce the role of the Council in problems affecting international peace and security, a point to which you yourself, Mr. Chairman, alluded a few moments ago as representative of Mauritius. Because of this reality, the scope of the Council’s capabilities has been constantly reduced. This has led to the development in the United Nations of this new trend of searching for new measures of implementation as if means for that did not really exist.

100. My delegation stated in the General Assembly, during the debate on the situation in the Middle East, that we are facing what we consider to be a real crisis for the United Nations, a crisis directly connected with the non-implementation of United Nations decisions and resolutions and the lack of will to resort to the means and measures available to us in the Charter. For my delegation the problem of non-implementation is neither academic nor an exercise of political prowess at the United Nations. To us it is real, for it touches the life of our people and the security of our country and the lives and security of all the Arab peoples and countries. When we speak about this problem we do not speak in a political vacuum; we address ourselves to a question which is deeply disturbing to my Government and my people, to events which have been affecting the Middle East for 25 years and affecting our own lives directly for the last four years. Often enough our security has been breached by repeated acts of aggression by Israel, a State Member of the United Nations which is under the obligation to abide by the principles of the Charter and to execute the decisions and resolutions of our Organization.

101. It is true that the Security Council has adopted many resolutions which have provided us with a certain political and moral satisfaction. But the Council has always stopped

there, as if political and moral force alone were sufficient to command respect and compliance. That can be true in relation to countries which may hold such force in respect and not in contempt. When my country is subject to attacks, our towns and villages burned, hundreds of our homes destroyed, hundreds of our civilian population killed or wounded; when the population of a whole region—nay, of the whole—of Lebanon is threatened in its security and life, and terrorized; when all this happens to us in Lebanon we certainly fail to find protection for our lives and security in the mere resolutions adopted here at the United Nations.

102. I have alluded to a problem concerning my country only to illustrate what we consider to be a crisis of non-implementation faced by the United Nations. Other examples abound; we need only mention the scores of resolutions adopted on *apartheid* and colonial rule in Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia to comprehend fully the magnitude of the crisis and its far-reaching effects on the future of our Organization.

103. No one wishes the United Nations to develop into an institution to manufacture resolutions to be labelled “made in the United Nations”. We certainly dread the thought entertained by many sceptics that this institution will sooner or later break up because of the manifest failure of the Security Council to put its decisions into effect and to resort to the pertinent provisions of the Charter to achieve that end. We must understand here at the United Nations the frustration of nations and the despair of peoples about the ineffectiveness of our Organization. There are widespread thoughts, which may be theoretical at this stage but which may become real in the future, that because of that frustration and despair a movement for defection from the United Nations may be set in motion. It is not too late to stop the negative forces from sapping the very foundation of the United Nations. If this Organization is to survive as the best international institution created “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, as it was intended to be by the founding fathers, it is incumbent on us to appraise the real moods and trends of opinions in the world and stop looking for alternative means while our Charter gives us real power to implement the decisions of our Organization.

104. We have to look courageously and squarely at the realities prevailing in the Security Council which forestall any meaningful action for the strengthening of international security. It may be that this appreciation of the realities of the Security Council is responsible for our going around in circles in order to avoid the stark and unpleasant facts. We cannot, however, avoid looking straight into those realities, dealing with them and exerting upon them the needed political force to avert a collapse of the United Nations.

105. The Council has been caught in the snares of solidified positions related to power politics rather than to the merits of the cases it deals with. To break away from this most undesirable and damaging trap is now more than ever the paramount duty of the Council.

106. In dealing with the realities of the Security Council, we are not attempting to apportion blame. The problem is

not a new one and does not relate only to problems of concern to us in Lebanon and in the Middle East or to problems such as those to which I referred. The problem of non-implementation has a long history. It goes back to the very beginning of the United Nations. It has prevented agreements regarding peace-keeping operations and the establishment of the necessary machinery for the strengthening of collective security.

107. This Organization was conceived and born in a climate of idealism and hope. The erosion of that idealism and hope has been steady. Doubts about the credibility of the United Nations in the political field have been constantly arising. The twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations made a strong attempt to arrest that erosion and to rekindle the hopes of the peoples in our Organization.

108. The representative of Afghanistan, my dear friend Mr. Pazhwak, in his statement—which was, as usual, deep, analytic and eloquent—pointed out the ills from which the United Nations is suffering and which affect both its prestige and its ability to carry out its fundamental mission for peace.

109. We certainly should not allow the United Nations to be dominated by conflicts, when it was created to solve them, and by division, when its principal purpose is to marshal all forces to unite mankind to realize its ideals for peace. The United Nations should not be left to drift and become a sort of academy for political, social and economic sciences or an institute for documentation and research. The Member States should not be given the opportunity, in time of crisis and despair, to seek solutions outside the United Nations through non-peaceful means, or to break away and look for their protection and security and the restoration of their territorial integrity outside its framework and in outmoded military alliances and pacts.

110. The need is for determined action in accordance with the provisions of the Charter to implement the decisions and resolutions we adopt. Action alone can prevent the disintegration of the United Nations.

111. It is not a pessimistic tone we are injecting into our debates. It is our assessment of the realities which leads us to voice our opinion so loudly and strongly. We see the danger to the United Nations, and that danger must be averted in time.

112. While we give our full support to the draft resolution because of the worthwhile principles it embodies, we nevertheless wish to put on record, as a matter of principle, our misgivings about the efficacy of adopting more and more resolutions.

113. Mr. KISUM (Denmark): Denmark intends to vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

114. We do so not merely in consequence of our positive vote on resolution 2734 (XXV) and our similar, though less enthusiastic, vote in favour of General Assembly resolution 2880 (XXVI) but also because the draft resolution contains

some noble ideas and principles to which Denmark subscribes. And we do indeed appreciate the endeavours of the sponsors of the draft resolution.

115. However, our positive vote does not imply that we fully agree to all the specific provisions of draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. The language in which the aims and the principles have been phrased seems to us in some instances to be of rather questionable value and therefore less fortunate in a text dealing with the most fundamental principles of our Organization.

116. Moreover, it is our feeling that the time will soon come for us to ask whether we should include this item in the agenda of the General Assembly every year instead of, for instance, every second year. In the introduction to his report on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [A/8775] the Secretary-General points out that a valuable first step in the direction of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations would be to secure full implementation of the provisions of the Declaration relating to the development of the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil the mission entrusted to it in the Charter. One might wonder whether this goal could not be pursued just as well and just as effectively without an annual attempt to produce a resolution dealing with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

117. Mr. WANG (Canada): The Canadian delegation will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, as submitted by Brazil and other States, as we have abstained from the debate on this item. We do so not because we attach any less importance to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security or to the need to strengthen international security. On the contrary, it is because we feel that the problems of international security are too serious and often too complex to be dealt with in a generalized way, as has been reflected in this debate and in this draft resolution.

118. Canadian views on measures for the strengthening of international security were set out in a comprehensive reply which we submitted to the Secretary-General, along with other Member States, in accordance with resolution 2606 (XXIV) and as published in document A/7922 of 15 May 1970. Canada participated actively in the discussions and drafting of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1970. We believe that the Declaration stands as a useful reaffirmation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the common goals of the membership as a whole in striving for a more peaceful and secure world. Canada continues to be guided by the views outlined in our reply pursuant to resolution 2606 (XXIV) and by the principles enunciated in the Declaration. Canada continues, moreover, to believe that the United Nations is an important centre for the harmonization of the actions of nations and that the strengthening of international security, in its broadest sense, is the basic objective of the United Nations.

119. Having said this, however, we are concerned that the debate on this item has tended to develop now, for a second year, into a repetition of the very comprehensive

debates which accompanied the drafting of the Declaration in 1970. We question the usefulness of repeating, year after year, statements of general concern often about certain aspects of the Declaration in a selective way. To reaffirm some principles of the Declaration without reaffirming others tends to compromise the integrity and authority of the Declaration which commanded very wide support amongst the membership when it was adopted. Unfortunately, this support did not exist in respect of last year's resolution on this item—resolution 2880 (XXVI)—nor does it appear to exist in respect of this year's draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.640. Certain delegations regard the item as a useful opportunity for a further general debate, in addition to the general debate held at the outset of the session and in addition to the debates which have taken place in other Committees of this General Assembly. In this way they can avail themselves of a further opportunity to indicate their current concerns and preoccupations on problems affecting international peace and security.

120. My delegation is of the view that it is preferable and more constructive and effective to deal with particular questions affecting international security in a substantive manner under the agenda item concerned and in the appropriate forum.

121. In this connexion we have noted with approval the view set out in the reply of the Security Council before us in document A/8775/Add.2, as expressed by certain members of the Security Council, that: "the way to promote the implementation of the Declaration was through action on relevant specific issues under consideration in the various organs of the United Nations."

122. The representative of Poland, in his introduction of this item at the 1897th meeting, spoke of the need for "specific, constructive measures" to strengthen international security. We believe that this should be the focus of our efforts. Canada stands ready, as in the past, to contribute unreservedly to such steps. We do not, however, consider that a repetition each year of generalized debate under this item, with the emergence of resolutions containing ambiguous elements, would serve this common interest. In particular we see little in draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 which will assist the membership in any substantive way in our collective efforts to realize the objectives of the Charter and the Declaration, and for this reason my delegation is unable to support it.

123. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): It is with regret that my delegation is obliged to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 introduced at the 1916th meeting by the representative of Zambia on behalf of a very large number of Member States, primarily of non-aligned nations. This regret is all the more sincere since I myself, together with eight other representatives, including Ambassador Lusaka, was a co-author of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

124. Two years ago, when the representatives of nine countries were called upon by the Chairman of the First Committee, Mr. Aguilar of Venezuela, to try to come to an agreement on a single text, I still hoped that that initiative

of the Working Group—bringing together representatives of all political and geographical areas, represented in the Assembly for a single purpose, namely, as I said, to prepare jointly a single resolution dealing with one of the most fundamental questions facing our Organization—would be an example for the future.

125. It is true that the same team spirit prevailed in the Security Council when, a few months ago, it drafted, on the basis of a working paper submitted by my delegation, its reply to the Secretary-General in accordance with the terms of paragraph 11 of resolution 2880 (XXVI) [A/8775/Add.2]. In the course of this session we have seen another effort at co-operation among the different groups, when some 40 countries sponsored the draft resolution on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, an item discussed on the initiative of the Romanian delegation.²

126. Unfortunately, as far as the draft resolution before us is concerned, that practice was not followed, and I cannot conceal my disappointment. The document before us in fact contains nothing new. On the contrary, it does not even go as far as the draft resolution that was adopted during the twenty-sixth session. Operative paragraph 1 does not follow in the footsteps of last year's resolution by reaffirming the unconditional and universal validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and therefore it seems to attach increased value or priority to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as compared with the Charter itself. While paragraph 2 does express a very pious hope, we must admit that it does not call for any action on the part of Member States. Paragraph 4 takes up the terms of paragraph 9 of resolution 2880 (XXVI), and both its contents and its wording seem to me to fail to reflect a real situation. The difficulties that may exist between a particular government and another government or a private corporation should not lead to generalizations or be the subject of resolutions of this Assembly. With regard to the last operative paragraph, the reservations entered by my delegation are well known. I believe that more than ever before our Committee has embarked on a road that is hardly realistic. By multiplying the resolution on the implementation of the Declaration our Committee runs the risk of watering down the basic Declaration which is the source of those resolutions. Furthermore, I am not convinced that every debate must inevitably culminate in the adoption of a resolution. If the preparation of a text appears to be indispensable, then that text should reflect the views expressed by all delegations and should result from consultations among the different political or regional groups.

127. We are not interested in the mass production of resolutions. What the United Nations needs is to agree on international diplomatic instruments that find their force and authority in the unanimous welcome they receive.

128. Certain groups enjoy a comfortable majority here that allows them to ensure the adoption of any kind of text. Benefiting from that privilege, I know it takes political courage to consult other groups, often very small minority groups. Nevertheless, I am convinced that such

² *Idem*.

enlightened diplomats as the representatives of Zambia or Yugoslavia will understand that in the interests of what we are trying to accomplish together here, which is first and foremost to strengthen the role and the authority of our world Organization, team spirit and co-operation among the representatives of different trends should in the future be regarded as the only way of achieving that end.

129. I should not like to conclude my brief explanation of vote without stressing the particular attention with which my delegation took note of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627, submitted by the socialist countries. That document contains extremely constructive ideas and proposals which reflect credit on the sponsors and which my delegation could have supported. It takes up in a very timely fashion the appeals, the views and the conclusions expressed since the beginning of this session of the General Assembly both by Foreign Ministers and by representatives to the Committees.

130. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): My delegation attaches considerable importance to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 with only one negative vote. It was the product of the widest and most thorough consultations. It was one of a series of declarations adopted at a time of stocktaking the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly—and therefore it served a useful purpose. We think it would be difficult, however, to elaborate further universally acceptable language covering the whole range of our activities as the 1970 Declaration did. We also see danger in selecting one or two passages from the Declaration for re-emphasis or reformulation, since the Declaration is a carefully balanced whole. The more constructive course would be for us all now to concentrate on dealing with the various individual problems we face in the spirit of the Declaration and above all in the spirit of the Charter itself.

131. What is needed is thorough and painstaking consideration in a constructive and conciliatory spirit of particular problems we are dealing with under the specific items on the agenda of the General Assembly and of the other organs of the United Nations. In our view, the more specific the discussion and the more we focus upon individual issues the better the hope that we shall find some way forward. That does not mean “depoliticizing” the General Assembly as some have alleged; it is rather a question of the best practical approach to our problems. In this debate, for instance, we have heard a number of statements on the Middle East and some on southern African questions, and there have been other examples as well. Many of those statements were made at a time when major debates on these various questions were going on elsewhere. We have also heard a number of statements which merely rehearsed a number of the major events of the past year, particularly in Europe, to which reference had already been made by so many speakers in the general debate in the plenary Assembly. This wide-ranging approach does not appear to us to be a fruitful one. To our minds, it creates only confusion if we attempt to consider too broad a range of issues at one and the same time. We simply do not believe that an annual debate on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security

“implementing” we mean taking action in the United Nations to strengthen international security.

132. My delegation will therefore abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. We shall abstain because of our general attitude to this question, but I must draw attention to our particular reservation on operative paragraph 4. Indeed, our reservation is so strong as to be the equivalent, so to speak, of a negative vote on that paragraph. The paragraph seems to imply, for example, that if a State asserts its rights under international law by having recourse to international bodies or to the courts of other nations it is in some way threatening peace and security. That is clearly not so. Such action constitutes no conceivable threat to international peace and security. On the contrary, the cause of international peace and security is strengthened and advanced when disputes are settled within the framework of law.

133. There is much more that could be said about the draft resolution but I shall confine myself to saying that my delegation does not believe that it contributes to the strengthening of international security. For that, as I have said, we need patient, co-operative and constructive work on the specific issues which come before us.

134. Let me illustrate that point from the European context, to which the representative of the Soviet Union and other speakers have devoted a good deal of attention. In the European context we shall be looking for more than resolutions of this sort which, as my delegation has said before, may lull people into a false sense of security. We shall be looking for, and working for, agreement on concrete confidence-building measures. And more than that, we shall be trying to go beyond the negative sort of stability which the representative of Brazil described as “stagnation”. We shall be working for specific measures of co-operation in the field of economics, trade, industry, the environment and so on. And we shall be working for co-operation not only between governments but between individuals. We shall be working for conditions in which individual people can move and communicate more freely among one another and build co-operation on a firm basis. That is the spirit which animates my Government, not only in the European context but more generally. That is the way in which we believe we can make progress.

135. Mr. HATTINGH (South Africa): I wish to comment briefly on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. It, *inter alia*, reaffirms the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted at the twenty-fifth session, and recalls the provisions of resolution 2880 (XXVI), neither of which my delegation was able to support. The South African delegation explained at the twenty-fifth session that because of the inclusion of what subsequently became paragraph 23 of the Declaration it could not associate itself with it. We considered the inclusion of paragraph 23 to be wholly unwarranted and unnecessary, and a violation of the provision of the Charter on domestic jurisdiction.

136. In the debate on item 35, allegations have been made that the situation in southern Africa is a grave danger to international peace and security and there have also been

Africa, I wish to reject those unfounded charges and to refer to the statement of the South African Foreign Minister in the General Assembly on 1 October 1970 [1857th plenary meeting], when he repeated the offer of the South African Government to enter into non-aggression treaties with any African Government accusing us of aggressive intentions. I merely wish to state that this invitation still stands and that those who spurn it should not at the same time accuse us of being a threat to international peace and security.

137. To sum up, therefore, in view of the unwarranted references to South Africa's internal policies in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the reaffirmation in draft resolution A/C.1/L.640 of all the principles of the Declaration, my delegation cannot support the draft resolution, although we have no difficulty with the broad objectives of the Declaration.

138. Mr. SCHAUFLE (United States of America): My delegation and many others noted in the general debate that during the past few years the countries of the world have made remarkable advances towards the Charter's goal of practising tolerance and living together in peace with one another as good neighbours. Those advances occurred because they were in the individual and collective interest of States to create a safer world. They stem from the same motivations that led to the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations, the same motivations that continue to serve as the basis for our strong desire to make the United Nations an institution where meaningful issues can be discussed in a productive way.

139. My delegation is convinced that our Organization needs to move away from declarations and resolutions that restate the purposes and principles of the Charter and to take more effective action on the many concrete items on our agenda. The United States joined others in supporting the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, but we believe it would be unproductive to place the item under consideration on the agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We do not believe it is necessary or particularly useful to require the Secre-

tary-General and his staff to submit yet another report on the implementation of the Declaration.

140. Because of our deep concern to make the United Nations a more viable and respected institution, we cannot support the perpetuation of the item before us and we shall therefore abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.640. We urge all members, rather than spending considerable time and energy on the perpetuation of this item, to suit their actions to the words of the Charter, for we are convinced that the Charter of the United Nations provides us with the best possible guidelines under which the entire United Nations membership can take practical and concrete measures to strengthen international peace and security.

141. The CHAIRMAN: There are no other names on the list of speakers in explanation of vote before the vote. However, since the hour is late—it is now 1.10 p.m.—and a number of speakers are inscribed to explain their votes after the vote, and also because I still have to make a concluding statement, I suggest that the Committee adjourn now and meet again at 3 p.m. to conclude its work without undue haste and in an elegant manner.

142. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia): Experience has taught us that if we reach this point and then adjourn we come back refreshed to begin another discussion. I think it would be in the best interests of all concerned here if the vote were taken now. Then those who want to come back this afternoon could do so and those who do not want to do so need not. I do not like to go against the Chairman's proposal, but I really think that in this instance he will agree that it would be in our best interest to carry on for the few minutes required to take the vote now.

143. The CHAIRMAN: I do not entirely agree with the views of the representative of Liberia, but I bow to his wisdom. There seems to be general agreement that the Committee should vote now. I shall therefore put draft resolution A/C.1/L.640, sponsored by 55 Powers, to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted by 94 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.