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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND AND FORTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 12 December 1974, at 3 p.m.

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. NEUGEBAUER	(German Democratic Republic)
	(Vice-Chairman)	
<u>later:</u>	Mr. ORTIZ de ROZAS	(Argentina)
<u>Rapporteur:</u>	Mr. COSTA LOBO	(Portugal)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General /36/ (continued)

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AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:  
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/9696; A/C.1/L.706; A/C.1/1050)

Mr. DAMDINDORJ (Mongolia): The Mongolian delegation notes with deep satisfaction that the principles of peaceful coexistence, which lie at the basis of the strengthening of international peace and security, are being increasingly given specific, practical content. This is reflected in particular in the development of relations of mutually advantageous co-operation between States with different social systems.

At the same time, we see that the supporters of the "cold war" and other reactionary forces are resisting the favourable changes in the world in every possible way.

The successes achieved in improving the international situation and the existing difficulties, problems and dangers urgently require that further efforts be made for the strengthening of world peace and security. That is why the key problem of international life now under discussion in the First Committee is of such immediacy.

The consideration at sessions of the General Assembly of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has already become standard practice in our work each year. It provides an opportunity to evaluate the development of international relations over a specific period of time with a view to identifying all the positive factors which must be supported and developed in every way as well as spotlighting the negative tendencies and phenomena which impede the further strengthening of the foundations of international peace and world security, so that ways can be sought to overcome them.

It should be noted that the world socialist system -- a powerful factor in the maintenance of international peace and security -- is now exerting a decisive influence on the course of the historical process. The role of the non-aligned States in the solution of international problems is constantly growing. A realistic and sensible approach to international affairs is making noticeable headway. All this, in our opinion, helps to intensify the process of détente.

(Mr. Damdindorj, Mongolia)

The year 1974 was marked by many important events in international affairs.

A substantial contribution to the process of détente is being made by the further normalization of mutual relations between the USSR and the United States and by the results of the periodic summit meetings, including the recent meeting in Vladivostok between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev, and the President of the United States, Gerald Ford.

The favourable developments on the European continent are having a significant effect in easing the international climate. We feel that the successful completion at the highest level of the work of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation and the achievement of agreement at the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of military forces and armaments in Central Europe will unquestionably have significance that goes beyond the boundaries of the European continent.

(Mr. Damdindorj, Mongolia)

In the opinion of our delegation, the solution of a whole range of complex problems on a European scale will be an inspiring example for other regions as well.

In the light of what I have said above, I should like to touch on the general problem of security and co-operation on the Asian continent.

The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian State, cannot be indifferent to the urgent problems of our region.

As we are all aware, the most significant event of 1973 on the Asian continent was the termination of the imperialist, aggressive war in Viet-Nam, which had a favourable effect on the entire world situation.

However, the basic provisions of the Paris Agreement are being flagrantly violated by the Saigon régime with open support from outside. We strongly demand that the Saigon authorities and their protectors strictly observe the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam. The Mongolian Government considers it essential that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam be granted permanent observer status at the United Nations.

The formation of coalition organs of power in Laos -- that is to say, the Provisional Government of National Unity and the National Advisory Political Council -- constituted an important step in the establishment of peace in Indo-China.

Mongolia supports the just struggle of the patriotic forces of Cambodia for the realization of the aspirations of their people.

Mongolia consistently supports the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of the South and the North on democratic principles; it has at all times advocated and continues to advocate that the Korean people be permitted to decide their future without outside interference of any kind. However, it is a source of concern that the South Korean authorities stubbornly continue to reject the constructive proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with a view to bringing about the independent and peaceful unification of the country. As a result of this, a hotbed of tension remains on the Korean peninsula.

The decision taken at the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification

(Mr. Damdindorj, Mongolia)

and Rehabilitation of Korea was a step towards putting an end to interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

The Mongolian delegation feels that the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and the abolition of the United Nations command represent the key to a solution of the Korean problem. This step would also further the crucial objective of strengthening peace and security in the Far East.

We attach great importance to the further normalization of good-neighbourly relations between the States of the South Asian subcontinent.

The establishment of lasting peace in Asia is inconceivable without a settlement of the critical situation in the Middle East.

However, as a result of Israel's sabotage of the cause of a peaceful political settlement of the Middle East problem, the situation in this region, far from improving is becoming even more acute and is taking on an explosive character.

The Government of Mongolia has always believed and continues to believe that, in order to ensure a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, all the Arab lands occupied by Israel in 1967 must be unconditionally liberated and the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the formation of a national State must be realized. We advocate the speediest possible resumption of the Geneva peace conference with the participation of representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the people of Palestine, for we believe that peaceful negotiations at that conference could contribute to a solution of the Middle East problem in the interests of all the States of the region.

Despite the unstable and sometimes dangerous situation in various parts of the Asian continent, it can be said that the prospects for a solution of the urgent problems of that part of the world are improving.

In his speech of 26 November 1974, marking the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mongolia, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, stated:

(Mr. Damdindorj, Mongolia)

"What is most important is that the situation throughout Asia should be fully normalized and that Asia should be transformed into a continent of stable peace and mutually advantageous co-operation through the intensification and extension of the process of détente, the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between Asian States and the broad development of good-neighbourly relations."

In our opinion, the Soviet Union's proposal for the establishment of a system of collective security in Asia corresponds most fully to those aims.

The international situation as a whole is conducive to efforts in this direction. The basic principles of an all Asian system of collective security could be the renunciation of the threat or use of force, the solution of disputes by peaceful means, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the right of States to control their own natural resources, respect for the right of peoples to decide their own future without outside interference and so forth.

As we know, these principles at one time found expression in the historic Bandung Declaration, which shows that the idea of Asian security has deep roots.

We realize that the establishment of a system of collective security in Asia is a complex problem. It should be remembered that in our region the ugly consequences of colonialism -- national disunity and prejudice -- have not yet fully disappeared and that dangerous hotbeds of tension remain in some areas. It is precisely the complexity of the problem which makes serious demands on all States in our region to intensify efforts aimed at the establishment of durable foundations for peace in Asia.

In that connexion, I should like to stress that goodwill on the part of all Asian States is essential in order to overcome the unavoidable difficulties in this matter.

The attempts of the opponents of international détente to complicate the situation in Asia, to hinder the implementation of peaceful initiatives and proposals, to sow the seeds of hostility and mistrust among peoples and to divide the forces working for peace and security should be condemned.

(Mr. Damdindorj, Mongolia)

The Mongolian Government attaches great importance to the strengthening of friendship and co-operation with Asian States.

Government delegations and goodwill missions from my country have recently visited many States of the Asian continent. In turn, official representatives from a number of Asian countries have visited Mongolia. In the course of discussions, it became clear that there was an identity or similarity of views on many important problems of ensuring peace and security in Asia.

The consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, a country with which Mongolia has now maintained relations of fraternal friendship and co-operation for more than half a century, is having a beneficial effect in improving the situation in Asia. The recent visit to Ulan Bator of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, was of great importance in strengthening the traditional friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and in strengthening peace and security in Asia and the Far East.

During the past year, certain positive steps have been taken to curb and halt the arms race and to reduce the danger of nuclear war. I am thinking mainly of the treaties and agreements which, as you know, have recently been concluded between the USSR and the United States.

Our delegation also notes with satisfaction that efforts aimed at supplementing political détente with measures in the sphere of disarmament are being taken on a multilateral basis, too.

Mongolia, as a member of the Geneva Disarmament Committee, believes that the achievement in the near future of an agreement on the prohibition and destruction of one of the means of mass destruction, namely, chemical weapons, would be fully in keeping with the vital interests of strengthening international security.

The position of the Mongolian Government, which consistently advocates the cessation of all types of nuclear weapons tests in all environments and by all States, is known to everyone. In that connexion, the Mongolian delegation attaches great importance to the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests, regarding it as a further step towards a complete, all-embracing ban on all types of nuclear tests. We now face the task of universalizing the treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests and of transforming it from a bilateral to a multilateral agreement.

(Mr. Damdindorj, Mongolia)

Measures such as the speediest possible convening of a world disarmament conference, the implementation of the decision of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, and the implementation of the Soviet Union's proposal on 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 have great significance for the practical application of the provisions and principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The General Assembly's recent adoption of a decision on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military purposes is of great importance in preventing the spread of the arms race to other spheres of human activity.

The cause of the further strengthening of international peace and world security requires the immediate elimination of the remnants of colonialism, the full implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and a resolute struggle against all forms and manifestations of neo-colonialism.

The United Nations is making a useful contribution to the improvement of the international situation and to overcoming situations of conflict.

My delegation would like to stress that if the role and significance of the United Nations in the strengthening of international peace and security are to be further strengthened, it is essential that the provisions of the Organization's Charter should be strictly observed.

In conclusion, I should like to assure you, Mr. Chairman, that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic will continue to support all constructive measures which contribute to the cause of détente and which in the final analysis are aimed at making that process irreversible.

Mr. YANNAKAKIS (Greece): The question of strengthening international security is of paramount importance. We fully realize the great necessity of all of us contributing to the realization of this aim because what is at stake is not merely our security but also our very survival.

Up to now we have done our best to contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of détente, being convinced that that is one of the prerequisites for the achievement of our aim. We value all efforts made in that direction up to the present moment. Progress has been made towards peaceful coexistence between States with different social orders. ~~We have done our best to contribute~~ to the general effort in this field.

My Government believes that differences in political and economic systems cannot hinder the promotion and development of friendly relations among States. The desire of many countries for détente has given rise to renewed efforts for the settlement of international conflicts. Some tangible results have been obtained. However, we realize that there is still a lot to be done because hot-beds of grave tension which could again develop into a conflagration have not disappeared around the world.

We should not forget that equal sovereignty of States is not only in compliance with the Charter but is also an important prerequisite for maintaining peace and security in this world. In that respect we all know that the territorial integrity of Cyprus has not yet been restored. The contribution of the United Nations in this regard can prove very precious, and beyond any doubt the implementation of the provisions of the Charter as well as the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly would result in the strengthening of international security in this sensitive area.

It is true that the ending of the arms race would have favourable repercussions on the problem under consideration -- that is, the need to strengthen international security. This is not, of course, an easy task. The question of international security is interconnected with the question of disarmament, and both questions are directly connected to mankind's approach to them. A change for the better in this approach, an evolution of the human mind, more self-restraint in the display of human selfishness and a genuine appreciation of the eternal validity of an axiom established by my forefathers more than two thousand years ago according to which "happiness is not to be found in wealth and

(Mr. Yannakakis, Greece)

selfishness", would allow us to adopt a fresh approach to our problem of strengthening international peace and security and to inaugurate a new era which could justly be called the era of the United Nations. International peace and security would be better cemented if all nations decided sincerely to solve their problems. As long as there exist tendencies to settle differences by force and not by peaceful means, international security will remain precarious. Genuine détente cannot be built on force.

In this respect the text of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted at our twenty-fifth session proves that our Organization is not short of good ideas and noble ideals. What our Organization needs is the will of all its members to implement those ideals in order to avoid the use or threat of force in international disputes. It is worth mentioning that operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV) calls upon all States to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State, and operative paragraph 3 of the same resolution solemnly reaffirms that in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter shall prevail. Furthermore, operative paragraph 5 solemnly reaffirms, inter alia, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal. One can realize from the above that there would be no need to adopt any new texts if we were all prepared to abide by those already in existence, if we want to strengthen international security in a positive way.

Mr. LULWICZAK (Poland): The Government of the Polish People's Republic takes an active and profound interest in the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted in 1970. Indeed, it spares no effort in promoting its principles and objectives through Poland's constructive and peaceful foreign policy.

The lofty ideals enshrined in the Declaration have taken on a particular significance this year, when People's Poland marks its thirtieth anniversary. Over the past 30 years Poland has consistently pursued its efforts with a view to the strengthening of international peace and security, particularly in our region, Europe.

(Mr. Ludwiczak, Poland)

It is with considerable satisfaction that the Polish Government welcomes the progress that has been achieved since the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly in the field of political détente, the consolidation of security and the intensification of co-operation between States at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels.

International developments the world over in the past 12 months have again demonstrated that the process of détente, disarmament efforts, broad and mutually beneficial co-operation in various fields, as well as the elimination of hotbeds of tension, struggle against the vestiges of the cold war and colonial oppression -- all are inseparable components of the process of consolidation of international security.

Thus conceived, the international situation is positively affected by the further progress in the relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America as reflected inter alia in the course of the recent talks of the leaders of the two countries in Vladivostok, as well as in the important agreements they have reached with regard to nuclear disarmament. The Polish Government considers that those agreements represent a major contribution to the process of consolidation of détente and the development of international co-operation at large.

In the regional context, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the idea of which was first advanced by Poland from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly ten years ago, continues its work. There is a realistic chance that before long agreements instrumental for the cause of security, peace and friendly and mutually advantageous co-operation in Europe will be reached together with an agreement concerning the consultative organ, on which all the participating States would be represented, to carry on the positive work initiated by the present Conference.

The Polish Government likewise attaches great importance to the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe, an effort whereby political détente can be supplemented and followed up by measures leading to military détente in that part of Europe, which sees the greatest concentration of armed forces and armaments, particularly nuclear weapons. We believe that positive results in the Vienna talks would be a valuable contribution to world peace and security, consistent with the spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in the capital of Poland earlier this year, has given expression to the stand of the socialist community with respect to European and world issues, first of all to their determination to continue efforts towards consolidation of international security, easing of tensions, enhancing the process of détente and rendering it irreversible. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty have also appealed for increased efforts to ensure success of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and to obtain progress in the Vienna talks, as well as to promote further intensification and expansion of the process of détente.

On the bilateral plane, Poland pursues its relations with European and other countries in the spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This was proved in particular in the course of important State visits by Polish leaders abroad and by foreign leaders in Poland. Poland and its partners invariably stressed the need to strengthen international security on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, with special emphasis on the role and responsibilities of the United Nations in that respect. This found perhaps its fullest expression in the course of the visit to the United States and at the United Nations by Edward Gierek, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. In his address to the United Nations General Assembly, on 10 October 1974, the Polish leader stated inter alia:

"The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations will be universally celebrated next year. This Organization was brought into being by nations which sought peace, freedom and equality and by a desire for friendly co-existence and collaboration. Let us honour this anniversary with the greatest possible contribution by our Organization to the construction of a world in which the attainment of those goals will be ensured." (A/PV.2264, p. 17)

(Mr. Ludwiczak, Poland)

May I be permitted to address myself briefly to the continuing existence of focal points of crises and tensions in various regions of the world.

The Polish Government welcomed the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement on the Disengagement of Forces and the Agreement of Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces. Guided by the desire to contribute to the peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict, the Polish Government made a unit of its armed forces available for duty with UNEF and UNDOF. We hold the view that conditions for a lasting and just peace in the region of the Middle East include the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, the ensuring of the full implementation of legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to existence as a nation, as well as the respect for territorial integrity of all States of the region.

The Government of Poland continues to be gravely concerned over the situation in South Viet-Nam, holding the view that normalization and peaceful stabilization in that area can only be ensured by strict observance by all parties concerned of the Paris Agreement, as well as of the Act of the International Conference on Viet-Nam of last year. As a member of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, Poland holds the view that the responsibility for restoration, preservation and strengthening of peace in South Viet-Nam and for the full implementation of the Paris Agreement rests with the States parties to that Agreement.

With reference to the adjacent country of Cambodia, my Government believes that its problems must be settled with due and full respect for the rights of the people of that country to self-determination, without any external interference.

The Government of Poland has also been profoundly concerned over the recent developments in the Eastern Mediterranean, as a result of which the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus have been placed in grave jeopardy. All necessary steps must be taken to implement fully the provisions of Security Council resolution 353 (1974) and General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), thus ensuring to Cyprus its fundamental rights.

The Polish Government invariably attaches great importance to the struggle against colonialism and all manifestation of racism, especially apartheid.

Following the process of decolonization that Portugal has undertaken in Africa, new favourable conditions have been created for the final liquidation of the remnants of colonial régimes, for the complete elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and racism, for the full, speedy and most effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). These efforts, aimed also at eliminating crises and tensions endangering international peace and security in Africa, are an important part of an over-all struggle to consolidate the process of détente and to broaden its scope.

It goes without saying that international economic co-operation is closely connected with détente, international security and disarmament. Expanding this view at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, the Polish Government stressed that the successful solution of complex matters of economic co-operation is only possible under conditions of détente and full respect for the principle of peaceful coexistence. Progress towards the establishment of a new and just international division of labour would be a major factor in the reinforcement of security and peace throughout the world. To our mind, the supreme interdependence of unhampered socio-economic progress of nations and the irreversible character of détente determine, as never before, the success of efforts of the international community in all other fields.

The views of the international community expressed during the recent disarmament debate have unmistakably indicated that tangible progress in the halting of the nuclear arms race and disarmament would be the most important step towards the strengthening of international security. First and foremost, it would mean a practical step towards supplementing political détente with a corresponding détente in the military field.

The Polish delegation is particularly happy over the progress made with respect to the convening of the world disarmament conference. The prospect of the conference has been greatly advanced by General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX) adopted a few days ago.

(Mr. Łudwiczak, Poland)

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security would be effectively promoted by the implementation of a number of other constructive proposals in the general area of disarmament which have been put forward during the last few years such as, in particular, the proposal on the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

In concluding my statement, I wish to say that Poland will continue to participate actively in all efforts, here at the United Nations and in other forums, to implement fully the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. With this objective in mind the Polish delegation has become one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706 now before our Committee.

Mr. K. R. SHRESTHA (Nepal): At its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution containing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. As is well known to the members of this Committee, that Declaration contained several principles which States were called upon to adhere to in their international relations. Among other things, it reaffirmed the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States, irrespective of their size, geographical situation or level of development of political, economic or social systems. It also ruled out the use of force in the settlement of international disputes and called for non-interference in the internal affairs of States. I do not intend, at this stage, to enumerate the various principles laid down in the Declaration, since I believe that the members of the Committee are fully aware of the very important principles enunciated therein. I wish merely to state that my delegation supported the Declaration in unequivocal terms when it was adopted four years ago. Today, I speak to this Committee only to reiterate our strong support for the Declaration. The General Assembly has this year again taken up for discussion the item regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The very fact that we have been considering this item every year since the adoption of the Declaration testifies to the importance that Member States attach to the question. It is only proper that we devote some time and attention to the implementation of a Declaration which is motivated by a keen desire to bring peace and amity to the world.

As a small, non-aligned and developing country, Nepal cannot overemphasize the importance that the Declaration accords to the validity of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations in the international relations of States. Nepal has always upheld the lofty principles and the noble objectives of the Charter. We have not failed to raise our voice in concern and protest whenever violations of the Charter have occurred. Along with the principles of the Charter, Nepal has constantly observed and respected the various principles of the Declaration, with a view to

(Mr. K. R. Shrestha, Nepal)

contributing to the strengthening of international security. We have maintained close and friendly relations with many countries of the world. Our relations with neighbouring countries are marked by a spirit of genuine friendship, co-operation and understanding. Nepal has consistently pursued a policy of non-alignment, in the genuine belief that such a policy would contribute to an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence and thus help to strengthen international peace and security. When the Security Council established the United Nations Emergency Force last year, Nepal readily responded to the request of the Secretary-General by contributing a contingent of the Royal Army to UNEF in the Middle East. This move was prompted, on the one hand, by a desire for the establishment of peace in the area and, on the other, by a strong conviction regarding the usefulness of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations.

The debates in this Committee and in the plenary Assembly on various agenda items this year give a general impression that positive forces are at work in international affairs and that the atmosphere of détente has continued to improve. My delegation does not have any reason to differ with this assessment of the world situation. We would like only to emphasize that the world should seize this opportune moment so that the positive results of détente may be reflected in as many of the world's problem areas as possible.

My delegation appreciates the initiative, taken by the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, that resulted in the recent summit meeting between General Secretary Brezhnev and President Ford in Vladivostok. A series of constructive agreements on the limitation of arms was reached at that meeting. We also view the SALT negotiations and the talks on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe as being of great importance. We believe that both these negotiations, if carried to a fruitful conclusion, can greatly contribute to the enhancement of mutual trust and confidence and thereby to the promotion of international peace and security.

(Mr. K. R. Shrestha, Nepal)

The progressive attitude taken by Portugal has paved the way for removing the last vestiges of colonialism from Africa. This has been indeed a very encouraging development over the past year and will undoubtedly help to create an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in that turbulent part of the world. But it is regrettable to note that the Governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia continue to practise the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, in total disregard of world opinion. My delegation can only hope that South Africa will take a lesson from the recent measures that the General Assembly took against it and try to heed the call of the United Nations.\*

In spite of the laudable principles and objectives of the Declaration, there seems to be very little progress in or enthusiasm for its implementation. One need only look at some of the world problems to be convinced of how much the Declaration, or for that matter the Charter itself, is disregarded owing to the violation of the basic principles enshrined in both the Declaration and the Charter. The events that took place in Cyprus last July are but one instance of flagrant violation of the principles of the Declaration, which, on the one hand, ruled out interference in the internal affairs of States, and, on the other, reaffirmed the duty of every State to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State. The events in Cyprus have made a mockery of operative paragraph 4 of the Declaration, which I should like to read out here to emphasize the degree of violation and disregard it has been subjected to:

"Solemnly reaffirms that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country" (resolution 2734 (XXV), para. 4).

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\* The Chairman took the Chair.

(Mr. K. R. Shrestha, Nepal)

The Middle East situation remains fraught with danger and may spark off violence at the slightest provocation. In spite of the Paris Agreement, peace does not seem to have dawned in Indo-China. All these problems have to be solved with due regard to the principles of the Declaration and with strict observance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of other agreements, if further death and destruction are to be avoided.

Until recently, economic problems had been given very little consideration in international relations except in the furtherance of the interests of a nation or a group of nations. The recent economic crisis triggered world-wide concern and the sixth special session of the General Assembly brought the economic problems into the limelight.

(Mr. K. R. Shrestha, Nepal)

It has become evident that peace and security cannot thrive in a world beset by hunger and poverty. The Declaration of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action set out by the sixth special session are the reflection of the growing desire for a more equitable sharing of the resources of this earth. The gap between the rich and the poor has to be narrowed. The recent food and population conferences only emphasize the urgent need to solve these problems. The General Assembly has just this morning adopted a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties. It should get wide support and respect from the world community.

This Committee recently concluded the consideration of the items under disarmament after a long debate. Many strong and convincing voices were raised in favour of disarmament. The issue of disarmament was also linked with development and security. My delegation has expressed itself in full support of various proposals for disarmament in the belief that arms not only lead to great wastage of wealth and talent but also help to increase suspicion, mistrust and a feeling of insecurity. We have thus been supporting all along the move for the convening of a world disarmament conference. My delegation has also supported the resolution for a reduction of military budgets.

Before concluding, I wish to reiterate my delegation's full support for the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and should like to assure the Committee that Nepal will render all possible co-operation towards the implementation of that Declaration in its entirety. It is with this aim that my delegation has sponsored the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.706).

Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic):

The notion of international security is merely that of the security of all States and peoples, irrespective of size, strength or economic or technological potential. The security of those States and peoples can be ensured only if, in the words of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, States commit themselves to:

"... adhere strictly in their international relations to the purposes and principles of the Charter, including the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any States or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations; the principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered; the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter; the duty of States to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter; the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; the principle of sovereign equality of States; and the principle that States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter" (General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV))

and:

"... refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal ...". (Ibid.)

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

Twenty-nine years have passed since our Organization was established, and four years have elapsed since the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted. Yet the lofty principles proclaimed in the Charter and confirmed in the Declaration have not been implemented in some parts of the world. Certain States and racist régimes which have become Members of this Organization continue to violate those principles and to act in outright opposition to them, utilizing pressure, intimidation and terror tactics against other peoples.

It is inconceivable that international security can be achieved without putting an end to this hypocritical policy, without enabling peoples to exercise their fundamental rights or without guaranteeing their independence and territorial integrity and protecting their security. The Declaration clearly recognizes the need for:

"effective, dynamic and flexible measures, in accordance with the Charter, to prevent and remove threats to the peace, suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and in particular for measures to build, maintain and restore international peace and security" (Ibid.).

It is only by taking such effective, dynamic measures that international security can be achieved. One need look no further than Chapter VII of the Charter for the details of such measures. Indeed, in Article 42, it is specified that:

"... the Security Council may take such action ... as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. ...".

And the possible measures that may be taken in case of a specific act of aggression are set forth.

No one can really understand why such measures have not as yet been taken to put an end to threats to international security. True, the Security Council has imposed economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, but they have been totally ineffective because they have been violated by some great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council and by other countries which are allies of that racist régime. This runs counter to all commitments incumbent upon those Powers under the Charter.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

There has been constant support and aid supplied to the aggressive colonialist régimes by United Nations Members, and there are hotbeds of tension throughout the world. This is an obstacle to the achievement of the goals of the United Nations; worse, it has created a situation that may explode at any moment.

Every year, we meet here to examine the question of the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and to assess international developments that may contribute to the achievement of that objective. If implementation in itself is not a problem, good intentions are required, and the Charter must be respected. The real problem before us is to redefine and to make it possible to give effect to the purposes and principles of the Charter. The international community must find an effective solution to this problem and must implement all the measures stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter whenever it has been demonstrated that such measures are called for. The policy of international détente does deserve attention.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

If this policy is restricted because it has not achieved certain results in certain areas, it will not achieve its essential goal and its purpose will be thwarted. I should like to say, with regard to the present political situation, that some constructive results have been achieved through international détente by the elimination of any possibility of armed confrontation between the big Powers and by clearing the way towards achieving European security. The pursuit of that policy, however, has not been extended beyond this sphere to make possible a true and equitable peace in regions of the world where people continue to live under the yoke of colonialism and in servitude to foreign Powers. Hotbeds of tension still persist and may explode engendering a world war, the results of which we cannot foresee.

The policy of the pursuit of international détente has not yet been able to terminate all wars nor has it made possible international fulfilment of the goals of the Charter at the world level. The policy of the pursuit of international détente in the broadest sense of the world is world-wide and is aimed at implementing and fulfilling the goals and the purposes and principles of the Charter, at making it possible for peoples to exercise their right to self-determination, at protecting the security and territorial integrity of States, whether they be large or small, and, therefore, at establishing a lasting peace in which anyone anywhere in the world can live free from fear. However, if this policy is to be restricted to a narrow notion and limited to specific geographical regions or given territories, while world imperialism and colonialist and racist régimes wage barbarous war against peoples, depriving them of the right of self-determination, it would be devoid of any international significance and would become merely a certain kind of understanding among given States to protect their own individual security.

Recent developments in the international sphere demonstrate that countries known for their colonialist policies are interpreting international détente as a policy in consonance with their own private interests. If there is a choice to be made, of course, they will choose along the lines of their own interests. This explains the failure of international détente under which it has not been possible to achieve international objectives.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

It is for this reason that the situation in several parts of the world continues to deteriorate. International security is constantly threatened and the consequent insecurity may lead to confrontation between the big Powers. International détente to the big Powers is an intermediate concept designed to protect their interests and to make it possible for them to pursue their wars against peoples struggling to achieve self-determination and to protect their own resources.

No one could pursue the analysis of this phenomenon of international détente while the problem of the strengthening of international security also calls for analysis, nor can one fail to take into account an important historic event that has very largely contributed to strengthening international security and to preparing a way to eliminate certain hotbeds of tension that threatened world security and peace. In this instance we are referring to the revolution in Portugal which put an end to the racist, fascist régime there, as well as to useless colonial wars. This revolution proved its authenticity by eliminating Portuguese colonies in Africa and by restoring the rights of the peoples in those countries.

The entire world welcomed the Algiers and Lusaka Agreements on Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tomé and Príncipe and Mozambique, and has also saluted measures taken by the new Portuguese Government to grant independence to Angola, and to other Territories in Africa. The international importance of this action does not reside solely in the elimination of Portuguese colonies and the restoration of the legitimate rights of their peoples; it also contributes towards isolating such colonialist régimes as the racist régimes in Palestine, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The colonial aggressive racist policies pursued by these Governments and the political, military and economic aid granted to them by imperialist countries constitute a permanent threat to international security and a flagrant breach of the principles of the Charter, and the aims and principles in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and is a deliberate sabotage of the policy for achieving international security.

No one could ignore the fact that the situation in the Middle East, as a consequence of the presence of the racist, colonialist régime in Israel, its expansionist policy, its stubbornness in occupying the territories of Arab States Members of this Organization, and its scorn for the rights of the Arab people deprived of their right to self-determination, together with the policy of the

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

Government of South Africa, a racist Government occupying Namibia, and refusing to allow its people to exercise its right to self-determination and the continuance in power of the régime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia and his racist policy against the oppressed people there, are serious threats to international security.

The principles of the Declaration prohibit the military occupation of Territories of States and also condemn the acquisition of the territory of another State, if the threat or use of force is one of the methods; the Declaration refuses to acknowledge the legitimacy of obtaining territory in this way; it also asserts the right of people to self-determination and prohibits interference in the domestic affairs of States.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

The continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands in the Golan Heights of Syria, in Sinai and in Trans-Jordan and their plans to annex those territories by building kibbutzim and bringing in more emigrants from different countries of Europe and America, their campaigns of intimidation against neighbouring Arab countries -- particularly Lebanon, which was this morning subjected to a barbaric Israeli raid that claimed hundreds of victims among peaceful civilians -- and the Tel Aviv Government's racist policy of refusing to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and preventing it by means of intimidation and terror from exercising its right to self-determination, all prove irrefutably the fact that the Israeli authorities are threatening international security and violating the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and all the relevant resolutions.

Thus one of the primary duties of the international community is to apply the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Those sanctions should be imposed upon those authorities, which have no constructive role to play in international relations. They are sabotaging all human values and international law, and are deliberately violating the United Nations Charter. We cannot help wondering, in view of the aggressive, racist and expansionist policy of the Tel Aviv Government, in violation of the Charter, and its scorn and contempt for the resolutions of this Organization, why Israel is a Member.

Mr. MARTYNNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic considers the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security to be one of the most important and timely items on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. The yearly discussion of this problem, which has now become traditional, is in accordance with the vital interests of all the countries of the world, for the aim of that discussion is to seek ways and means of making the best use of the Organization's capacity for strengthening international security.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

It is four years since that memorable day when the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth anniversary session unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It was a historic event in the struggle of the peace-loving democratic forces in the United Nations to enhance the activities of the Organization aimed at carrying out its central task under the Charter, that of supporting international peace and security.

If we look at what has happened in the world in the four years which have elapsed since the Declaration was adopted, we can say with some certainty that some positive changes have occurred in the world towards an improvement of the political climate and that a considerable contribution has been made by the United Nations to that positive process.

An analysis of the international situation shows that, as a result of the active foreign policy of the Soviet Union in implementing the peace programme adopted by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as a result of the efforts of the entire community of socialist States, and of the peace-loving peoples of the world, the swing to détente in international affairs has become a characteristic feature of the present stage of inter-State relationships. This has brought about substantial changes in the relations among States with differing social systems. We consider that world détente, with respect for the basic rights of all peoples, should be of benefit to all States whatever their social or economic system or their level of development.

It is also extremely important that the principles of peaceful coexistence among States have been given definite content and that their acceptance in international relations is increasingly confirmed. It would be logical for all States now to direct their efforts to ensuring that the process of international détente which has emerged should continue uninterrupted so that the improvement of relations among States could become a continuous and progressive process.

We think we are entitled to note that the progressive, expanding and broadening process of normalization in Soviet-American relations based on the principle of peaceful coexistence is a cause of satisfaction to all peace-loving peoples. This provides an additional stimulus to a further improvement in international détente.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

During the recent meeting between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, and the President of the United States, Mr. Ford, in Vladivostok, the determination of both States was reaffirmed to implement unswervingly and fully the mutual commitments set out in the documents signed in 1972 and 1974 and primarily, with regard to the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the agreements on the prevention of nuclear war and on certain measures to limit strategic weapons. The wide and positive response in the world press, which indicated the tremendous significance of the meeting between Comrade Brezhnev and President Ford, showed the desire of public opinion in all countries for an end to the arms race the establishment of reliable guarantees against war and the strengthening of peace in general. The continuing process of normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States is a clear example of the implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

Among the factors which have had a beneficial influence on the strengthening of international security must be included the positive occurrences on the European continent and primarily the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which will shortly be concluded and from which important results have already been attained. Concern regarding guaranteeing peace in Europe, where in the past two world wars have already broken out, makes it imperative that the work of the European Conference be completed as soon as possible. The countries of the socialist community are exerting every effort to ensure that that meeting is crowned with success and that sound foundations are laid for security and peaceful coexistence in Europe, which will undoubtedly have a beneficial influence on the strengthening of international peace.

Our delegation has already frequently had occasion to emphasize that the trend towards détente in the world in recent times has made it easier to seek ways and means of settling the conflict in the Middle East and thus for strengthening international peace and security. But an essential prerequisite for a just and durable peace in the Middle East is the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories which were occupied in 1967, to ensure

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the security and independence of all the countries in that area and to satisfy the legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to its own statehood.

As the Committee knows, part of the task of the Geneva Peace Conference is to bring about a settlement in the Middle East. The one essential requirement is therefore that the work of that Conference be resumed immediately, since it is the most appropriate forum in which to consider the Middle East problem in all its aspects. It is quite obvious that all the parties concerned, including of course the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which is the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, should participate in the work of the Geneva Conference.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

This obvious fact has been corroborated by the discussion at this session of the General Assembly of the question of Palestine with the participation of representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The efforts of peace-loving States in order further to strengthen the process of détente are also further illustrated by the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Certain achievements along these lines bear out the vital importance of the principles of that Declaration. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that it is now the task of the United Nations to do everything in its power to promote the further broadening of the process of détente in international affairs and to extend it to the entire world and make it irreversible.

This is particularly important because so far not all hotbeds of possible conflict have been extinguished. Very explosive situations still exist in certain parts of the world. There are forces in the world that are still trying to complicate the international situation and slow up the process of détente. The aggressive actions of Israel in the Middle East have resulted in maintaining a dangerous situation which might lead to fresh outbreaks of hostilities. In South Viet-Nam the Thieu régime is doing everything it can to undermine the possibility of reaching national agreement and to circumscribe the Paris Agreements. The situation in Cambodia is also very discouraging. There continues to be tension in the Eastern Mediterranean. Despite the decision of the United Nations, foreign troops have not yet been withdrawn from the territory of Cyprus. We consider that the settlement of the Cyprus problem should be sought by means of talks and should be based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty and integrity of the territory of Cyprus and also on a strict implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding Cyprus.

We are profoundly convinced that the creation of a durable and genuine peace is unthinkable unless political détente is accompanied by military détente, because it is perfectly obvious that durable peace cannot be built on a powderkeg. Despite the agreements that have already been achieved on restrictions on the arms race and disarmament, which were arrived at thanks to the positive changes that have occurred in the world, the arms race has not yet been halted. It continues to absorb hundreds of billions of dollars and tremendous material and human resources.

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We consider that it is the task of the United Nations -- and this is borne out by the Declaration -- to use all the possibilities open to it and to bend maximum efforts in order to bring about new, specific and concrete results in the field of restricting the arms race and arriving at disarmament.

Here it would be appropriate to point out that the Soviet Union and the socialist and other peace-loving countries in the world have done a great deal in order to put an end to the arms race and if in present circumstances, the problem of disarmament has not yet been radically resolved, we must not simply wash our hands of it and refer to its difficulties but go about settling it methodically, slowly and step by step.

It is precisely this purpose which is served by the new initiative of the Soviet Union, which was introduced for consideration by this session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent item entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health". It has already been frequently pointed out at this session of the General Assembly that the inclusion of this item on the agenda has been dictated by concern for the security not only of the present but also forthcoming generations, because geophysical war might lead to tremendous destruction of what has been achieved by present-day civilization and to the mass annihilation of people.

The new proposal of the Soviet Union is a concrete example of a realistic approach to the problem of disarmament. The adoption of an appropriate convention on the Soviet proposal could be a substantial step towards the prohibition of new ways and means of waging war, would help to restrict the arms race and armaments.

The question of restricting the arms race and matters of disarmament are not the prerogative of the militarily powerful States only. All countries are concerned that this problem be resolved -- whether they be large or small. It is precisely for that reason that the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference is such an urgent and timely one. As long ago as 1967 the Soviet Union took the initiative for convening such a conference. A world disarmament conference would undoubtedly help to identify the most effective ways and means of solving the disarmament problem and would help

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to stimulate the efforts of all States to bring this about. An overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations have already spoken in favour of convening a world disarmament conference, and it is now more than ever desirable that States that have so far resisted the idea of holding such a conference should finally change their position and take practical steps towards bringing it about.

Of great importance for strengthening international security would be the speedy realization and implementation of the resolution adopted at the last session of the General Assembly on the reduction of the military budgets of the five 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. Implementation of this decision would be of tremendous significance to curb the arms race and to provide assistance to a large group of countries which need it more than any other group.

Unfortunately, some of the permanent members of the Security Council have opposed the implementation of this decision of the General Assembly. The Western European Group, for example, has not so far even appointed its two representatives to the special committee which was to be created in accordance with the decision of the General Assembly. Consequently, that committee has not been set up and the implementation of the decision of the General Assembly is stymied -- a decision so important to developing countries -- because of the position of these States, including China. As a result the developing countries have no possibility of receiving assistance for an amount of approximately \$2,000 million for development purposes.

At the same time, one of these States, Great Britain, under the pressure of economic difficulties, one of the reasons for which is the notorious policy of acting from a position of force and also the arms race, has been obliged to reduce its military budget by 8.5 per cent. One wonders why, in that case, they were reluctant to support the decision of the General Assembly. It was obviously because they were reluctant to channel part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries for development purposes.

The strengthening of international peace would also be greatly assisted by giving a binding character to the solemn Declaration adopted two years ago by the General Assembly on refraining from the threat or use of force in relations between States and on permanent prohibition of nuclear weapons.

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Such a step by the United Nations would have a tremendous influence on the international situation. It would help to bring about a further strengthening of the process of détente and would reduce the threat of war. The improvement in the international situation in recent years has now provided the United Nations with an appropriate opportunity to take this kind of decision.

An important contribution to the favourable changes which have occurred in the international atmosphere has been made by the peoples and the Governments of the African continent in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is aimed at putting an end once and for all to colonialism, apartheid and racism in order to remove as soon as possible the sources of colonial and racial conflicts which threaten international peace and security.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal has speeded up the process of decolonization in former Portuguese colonies, and that event has served as a serious warning to all the racist régimes in southern Africa whose existence is incompatible with the strengthening of international security.

The Ukrainian SSR regards the United Nations as an important instrument for preserving peace and guaranteeing international security. However, that instrument can be effective only if it is used on the basis of strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. It is precisely for that reason that we consider it appropriate once again to underscore the fact that the Charter of the United Nations is unshakable.

The beneficial changes which have occurred in the world have borne out the perfectly obvious home truth that the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which have stood the test of time, if consistently and conscientiously applied by all States, constitute a reliable basis for the development of friendly relations among States and for strengthening international security. Therefore, ways for enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations must necessarily be sought not in a revision of the Charter but rather in a fuller utilization of the possibilities to be found in it and an unswerving compliance with its provisions by all States and a full implementation of its aims and principles.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706 and considers that a businesslike and constructive discussion at the present session of the General Assembly of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will help to make it possible for us to use all those possibilities which can be found in that important document and will also help us to find new ways and means of strengthening universal peace. The question of the implementation of that Declaration has not lost any of its significance since there are still forces seeking actively to turn back the process of détente which has occurred in international affairs and to turn the world back to the cold war era.

In this connexion I should like to remind the Committee of the recent statement by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

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of the Ukraine, Comrade Tsherbitsky, at a solemn meeting in Kiev to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from the German fascist usurpers:

"We are only at the initial stages of creating the sort of system of international relations which would proscribe war from human life.

For peace it is necessary to struggle consistently and stubbornly."

Only in struggling for peace can we see a way fully to implement the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

In conclusion, I should like to express our complete satisfaction that in matters which affect peace and the strengthening of international security, the positions of the socialist and non-aligned countries coincide. That, we believe, is a guarantee of the fact that by their concerted efforts those States will be able to ensure that the United Nations makes a tangible contribution to easing international tension and to making the process of détente irreversible with a view to strengthening peace and security in all parts of the world.

Mr. CHAVES (Grenada): The strengthening of international security is the foremost goal and the primary purpose of the United Nations. Moreover, without international security, the activities and programmes of the world Organization are jeopardized and indeed made impossible. International security is the sine qua non of international peace and the cornerstone over which normal friendly relations among nations of the world must be conducted.

In the final analysis the United Nations as the foremost instrument of world peace is dependent on international security to such an extent that one cannot exist without the other.

For these obvious reasons, the Government of Grenada attaches extraordinary importance to the implementation of the United Nations Declaration and all resolutions on the strengthening of international security, and to all other programmes and activities directed to that end.

In the tradition of Aquinas, peace is the result of justice. Therefore, all efforts towards peace must begin with the proper and complete implementation of justice. The world still harbours many injustices and countless human

(Mr. Chaves, Grenada)

beings are still today subject to the greatest of all injustices, that is the crime of racism and its concomitant crimes, prejudice and discrimination. We all know the degree of horror and misery the racist policies of Governments caused in the Second World War and all the other subsequent conflicts which have characterized the decolonization process of the twentieth century. We also know that there are still many necessary steps to be taken by the international community, as well as by municipal and local Governments, to correct existing intolerable racist and discriminatory practices.

If peace is the result of justice, it must also be recognized that freedom is not only man's supreme right but is also the first and foremost requirement of justice. That truth must be accepted and practised by the international community and specific efforts to expand and support all forms of freedom constitute a valuable contribution to the building of world peace.

As the efforts to solve the economic problems of nations may have taken a dominant trend at this time of crisis, the area of freedom seems always to be endangered and the many barriers and limitations which remain appear to have increased. More and more areas of the world are falling under the control of régimes in which freedom does not take first precedence.

The delegation of Grenada suggests that it is in the area of freedom where an urgent appeal must be made to all nations of the world. Freedom is not an internal matter to be left outside the deliberations of the United Nations. As God's greatest gift, freedom is also the one area in which my Government feels there is an important challenge to the United Nations.

Of course, there are several other matters which should be considered in connexion with international security: first comes the question of how and when decisions are made in the world by the great Powers. We have witnessed the increasingly evident presence of a consensus of nations striving to achieve a more democratic world organization and not always enjoying the support and approval of the great Powers. The era of imperialism is passing and the community of nations can only benefit from a greater harmony in the human family. That is the proper role and objective of the United Nations. The Government of Grenada believes that the regional organizations of the United Nations and other

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regional groups can effectively contribute to solve divisions and conflicts and that regionalism and regional organizations should be supported and encouraged. A greater co-operation between the United Nations and the regional organizations will be beneficial to all.

Secondly, we consider that the greatest danger to international peace is constituted by the armaments race; not only because it is an actual war threat but also because it creates economic and social conditions which make war likely to occur. The armaments race heavily taxes the budgets of many nations and represents an actual present calamity for mankind. Without general and complete disarmament, peace will remain unstable, security doubtful.

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Thirdly, Grenada considers the problems of food and the existence of hunger in the world to be of primary importance. Food should not be used for political or power purposes; rather, the United Nations and each of its Members should endeavour to increase total production and to contribute to a common store for equitable and impartial distribution to the hunger-afflicted lands. That is a humanitarian duty as well as a vital factor for world peace and security.

Fourthly, colonialism in its old and new forms must be eliminated from the face of the earth. There will not be a peaceful world as long as peoples are oppressed and subjected to colonial rule of whatever kind. Hence we support all peoples seeking their place in the sun.

Fifthly, in the fields of economic and social life, the Government of Grenada supports the Declaration for the Establishment of a New Economic Order as well as the Programme of Action contained therein. They are urgently needed since the economic conditions of many nations of the world have deteriorated to such an extent in the last few years that there is a real possibility of a world economic collapse. Grenada has already felt the impact of those forces over which we have little control but which adversely and deeply affect the life of each of our citizens. Stable social and economic conditions are required for individuals as well as nations if there is to be progress and development.

Sixthly, we believe that education is the key to personal as well as to national advancement. Therefore we have taken steps to secure universal free education. By raising the standard of education of our peoples we feel we are contributing not only to our own progress but also to our security and that of the world.

Seventhly, the creation of denuclearized zones in the world is a constructive step; Grenada favours also the creation of zones of peace in various parts of the world. We strongly believe that all international disputes must be solved by peaceful means and never by resort to force.

Eighthly, we in Grenada believe also that the continued existence of unresolved conflicts in various parts of the world tends to build up negative and dangerous factors such as hatred, rearmament, terrorism, vengeance and the perpetuation of human misery, injustice and a virtual state of war. Therefore, we reaffirm our faith in and support for the United Nations and sincerely hope that it may continue to play the leading role in maintaining and consolidating the security of the world

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so that nations may live together peacefully and so that human beings of all kinds may live as brothers and contribute to the welfare and progress of all mankind.

For those reasons, the delegation of Grenada wishes to join the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706, which is now before this Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I have noted the desire of the delegation of Grenada to become a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

I wish to announce that Tunisia also has joined the sponsors of that draft.

Does any other representative wish to speak in the general debate at this time?

Since we appear to have exhausted the list of speakers for the general debate, I shall now call upon those delegations who wish to exercise their rights of reply.

Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic): I am exercising my right of reply because I wish to make the following statement on what was said here by the representative who spoke on behalf of Israel at the end of this morning's meeting.

First, it does not at all befit that representative to make assessments concerning observations of the German Democratic Republic on substantive agenda items. The position of the German Democratic Republic on the Middle East conflict is unambitious and has been explained on numerous occasions.

Secondly, we are dealing here with the Declaration on Strengthening International Security, and in the view of my delegation it is beyond question that the policy practised by Israel does not serve the implementation of that Declaration.

Thirdly, the above-mentioned representative was speaking of East Germany. If I may, I should like to draw the attention of that representative to the fact that there is no United Nations Member by that name. In accordance with international law and the practice of the United Nations, that representative should get used to speaking of the German Democratic Republic.

Mr. TODOROV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from Russian): The representative of Israel has to resort to all sorts of manoeuvres that are unworthy of him in order to whitewash the aggressive policy of his Government, which has been condemned by all the peoples of the world and in decisions taken by our Organization. But, after all, nothing can be done. The nature of its policy is mirrored in the nature of the manoeuvres used in order to defend it. The representative of Israel has frequently used his right of reply, but he has never made the statement expected by world public opinion to the effect that the Government of Israel will refrain from its policy of aggression, from the acquisition of foreign territories by force and by State terrorism, and from its flouting of the rights of the Arab peoples of Palestine to self-determination and statehood.

Neither by making provocative statements here, nor by uttering slander or indulging in blackmail will the representative of Israel be able to convince anyone that Israel is not an aggressor and that the policy of the Government of that country is not the only reason the tension continues in the Middle East.

Mr. BENSMAIL (Algeria) (interpretation from French): It is known quite well that the Algerian delegation does not like to upset the work of our Committee by exercising its right of reply to excess.

The representative of Israel referred to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. I can assure him he was not mistaken. The word "aggression" is precisely the one I used in describing his country's policy. I might even add that the entity he represents has been built on terrorism and is maintained by permanent aggression, by occupation and by annexation of the territory of others.

The members of this Committee know those facts only too well, so I shall not dwell upon them. I would have preferred -- and I am sure the other members of this Committee also would have preferred it -- to have that representative tell us what measures his country is taking in accordance with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. But I think that would be asking too much of him, and he would be unable to do so.

Mr. IMAM (Kuwait): In my statement this morning I cited the encouraging signs and developments of this past year in the field of international relations. Among them, I referred to the constructive debate that took place in the General Assembly last month on the Palestine question. I also quoted briefly from General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX), entitled "Observer Status for the Palestine Liberation Organization" and resolution 3236 (XXIX), entitled "The Question of Palestine". I am sure the representatives are already familiar with those resolutions. However, I shall be content to quote a few of the provisions of resolution 3236 (XXIX).

Its second preambular paragraph states:

"Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the people of Palestine".

Operative paragraph 4 states:

"Recognizes that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East".

Operative paragraph 7 states:

"Requests the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine".

(Mr. Iran, Kuwait)

I have taken the liberty of quoting those provisions in view of the defamatory remarks made by the representative of Israel regarding the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is held in great respect and esteem by the international community in the manner I already described. Of course, the representative of Israel speaks frequently in exercise of what he calls his right of reply. In fact, to my knowledge, those are the sole interventions made by the representative of Israel who takes no part in our general debate. My delegation and most Arab delegations take an active part in all deliberations, in an objective and constructive manner.

While speaking this morning, my sole concern was to deal with the strengthening of international security, and the few paragraphs in my statement on Palestine were written in the spirit of reviewing the recent encouraging developments which culminated in the resolutions I just quoted. The representative of Israel, in his usual obstructive manner, spoke of terrorists. I need not dwell on that because the Ambassador of Lebanon spoke at length this morning, describing the atrocities committed by Israel against the helpless Palestinian refugees and the civilian population of Lebanon.

The question, however, remains one of determination by Israel, which uprooted the people of Palestine from their homeland, to pursue them wherever they may be, in adjoining Arab countries, to annihilate them and the civilian populations in the midst of which they live. Such genocide, persistently practised by the Israeli authorities, can hardly strengthen international peace and security.

The Palestine question may seem to be a dispute between the Arab people of Palestine and Israel. It may also seem to be a dispute between Israel and the Arab States, or between Israel and the non-aligned countries. However, in its true essence and real dimensions, it is a dispute between the international community at large and Israel. This is fully attested to by the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, including the ones I have quoted.

(Mr. Imam, Kuwait)

It is true that the veto in the Security Council has so far prevented the application of coercive measures against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter. But Israel cannot rely for ever on the abuse of the veto power in the Security Council. The international community may be patient, but it will not fail in its duty and sooner or later Israel will realize that it is not a frivolous matter to flout resolutions of the General Assembly and scoff at the will of the international community. In fact, we have great faith in the combined will of the international community and the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

Meanwhile, Israel will stand alone in its isolation since it has chosen to remain outside the pale of law.

Mr. ERELL (Israel): My interventions in exercise of the right of reply have been brief so far. I think at this stage I probably have to answer five or six people. Perhaps I shall speak more than the usual two or three minutes, with your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, and with the indulgence of the members of the Committee.

I have listened to the remarks made by the representatives of Bulgaria and Algeria. They both have made a very serious effort to defend their positions. Unfortunately from their point of view, the facts are not with them.

I have also listened to the representative of Kuwait who laid some stress on the fact that the Arab delegations had participated in this debate, as he put it, constructively. I shall go half way towards him. I shall agree that they have participated in the debate. I would not agree that they have done so constructively, certainly not in reference to the Middle East; and that applies also to his own remarks about the problem of the Middle East and the absence of peace between Israel and the Arab States.

I should like to say a word with reference to the statements made by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I think what I shall say will have some relevance to the remarks made by other Arab representatives. The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic repeated

(Mr. Erell, Israel)

many excellent and good principles which are accepted by all of us. He has done so in a tone of voice suggesting that he invented them, but that does not matter because the principles remain good. It is a pity that his Government has never respected these principles and is not abiding by them now.

I have already had occasion to mention in this Committee how the Syrian Government and other Arab Governments acted in the month of May 1948 soon after the General Assembly of the United Nations -- please listen to this, representative of Kuwait -- sanctioned Israel's right to statehood, sanctioned the right of the Jewish people to have its own independent State in the land of the Bible. On the morrow of that decision, Syria, along with other Arab countries, informed the United Nations officially that they were marching on the newly born State of Israel in what would be a war of extermination.

This is a matter of record and I think that was the beginning of all the trouble. The Arab Governments failed in 1948, but they have never given up the attempt to destroy the State of Israel. Every time they failed, there have been tremendous lamentations of the fact that they failed and of the fact that the results of their attempts have been disastrous for them. As if it is possible to take action and to expect that there will be only good consequences, only desirable consequences. Of course, sometimes the consequences of actions are not convenient for the people who took that action. Very often the result of war is inconvenient for the party that started the war.

Now, instead of facing realities, instead of dealing with the dispute like grown-up men, reaching a compromise and arriving at a peace settlement in the Middle East, there is a constant, if I may say so without wishing to offend anyone, childish desire to see the wheels of history turn back and to see facts and realities undone.

This is not the way disputes are settled. The way disputes are settled is by give and take, by compromise, by negotiation. And I should like to assure the representative of Syria and other Arab representatives that they

(Mr. Ereli, Israel)

will find my Government, as ever, very, very ready and very, very willing to talk and to search for a compromise and to search for a peace settlement. It is not enough to demand; it is not enough for the representative of Syria to be unhappy about the fact that the Golan Heights are occupied and to wish to see this fact undone somehow. He must also give something. There is a territorial problem; there are questions of territory; there is also a question of peace. There must be peace and mutual recognition and there must be normal relations between the States, and all the problems involved in the dispute have to be taken care of.

It is not enough always to say: give me back the toy that was broken. It is a very unhappy situation, but you cannot go to war and expect that there will be no undesirable results and consequences for you.

I should also like to say a word with respect to the matters brought up in the Committee this morning by the representative of Lebanon. He tried to suggest that there are no Arab terrorist organizations operating from Lebanon. He tried to suggest that these people, coming into Israel to murder women and children and civilians generally, have not come from Lebanon, have not been directed by headquarters situated in Lebanon. I know that he knows better than that. He knows what the facts are, and the fig-leaf operation which he mounted for us surely did not convince anybody.

(Mr. Erell, Israel)

He also tried to suggest that the counterblows that Israel delivers, unfortunately even in the territory of Lebanon, are not directed at the terrorist bases and the terrorist headquarters. But he also knows that that is not true. Perhaps, with the permission of the Chairman, I will read to the Committee a dispatch from Beirut, bearing today's date, of the Reuters news agency, which says: "Israeli aircraft, flying low, attacked areas where Palestinian guerrillas have strongholds." So we were not attacking civilians; our aircraft were bombing strongholds of Palestinian guerrillas. We would not call them "Palestinian guerrillas", but that is another matter.

I should also like to tell the Committee that there have been official announcements by the organization calling itself the Palestinian Liberation Organization, from Beirut, including a statement by Arafat, the head of that organization, assuming responsibility for the murder and mass wounding of civilians in a movie theatre in Tel Aviv yesterday.

I think these remarks should put the record straight and correct, as it should be on that point.

Mr. AL-ABDIYAH (Iraq): The representative of Israel, at yesterday's and today's meeting, persisted in his malicious and propagandistic attacks on the PLO. I can understand his allergy to the name of the PLO, because he was one of those who for more than 25 years have tried without success to obliterate the existence of the people of Palestine and he now suddenly finds himself face to face here with representatives of the Palestinian people and of their legitimate representative, the PLO. Probably that is too much for him. And this partly explains the Israelis' frantic reaction, not only in diplomatic and United Nations circles, but also in their launching of the most barbaric and murderous attacks on the Palestinian refugee camps. Today Israeli jets supplied by the United States, are raiding and indiscriminately bombing the Palestinian camps in and around the capital of Lebanon, Beirut. A few days earlier, Zionist agents in Beirut rocketed buildings containing offices belonging to representatives of the Palestinian people. Among those offices was the Research Centre for Palestine Studies, the Chairman of which, Dr. Anis Sayegh, incidentally, was two years ago subjected to an attempt on his life by a letter bomb sent by Israeli agents.

(Mr. Al-Atiyyah, Iraq)

If the Israelis think that their bombs and raids will weaken or stifle the will of the Palestinians and their desire to return to their homeland, they are simply deceiving themselves. Moreover, Israel has demonstrated, by continuing its policy of aggression, that it stands in defiance of all United Nations resolutions concerning the crisis in the Middle East and the Palestinian question. Under these circumstances, my delegation is convinced that it is high time Israel was expelled from this international body, for it stands on the same footing as South Africa.

What the Israeli representative referred to, the incident in one of the cinemas in central Tel Aviv, demonstrates very clearly that as long as the refugee camps are subjected to Israeli attacks, the Israelis in any part of occupied Palestine will be exposed to retaliation. This is simply an act of defence on the part of the Palestinian people.

The Israeli representative referred to the wheels of history and criticized those who are trying to turn them back. Actually, however, who is it that is trying to turn back the wheels of history? Who is trying to impose himself on Palestine and expel the people of Palestine and bring in people from other parts of the world and create a State called the Jewish State of Israel, in place of the Palestine that was there for many hundreds of years?

Then the representative of Israel tried to criticize Lebanon for acting as host to the Palestinians, and he tried to ask the Lebanese to defend their border -- or rather the Israeli border -- from the Palestinians. This is not Lebanon's duty; it is the Israelis' duty to defend their own borders and not to put the blame on the Lebanese.

And lastly, he referred to Reuters. I will not accept Reuters as the true and legitimate spokesman for the situation in the area. The camps that were bombed were refugee camps, and every member of this Committee could verify that fact and see it for himself if he went there.

Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): The Israeli replies we have just heard today, and which we have always been hearing in this Organization and elsewhere, do nothing but waste our time, because they are not founded on any specific facts or realities. They are a pure waste of time for everybody. The representative of Israel either makes a mockery of facts, or lies to himself, or lies to the entire world, thinking that everyone will be deceived thereby. In view of what the representative of Israel said, I feel obliged to reply and make the following comments.

First, regarding the 1948 war, those who started that war in 1948 were the bands of Israeli terrorists that were organized before the British forces withdrew from Palestine and that later became what was called the army of Israeli-Zionist defence. What happened in 1948 and subsequent to 1948, namely the massacres of Deir Yassin and other places, irrefutably proves that the Israeli policy of that time was aimed at one single objective, and that was to drive the Palestinian citizens out of Palestine and replace them with new Jewish immigrants coming from various parts of the world, in order to create the State of Greater Israel in that area. This in turn forced the Arab countries at that time to undergo the terrorism practised by the Zionist terrorist bands of the time.

Secondly, regarding the 1967 war, the representative of Israel said this morning that the cause of that war was the demands made by Egypt that the international forces be withdrawn from the Sinai region. I should like to make one thing quite clear here, one thing which is well known to everyone, and that is that Egypt, at the time when it made that request for the withdrawal of the international forces, was exercising its right of sovereignty as recognized by the Charter of the United Nations and by the Security Council resolution pursuant to which the United Nations Force was originally set up, as a result of the tripartite aggression against the Egyptian Republic in 1956. If the Israeli authorities felt at that time that a withdrawal from Sinai of the international forces was a threat to Israel's security, why did they not request the Security Council to withdraw those forces into their own territory in order to safeguard and preserve their own security? That is one point.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

Secondly, it must be said that the 1967 war was not the direct result, as the Israeli representative claimed, of the withdrawal of United Nations forces from Sinai, but had been prepared for a long time before in the Negev Desert, as his own Minister of Defence acknowledged in his memoirs on the Sinai War. He said quite clearly and unambiguously that there was no shadow of a doubt that Israel had been preparing that war for some time, the reason being that it wanted to carry out further expansion at the expense of neighbouring Arab countries in order to make it possible for new Jewish immigrants arriving from various parts of the world to be settled in that territory.

Thirdly, the representative of Israel said, a few minutes ago, that the Arab representatives in this Committee had not made any constructive contribution to the discussion of this agenda item. But I would ask him to tell me what, in his view, would be a constructive contribution: would it be to recognize that there has been an Israeli occupation -- the fact that there has been continuing Israeli aggression? Would it be to recognize that Israelis policies are racist and based on racial supremacy over the Arab Palestinian people?

Or would a constructive contribution to the Committee's discussion, in his view, be to subject oneself to Israeli terrorism and to glorify it? That is hardly logical and can convince no one.

Fourthly, the representative of Israel declared that Israel is wedded to the principles of the United Nations Declaration. But can he give us proof of a single action carried out by Israel in accordance with United Nations principles or those of the Declaration, or in accordance with United Nations resolutions? I defy him to be so bold as to tell us what attitude has ever been adopted by Israel at any time in its history which is entirely in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

I would add that the representative of Israel, like his Government and other representatives of Israel who have been sent to this Organization to distort facts, is playing the same old tune and is making the same allegation that the Arabs want to destroy Israel. I should like to say that the destruction of Israel will undoubtedly take place, but it will be the result of Israel's actions, and not those of anybody else; it will be the result of Israel's racist policies, even towards the oriental Jews in Israel, who are treated as second-class citizens by Western Jews. That in itself is a factor which will make for the destruction of that Zionist edifice.

I would add also that Israel's pursuit of its aggressive policy which is based on the continuous assistance provided by the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, in the form of the most modern, lethal weapons ever manufactured, cannot last forever. One day, Israel will find itself face to face with its unjustifiable falsity.

I apologize for speaking at such length, but the representative of Israel also spoke at some length, piling lie upon lie in an endeavour to divert world public opinion from the fact of Israel's isolation because of its racist policies. He has asked the Arabs to take steps to bring about peace and security in the region, but what steps does he think the Arabs should take? Would it be to bow to Israel; to submit to occupation; to give up our territories? We will not yield a single inch of our territory. I should like to say, without mincing my words, that the Arabs will struggle to liberate their territories, and that the Palestine Liberation Movement has been recognized by the international community, as has the legitimacy of its struggle to recover the Palestinians' legitimate rights, primarily the right to self-determination -- whether the representative of Israel wants that to happen or not.

Finally, I should like to remind the representative of Israel of a truth which is known to everyone: that since 1948 to the present day, none of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in which it condemned Israel for its racist, expansionist, aggressive and terrorist policies has said anything

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

against the position of the Arab countries, because it is a sound, just and equitable position. Their struggle is a legitimate one, and this truth means that Israel has now been completely isolated from the rest of the international community; it is an international outlaw.

As I said earlier, the international community must take the steps prescribed in the Charter to put an end to Israel's aggressive policies and to force it to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly, the principles of the Charter and those of the Declaration.

Mr. MAHMASSANI (Lebanon): Today, as the Permanent Representative of Lebanon has informed this Committee, our country was once more subjected to another cowardly attack on civilian population centres by the air force of Israel. The representative of Israel, speaking to this Committee, seems to deny that those attacks were directed against civilian population centres and indeed against the civilian population, and he referred to Reuters.

This is not the first time that my country has been subjected to such attacks: these attacks have become a habit on the part of the Israelis, and have been continuing for some time. May I be allowed to read out some quotations to prove that these attacks have been carried out against civilian centres. On 17 May 1974, the Guardian, after an Israeli attack on refugee camps and civilian population centres, wrote:

"Most of the casualties were believed to be women and children. A substantial part of the camp is said to have been razed."

The New York Times of 18 May 1974, under the headline, "No sign of guerrilla base in refugee camp devastated by Israel", wrote:

"Half the camp, which holds 5,000 people, has been completely destroyed by direct hits on houses in no way connected with the Palestinian guerrillas."

I could keep on quoting and quoting for hours, but that does not seem necessary. What attracted my attention this afternoon was the statement by the representative of Israel -- I tried to take notes of what he said -- that his Government was willing to engage in a process of give-and-take -- to compromise -- to negotiate. According to him, his Government is very willing to talk and compromise. May I remind him, however, how far his statement is from the truth. Is what the representative of Israel telling us really on behalf and on the instructions of his Government?

(Mr. Mahmassani, Lebanon)

Is it not none other than the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Rabin himself who says clearly and loudly: "No recognition, no talks with the Palestinian Liberation Organization." Is it not true that now the Government of Israel itself has resorted to the three "nos" after the United Nations has accepted the PLO amongst its membership? Is it Israel itself that says now: "No recognition, no negotiation, no peace to the Palestinians"?

The whole question is within the context of permitting and allowing the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to see to it that the Israeli forces completely withdraw from all the occupied territories. Perhaps the most eloquent answers to the compromises and give-and-take alleged by the representative of Israel is what The New York Times again wrote on 18 May 1974 from the occupied territories:

" 'They say shalom means peace' asserted a man in Bethlehem who works in a Palestinian textile factory and who maintains that his land was taken without compensation. 'They kick you out and take what you have and say "shalom". Let them give me back my house and land. Then I will say 'shalom'.'"

Mr. ERELL (Israel): I think there was some usefulness in the fact that the representatives of Syria and Lebanon saw fit to reply to my replies to remarks they had made. I thought I sensed some beginning of dialogue in the manner in which they addressed themselves to me. I hope their Governments will not be too angry with them if I have now said it in this Committee. But I do really feel that it would be very useful if they and I could get together and talk over some of these matters quietly, face to face. It would do no harm.

With respect to the statements made by the representative of Iraq on whether or not terrorist bases do exist in the Lebanon, and on the question of whether or not terrorists in those bases come into Israel deliberately to kill civilians, including women and children, I feel that there was some lack of co-ordination between the delegation of Iraq and the delegation of Lebanon. They should be able to do better than that.

(Mr. Erell, Israel)

In the morning the Ambassador of Lebanon denied that there were any such things happening and yet just a little while ago the representative of Iraq, in fact, confirmed that the murder in the movie house in Tel Aviv was the work of, as he put it, the Palestinians as an act of revenge. So I think we have heard the representative of Iraq fully confirm what I stated in opposition to what the representative from Lebanon stated.

To the representative of Syria, I should like to have given a more complete reply, but his statement was somewhat confused and I found it a little difficult to get down concrete points. However, I should like to tell him that Israel accepts, and has accepted, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) which lays down the principles and foundation for a peace settlement between his country and mine. I noticed that he took great care not to mention any resolution of the Security Council. He spoke of "recommendations of the General Assembly". Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is the basis for a settlement between his country and mine. It would be useful if he could confirm here that his Government does accept that resolution, including the requirement in that resolution to recognize Israel's sovereignty. We recognize Syrian sovereignty. Does Syria recognize Israel's sovereignty? That is a very important point.

To the representative of the Lebanon -- and I do hope that they are not too angry with me for the manner of dialogue which this give-and-take has acquired -- I should like to reassure him that the Prime Minister of Israel and his representative in this Committee are saying exactly the same thing. I do assure him that we seek peace negotiations with all the Arab Governments, with all the neighbours of Israel -- Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Egypt -- and in these peace negotiations we will settle all the problems and we will arrive at peace settlements.

I think it is clear that there is no difference whatsoever between my Prime Minister's statements and those that I have made here.

(Mr. Erell, Israel)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): There are three delegations on my list of speakers wishing to exercise their right of reply and after having listened with great attention and patience to the debate which has arisen out of the exercise of this right, I should like to say a few words.

First, both during the general debate as well as whenever delegations have asked to speak I have allowed a very free exchange of ideas because the item under consideration -- "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" -- covers a very broad field and many comments can be made in reference to it. However, I do think that all delegations which have spoken have sufficiently demonstrated their respective views and I wonder whether perhaps the time has not come to apply a provision in the Charter of our Organization which is the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, that is, mediation.

I should like to ask the delegations which have spoken -- and this is the mediation of the Chairman -- that we at least declare a truce now, because because we are approaching the time at which our meetings should adjourn.

All delegations should feel very satisfied because they have expressed their views vigorously and decisively and perhaps the time may have come to conclude the debate and the rights of reply, at least for today.

I call on the representative of the Lebanon, for what I understand is to be a very brief statement.

Mr. MAHMASSANI (Lebanon): First, the representative of Israel talked about "trouble." I wonder whether he is going to be in trouble with his Government. I mentioned and I quoted the Prime Minister of Israel as saying: "No negotiations, no recognition, no peace with the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO". The question which the representative of Israel -- in front of everybody -- has not answered yet and evaded, is, will he or his Prime Minister negotiate, recognize and make peace with the Palestinians as represented by the PLO? This, the representative of Israel has not answered.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The representative of Israel has asked to speak. If I call upon him then I shall have to call upon the representatives of Iraq and Syria who had asked to speak first, and this is where I should like to repeat my urging that we put an end to this. I think that this has been a very interesting dialogue, but it is a dialogue which has been concluded, and we should rest after such a lengthy day.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.