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AGENDA ITEM 34 (*continued*)

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security: report of the Secretary-General
(A/8431 and Add.1-5, A/C.1/1015, A/C.1/L.566 and
567)**

1. Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*):
Mr. Chairman, it suffices to recall the friendly relations
existing between your country and mine, your deep
knowledge of international problems and our personal ties
to understand how pleasant it is for me, on behalf of the
delegation of Mali, to address to you our sincere congratula-
tions on the occasion of your brilliant election as Chairman
of the First Committee during this twenty-sixth session of
the General Assembly. I should like to associate in these
expressions the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur; our
trust in them is certainly well placed.

2. In supporting General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)
containing the strengthening of international security the
Government of Mali wanted to show its faith in the justice
and universality of the principles of the United Nations
Charter. This historical act is further in keeping with the
deep concerns of our peoples, bruised by the depressing
sight of a world torn asunder by intolerance, violence, racial
hatred and interference in the internal affairs of States.

3. Our Assembly would, therefore, stand to gain by
implementing the good intentions contained in the Declara-
tion because, as was so well said by the Foreign Minister of
my country in his statement to the 1941st meeting of the
Assembly, it is high time that we go beyond the stage of
declarations and resolutely engage in action. Mali practises a
true policy of non-alignment; it will fully support such an
undertaking.

4. International security is founded on a complex number
of elements, including respect for the sovereignty and
territorial integrity of States and the inalienable right of
peoples to self-determination, and their no less inalienable
right to develop intellectually, socially, culturally and
economically. Our Organization has undertaken to carry
out precisely the task of ensuring the triumph of these
ideals. The Charter which governs it offers the legal

framework for this, but our true assessment of contem-
porary political realities remains indispensable in the
discharge of this lofty mission.

5. The solutions which we can bring to this set of
problems cannot, of course, be automatic, because of their
nature, and due to the complexity of interests at stake. In
attaining these objectives success will depend to a large
extent upon our determination to act with patience and
with that spirit of tenacity which guarantees the perpetuity
of any human endeavour.

6. The introduction to the Secretary-General's report, the
report itself¹ and statements made by most heads of
delegation in the general debate during the twenty-sixth
session of the General Assembly express the common wish
to push back the spectres of war, hunger and ignorance.

7. The Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weap-
ons, the progress achieved by the Committee on Disarma-
ment, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the
latest Treaties in Moscow and Warsaw, the recent four-
Power Agreement on Berlin, continuing inter-German talks,
the new initiatives of the Nixon Administration vis-à-vis the
Government of the People's Republic of China, the
accession to independence this year of four new States, the
determination and political courage with which the General
Assembly restored all the rights of the People's Republic of
China in the United Nations would be so many grounds for
satisfaction were it not for the terrifying number of dark
shadows still hovering over the world.

8. International security cannot be the prerogative of
States or groups of States. It is essentially universal, and it
can be saved only by no less universal measures or steps.

9. There is no doubt that during the last decade Govern-
ments strove to improve their international relations.
Attempts to convene a conference on European security,
which we are happy to welcome as an important step in the
search for peace, is one of the best illustrations of this.

10. But, as was said so well by the Secretary-General in
the introduction to his report on the question, "interna-
tional security is a mosaic of global pieces" [A/8431,
para. 12].

11. European security is, therefore, only a part of that
mosaic; so that, however important it may be it cannot by
itself guarantee international security. That is why we must
once again turn our gaze towards the brazier burning in
Viet-Nam for more than 20 years and which, far from being
extinguished, has spread rather to Korea, Laos and Cam-

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session,
Supplement Nos. 1 and 1A.

bodia, because of the interference of States in the internal affairs of those countries.

12. The latest seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, which was a reasonable basis for negotiations, unfortunately found no response on the part of the American Government and its allies. The resulting freeze at the Paris Conference, which had at the beginning given rise to so much hope, regrettably removes us from the end of the tragedy in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

13. The persistent occupation of Arab territories by Israel in contempt of the relevant resolutions of our Organization is a serious defiance of the universal conscience.

14. Speaking of the African continent, here too we see hotbeds of tension created by Members of this Organization in contempt of the purposes and principles of the Charter. Whole peoples have taken up arms to fight against the most cynical forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. This is the case in Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Rhodesia, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa. Harassed by freedom fighters, condemned by world public opinion, the fascist and retrograde régimes of Lisbon and Pretoria thought their only salvation was to conclude an unholy alliance, which the usurpers of Salisbury hastened to join.

15. It is up to our Organization, since we speak of international security, to envisage bold measures to break down those anachronistic and barbarous régimes while there is still time. Chapter VII of the Charter offers us means adequate to bring to heel that nostalgia of nazism. The United Nations should not give the impression that Africa and Asia must be kept out of our concern for peace. Open aggression perpetrated by Portugal against Guinea, Senegal and the Congo, and repeated violations of the territories of Tanzania and Zambia by South African forces demand urgent decisions from us.

16. There is no greater contradiction than that which consists in proclaiming on the one hand that one is attached to strengthening international security while, on the other hand, one economically and militarily supports the Portuguese and South African Governments, which have been condemned many times by the Security Council and the General Assembly, in their will to perpetuate their inhuman domination in Africa. Twice, the heads of State of Africa, speaking in the name of the Organization of African Unity, have come to the General Assembly to warn the international community of the risks to peace caused by the Governments of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia. It is to be hoped that those final warnings will be heeded by the Members of this Assembly, especially by those in the Security Council which persist in supporting those régimes. Let them know, in any case, that the freedom of peoples and their inalienable right to self-determination are not negotiable against uncertain promises.

17. That is the deep conviction of Mali on the problems of strengthening international security. But beyond acts of oppression and destruction which generally characterize insecurity, international security will always be threatened as long as the essential needs of millions of human beings

are not taken care of. Science, which more and more allows us to dominate nature, must be used not to destroy but to help man to flourish and develop.

18. The cruel reality of our day, unfortunately, is quite different. National selfishness remains the dominant element of our society. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening. The latter, however, are the main producers of raw materials. This imbalance which grows from year to year could threaten international trade and lead the world to an unprecedented economic disaster. The recent monetary crisis was sufficient illustration of the interdependence of the world's economies and of the need for concerted action if we do not wish to create structural imbalances, which could have fatal consequences for development.

19. The third world abounds in natural resources but suffers from the lack of means to develop them. Because of that situation we are in some of our countries witnessing a scandalous exploitation of our resources, to the detriment of our peoples. That is why we shall never tire of asserting the sovereignty of States over their natural resources and their freedom to choose their systems of developing them. Present conditions for third world countries in the field of trade and access to development credit are so rigorous as to be contrary to the very spirit of development. It is precisely in these fields that the international community will have to bring about a revolution and replace structures which are ill-adapted to our times with new structures whose force would flow from justice and the genuine will to enable all men to enjoy the immense resources of the earth.

20. This will have true significance only if all men share in it; likewise there can only be illusory zones of peace while mankind is troubled. On the other hand, since the policy of domination is incompatible with the search for peace, we can speak of international security only if we renounce any desire for hegemony. The democratization of international relations is therefore a prerequisite for our action.

21. It is in the light of these considerations that my delegation will study the draft resolutions submitted on international security and it will make its loyal contribution to the debates with a sincere wish to work for the advent of true peace in the world.

22. To build that peace, to which we all aspire, I would say—even at the risk of repetition—that we must consider international security as a whole. No part of the world must be excluded from the field of our actions; and if it is desirable for the sequels to the second world war which are potential danger-spots in Europe to be eliminated it is no less true that colonialism, racism and imperialism, which are still rampant in Africa and Asia must also be brought to an end.

23. International agreements instituting an effective mechanism for international control of weapons of mass destruction could be concluded as soon as we are able to create a climate of confidence after the difficult years of tension of the post-war era. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will undoubtedly promote the conclusion of such agreements. The immense resources freed as a result of the application of such measures could thus be devoted to the betterment of all mankind.

24. The democratization of international relations, which must be the basis for this series of measures, will eliminate from our practices the unhealthy tendency toward hegemony and at the same time will guarantee each of our States respect for national entities and freedom of social and economic choice.

25. Those are, in brief, the bases on which we can strive to build peace. They require at the outset a firm political will, which is not beyond our possibilities nor the great ambition of our generation. If that condition is met, it would only remain for us to unite our efforts so as to build a new international order free of intolerance, hatred, racism or hunger.

26. Mr. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone): It gives my delegation great pleasure and deep satisfaction to see you, Mr. Chairman, elected to your most significant post in our Committee. We are proud that your wide experience is put at the disposal of our Committee and that we are therefore assured of a happy conclusion of business this year. We are grateful also to see installed as members of your team the indefatigable Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius and the very capable Mr. Migliuolo of Italy. Having worked with them in various group meetings and in the Security Council, my delegation can attest to their ability and the assistance they will render you in their capacities, respectively, as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur. We pledge our unstinted support to all of you.

27. My delegation offers its sincere condolences to the Government and people of India for the many lives lost as a result of the cyclone and tidal wave that hit the state of Orissa, and for the serious damage sustained to property.

28. When in 1969 and 1970 my delegation participated in the debates on the question of the strengthening of international security, it catalogued the areas which, in its opinion, continued to be the hotbeds of international strife. It developed the idea that, unless remedial action is taken in these areas, the ideal which this Committee strives to pursue, as contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] will be completely unattainable. It pointed out that the areas that distress the hopes of mankind and of the world Organization and make international security difficult to achieve are to be found largely in disarmament, development, decolonization, human rights and peace-keeping.

29. We have stressed beyond any doubt that one of the main prerequisites for the strengthening of international security is for all States to live up to the principles of the United Nations Charter. It cannot be denied that the consolidation of peace and security calls for strict observance by all States of the principles of the non-use of force or the threat of force, and of the settling of international disputes by peaceful means so that peace and international security are not endangered in any way.

30. This all-important Declaration calls upon all States, Members and non-Members alike, to adhere strictly in their international relations to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, including the principles of the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of each State and of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It also

stresses the duty of States not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

31. My delegation participated enthusiastically in the formulation of the Declaration. We regard it as a rededication process by which we can renew our pledge to the Charter of the Organization, no matter what shortcomings have appeared over a period of 25 long years. And what delegation here can honestly say that the Charter, like a living organism, does not require some adaptation in order to meet the challenges of a changing world? Few, I hope, if any at all.

32. Since the Declaration was adopted last year, my delegation has noticed some improvement, however slight, in the world situation. We have witnessed a general atmosphere of *détente* in Europe, which reduces to a considerable degree the tension that once enveloped that continent. The recent Agreement of the four Powers on Berlin is in keeping with the Declaration. So also are the Treaties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the one hand, and between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other. We have observed the progress achieved in this connexion by the four-Power agreement of September last, and we regard it as a welcome beginning, which, if implemented, will greatly contribute not only to the achievement of European security but also significantly to world peace. We look forward to some progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks going on between the United States and the USSR. These steps and measures are in keeping with the high hopes placed in the Declaration as an instrument to help humanity avert the holocaust of yet another world war.

33. A most eventful and worthwhile happening is the decision by the General Assembly to restore to the People's Republic of China the representation of which it was deprived in the world Organization. The United Nations has corrected a signal mistake and has brought into its fold once more the representatives of 850 million people, or approximately one quarter of the human race. This will, in the opinion of my delegation, result in a closer approach to universality for the United Nations. It will align the Charter for the first time in 22 years with its original concept and give the Security Council a sounder basis, with five Powers operating instead of four. Alongside of this must be associated in significance the forthcoming visit of President Nixon to China. Such a visit, if successful—as we hope it will be—will remove the bitterness and rancour that have coloured the relations between these two great countries for almost a generation. Also in the continent of Asia, we notice with approval the initiative of Ceylon and the United Republic of Tanzania to have the Indian Ocean declared as a zone of peace.

34. But encouraging as the aspects of the world situation leading to international security which I have attempted to delineate may be, there still exist areas of considerable tension that are likely to disrupt our orderly way of life. One such pocket is to be found in the Middle East. My Foreign Minister, in the general debate on 1 October, said of the situation:

“Perhaps one of the most serious threats to the success, if not the very existence, of the United Nations is to be

found in the Middle East conflict. The struggle between the Arabs and the Jews has rocked the Organization to its very foundations and given much cause for alarm. As my Government sees it, solutions must be found to five interrelated problems before this conflict can be resolved." [1949th plenary meeting, para. 59.]

35. It is the view of my delegation that lasting peace in that region is not possible of achievement unless Israel is prevailed upon to withdraw from the Arab territories it occupies. How can bitterness and rancour not continue to becloud the atmosphere when Israel, in defiance of the Security Council, the General Assembly and world opinion, embarks upon the policy of Judaizing the Holy City of Jerusalem? Let us in good faith hope that Israel will observe the provisions of Security Council resolution 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971 and implement them without further delay.

36. In the troubled area of Indo-China we have witnessed the way in which what was essentially a civil war dividing a people takes on large-scale proportions and holds the world on edge. Contrary to hopes for a gradual de-escalation, we see the war being extended to Laos and Cambodia, with untold sufferings among combatants and civilians alike. It would be a significant contribution to peace and disarmament if the flow of arms to the opposing parties were stopped.

37. Yet another cause for international concern has been the tension arising from the Bengal region, and the flow of refugees from East Pakistan into India, resulting in grave problems for the Indian economy. It is for the world community to grapple with the situation realistically and to find ways and means of bringing to an end such an unpleasant situation.

38. Although the Declaration clearly enunciates the fact that international security cannot be assured as long as States resort to force to deprive people under colonial domination of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, yet the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Cabinda, Namibia and Zimbabwe continue to be subjected to the worst type of oppression, segregation and impotence likely to befall any human beings. South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia in defiance of the concepts of human justice and equality, its indifference to world opinion and complete disregard of the recent Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice² and its refusal to give due regard to Security Council resolution 301 (1971) based on that Opinion, contribute in no small measure to the breakdown of international peace. Nor have we witnessed any improvement in the policy and attitude of the Ian Smith rebel régime in Zimbabwe. Sanction evasions by a number of countries, not excluding some members of the Security Council itself, have reinforced the minority's position vis-à-vis the majority. In a similar way Portugal, another Member State of the United Nations, has evinced absolutely no inclination to abide by the Declaration.

² *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

39. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland we see internal strife gaining greater proportions and disrupting the every-day life of that nation. It is our hope that saner counsels will prevail and that the strife will be contained and not allowed to spread to the neighbouring Republic of Ireland.

40. Violations of human rights continue in South Africa in particular, where people are being put into prison for expressing opinions on human relations contrary to those held by the Government. Only yesterday the world heard the outrageous story of the Anglican Dean who was given a severe sentence for holding on to the best dictates of his conscience. Powerful friends of South Africa just do not show sufficient concern to advise that country against the kind of action on which it has embarked. Economic considerations, for them, apparently override human considerations, and when huge profits can be gained from the sale of arms and weapons of destruction, human suffering and indignity have but very little significance. International security cannot be maintained or strengthened under the circumstances.

41. It is also a foregone conclusion that international security cannot be achieved as long as the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, continues with its threat of total disintegration of man and civilization. As reported by the Secretary-General, it is estimated that \$200,000 million are spent annually on arms while only about \$14,000 million are utilized in the form of economic or development aid to developing nations. This, in itself, contributes to the creation of an ever-increasing gulf between the rich and poor nations. Unless the international trade of developing countries is promoted through a willingness on the part of the developed countries to buy more from them and at fair prices, the gulf will widen into a chasm with the concomitant of unnecessary strife. Resources now utilized for armament could be channelled into more productive areas of economic growth. If the ever-widening gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" is to be halted and reversed, then the failures experienced in the First United Nations Development Decade should be corrected; and the Second Development Decade, which, in our opinion, constitutes a comprehensive and integrated action programme, should be embarked upon with goodwill and a determination that it will succeed.

42. Another area of great importance and relevance to the strengthening of international security is to be found in the operation of the Security Council itself. This body has, contrary to the expectations of many, failed to act on the responsibilities conferred upon it by the Charter. Although its primary function is the maintenance of international peace and security, it has consistently retreated from a position of collective strength to one of collective impotence. To correct this, my delegation supports the idea of the Council holding periodic meetings regularly as stipulated in the Charter. In such meetings aspects of this important item could be discussed with the thorough scrutiny they deserve and some solution arrived at. Unless the decisions of that organ are made enforceable and the prevalent tendency to flout its decisions so manifest in the actions of some of its members reversed, the capacity of the Council to play the role conferred by the Charter would be drastically impaired.

43. Still another area that needs refurbishing is that of peace-keeping. Unfortunately there continues to exist a lack among the powerful Members of even the minimum degree of agreement for further progress on the Committee's programme of work. The sooner a consensus is reached with regard to the roles of the Secretary-General and the Security Council on the question of the management of peace-keeping operations, the more effective the Organization's contribution to the maintenance of international security will be.

44. My delegation favours the continuation of discussions on this important and far-reaching topic, because it is convinced that only by drawing attention repeatedly to the problem areas and only by exposing the forces that undermine the Charter's fundamental philosophy and principles, can appreciable changes in the attitude of Member States be brought about.

45. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Peruvian delegation is gratified at this new and purely political debate on the item of the strengthening of international security, which was not on the agenda of the General Assembly at any of its sessions prior to the twenty-fourth. There is no doubt of the need for a periodic revision of the measures adopted towards that primordial aim of the Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

46. Only by permanently including this item on the agenda can we find the means for concerted action with a view to implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was adopted by the General Assembly by a virtually unanimous vote in resolution 2734 (XXV). Given the unanimous feature of the Declaration and its meaning, reaffirmation of the aim of the Organization as a centre for harmonizing actions of States, its implementation is indispensable. We are convinced that this discussion becomes imperative for the Declaration to become operative and therefore we cannot share the view that the best way to strengthen international security is to say nothing about it. Were we to choose that road, we would be contradicting the harmonizing purpose of the Organization to which I just referred.

47. Obviously, the discussion of the item must no longer follow the same lines as those of the last session, nor can we intend to adopt declarations every year. The way to strengthen international security on the basis of the Declaration and in consonance with the purposes and principles of the Charter is to strengthen the Organization so that it can serve as the instrument for the implementation of the Declaration. In future this will be our purpose, namely, the implementation of the Declaration. And this purpose must be reflected in the decisions we adopt at the present session.

48. In the course of the general debate at the beginning of the present session of the Assembly [1947th plenary meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru referred to certain recent events which enable us to presage that the last vestiges of the cold war are disappearing. We are all aware, however, that these events and certain developments at the international level go no further than the phase which we might call a lessening of tension and which at

times disguises the meagre progress achieved in such fields as economic development, disarmament, decolonization, the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and particularly of *apartheid*, the search for independence and the strengthening of it by the peoples and the countries that are the victims of various types of oppression; all of which are problems which directly concern the United Nations and which are being frozen in a deceptive *status quo*.

49. On the same order of ideas, a few days ago my delegation spoke in this Committee [1809th meeting] to express the alarm, which we are certain is world-wide, that a nuclear test would shortly be detonated on the island of Amchitka. This brings to mind, among other tests, the ones which were carried out a few months ago in the South Pacific. The threat which these tests constitute to the security of nations is irrefutably obvious. That is why it is essential and urgent that we render effective the fundamental purpose contained in the Declaration, namely, the strengthening of international security. Attainment of this purpose calls for threefold action.

50. The first action is to strengthen the Organization itself, particularly in its own functions and through its different organs, each and every one of which must be directed towards the implementation of the Declaration in whatever field falls to their competence. I specifically refer to the peace-keeping operations and development programmes.

51. The second action is to achieve total universality in the Organization and we have taken a giant step towards this end in adopting resolution 2758 (XXVI) which restored the rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization, and we opened the door to the full participation of that country in our work not only in the Security Council but at all levels of the General Assembly and particularly in this debate.

52. The third action must be to endow the Organization with the financial ability to fulfil its purposes. Nothing could be more inopportune at the moment than to withdraw neo-isolationism vis-à-vis this Organization, the result of which might make our declarations, and even the Charter itself, a melancholy monument to good intentions.

53. My delegation trusts that the draft resolutions which we believe are being prepared by various delegations and groups of delegations will not only contain the ideas I have mentioned but also others which, being genuinely operative, will, as I said a few moments ago, contribute to strengthening international security.

54. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, first of all may I express the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you preside over the work of this Committee. We have enjoyed for years the privilege of working together with you in the United Nations and we have derived much benefit from your experience and wisdom. It is also a special satisfaction for the Cuban delegation that you, Sir, Deputy Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, should be presiding over the First Committee, in view of the very close ties of co-operation between our two countries. May we also offer our congratulations to the Vice-Chairman and to the Rapporteur and assure all the

officers of the Committee that they can count on the co-operation of our delegation in the fulfilment of their tasks and in the completion of our work.

55. May I take this opportunity to address to the delegation of India our deepest feelings of solidarity on the losses in human life and material damage caused by the recent cyclone which devastated the north-east corner of India.

56. Last year we supported the important initiative of the Soviet Government when it proposed that this Committee should discuss the problem of strengthening international security and the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which, in connexion with this item, was adopted by the General Assembly during its commemorative session [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

57. My delegation feels in fact that the problem of international security and the adequate ways and means of strengthening it should be the primary task of our Organization, as is clearly set forth in the Charter, and that a continuing examination of all problems touching on the breach of international security or problems that affect it constitute the very essence of this international Organization.

58. Very often in the past my delegation has had occasion to express its views regarding the international situation and the problems which affect the application of principles of international law enshrined in the Charter and the pursuit of the legitimate interests of all peoples of the world for peace and international co-operation. Accordingly we shall here limit ourselves to reaffirming those essential points of view and to stressing what my delegation considers to be the point of departure for any consideration of problems affecting security and peace among nations.

59. If we analyse the world today, we find that, although some positive steps have successfully been taken in certain regions, which have in fact contributed and contribute to making relations among States healthier, nevertheless it must be agreed that there are still areas of tension, problems giving rise to disputes and which threaten peaceful coexistence among States and that all those problems have one root, a single origin and a common historical cause, and that is nothing other than the policy of hegemony and domination exercised by the great imperialist Powers, a policy which manifests itself in the use or the threat of the use of force against small countries and in their refusal to recognize and respect the right of peoples to self-determination, their right to build their own future in accordance with their own wishes and interests. In the last analysis, we shall find that the cause for the subsistence of tensions in the world is the interest of the great imperialist monopolies to sack and to oppress the peoples of the third world, to wrest their riches from them and try to impose upon them a course alien to their interests and wishes. My delegation considers that the international situation today is still governed by that fundamental factor. We see it in the situation in Indo-China where the war of aggression unleashed by the United States is still being waged, a war that is not limited only to the territory of Viet-Nam, but which has also extended to Cambodia and Laos.

60. In the course of the general debate at the present session [*1963rd plenary meeting*] my delegation pointed out that this important problem of the war in Indo-China could not be solved as long as the Government of the United States did not give a positive reply to the seven-point proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, which is the only possible solution to the problem in Viet-Nam, as it respects the national rights of that people.

61. Lately we have seen that not only has no reply been given to that proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, but that also, on the contrary, aggression against that country continues and that in the last weeks bombing raids have been resumed against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. All these moves bespeak the intention of the United States Government not to withdraw from Indo-China and to try to bend the will to independence of the peoples of that region.

62. My Government reaffirms its full support for the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam as well as for the five points for the political solution of the Laotian problem submitted by the Patriotic Front of Laos and for the political programme of the United National Front of Cambodia.

63. Many delegations have referred to the problems which subsist in the African continent and which again reflect the existence of that policy of hegemony, of lack of respect for the rights of peoples to which I referred at the beginning of my statement.

64. The denial to the African peoples of their rights, even as human beings, in South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia and the persistent existence of the Portuguese colonial régime are not only a violation of the Charter and of many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, but are also, as recent events have shown, a source of conflicts and threat to the security and independence of the independent States of Africa.

65. This year, the United Nations has been informed of attacks and provocations against the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republics of Guinea, Zambia and Senegal. These have come from territories in Africa occupied by colonial Powers or racist régimes.

66. In the Middle East the same situation which the General Assembly has been considering over the last years still persists, the characteristic of which is the occupation by Israeli troops of territories of three Arab States, which were acquired by means of the war of aggression of 1967. At the same time the Palestinian people is still denied the right to exercise its inalienable rights as a nation. Both factors stand in the way of any political arrangement for the problem that exists in that region.

67. With regard to Latin America, we have indicated how in the last few years the feeling of independence of our peoples has grown stronger; how our peoples have achieved important advances towards national emancipation; yet these advances have run parallel with the attempts of imperialism to contain the progress of our peoples to full independence by organizing repression against popular

movements, financing and directing counter-revolutionary movements in some countries, exerting economic and other pressures against those States which defend their national sovereignty and their natural resources. On this point my delegation would like to point out that we consider it important that, in the resolution to be adopted this year on the strengthening of international security, mention be made of this form of violation of international law, of this form of aggression and pressure against smaller countries, which can all be covered by the expression "economic aggression". This is an element which becomes more important everyday in view of the efforts being made by all the peoples of the third world to achieve their full national emancipation, because of their efforts to promote the development of all their resources, and constitute a sacred principle for all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

68. In this connexion, we should like to recall the position of our Government on an important problem which also interests many developing countries, namely, the benefits of their natural resources and particularly of the maritime resources. Cuba, in effect, has proclaimed its support for the right of coastal States to set the limits of their jurisdictional waters and to defend their maritime natural resources. Cuba has also offered support to the Governments of Chile and Peru in their claims in this matter.

69. As other speakers before me have pointed out, the present debate this year is being held in encouraging circumstances. At long last one of the great problems which for two decades has limited the effectiveness of the United Nations has been solved: the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights in this Organization.

70. As we see it, the universality of the Organization is an important factor in enhancing its effectiveness and usefulness in the world today. This surely is an auspicious moment to insist on the complete universality of our Organization. To this end, it would be an advantage to have both German States participating in it. This, by the same token, would put an end to the discrimination that has been practised internationally against the Government of the German Democratic Republic for two decades—despite the fact that, in the very heart of Europe, it represents the ideals of the Charter of our Organization and its very origin since, in the last analysis, it came into being because of the fight against fascism and nazism. The German Democratic Republic which, on German soil, has established an anti-fascist and democratic régime, is a natural ally of the United Nations and must occupy the seat that falls to it historically among us.

71. Finally, my delegation wishes to express its support for draft resolution A/C.1/L.566 which was submitted by a group of socialist countries on this item. We believe that that draft resolution represents a necessary stage for the reaffirmation of the principles which were approved last year and to give this question the emphasis it deserves among the activities of the United Nations. We likewise reiterate what we affirmed last year, namely, the conviction of my delegation that, despite any efforts that may be made within the framework of the United Nations, the problem of the strengthening of international security is one that goes beyond the limits of this Organization and

becomes daily action all over the world. The aspirations for peace and security for all peoples will be achieved in the measure that we strengthen the unity of action between the socialist and non-aligned nations among all countries interested in guaranteeing the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and the national rights of all peoples.

72. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Before dealing with the substance of this item, I should like to add the voice of the Soviet delegation to those of earlier speakers in expressing to the Government and people of India our heartfelt sympathy in connexion with the terrible natural disaster caused by the recent cyclone in north-eastern India, which has caused widespread destruction, loss of life and suffering in that friendly State.

73. In the course of the extremely interesting, useful and comprehensive debate on one of the most important questions of the present session of the General Assembly—the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*—we have heard most of the members of the First Committee. We can now sum up this debate, which has been generally business-like and constructive, and assess the prevailing mood of the Committee.

74. First I should like to take this opportunity to express the Soviet delegation's sincere gratitude to the many representatives who have commented on the Soviet Union's initiative two years ago in putting forward for consideration by the General Assembly the question of strengthening international security.

75. The far-reaching discussion in meetings of the First Committee has convincingly demonstrated that States Members of the United Nations regard this question as one of exceptional, indeed paramount importance. Most Member States consider the adoption of the Declaration at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly a significant and truly historic achievement for the United Nations. The overwhelming majority of the representatives who have spoken on the subject have emphasized the need to concentrate the efforts of Member States on implementing the provisions of the Declaration, and various suggestions and ideas have been put forward on ways and means of doing so.

76. At the same time, representatives have expressed serious alarm and concern in connexion with the continuing existence of dangerous hotbeds of war and international tension in many areas of the world and the persistent violation of the most important provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which is based on the Charter. The majority of delegations have stressed clearly and unequivocally that the continued existence of the hotbed of war and aggression in Indo-China and the continuing unlawful occupation by Israel of Arab territory still constitute threats to international peace and security. It has also been correctly pointed out that attempts by colonialists and racists to maintain their domination over the African peoples in southern Africa, interference in the internal affairs of States and the use of force against the sovereignty and independence of States are also in flagrant

violation of the Declaration. During the debate attention has been drawn to the danger inherent in the arms race, which continues on a gigantic scale, undermining international security and devouring vast quantities of resources needed for economic and social development. It has been pointed out that the continuing economic backwardness of many States freed from colonial domination is a serious obstacle to the strengthening of international security.

77. Speakers have also quite rightly pointed to positive developments in the European situation, which are helping to consolidate peace and security in Europe. Such developments in Europe are in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Declaration.

78. Not only the representatives of European States but many representatives of countries outside Europe as well have justly pointed out that *détente* and the strengthening of peace on that continent will contribute to an improvement in the international situation as a whole. European delegations have stressed that in the present propitious circumstances new practical measures must be adopted to strengthen peace and security in Europe and, with that end in view, to prepare and hold a Europe-wide conference on the questions of security and co-operation.

79. For its part, the Soviet Union has never ceased its efforts to attain those goals. Eloquent proof of this fact may be found in the programme of peace adopted by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the subsequent visits of the Soviet leaders L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and A. N. Kosygin to a number of foreign States. During the recently concluded visit to France of Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he and President Pompidou of France discussed many important questions relating to further ways of normalizing the situation in Europe and strengthening European security and international peace. They worked out, agreed upon and signed a set of fundamental principles for co-operation between the two countries, devoting considerable attention to the questions of the maintenance of peace, *détente*, the strengthening of security and peaceful relations between States. Both sides recognized and stressed that strict observance of the following principles is essential for the achievement of those aims: inviolability of present frontiers; non-interference in internal affairs; equality; independence; and renunciation of the use or threat of force.

80. We are convinced that Comrade Brezhnev's visit to France, his talks with President Pompidou, the signing of the agreement on principles for co-operation and the Soviet-French statement will elevate relations between our two States to new heights in the interests of strengthening both peace in Europe and European and international security. In this respect we attach great importance also to the visit of the head of the Soviet Government, Comrade Kosygin, to Canada and Cuba and to the results of his useful and fruitful talks with Prime Minister Trudeau and Comrade Fidel Castro.

81. Important progress has been made in carrying out that provision of the Declaration which relates to the need to ensure the universality of the United Nations. At its present

session the General Assembly has restored the lawful rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China and has expelled the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the United Nations and its organs. It is well known that the Soviet Union was the first Member State to speak out firmly in support of the lawful rights of the Chinese people in the United Nations. It maintained this position consistently until 25 October 1971, when this question was finally decided and justice prevailed. We must now continue to pursue the correct policy of ensuring the universality of the United Nations. In this connexion, an urgent need of the times, fully in keeping with the changed situation in Europe, is the admission to the United Nations of the two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. It is gratifying to note that, in spite of artificially created obstacles, an increasingly large number of States are according recognition in international law to the German Democratic Republic. Even those who had long been unable to get their tongues around the official name of that German State—the German Democratic Republic—have finally learned to pronounce it. As you know, until recently the same state of affairs existed with regard to the People's Republic of China. What they must now do is recognize the existence of the German Democratic Republic too as a political reality; they must raise their heads out of the sand and not close their eyes to the facts.

82. Many representatives, particularly those of a number of African and Asian countries, have argued in their statements that measures to ensure *détente* and the strengthening of international security should not remain isolated. They have stressed the importance of efforts on the part of all States to eliminate hotbeds of war, ease tensions and strengthen peace in Asia and Africa too. We consider this approach fully justified. The Soviet Union has always held that the problem of strengthening international security is not confined to Europe alone. This attitude is in keeping with the position our country has adopted as a matter of principle. The Soviet Union will strive consistently and steadfastly to implement the programme of peace and international co-operation which was adopted by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This programme is designed to bring about a shift in international relations as a whole towards the easing of tensions throughout the world. With this programme of peace our country and our people are appealing to all States, not just to a "club" of *élite* or privileged countries. The Soviet Union calls upon all States to take vigorous action to safeguard peace and strengthen international security.

83. The treaties of friendship and co-operation concluded by the Soviet Union with Egypt and India may serve as further evidence of the Soviet Union's persistent efforts to strengthen peace and security. Both treaties were welcomed by world opinion as extremely useful contributions to the establishment of a more lasting peace in those areas and throughout the world.

84. Tension has recently increased in the India-Pakistan subcontinent. The Soviet Union's position with respect to events in that part of the world is well known. However, in view of the remarks of the distinguished representative of Pakistan, Ambassador Shahi, concerning the Soviet-Indian

Treaty [1806th meeting], we should like to recall that position again. Soon after the conclusion of the Soviet-Indian treaty, Comrade Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, stated:

“The Soviet Union will do everything in its power to help normalize the situation in the interests of the peoples of all the countries in this area. The recently concluded Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and India, which is not directed against any State, is an important factor for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.”

85. Discussion in the Committee has left no doubt that an absolute majority of members consider it essential to work out concrete practical measures for ensuring the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. Many delegations have argued convincingly for such action. It is quite evident that all States, large and small, will benefit from the successful implementation of the provisions of the Declaration, for, in the final analysis, it is the cause of peace that will benefit.

86. Delegations have voiced various views, proposals and opinions on how the Declaration should be implemented and have discussed which ways and means will be most effective in achieving this objective; we can agree with some delegations, while the views of others inevitably give rise to doubts and even objections.

87. Many delegations have stressed the importance of solving problems of economic development and eliminating the economic backwardness of developing countries. The Soviet Union understands the desire of most Asian, African and Latin American countries to improve their distressing economic situation, a legacy of the dark age of colonial domination and dependence. We support the just struggle waged by developing countries to end neo-colonial oppression, one-sided agreements and economic dependence and to achieve economic co-operation on a basis of equality. However, we are firmly convinced that only—and I stress this—only when States are at peace and their security is assured can the swiftest economic progress be achieved, both in the developing countries and in all other countries; only then will States be able to concentrate all their energies and resources on solving the problems of economic development and increasing the well-being of peoples. We know this from our own experience and from our own suffering in the years of the Great Patriotic War waged by the Soviet people against Hitlerite aggression. We had no time then to worry about economic development or raising the standard of living. We had to tighten our belts and concentrate on the production of tanks, aircraft, shells and armaments in order to repulse the enemy, preserve our freedom and independence and help other peoples to do likewise.

88. Many other peoples are now faced with the same problem. Can anyone doubt that the constant threat to the security of Senegal and Guinea and the violation of their sovereignty by Portuguese colonialists impedes the economic development of those countries? How can Zambia concentrate all its resources on economic development when its security is subject to constant encroachment by

the racists of South Africa? How can the Arab States ensure the rapid economic development of their countries and improve the welfare of their peoples when Israel continues to occupy Arab lands and a centre of armed conflict continues to exist in the Near East? The achievement of such aims requires peace and security. That is why the Soviet and many other delegations have always considered it particularly important to stress the fundamental principles of the Declaration, whose implementation by all States can ensure international peace and security. This central idea was reflected in the draft resolution submitted to the First Committee by the eight socialist countries [A/C.1/L.566].

89. During the debate particular importance was also attached to the participation of all States, including small ones, in the solution of major international problems. The Soviet delegation and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics understand the interest of other States, including small ones, in solving the international problems which concern us all. The Soviet Union has always advocated intensifying the efforts of all peace-loving States in the struggle to strengthen international peace and security. Can we not see proof of this in the initiative of the socialist countries concerning the convening of a Europe-wide conference at which all European States without exception would be able to participate in discussions to find a solution to the problems of European security and co-operation? Is not the Soviet proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, in which all States would take part, clear evidence of the desire to involve all States, large and small, in the solution of that vitally important problem of our time, the problem of disarmament?

90. During the debate some speakers again advanced the idea that there is some kind of contradistinction between the small countries and the large Powers and “super-Powers”. Mechanically and unthinkingly they include in the category of large Powers, which are “responsible” for the present state of world affairs, both the large capitalist Powers and the socialist States. But one cannot place the Soviet Union, a great socialist State which since the first days of its existence has been striving for peace, security, disarmament and the freedom of oppressed peoples, in the same class with the other large Powers, or “super-Powers”, as some are wont to call them, which for centuries oppressed the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and some of which, to this very day, continue to prop up colonial and racist régimes. The fundamental and direct contradictions between the policies of the large Powers on social and political questions are there for all to see. If one fails to see or to understand these differences of principle, contradictions between the policies of the large Powers on social and political questions are there for all to see. If one fails to see or to understand these differences of principle, one may, wittingly or unwittingly, fall into error in political matters. The political structure of the contemporary world, which is now undergoing a process of revolutionary transformation, is much more complex. It is not to be judged simply on the basis of the relative size and power of States. The dividing line must be drawn on the social and political plane, between socialism and imperialism, between the policy of peace and the policy of war, between reaction and progress, and not between the large and the small. Surely no one will deny that even among the small

countries there are some whose aggressive pro-imperialist policies do enormous damage to the cause of peace and international security. In this connexion it is sufficient to mention such a small country as Israel.

91. It is quite evident too that the large States bear special responsibility for the maintenance of peace. The United Nations Charter itself is based upon this assumption, for it invests the permanent members of the Security Council with special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, this in no way justifies any country's claim to an exclusive position or special privileges in international affairs. The Soviet Union has never claimed to be a "super-Power". It is well known that such slogans as, for example, "*Pax Britannica*", "*Pax Americana*", "*Pax Germanica*" and "*Pax Japonica*" or "*Hako Ichu*" were proclaimed by others. These are indisputable historical facts. The Soviet Union has never deviated from the principle, established as early as the lifetime of the great Lenin, that important international questions must be decided with the participation of all countries concerned—large, medium-sized and small—and with due regard for their lawful rights.

92. In the Soviet Union's view the world is in fact divided not into "super-Powers" and "non-super-Powers" but into two opposing social systems. The Soviet Union, as I have said, does not consider itself a "super-Power" and does not intend to act as one. The principles of the Soviet Union's foreign policy are well known to the whole world and to all States Members of the United Nations: peace, international security, disarmament, equality of rights, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; and no slanderous fabrications from any quarter have ever succeeded or will ever succeed in misrepresenting the Soviet Union's policies.

93. In the light of contemporary reality the Soviet delegation cannot agree with those speakers, happily few, who have talked of a need to review the fundamental provisions of the United Nations Charter, as if such a review would help to strengthen international security. We have always believed that the problem is not that the Charter is out of date or incomplete but that some States, both large and small, signed the Charter—and, by the way, also voted in favour of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security—but continue to act contrary to and in violation of the fundamental principles and provisions of both the Charter and the Declaration. Pulling the Charter to pieces will not help to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations. If we begin to tamper with the Charter, we may fragment and destroy the United Nations itself; such a development would be to the advantage only of the enemies of the United Nations, who, to judge by recent press reports, have of late become noticeably more numerous. What is needed is strict and steadfast observance of the fundamental provisions of the Charter. States should devote their efforts to putting an end to violations of the Charter and should vigorously condemn and call to account those who violate it despite the obligations they have assumed.

94. The Soviet delegation notes with satisfaction a number of arguments which, in our opinion, take the right direction in the search for practical measures to strengthen international security. We have in mind the arguments of those

representatives who stressed the need to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations as a whole and, in particular, the effectiveness of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter and the provisions of the Declaration. We consider that the Security Council is far from having exhausted the possibilities provided by the Charter. It is the members of the Council, especially the permanent members, that determine how effective and persistent the Council's efforts will be to maintain peace, stop aggression and implement the decisions it has taken.

95. It is regrettable that the constructive approach of the absolute majority of delegations in the First Committee, which have sought through collective effort to determine ways of implementing the Declaration, has not received support from the delegations of certain States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Those delegations have cast doubt on the advisability of any discussion of this most important question and have sown pessimism about the possibility and advisability of taking positive steps to implement the Declaration. They have advanced the argument that there is no need to "repeat the Declaration" adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Yet the debate on this question has shown that no one is proposing that we should work out a new Declaration or repeat all the provisions of the old one. The overwhelming majority of delegations have, however, quite rightly cited the need to ensure that the Declaration is implemented by all States without exception. They have stressed the need to draw attention to the most important and fundamental provisions of the Declaration, violation of which is jeopardizing international peace and security today, at this very moment, in the Near East, Indo-China and Africa. The most important steps called for by most of the delegations that spoke on the question were: ending the military occupation of foreign territories resulting from the use of force in violation of the Charter and the Declaration; terminating coercive acts which deprive peoples of their right to liberation from colonial and racist domination and constitute a threat to the sovereignty of newly independent States; and making renunciation of the threat or use of force the law and practice in international life and international relations. That is the crux of the matter; talking of repeating the provisions of the Declaration is irrelevant.

96. The United Kingdom, as usual, acted as leader of the pessimists and sceptics, if one may describe them so mildly. The United Kingdom representative began by expressing "scepticism" concerning the motives of those countries which took the initiative in proposing that the United Nations should consider the question of the strengthening of international security, went on to voice doubt about the advisability of considering that question and ended by proposing that the General Assembly should merely reaffirm the Declaration. There was nothing positive in the United Kingdom statement. It is not difficult to understand what is behind all this, if we recall the United Kingdom's peculiar reaction to the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It withdrew from the United Nations Committee on Decolonization³ and

³ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

began once more to supply the South African racists with arms to be used against the peoples of Africa. This fact alone would suffice to explain why the United Kingdom delegation advances such far-fetched arguments to convince us that it is pointless and unnecessary to consider matters of international security at this session. That line of argument indicates only one thing: that the United Kingdom is unwilling to contribute to the strengthening of international security and the easing of international tensions.

97. The United Kingdom statement had much in common with that of the representative of the United States, who observes the earth and earthly matters from the vantage point of the moon. That, no doubt, is why he was unable to cope correctly with the pronunciation and spelling of the name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and could not see what was really going on in the Near East and Indo-China. He echoed the United Kingdom delegation's sceptical views and supported its proposal that we should merely reaffirm the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Evidently it also escaped the notice of the American delegation that most delegations in the First Committee and in plenary meetings have argued that we must not merely reaffirm the Declaration but adopt concrete measures to achieve its implementation. That is where the approach of the delegations of the United Kingdom, the United States and some other NATO countries differs from that of many other delegations. We cannot but regret that the United States representative's attitude towards this question has been essentially negative and disregarded the opinions of so many delegations in the Committee.

98. The Israeli delegation was among those which sought to oppose the general trend of the discussion on the strengthening of security. In his attempt to justify his country's aggression against the Arab peoples, the Israeli representative went so far as to say that the dangerous situation in the Near East, which is a direct consequence of Israeli aggression against the Arab States, has nothing to do with the problem of strengthening international security. But surely it is clear that the Near East crisis persists because of Israel's stubborn refusal to implement the provision of the Declaration which stresses the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territory by the use of force. It is equally clear that we can find a way out of the dangerous impasse in the Near East only on the basis of the implementation of the well-known Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which is both in the interest of the peoples of the Arab countries and in the genuine long-term interest of the people of Israel. The Government of Israel is playing with fire by refusing to redress the consequences of its aggression and by its stubborn unwillingness to implement the decision of the Security Council concerning the withdrawal of its forces. This is a dangerous game for the cause of peace and for Israel itself.

99. We have devoted considerable time in our discussion to consideration of the nature of the resolution to be adopted by the General Assembly on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The overwhelmingly predominant opinion was that the General Assembly should not confine

itself at this session to adopting a formalistic, procedural resolution, but should take a decision which would point the way for important and far-reaching action by States in the implementation of the Declaration. Therein lies the essence of the proposals and provisions contained in the draft resolution of the eight socialist countries.

100. The Soviet delegation is ready to co-operate with other delegations in examining specific questions relating to the implementation of the Declaration in order that the General Assembly may be able to adopt a substantive resolution which will make a useful contribution to the cause of strengthening international security and implementing the Declaration adopted at the anniversary session of the General Assembly in 1970.

101. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

102. Mr. TRUONG CANG (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): It is my duty to give some clarification regarding what the representative of Cuba said earlier about the extension of the Viet-Nam war to Cambodia.

103. The violation of peace and security in the Khmer Republic and the aggression by foreign troops against my country have already been denounced in my statement to this Committee at the 1807th meeting. I appeal again to all Members of the United Nations, instead of—even unwittingly—pouring oil on the flames, to help us re-establish peace in Indo-China, beginning with the Khmer Republic, on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

104. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): Before I exercise my right of reply I should like to add my delegation's voice to the many which have expressed close and cordial sympathy with the delegation of India on the tragic events which have happened on the coast of India.

105. I do not intend to follow the representative of the Soviet Union into yet another general debate speech. By "general debate speech" I mean a speech suitable for the general debate in the plenary Assembly. I imagine that those members of the Committee who are fluent in Russian will read it all with great interest in *Pravda* one of these days; I assume that the headline will be, "Of the Great Powers only the Soviet Union is peace-loving". Nor do I intend to answer specific attacks made on specific aspects of the policy of my own Government. They have been dealt with elsewhere. I propose to stick to the matter in hand, which is the strengthening of peace and international security, and I do so because my delegation was one of those selected by the representative of the Soviet Union as allegedly not supporting the so-called constructive approach of certain other delegations towards this item in this Committee. I regret to say that there is a fallacy here, a serious fallacy. A confusion is being made between attitude towards the strengthening of international security and attitude towards a draft resolution or what type of resolution ought to be coming out of this Committee. That is a complete and utter fallacy.

106. The draft of the socialist States talks about "the urgency of adopting specific measures in order to fulfil the

primary task of the United Nations, which is the maintenance of international peace and security" [A/C.1/L.566]. The representative of the Soviet Union, in his last intervention, spoke again and again about "concrete practical measures", "effective measures"—I forget what else there was, but these phrases appeared fairly frequently throughout his discourse. Now, my delegation—and I believe this is true of many more delegations than those of the NATO countries that were picked out by the representative of the Soviet Union—is second to none in wanting to see the full and proper application of all the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter: not just talking about violations in the negativistic sort of way that the representative of the Soviet Union did, but using the purposes and principles of the Charter as a living instrument to build on; not just to be looking for violations, but to lead towards a better world. Those purposes and principles, as I said in my earlier statement [1807th meeting], were well reflected in last year's Declaration.

107. What is the more effective way of taking practical, concrete measures to build upon the purposes and principles of the Charter? Our view—and I think our actions and the actions of other delegations who feel the same way as does my delegation show it—is that concrete and practical measures can be taken not only in the United Nations, but in our international relations generally. But more specifically, in the United Nations such measures can be taken in the appropriate organs: in the various economic organs, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in the specialized agencies, and, coming closer to home, in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, in the Security Council and in informal discussions amongst members of the Security Council. I remember at least one occasion when two successive Presidents of the Security Council tried to launch informal discussions in order to discover what the Security Council could do, what action it could take to avert a dangerous situation. I seem to remember also that those informal discussions got nowhere, not because of the attitude of NATO delegations but because of the attitude of certain other delegations.

108. So it remains our view that we can take effective action in strengthening international security, in its widest sense as set out in the purposes and principles of the Charter and as set out in last year's Declaration, by examining matters, making recommendations and taking concrete action under specific items of the agenda, in the proper committees of this Assembly and in other organs of the United Nations.

109. I reject entirely and absolutely the allegation that my delegation and other delegations—who, I believe, are very widespread in this Committee—are not interested in the strengthening of international security.

110. Mr. MEHDI (Pakistan): Very briefly, I wish to clarify the position of my delegation with regard to our statement at the 1806th meeting on 25 October regarding the agenda item under discussion.

111. My delegation has listened very carefully to the representative of the Soviet Union, especially to his remarks about the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and

Co-operation. We are happy to have heard the reiteration of the Soviet position regarding the Indo-Soviet Treaty. We are particularly heartened to hear once again that, in the view of the Soviet Union, the Treaty is not directed against any third country.

112. In our statement we had not suggested otherwise. All we did was to bring to the notice of the Committee the interpretation that was being put on the Treaty within India itself. We also expressed the apprehension that political pressures would be exerted on the Soviet Union to align itself with forces seeking the dismemberment of Pakistan. We drew the attention of the Committee to the joint statement issued after the visit of the Indian Prime Minister to Moscow, and to the fact that, although my delegation did not interpret the joint statement as bearing the implication that the Soviet Union approved India's designs against Pakistan, it was not altogether reassuring to find in the joint statement language like the following: "fully determined to take all the necessary measures", without the word "measures" being qualified by the word "peaceful" or the word "co-operative".

113. As I said at the beginning of this statement, my delegation is extremely happy to have heard the remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union, and, as we said on 25 October, the Indo-Soviet Treaty will be judged only by its results.

114. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): I will not take up very much of the Committee's time. I am not sure what brought about the blast of the representative of the Soviet Union against my delegation. I have reviewed our statement, and I find what he said a bit perplexing. International security, rapprochement and *détente* hardly seem to be well served by harsh attacks against specific delegations. I gather that the representative of the Soviet Union took umbrage at the remarks of the representative in my delegation who spoke earlier in this debate [1812th meeting]. That representative, Rear-Admiral Shepard, made remarks based, I believe, on his rather unique experience in seeing this planet from the viewpoint of the moon. Obviously, this is a limited view, if you will, of our problems. None the less, I think it may be more objective, and certainly a fairer view, than those reflected in some of the remarks we have heard this morning from the representative of the Soviet Union.

115. Perhaps another reason for the wrath of the Soviet representative against my delegation was in some way related to the question of the spelling of the name of another member of this Committee, Czechoslovakia. I am not sure why this should bring such a warm reaction from my Soviet colleague. On the other hand, I am aware, from my own experience, that sometimes actions speak louder than words. Although it is very easy to indicate belief in and support for non-aggression and non-interference in the affairs of other countries, I believe that the record will show that actions speak louder than words. It could be that some of the comments made by the representative of my delegation may have hit a raw nerve in the delegation of the Soviet Union.

116. This is the only basis on which I can possibly understand or interpret the remarks he made with respect

to the policies of my Government. These were spelled out clearly in our statement. We have supported and did support last year the Declaration which was agreed upon by the General Assembly. We have expressed willingness to continue to discuss these matters seriously, earnestly and in good faith and we continue to approach this problem of the strengthening of international security in that spirit.

117. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, I wish to place on record that we shall not exercise our right of reply, since that is exercised only between delegations of States Members of the United Nations.

118. My delegation understands that the aggressors in Indo-China did not find what I said earlier pleasant to hear. But I would merely point out, regarding the problem of Cambodia, that we expressed precisely our support for the political programme of the National United Front of Cambodia and for the Royal Government of that country, which is the only legitimate Government that exists in Cambodia, and which is heroically confronting imperialist aggression.

119. Mr. N. SINGH (India): I should like warmly to thank those speakers who this morning expressed sympathy to India concerning the cyclone disaster in eastern India.

120. While I have the floor, may I state, with reference to what the representative of Pakistan said, that India has no designs—I repeat, no designs—against Pakistan. The Pakistan Government in its wisdom has decided to take military action and worse against its own people in East Pakistan, and consequently there is trouble there, as we all know. It is no use blaming us for the failure of Pakistan's own policies, which are threatening the integrity of that State.

121. Mr. DORON (Israel): The representative of the Soviet Union has seen fit to devote quite a considerable part of his statement to my country, making a number of his usual allegations against it. I reject all those allegations. My country has been the victim of armed aggression three times in the course of the last 23 years and obviously Israel was and is interested in the strengthening of international security.

122. Mr. MEHDI (Pakistan): I shall be very brief. With respect to what the representative of India said about the events in my country, we have already stated our position and I do not wish to take the time of the Committee to reiterate it. I regret very much that he has seen fit to speak about the internal events in Pakistan. However, I do not wish to let this opportunity pass without welcoming the earlier part of his statement—I welcome his statement that his country has no designs against Pakistan.

123. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I will be brief. I take note, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, of the United Kingdom representative's statement that his delegation and his country intend firmly to adhere to and maintain the

provisions of the Charter and the Declaration and to carry them out. This gives us grounds to hope and expect that the United Kingdom delegation will carry out this intention in the Security Council as well, with respect to the Near East, Jerusalem, Namibia and certain other matters which are considered in that body.

124. As to the remarks of the United States representative, I assume that his use of the word "attacks" was due to the excessive sensitivity of his delegation. I had no intention of attacking. I merely stated the fact that the United States delegation, to judge by its statement here in the First Committee, had adopted a negative position in opposing discussion in the First Committee of such an important problem as the strengthening of international security and in recommending that the decision on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security should be confined to a merely formalistic, procedural resolution and not touch upon any substantive matters, such as the need for observance of the Declaration and of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, which is a major cause of the worsening of the international situation.

125. I quite agree with the United States representative that, with respect to world events and the attitudes of States, actions speak louder than words. That was precisely what I had in mind when I mentioned the situation in certain areas of the world.

126. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): The list of speakers on this item in the Committee has been completed in an atmosphere of understanding and of reaffirmation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

127. As members of the Committee are aware, two draft resolutions have been submitted: the first, submitted by eight delegations, is contained in document A/C.1/L.566; the second, submitted by the delegation of Saudi Arabia, is contained in document A/C.1/L.567.

128. I understand that a number of delegations are engaged in consultations on the preparation of other draft resolutions on this question. Therefore, in order to allow those consultations to continue, I would like to propose that we suspend consideration of this item of our agenda and resume it at some later date. I shall establish the necessary contacts so as to be able to inform the Committee when it will be possible to resume consideration of this question. Of course, delegations which will have statements to make on the draft resolutions or of a general nature will have an opportunity to do so when we resume consideration of the question.

129. No one seems to object to this suggestion, so I conclude that the Committee accepts this procedure.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.