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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 39: Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General	593

Chairman: Mr. Otto R. BORCH (Denmark).

AGENDA ITEM 39

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of  
International Security: report of the Secretary-General  
(A/9038, A/9057 and Corr.1, A/9078, A/9083, A/9122,  
A/9129, A/C.1/1037, 1040, 1041)**

1. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches considerable significance to the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], adopted at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the initiative of the Soviet Union. We entirely agree with the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, who in one of his reports stressed that "Maintenance of international peace and security is not only the primary goal of the United Nations but also the *sine qua non* for the very existence and progress of mankind."

2. The annual discussion of this item, in the course of which a general review is undertaken of the achievements in the field of the strengthening of international security and new measures are indicated with regard to the implementation of the principles contained in the Declaration, is in keeping with the interests of all peace-loving countries and the strengthening of our Organization as an instrument for peace and co-operation among peoples.

3. I should like to recall that the general debate at the beginning of this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was marked by the almost unanimous consensus of heads of delegations to the effect that a decisive change has occurred in the world today favouring the easing of international tension. The world has turned from the period of the cold war to a period of negotiation and expansion of international co-operation and to ever broader recognition and application of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems. This new development is fully in keeping with the Charter of our Organization and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

4. In the general debate and on other occasions, the Bulgarian delegation has already had occasion to set forth

the views of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the most important events which have led to the change-over to these new positive trends in international relations.

5. Now we would just like to point to the extremely important significance for the strengthening of international peace and security of the results of the summit meetings of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, with the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, with the President of France, Georges Pompidou, with the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Willy Brandt, and with others, as well as the practical, business-like meetings which are going on with the leaders of India right now.

6. A decisive boost to the easing of tension in Asia and throughout the world was given by the cessation of the war in Viet-Nam and the peaceful settlement of the question of Laos.

7. Considerable progress was achieved also in solving the problems of the Indo-Pakistan peninsula. In particular, we should like once again to point to the tremendous significance of the positive changes which have occurred in Europe. The settlement of the question of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and the problems of West Berlin, the process of the restoration and normalization of relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic, and particularly the convening of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation—all of that demonstrates that the European States have decisively adopted a course of converting the old continent into an area of durable peace and broad international co-operation.

8. The talks which have recently started in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have created an opportunity for the easing of military tension on the continent.

9. In the progress that has so far been achieved in the positive development of international relations, a decisive role has been played by the insistent efforts of the socialist countries.

10. The policy of peace and international co-operation has found its reflection in the numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union in implementation of its broad peace programme adopted at the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and also in a number of proposals made in recent years along with other socialist countries. But, of course, everyone realizes that these proposals could not have borne fruit had it not been for the goodwill and realism shown by Governments and various

other quarters concerned, if the policy of peaceful coexistence had not enjoyed the widespread support of the overwhelming proportion of mankind.

11. The success of the new direction of international relations depends on objective conditions which exist in the world today where the balance of forces has changed in favour of the forces of peace and international co-operation.

12. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is striving by every means at its command to promote the process of improving international relations, and it is thus making its contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

13. The active peace-loving policy of the Bulgarian Government is well known. It is designed to improve relations with the countries and peoples of all continents, particularly those of Europe and the Balkans.

14. As was stated on 9 October this year by the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, during his visit to Austria: "Our country will continue in the future to make its contribution to improving the political atmosphere in Europe and primarily to broadening good-neighbourly relations among the Balkan States, in an attempt to convert the Balkan peninsula into an area of understanding and co-operation."

15. This persistent and consistent policy of ours has found its concrete reflection in the meetings which have been held over the last year at various levels with the leaders of a number of the world's countries, including our neighbours, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. Bulgaria has been an active participant also in multilateral efforts to settle European problems, which is eloquently demonstrated by its presentation at the European Conference at Geneva, in co-sponsorship with Poland, of a draft on fundamental directions for the development of cultural co-operation and contacts and the exchange of information.

16. The positive changes which have occurred in the world recently have very rightly created much optimism and hope with regard to the converting of détente into an irreversible process and the guaranteeing of lasting peace and security for all the peoples of the world.

17. But discussions at this session on the question of détente had not yet been concluded when a new conflict broke out in the Middle East, caused by the barefaced aggression of Israel and its continuing illegal occupation of the Arab territories it had seized.

18. At that time certain delegations suffered from a certain embarrassment and confusion. Many began to ask the question: can we really talk about détente when we have all seen before our very eyes a new war break out which could have provoked a world conflict? After that, there were those tempestuous day and night meetings of the Security Council and the resolutions which were adopted, opening the way not only to a cease-fire but also to a lasting and just settlement of the Middle East crisis.

19. It seems to me that we can now revert to talking about détente and can draw some conclusions which are ready to be drawn.

20. Firstly, détente is not an end in itself but a means, an instrument, a complex and continuing process which should lead to a guaranteeing of just and lasting peace and security in the world. No one has ever asserted that with the advent of détente the peace and security of the peoples of the world are now guaranteed, and that the instigators of new military adventures and those who would complicate the situation have automatically disappeared.

21. We ourselves have seen how obstacles are erected to further détente in the world and to the implementation of the principles of the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, even in this very hall, where some people, and particularly the delegation of one of the countries which is a permanent member of the Security Council, have systematically opposed the initiatives and measures which could decisively promote the strengthening of the positive trends that have emerged in international relations.

22. No one should imagine that in future things will develop smoothly, that they will flow like oil. Certainly not.

23. And so we have to draw a second conclusion. We have to be extremely vigilant and try to expose in good time the designs, and prevent the criminal intents, of the opponents of peace and of understanding among peoples. We must attentively follow the creation of new military blocs, wherever they may arise, for the creation of such blocs will only impede détente and the strengthening of international security.

24. Thirdly, détente and the implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence among States with different social and political systems in no way imply a denial of the right of the peoples to fight for their national freedom and independence and for the liberation of their forcibly-annexed territories. Furthermore, it is the duty of every State which claims to pursue a peace-loving and constructive policy to come to the assistance of these peoples, and not only with empty words and fine-sounding phraseology but with concrete deeds.

25. Fourthly, the most recent war in the Middle East has also confirmed that it is precisely thanks to the advent of détente and the improvement of relations among the most powerful States that it has been possible relatively quickly to proceed to a cessation of the outbreak of conflict and to undertake the course of negotiations with regard to a just settlement both of the indirect as well as the fundamental problems of the countries concerned in that area.

26. It has once again been demonstrated that it is possible to find a solution to the most acute international problems if there is respect for the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations, which is playing and should play an even more active role in the strengthening of international peace and security. Of course, the establishment of a just and lasting peace will depend primarily on the extent to which Israel and its protectors and supporters sincerely

wish to implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

27. Fifthly, further easing of international political tension requires simultaneous efforts to ease military tension.

28. And it is by no means an accident that those forces, which strive to maintain and intensify military tension in the world, are attempting to demonstrate that in the international situation a change has not occurred and that accordingly efforts towards disarmament are pointless. They oppose all initiatives to bring about effective disarmament and experience panic at the taking of any step whatever that which might rebut their theory about the fatal inevitability of conflicts and the pointlessness of the efforts to build peace without armaments and without wars.

29. I do not believe there is any need to try to prove here how close is the mutual link and interdependence between political and military détente, and to talk about which has pride of place would be to renew the endless and utterly pointless quarrel about which came first, the chicken or the egg.

30. It is quite clear that the easing of political tension creates the necessary preconditions and conditions for a reduction of armaments and the easing of tension in the military area. The latter makes political détente more realistic and stable and promotes the strengthening of international security, trust and co-operation among nations.

31. These are just a few of the important conclusions which flow, as we see it, from the development of international events most recently.

32. No impartial person can deny the positive achievements which have occurred in the field of international peace and security. And perhaps the greatest achievement of mankind is the fact that for more than 28 years no new world war has broken out.

33. Of course, no one can and no one has the right to minimize the danger of the so-called local wars which erupt today, and, given contemporary means of waging war, may easily lead to a world conflict. No one can guarantee that in the future there will not be such conflicts. As long as imperialism exists the possibility of the outbreak of new wars—local and general—will continue to exist. As long as there exist in the world vast reserves of various kinds, including nuclear weapons, we cannot with any conviction build a lasting and continuing peace. But this does not mean that we should draw erroneous conclusions that the problems of peace can be resolved only by means of war and that war is inevitable. Quite the contrary. The correlation of the balance of forces in the world has changed and continues to change in a direction favouring the champions of peace and international security. Most recent history and the most recent events demonstrate that war can be averted; and that the only correct way of resolving international problems and disputes is through talks and mutual understanding. Only in this way and with the strict application of the principles of peaceful co-existence in relations among States with different social systems

will it be possible to guarantee international security. Of course, there is no such thing as absolute security, but the construction of security and its strengthening depends on us, on the peace-loving forces of the whole world, on the goodwill of governments.

34. No one could deny the progress which has been achieved up to now in the creation and strengthening of international security. Therefore it cannot be said that there is no security, and in this case that there is no point in talking about strengthening it. Quite the contrary. If peace and security were already guaranteed, then there would be no point in talking about them. But until such time as that is so, our duty is not only to talk but to struggle by every means in our power to ensure that mankind can have the conditions to live and create in conditions of lasting and just peace and security for its present and its future. Here again, the principle of "all or nothing" is totally inapplicable. Let us not be pessimists and maximalists; let us just be political realists.

35. And all this makes it essential to make the implementation of the Declaration on the strengthening of international security the business of all States, and particularly of the United Nations as the most broadly representative Organization with important functions in the maintenance of international peace and security.

36. The role of the United Nations is extremely important for one more reason, and that is that our Organization can and must promote the broadening of the process of détente throughout the world and must strive to deepen and strengthen it.

37. In making the assessment of the work of the United Nations in recent times—and this includes the results we have so far achieved at this session of the General Assembly—we cannot fail to note with satisfaction the well-known facts which are an undeniable contribution to the attainment of the objectives of the Declaration of 1970.

38. With the admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Bahamas to the United Nations, one more considerable step forward was taken towards total universality of the world Organization and to a strengthening of its possibilities for participating in the consideration of the most urgent problems of our time. We are convinced that the decision just taken on the Korean problem is a first important step which will help to put a final and conclusive end to the use of the United Nations as a screen for the intervention of foreign forces in the business of the Korean people, a step towards the peaceful unification of the North and South and towards the transformation of that region into a zone of peace and co-operation among nations.

39. The General Assembly has also taken an important decision in the field of decolonization. The recognition of the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the condemnation of the aggression perpetrated by Portugal against that country raises to a new level the efforts of the United Nations to promote the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, which is a permanent source of tension in the world.

40. A great success for the United Nations too were the recent decisions of the Security Council in connexion with the cease-fire in the Middle East and the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force. We attach particular importance to the fact that for the first time it was possible to reach agreement on having a socialist country, the Polish People's Republic, take part in United Nations peace-keeping forces. We should like to point out here that the People's Republic of Bulgaria also has stated its readiness to make observers and military detachments available to the United Nations.

41. All these new decisions of our Organization will have a favourable effect on efforts to find ways and means of using more fully the machinery of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

42. The General Assembly is faced with the task of finding solutions to many problems which have a direct relationship to the question of strengthening international security. A great contribution could be made to that task by making progress on the question of convening a world disarmament conference.

43. The attainment of that very important objective would be complementary to the situation of military and political détente, a situation that would also be enhanced by the adoption of the new Soviet proposal for the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries [A/9191].

44. There are many other questions whose solutions by the United Nations would contribute substantially to the strengthening of international security.

45. The Organization should take on this task. The major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is, of course, borne by the Security Council, which is faced with a great deal of unfinished business. This relates primarily to the implementation of resolutions which the Security Council adopted with regard to resolving the Middle East crisis. Until such time as there is a lasting and just peace in that area of the world, which can

come about only if the Arab territories annexed by Israel are liberated and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people restored, the Security Council and the United Nations will be indebted to humankind. Furthermore, the Security Council so far has not complied with the obligation in connexion with the declaration adopted on the Soviet initiative at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, which should become binding. We consider that in the interests of international peace and security the Security Council should proceed as early as possible to the practical implementation of that task.

46. We consider that as a result of the consideration of the question of the Implementation of the declaration on the strengthening of international security the Committee and the General Assembly should, this year also, stress in an appropriate resolution the great importance of the principles and provisions it contains. We must welcome the new positive factors which have occurred in the development of international relations as a major contribution to the implementation of those principles.

47. In this regard we should stress particularly the importance of the regional achievements which deserve the total support of the United Nations and world public opinion.

48. That support and encouragement should be expressed also with regard to the efforts to eliminate military and other types of conflicts which are a source of tension in the world, to attain agreement on new measures in the field of disarmament and to bring about the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

49. The annual consideration of the question of the implementation of the Declaration is in keeping with the interests of the further improvement of international relations and the enhancement of the role and effectiveness of our Organization. That is why the Bulgarian delegation considers it correct and essential for this question once again to appear on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 12 noon.*