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**Chairman: Mr. Milko TARABANOV (Bulgaria).**

**AGENDA ITEM 34**

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

1. Mr. DOBRYNIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*translation from Russian\**]: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election to this high post, which is a recognition of your distinguished service at the United Nations. At the same time, I should like to use this opportunity to congratulate the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur.

2. At this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the First Committee is beginning its work by considering an important problem of modern international life—the implementation of the historic United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which was adopted by the General Assembly at its commemorative session. A good tradition and practice is being established of beginning the consideration of political questions in the First Committee with an item relating to the principal task of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security. And this is no accident. The primacy of questions of peace and security in the work of the United Nations was predetermined and laid down at the very birth of the Organization. It is clearly defined in the Charter, which provides that the central task of the United Nations and its pivot should be to preserve and strengthen peace and to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge and horrors of war.

3. It is well known that the way in which this principal task of the United Nations will be performed will affect the successful solution of many other problems facing the Organization, including economic, social and other problems. It was from this premise that the Soviet Union proceeded when, at the General Assembly's twenty-fourth session, it submitted a proposal to discuss the strengthening of international security and later, together with other

socialist countries, submitted the draft declaration on the matter at the twenty-fifth commemorative session.

4. This initiative taken by the socialist countries received widespread support from the overwhelming majority of Member States. After thorough and constructive discussion of the question, and through the active efforts of peace-loving forces, the General Assembly adopted at its twenty-fifth session the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It included a reaffirmation of the main principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and first and foremost the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and also urged all Member States to implement the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. The fact that the Declaration was adopted almost unanimously gives the document genuine historic importance and exceptional weight and authority.

5. The delegations of many countries have spoken at the current session of the General Assembly of the great political and practical importance of the Declaration and its vital provisions for mobilizing the efforts of Member States to strengthen international security. This was also stressed many times in statements by many representatives in the Security Council, including the representatives of Poland, Syria, Belgium and other countries, when they referred to the provisions of the Declaration and stressed the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by wars of conquest.

6. Once the Declaration was adopted, all States Members of the United Nations faced the task of implementing it. Today, a year after its adoption, the time has come to examine and review what has been done in practice to implement the Declaration and its most important provisions.

7. In accordance with a request of the last General Assembly, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has submitted to this session a report on the implementation of the Declaration [*A/8431 and Add.1*]. The contents of the report and the States' replies it contains provide convincing evidence of the efforts of many States Members of the United Nations to take new practical measures for strengthening peace in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration.

8. Consequently, the need today is for the delegations of all countries taking part in the work of the First Committee to join forces and consider in detail what practical measures have been and should be taken by States to implement the Declaration, and also to identify and remove the factors hindering full implementation of its basic provisions. One can safely say that a considerable number of States

\* The first paragraph of Mr. Dobrynin's statement was delivered in English.

Members of the United Nations regard adoption of such concrete measures at this very session of the General Assembly as essential. This is confirmed by the statements of many delegations during the general debate, and also by the clear and firm position of the 48 non-aligned States Members of the United Nations which recently announced in a joint communiqué their unanimous intention to concert their efforts to ensure that the substance of the question of peace and security would be considered at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

9. The world political situation, at a time when the General Assembly is considering the question of the strengthening of international security, will undoubtedly have an effect on the course and the outcome of the debate. The basic trends and the most important factors in the evolving international situation were reflected in the recently completed general debate in the General Assembly.

10. Attention was drawn to certain developments in the direction of *détente* and arrangements for co-operation in Europe. The recently signed four-Power agreement on West Berlin removes one of the dangerous breeding-grounds of tension and friction. That agreement is rightly regarded as a firm step towards reducing tension in Europe and internationally. It was preceded by the signing of agreements between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany, and between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, which will ensure the inviolability of European States' borders and promote stability on the continent. The present situation in Europe is favourable to the early convening of an all-European conference on security and co-operation, in which the United States and Canada will participate.

11. History provides convincing evidence that the achievement of collective security in Europe is a very important factor in preserving universal peace. Bearing in mind that the development of international, regional and bilateral co-operation contributes to the strengthening of international security, as is recognized in the Declaration, the Soviet Union continues to direct its efforts towards improving the situation in Europe and developing co-operation on a bilateral and on a continent-wide basis. If an all-European conference was convened and met with success, this would be a fundamental turning-point towards *détente* and peace in Europe.

12. A number of important international treaties concerning areas outside Europe have been signed, which make an important contribution to the strengthening of peace and the development of international co-operation. They include, in particular, treaties between the USSR and the Arab Republic of Egypt, the USSR and India and a few others. The list of joint efforts by many States which promote improvement of the international situation should also include the draft convention on the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons<sup>1</sup> which has been prepared by the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

13. The first steps have been taken to reduce the danger of a nuclear war, including the recently signed agreement on

this question between the USSR and the United States. As we know from the events of the last few days, there is a possibility of further positive steps in this direction, which would be in the interests of all countries.

14. However, one cannot ignore certain continuing retrograde and dangerous factors which are poisoning the international climate. One cannot help being concerned at the persistent acts of aggression against independent States in many areas, the continuing attempts to seize and annex foreign territory, the unwillingness to eliminate existing hotbeds of military conflict by peaceful political settlement and, in Africa, the colonial wars and other activities which threaten peace and run counter to the interests of strengthening international security. It is for this reason that the flames of war in Indo-China continue to blaze and spread sporadically, and in the Middle East a peaceful settlement has not yet been achieved and the dangerous military situation remains. These hot-beds of war and tension remain only because certain States Members of the United Nations continue to disregard the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and fail to implement the most important provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

15. By all means at their disposal, with the most modern weapons and using the whole arsenal of colonialist methods and subversive practices, the colonialists and racists are attempting to maintain their rule over the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and to keep the last colonial Territories in southern Africa in chains of colonial slavery. The Portuguese colonialists and the South African racists interfere constantly in the affairs of young independent African States, creating a threat to their security and sovereignty. Literally in the past few days, when the present session of the General Assembly had already begun its work, the Security Council was obliged to meet urgently to discuss the results of its previous consideration of the armed provocations and aggressive attacks by the Portuguese colonialists and South African racists on three independent African States—Guinea, Senegal and Zambia. All these facts and incidents on the international scene are clear evidence that the external policies of quite a number of States Members of the United Nations fail to conform to the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration, for which they solemnly voted at the commemorative session of the General Assembly last year. It is time they were made to answer for their actions.

16. At the same time, the concrete measures taken by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are clear evidence of their firm determination that all provisions of the Declaration should be put into practice. Indeed, it could not have been otherwise.

17. The Soviet Union's position of principle was reaffirmed in the historic programme of peace and international co-operation adopted this year by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which became a practical guide for the Soviet State's activities in external affairs. The goals set in that programme are of great significance for international relations at the present stage. Their achievement would be in the

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1971, document DC/234, annex A.

interests of all peoples, irrespective of their socio-economic systems.

18. As the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. N. Kosygin, stated in his speech in Algeria on 5 October 1971,

“The struggle for the implementation of the programme of peace is now the focus of the Soviet State’s international activities. Our efforts are directed towards ensuring a move towards a relaxation of tension throughout the world and establishing favourable conditions for the free and independent development of all peoples in a situation unclouded by military threats.”

19. The new efforts which have been made by the Soviet State for this purpose are demonstrated by recent or forthcoming visits abroad by Soviet leaders. They include the visit by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and France, the visit by the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade N. V. Podgorny, to India, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Iran, and the visit by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade A. N. Kosygin, to Algeria, Morocco, Canada, Denmark and Norway.

20. The central task in the struggle for peace is the elimination of existing hotbeds of war in Indo-China and the Middle East and the prevention of new hotbeds of war. There is no need to show that normalization of the international situation as a whole is impossible without that.

21. We are firmly convinced that these hotbeds of war can and must be eliminated on the basis of the right—reaffirmed in the Declaration—of all peoples to determine their own fate without external interference and without annexations of foreign territory.

22. A constructive and firm basis for the immediate cessation of war in Indo-China, the establishment of peace and the settlement of the Indo-China problem is provided by the well-known seven-point proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which have the support of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The Soviet Union firmly supports these proposals for a peaceful settlement and, fulfilling its international obligations, will continue to provide all necessary help and assistance to the fraternal people of Viet-Nam and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia in their just struggle for their rights. The Soviet Union’s position of principle was reaffirmed during the recent visit of the President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N. V. Podgorny, to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and in the joint Soviet-Viet-Nameese communiqué.

23. The United Nations should make use of the whole range of its capabilities, in accordance with the Charter, in order to implement the most important provisions of the Declaration, which are very directly and closely linked with the task of eliminating that other dangerous hotbed of war in the Middle East.

24. In the Middle East, Israel is, by its actions, violating the provisions in the Declaration which concern the inadmissibility of annexing foreign territory seized by force. Implementation of Security Council decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories is being persistently sabotaged. Israel and its protectors are clearly counting on the policy of aggression triumphing and being rewarded. For that reason they have in effect paralysed the Jarring mission, which, under the Security Council decision, has the important task of promoting a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East. The four-Power consultations on the question of the Middle East have also been stalemated. During the present session of the General Assembly there has been no joint exchange of views between the Ministers of the four Powers that are permanent members of the Security Council. There is a Russian saying: “The elephant gave birth to a mouse”. But the four great Powers have not so far been able to take a single step in the direction of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Paraphrasing the Russian saying, one could say that “Four elephants could not even give birth to one mouse”. The reasons are well known to all.

25. Meanwhile, it is the permanent members of the Security Council who are called upon in the Declaration to intensify efforts to discharge the Council’s primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. In response to that appeal, the Soviet Union is working tirelessly to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Middle East on the basis of strict application of all the parts and provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.

26. It is now perfectly clear to everybody that the Arab States, and especially the Arab Republic of Egypt, have expressed a readiness to conclude a peace agreement with Israel on that basis which would end the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict, ensuring recognition of the independence and sovereignty of all States in the Middle East.

27. The principal and decisive condition for this is the implementation of the Security Council resolutions on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories and the return of those territories to their lawful owners—a just and reasonable demand which derives from the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

28. The Soviet Union, welcoming and supporting Egypt’s noble initiative, has officially declared its readiness to join with the other permanent members of the Security Council in providing international guarantees for a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East. It would appear that a genuine way of achieving such a settlement, which would be in the interest of all the countries of the area, is becoming feasible. However, what is in fact happening?

29. As before, Israel is refusing to liberate the Arab lands which it has occupied, declining to conclude a peace agreement with the Arab States, and is consequently sabotaging prospects of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and challenging the United Nations and international public opinion. Such a course of action is fraught with serious consequences for peace and for the authority of the United Nations itself.

30. In the light of this reality, the United Nations and its principal organs, the General Assembly and the Security Council, can and must finally make a decisive contribution to a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. It should use all the possibilities provided for in the Charter and apply the basic provisions of the Declaration. In other words, this particular example confirms the importance and urgency of considering the question of the implementation of the Declaration. The Soviet Union genuinely wants a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. It will continue to support the rightful cause of the Arab States which have been attacked and their efforts to liberate their territory.

31. Quite recently the Indian subcontinent became a new area of tension in Asia. The situation there is acute, and it is not simply an internal question which is involved. It cannot be denied that this stream of millions of refugees into India, following the events in East Pakistan, created serious economic and other difficulties and problems for India. In view of the serious situation in the Indian subcontinent, efforts should be continued to preserve peace in that area. Urgent measures are needed to achieve a political solution to the problems which have arisen there, taking into account the inalienable rights and lawful interests of the people of East Pakistan, and to ensure that the refugees are returned to their native country speedily and in safety.

32. If a truly normal situation is to be restored in Asia, the interference in the internal affairs of the people of Korea must also stop. The United Nations should cease serving as a screen for the foreign occupation of South Korea. It is to be regretted that consideration of questions put before the General Assembly by a large group of socialist and non-aligned States relating to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Korea and the dissolution of the illegally created United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has been postponed to the next session of the General Assembly. Such an approach in no way contributes to *détente* in Korea and runs counter to the principles of the Declaration. These questions demand urgent solution.

33. Of course, there can be no question of strengthening international security unless the arms race is restricted and limited, and indeed terminated. The Soviet Union supports the Declaration's appeal to all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to make urgent and concerted efforts for the restriction, limitation and complete cessation of the arms race. The Soviet delegation intends to set out in detail the Soviet Union's position on this question during discussion of the proposal for a World Disarmament Conference and when this Committee considers disarmament questions.

34. The view of the Soviet Union is that renunciation of the threat or use of force to solve disagreements and disputes between States should become a permanent and urgent law of international behaviour. As a practical measure to implement the principle of the non-use of force, which is affirmed in the Declaration, the Soviet Union for its part considers it advisable for countries which accept this principle to conclude appropriate bilateral or regional treaties or agreements.

35. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to conclude such treaties strengthening and extending the corresponding

provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration with any State or group of States. The achievement of genuine universality in the United Nations as soon as possible would be of great importance in considerably increasing the effectiveness and authority of the Organization. An important contribution would be the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the irresponsible supporters of Chiang Kai-shek, who represents no one.

36. The time has long been ripe to cease the inadmissible discrimination within the United Nations system against the German Democratic Republic and to remove the artificial obstacles to its admission as a Member of the Organization. The Soviet Union consistently speaks out in favour of admitting simultaneously to the United Nations the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. In a joint communiqué issued following the recent meeting between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev, and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Brandt, both sides affirmed their intention to co-operate with a view to such a solution.

37. The view of the Soviet Union is that United Nations decisions on the elimination of the remaining colonial régimes and the eradication of racism, that disgraceful vestige of the dark colonial period, should be implemented in their entirety and without any reservations. We have provided and shall continue to provide all possible moral, material and political assistance and support to all peoples struggling to attain those noble goals.

38. In this connexion, it should be noted that certain countries are in effect attempting to hinder completion of the process of decolonization.

39. Such an approach directly contradicts the Declaration, which contains an appeal to all States to assist the United Nations in the task of achieving the speedy elimination of colonialism or any other form of external domination. However, certain countries made a typical response to that appeal, and did not stop short of an ostentatious exit from the United Nations Committee on Decolonization,<sup>2</sup> as has already been pointed out in the general debate in the General Assembly.

40. There can be no question that the United Nations should take positive action on all matters referred to in its Charter. One can only welcome the fact that a number of questions connected with the scientific and technological revolution will be considered at the General Assembly's current session. A number of new questions has arisen—the problem of the human environment, the use of the sea-bed, outer space, the question of the moon, and so on. The Soviet Union has placed one of these questions on the Assembly's agenda—the preparation of an international treaty concerning the moon.

41. In supporting the call for the development of international co-operation contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Soviet Union is

<sup>2</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

prepared to take part together with other interested States in the solution of these new problems as well as of previously existing but ever important questions such as the harnessing of power and other natural resources, the development of transport and communications on a regional or even continental basis, the prevention and elimination of the most dangerous and widespread diseases and other activities.

42. In the matter of international economic co-operation, the United Nations should take a firm stand together with those States, particularly the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose peoples are waging a just struggle for their economic freedom and independence, for the unrestricted right to dispose of their own natural resources as they see fit and for liberation from ruinous exploitation by foreign monopolies and from one-sided agreements imposed by those monopolies.

43. However, although questions of international co-operation in economic, social, humanitarian and other fields are very important, the strengthening of peace and international security remains the principal task and the focal point of all United Nations activities.

44. No one these days would deny the importance of economic, social, humanitarian, outer space and many other problems. But it would be inadmissible and extremely dangerous for all peoples if the United Nations were to concentrate its attention exclusively on them and set aside the principal political questions with which it is involved, those of international peace and security.

45. The Soviet delegation considers that, when the General Assembly has completed its comprehensive consideration of the implementation of the Declaration, States Members of the United Nations will be able jointly to find a way of adopting further practical measures for the implementation of all the provisions of this important international document.

46. An important step towards effective implementation of the Declaration would be the adoption by the Assembly of a decision reaffirming that the strengthening of international security requires concerted efforts by all States and full use of the potential of the United Nations in order to give an immediate and firm rebuff to any acts of aggression or high-handedness in international affairs.

47. In recognizing contemporary realities, as almost all delegations urged during the general debate, the General Assembly should not close its eyes to the facts and should firmly and decisively state that the principal causes of international tension and threats to universal peace are actions which lead to gross violations of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principal provisions of the Declaration, especially the provision concerning the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the one asserting that the territory of States should not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations.

48. The General Assembly should also show great firmness in closely examining the activities of States which, despite

the requirements of the Declaration, continue to resort to forcible or other actions depriving peoples of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

49. The General Assembly could also take an important step in the cause of peace by making, in the appropriate form, an urgent appeal to all States immediately to take measures to ensure that all the provisions of the Declaration are implemented and that the renunciation of the threat or use of force for the solution of disputes becomes a firm and strictly observed law of international affairs and relations between States.

50. In this connexion, the delegation of the Soviet Union wishes to draw attention to the fact that a number of sponsors have submitted a draft resolution for consideration and approval by the First Committee [A/C.1/L.566]. Adoption of such a decision by the General Assembly would make it possible to intensify activities by the United Nations and all States in an important and decisive area—the maintenance of universal peace and strengthening of international security.

51. The CHAIRMAN (*translation from Russian*): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Dobrynin, for his congratulations to me and to the other officers of the Committee.

52. Mr. FACK (Netherlands): As this is the first time that my delegation has spoken in the First Committee I should like to convey to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the other officers of the Committee the congratulations of the Netherlands delegation on your election. I should like also to assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation in the fulfilment of your task.

53. At this stage of our debate I wish to make a very brief statement explaining the position of the Netherlands on the agenda item under discussion, which deals with the strengthening of international security. Last year extensive public and private discussions took place within the framework of the First Committee on the formulation of a declaration by the General Assembly. Indeed, our discussions were so detailed and protracted as to be all but exhaustive and the question may well be asked today what useful purpose may be served by a possible repetition of last year's debate, especially in view of the comprehensive Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1970 [resolution 2734 (XXV)].

54. Be that as it may, last year's debate demonstrated that in the view of almost all Member States the strengthening of security and stability in the world depends upon a complex network of factors. Those factors are political as well as military, economic as well as legal, social as well as humanitarian. It has also become clear—and indeed it has been stressed by many speakers in the general debate in plenary session—that the world structure of the international community must, if it is to be secure and stable, be built on all the pillars enumerated in resolution 2734 (XXV).

55. In its Declaration, the General Assembly sketched a comprehensive basis for future activities. In the view of my

delegation, the international community should move simultaneously in all the various sectors mentioned in the Declaration. Naturally from time to time there will be differences of accent and of urgency for various members. My delegation, for one, would at this particular stage emphasize the importance of the activities of the United Nations in the fields of economic and social development, disarmament, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the importance of the role of the International Court of Justice—to mention just a few. However, at the same time my delegation will remain aware of the existence of other activities, and we will not neglect them. In its reply to the Secretary-General dated 30 July of this year [see A/8431] the Netherlands Government stated that its views on the strengthening of international security were reflected in resolution 2734 (XXV) and that, bearing in mind the terms of that resolution, my Government would continue to strive to bring about the realization of its views. In so far as our present debate will remind all of us assembled in this hall of the importance of the Declaration adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, this discussion will serve a useful purpose.

56. In the view of my delegation there appears to be no need for the adoption of further resolutions on this subject at this stage. We feel that all the activities in which the

United Nations is engaged during this session, as indeed at future sessions, whether in the General Assembly or in the various Councils or Committees, should be inspired by one thought and should have only one purpose: the strengthening of security and stability in the world in the broad sense of last year's Declaration—that is to say, the promotion of the well-being of the peoples of this earth. Guided by the lofty goals of that Declaration, the Netherlands delegation will make its contribution in the various conference rooms here, in order to achieve a balanced approach to all the global problems of security and stability, in which all fields of United Nations endeavour will be awarded their proper place.

57. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I should like to ask those representatives who wish to speak on the item under discussion to be good enough to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible so that we may fully utilize the time available to us. As representatives know, we must organize our work in conjunction with that of the General Assembly and must make it possible for members of the Committee to attend plenary meetings of the Assembly and meetings of the First Committee.

*The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.*